

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

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NOTES.

Janmashtami Reflections: The gist of the Janmashtami reflections to which Mr. Kingsley Williams refers in his letter, published to-day, was that the person whom tradition has clothed with affectionate reverence and to whom it assigns authorship of the immortal *Gita*, is a great national hero, and could not have been a libertine as has been sought to be made out by some Christian missionaries. The writer was, not discussing such questions as whether there was such a person, whether the Krishna of the *Gita* was the Krishna of the Purana, whether the *Gita* was composed by Krishna at all, whether Krishna is a Hinduised incarnation of Christ. All these are interesting questions, but the point of view of the writer was the same as that expressed by distinguished Christian writers. I wrote that even if all the historical facts about Krishna were proved to be unfounded, still, the Christ-will continue to evoke the reverence of mankind. The paragraph from the *New Dispensation*, printed there, on Keshab Chandra Sen's view of Krishna, bearing on the point raised by our correspondent. We have read the quotation from Plato's Republic in Mr. Williams's letter with interest, and Homer and Hesiod continued to be read to Plato, notwithstanding Plato's dictum. We are all sure that from the pedagogical point of view it is right to teach children that never up to the present time have there been any quarrels among nations. When, as a matter of fact, there have been innumerable such quarrels. Plato's Republic means no means a model for modern educationists and moralists. Much of the irreverence and other faults of character attributed to English education are not due to it at all, but to the ruthless manner in which many Christian Missionaries in the past—who, we are afraid, are not without their representatives at the present day—went about to discredit names and ideas held in deep reverence by the people. Milton and Burke are books of reverence, Mill was the saint, as he has been called, of rationalism, and Morley has told us that it is quite as possible reverently to disbelieve

as to believe. English education, as such, is a conserving influence not a destructive one. We have never been wanting in appreciation of the noble philanthropic work of Christian Missionaries, many of them men and women of the loftiest character and ideals, but we feel that their educational methods in the past have not been all that they should be, and that the results consequent thereon are being wrongly imputed to English education.

A Roman Catholic Criticism. The *Standard*, a new weekly journal, published in Madras, is an organ of the Roman Catholic Indian community, and we should like to take this opportunity of welcoming it to the ranks of journalism. We have a high appreciation of the historic Roman Church, and there is absolutely no basis for our contemporary's remark, in the paragraph which we print to-day, that "the *Indian Social Reformer* has been brought up in the Protestant tradition" of underestimating the virtues of the Latin races which adhere to the Roman Church. We do not know what our contemporary means by speaking of us, who do not profess any form of Christianity though we hold, as every one should, Christ in the greatest reverence, as brought up in the Protestant tradition. We may tell the *Standard* that our surroundings offer many opportunities of realising the admirable organisation and discipline of the great Catholic Church, and the devoted and selfless labours of its priesthood. No one but a fanatic or a fool will speak lightly of the contribution which the Catholic Church has made and is making to the spiritual interests of humanity. We may say the same of the Latin races. We never drew any conclusion upon the womanhood of Italy", as our contemporary has quite erroneously understood our observations. Our object in quoting from Colonel Snow's report was merely to point out the untenability of inferences regarding the morality of a people drawn from the prevalence among them of a particular religious cult. The *Standard* has been moved by our comments to make reflections on the character of Protestants and Anglo-Saxons, though we belong to neither of these categories. We need hardly say that we do not accept our contemporary's estimates. Our contemporary is committing the same faults as those which it attributes to Protestants. Such sweeping generalisations, it is pretty safe to say, are hardly ever true or just. In the leading article in the same issue, the *Standard* lashes out against the Indian advocates of women suffrage, ourselves being placed first in the category of delinquents. The gravamen of the charge is, again, that they are imitating Anglo-Saxons and Protestants. Our contemporary discourses learnedly on the evils wrought by what it calls "the dissolution of the Christian family" of the Middle Ages, and "the atomic theory" of modern society but as we cannot recall the Middle Ages, is it not wise to suit our political outfit to the ideas of the age in which we live? Even orthodox Hindus have not

opposed woman suffrage. The zeal of our Catholic contemporary in this case seems to us to be wholly misdirected.

A Salvation Army Officer's Heroism: Some students of the Wood National College, Madras, write to *New India*: "A few months ago we requested Capt. Green of the Salvation Army in charge of the Buminigedda Criminal Settlement to open our Industrial Section, when he merely replied that he was 'lying down'. Inquiry brought to light the fact that it was a noble act of sacrifice on his part that had disabled him. A criminal had a serious burn and the doctor declared that the patient could only be saved if some person would offer his own skin. Thereupon Capt. Green offered his own skin for the purpose. The doctor then took over a score of pieces from the noble Captain's legs, which laid him in bed for two months. Your reference in Thursday's *NEW INDIA* regarding brotherly love, shown under similar circumstances, recalled to our mind this act of noble self-sacrifice."

The Bene Israel Year Book. Miss Rebecca Reuben has been publishing since last year an year book giving particulars relating to her small but interesting community. In the first number, Dr. Joseph Benjamin Bamnolkar has written an interesting historical retrospect. In the year-book for the current year, Miss Reuben has given a short, brightly written sketch of the present position of the community and its problems. The little volume contains, besides a list of the principal fasts and festivals, the Jewish calendar, a review of the community's activities during the past year, Jewish and Bene-Israel statistics, a list of communal institutions in India, a communal directory, Bene-Israel authors and publications, and Bene-Israel periodicals. The total Jewish population of the Bombay Presidency at the Census of 1911 was about 16,000, of which about 15,000 is estimated to belong to the Bene-Israel community. Nearly 12,000 are found in British districts, more than half of that number in the City of Bombay. Kolaba, Thana and Poona, have the next largest numbers of Bene-Israel. The community, ever since its first arrival in India, has been settled in the Konkan, adopting Marathi as its vernacular. Agriculture and oil-pressing were the principal occupations followed by the community. Some of its members distinguished themselves in military service in the days of the East India Company. Education is rapidly spreading among the community and several of its members are successful professional men, especially in the medical line. Women's education is also spreading.

The Scapegoat: The *Challenges* (London) apologises to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for its comments regarding recruiting methods in the Punjab. It ends by saying: "Nevertheless we intended rather to emphasise the fact that, however good his intentions were, his earnestness was often liable to misinterpretation by his subordinates. It is precisely this danger which makes the government of India such a profoundly intricate problem." Either Sir Michael knew what was being done by his subordinates or he did not. If he did, what did he do to set them right? If he did not, how did he reconcile his conscience to occupying a post for which he was obviously unfitted? Mr. Nundy's article in the *Hindustan Review*, to which we referred last week, has some illuminating comments on this hackneyed defence of Anglo-Indian administrators, so far as it has any application to this particular case.

For Lord Sydenham and his Friends. Lord Morley loudly complained of the tendency of retired Anglo-Indian officials to indulge in criticism of Government measures when they ought to be enjoying their well-earned leisure. Mr. Montagu has even made cause for complaint in this respect than his distinguished predecessor at the India Office. To Lord Sydenham and others like him we would commend the example of the great Duke of Wellington. *Guardian* (London) recalls in its review of French's "1914", that the Duke of Wellington defended his own decision to say nothing about grievances against the Ministers of his time on ground that he was a "nimuk walla", that he had eaten the King's salt, and it was not for him to disparage the King's servants. The "nimuk walla" of our time, on the other hand, are not happy unless they disparage the country and the ministers of the King whose salt they had eaten. The incident also noteworthy as showing that Indian ways of looking at life's problems were not wholly without effect on the mind of the great Duke who first wore his spurs in India.

"Respectable Gentlemen": We have received a Press Note intimating that the Government of Bombay have decided to make a beginning by providing accommodation for visitors in a selected number of revenue offices and residences in which offices are allowed to be held. This is in pursuance of a resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Naik in the Legislative Council, the principle of which Government had accepted. We thought that, at the suggestion of His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Naik agreed to substitute the sensible phrase "members of the public" in place of the snobbish "respectable gentlemen." But we see the resolution as it is printed in the Press Note retains the meaningless original. We are glad, however, that the Government order itself speaks only of visitors without any adjective. The traditional ideas of respectability are undergoing complete transformation. The other day a family of the *bhangis* caste, men, women and children, got into a second-class compartment in a local train near Bombay. Some of the passengers, thinking that there was a mistake, mentioned to them that that was not a third-class compartment, whereupon the leader of the party triumphantly exhibited his tickets (which were of the second class) to the crest-fallen remonstrators. The latter thereupon were glad to cover their confusion by making kindly enquiries regarding the education of the children of the party.

Social Reform among the Masses. *United India and Native States* affirms that practical social reform is rapidly making headway even among the masses. Says our contemporary: "There is a large class of educated men who sympathise with every rapid step taken in social reform and rejoice in the smallest triumph of reform. To recall a recent instance, we have only to refer to what is known as the Calicut Taluk Pollution case. The fault of the Tiyya Doctor was the first accused in this case was that he was too near the Tank and polluted it. The case resulted in an acquittal and Dr. Choyi was the recipient of congratulations from all and sundry. A Brahmin Vakil who defended him and the public outside who sympathised with him do not evidently consider the acquittal a blow from which Hinduism will never recover. There are scores of such instances in which even uneducated people seemed to realise the justice of making readjustments of the existing civil arrangements. They found themselves opposed or thwarted by the champions of the old order among the educated classes."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1919.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Viceroy made a lengthy speech at the opening of the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council on Wednesday, reviewing the chief events that have happened since the close of the last session of the Council. The interval of five months has been a period of much anxiety and serious trouble both within and without. Closely following the lamentable occurrences in the Punjab, came the war with Afghanistan. In the history of Anglo-India, discontent within has usually been the precursor of troubles on the frontier. But bureaucracy has no use for the lessons of history. Entrenched in its own omniscience it regards those who invoke history in politics as prigs and pedants. Thus it came to pass that the Afghan declaration of war caught the Government of India unprepared. His Excellency the Viceroy defended his own Government against the severe strictures passed upon it for the serious defects in the military organisation in the early stages of the Afghan war. But his arguments have failed to convince even our Anglo-Indian contemporaries who habitually support Government. They declare almost with one voice that the Viceroy evaded the real issues and that His Excellency's words and figures leave the matter very much where it stood. We do not profess to be military experts but there is a simple matter which even a layman can understand. His Excellency stated that the deaths per thousand admissions to hospitals (excluding the wounded) among the troops from the 5th May to the 9th August were: British 0.82 and Indians 27.74. He went on to say. "One word is needed with regard to the relatively high mortality among Indians. This was due to the high incidence of cholera, especially among Indian followers whose standard of water discipline was naturally lower than that of regular troops and who could not be restrained from quenching their thirst at pools and streams which though apparently pure were in reality full of cholera germs." We are afraid that this explanation of the enormous disparity between the British and the Indian rates of mortality, will convince no one who has an open mind. It either implies that British troops could endure thirst—the most maddening of animal ravines—better than Indians and that, at a shade of temperature of between 110 and 120 degrees; or that the provision for quenching thirst was far less liberal in the case of Indians than in the case of the British. We may be wrong but we see no other alternative. Further, cholera is the oldest of investigated epidemics in India, and there are simple means, easily possible in an army, of preventing it. The pools could have been disinfected, and water from the streams either boiled or otherwise treated to make it innocuous.

While, as we said, our Anglo-Indian contemporaries unhesitatingly criticise His Excellency's apology, so far as the Afghan campaign is concerned, as mere eyewash, they seem to be quite satisfied with Lord Chelmsford's defence of the Panjab measures. To our mind, however, the defence of the administration of the Panjab under martial law, is every whit as lame and unconvincing as the Viceroy's remarks on the Afghan muddle. The secret of the ineptitude in either case is to be found in a sentence in His Excellency's speech. "I promised", said His Excellency, "support to the head of each Local Government for such measures as he thought it might be necessary to take and that support was given unwaveringly throughout." His Excellency seems to be proud of his part but, in our humble opinion, it is very poor statesmanship after all. We do not want a Viceroy to let the Provincial governments do what they like and then to find more or less plausible reasons for justifying them. The Viceroy is the representative of His Majesty as well as the head of the Indian Administration and in both capacities he is charged with the duty of protecting His Majesty's subjects from being oppressed by subordinate administrations. It was Lord Curzon, we think, who laid down that it was the duty of the Government of India to see that Provincial Governments do not degenerate into petty despotisms. It may sound chivalrous to bureaucratic ears for the Viceroy to say that he promised support to Provincial Governments and carried out his promise unwaveringly, but what does it really come to? It simply comes to this that the Viceroy abdicated his functions, utterly ignored his responsibility to His Majesty's subjects, and allowed the Panjab satrap to do all that he did under cover of the Governor-General's supreme authority. In view of Lord Chelmsford's confession, the credit due to Sir George Lloyd's admirable statesmanship in Bombay is magnified a hundred-fold. His Excellency's theory of the origin of the Panjab situation, we are sorry to say, is more ingenious than ingenious. He said: "Last session certain hon. members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill passed into law there would be agitation of a serious nature. I think the hon. members will realise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However, there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred which are to be the subject of an enquiry." This means that the agitation was created in order to give effect to the threat, said to have been expressed in the Legislature Council. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Jinnah and others emphatically repudiated the charge in the Legislative Council and pointed out that they were only echoing the feeling in the country. This can be verified by reference to the files of newspapers. We ourselves wrote protesting strongly against the Bills as soon as they were published, before the last session of the Legislative Council met. Other Indian papers did the same. Mr.

Gandhi entered the lists at a much later stage and nobody can say that his object was to give effect to the alleged threats of the Indian non-official members of the Council. His Excellency's theory cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. We have only space left to-day to express the general dissatisfaction felt at the constitution of the Committee which is to inquire into the Panjab occurrences. In the first place, it is unsatisfactory that the Committee is to make its report not to the Secretary of State but to the Government of India. The Committee consists of Lord Hunter, formerly Solicitor-General for Scotland as Chairman, and Mr. Justice Rankin, the Honorable Mr. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad. The fact that the Viceroy felt it necessary to indicate the minor office in some previous Ministry held by the Chairman, shows that his is not, by any means, a name of great authority in British politics. Of the five members, three are officials, one is a Gwalior State official who, certainly, cannot be expected to appreciate the British Indian point of view, and only one namely, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is qualified by his public life and professional career to take an independent and strictly judicial view of the matters under inquiry.

BUREAUCRACY AND CASTE.

Young India publishes the papers relating to the order of the Government of Bombay employing additional police in Nadiad for one year at a cost of about Rs. 16,000, the whole amount to be recovered by a rate assessed upon the Bania and Patidar residents of the town. This is a sequel to the derailment of the troop train at Nadiad in April last during the disturbances which followed the reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi on his way to Delhi. To begin with, this form of collective punishment is, in our opinion, a relic of barbarism. It may be the only method of bringing home offences against person and property to the tribes on the North Western frontier. It is absolutely unjust when applied to the inhabitants of Nadiad. The Collector of the District, it may be observed in passing, had soon after the derailment conveyed to the Nadiad Municipality his appreciation of the "very general respect for law and order which they (the citizens) maintained during the period of strain and excitement which is now (this was written on the 21st April) happily passed away; special thanks are due to those of the leaders who used their influence in the direction of moderation." It is true that he pointed out that one serious offence had been committed within the limits of the town and that the responsibility for this it must rest upon the Nadiad public unless they transferred it definitely elsewhere. But the solitary offence cannot wipe out the credit for the general orderliness of the people, which the Collector so liberally tendered to the Municipality. However that may be, we respectfully protest against fining the people of Nadiad for the offence of some, it may be several individuals.

The reasons given for singling out the Bania and Patidar castes for this special imposition, are reminiscent of Fluellen's logic in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Mr. Gandhi is a Bania and so are Mr. Gokuldas Talati and Mr. Fulchand Shah, Secretary and President respectively of the Home Rule League. Assuming for argument's sake, that these three gentlemen had been really instrumental in creating the situation which culminated in the derailment, there is nothing to show that their conduct had anything to do with the fact of their being Banias or that the Bania community had commissioned them to conduct themselves in that manner. Suppose tomorrow the Bania community excommunicates these gentlemen, will that absolve it from having to pay for the punitive police? What is it that Government expect a caste to do to free itself from a similar responsibility in the case of offences by men who were born in it? The caste has no power of legislation. It can act only within customary limits. To talk of Mr. Gandhi's caste as an operative influence in his life is utterly meaningless. He went to England as a young man and after his education there, he lived in South Africa for nearly twenty years. We do not think that he is recognised as a member of his caste by being invited to caste dinners nor that he is expected to conform to any customs of his caste. His manner of life, his freedom of social intercourse with all classes and creeds, his close association with the depressed classes, are all against the rules of his caste. In fact, very few of his friends are interested in the question of his caste. The Bania caste, moreover, is not one caste. There are Hindu Banias and Jain Banias. The Census Report names twenty subdivisions of Banias (Vanis) among Hindus and eight among Jains, among several of which intermarriage is prohibited. The same argument apply to the Patidars more or less.

We submit these considerations and those that follow with some confidence that the Government of Bombay will not allow the argument of expediency to prevent the prompt rectification of a palpable injustice. The incident has a deeper significance. It shows, in our opinion, that the bureaucracy while it has virtually destroyed the ancient communal institutions of India and absorbed the power vested in these institutions in its own hands, is not above utilising the faded vestiges of those institutions for the purpose of imposing penalties on the people. It is apparently a question with it of "head I win, tails you lose." How can the castes be made responsible for the conduct of individuals over whom British Indian law and administration do not recognise its authority? As social reformers, we respectfully protest against this attempt to utilise caste as an accessory to the administration. Apart from the matter as it immediately concerns Nadiad, the question involves a large principle and should be threshed out. The action of Government betrays complete ignorance of the constitution and the powers of caste at the present day. It would, we think, be quite as just to collect the cost of the punitive police from all persons in Nadiad who happen to be of the

same stature as Mr. Gandhi, or those who read Tolstoi and wear hand-woven clothing. A strong protest should if necessary be sent to the Secretary of State against this method of utilising caste. Mr. Gandhi can help being a Bania no more than Mr. Lloyd George can, being a Welshman or Mr. Carson being an Ulsterman. Neither of them chose their community nor did their community choose them. There is better reason to recover the cost of the additional police from the officials who allowed the situation to take them unawares than from the Banias and Patidars whose responsibility for it is extremely fanciful and far-fetched.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT. III

Before stating our views on the medium of instruction in the High Schools and the encouragement of the study of the vernaculars, it is desirable to elaborate our point that the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission is against the weight of educational evidence which was placed before them and that in making it, they have been obsessed by the plausible generalities of Sir Harcourt Butler. There is some doubt even as to the precise import of the Commission's recommendation. In the opening paragraphs in the chapter containing the Commission's recommendations on this question, it is said that there is an overwhelming mass of opinion pointing to the use of English as the chief medium from the end of the intermediate stage upwards. "We concur," add the Commissioners "in the view of the majority." This means that English will be the chief medium of instruction only in the two University years above the Intermediate stage. At the end of the chapter, however, the Commission sum up their conclusions as including the reduction of the use of English as a medium of instruction up to the present matriculation stage, and its retention as a medium above that stage. We have looked in vain in the body of the chapter for a means of filling the gap between the opening and the concluding recommendations. There is a recommendation that at the Intermediate College examination, the medium should be English. Perhaps, it is left to be inferred that the teaching in the course leading to the examination should necessarily be in English. A definite statement to that effect would have been desirable. Turning to the evidence, rather more than half of the witnesses who gave evidence were in favour of retaining the present system. A certain number of the rest was in favouring of introducing English earlier than at present. Others were in favour of introducing it at other points, and those who were in favour of making it the medium of instruction only after the Intermediate were a small minority. By grouping along with this small minority, all those who wished English to be the medium of instruction at more or less earlier stages, the Commission have obtained "an overwhelming mass of evidence pointing to the use of English as the chief medium from the end of the

intermediate stage upwards." In other words, this "overwhelming mass" includes the more than half of the number of witnesses who were for retaining the present system; and the minorities who were in favour of making English the medium of instruction at earlier stages. This is a very ingenious way of converting a small minority into an overwhelming majority. But such legerdemain cannot disguise the fact that a substantial majority of witnesses are opposed to the recommendation of the Commission. Another noteworthy fact is that, while the Commission repeatedly quote the resolution of the Government of India of 1913 (when Sir Harcourt Butler was member in charge) they completely give the go-by to the resolutions since he left. Sir Sankaran Nair, the only Indian who has had charge of the portfolio, has expressed a diametrically opposite view in some of the resolutions issued in his time. This the Commission ignore. Neither Sir Harcourt Butler nor Sir Sankaran Nair is an educationist, but the latter being an Indian knows where the shoe pinches, whereas the former can at best say as to where the shoe should pinch. Sir Harcourt, as Education Member, prevented more good than he did to the country. He was instrumental in throwing out Mr. Gokhale's very cautious Elementary Education Bill, and that does not mark him out as a great educational thinker.

We pointed out in the last issue that Sir Harcourt Butler's dictum which has so greatly impressed the Commission, has no foundation in fact and is a mere matter of prejudice. The dictum is that "the boys who are taught through the medium of the vernacular until the highest stages of the High School are reached, show markedly greater intelligence than those whose earlier education has been more largely conducted through the medium of the English language". There is no province where boys are taught through the vernacular until the highest stages of the High School. In the United provinces where His Honour spent the larger part of his career, English is the medium of instruction in the two highest classes. In Calcutta, where part of his year, as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was spent, the four highest classes are taught in English. In Simla and Delhi of which he has had experience as member of the Government of India, English is the medium in the two highest classes of the High School. In Burma where His Honour was Lieutenant Governor for about a year or two, English teaching begins in the first primary class, is part-medium from the 5th to the 7th, and full medium from the 8th to 10th classes. It is, therefore, difficult to see where His Honour found boys instructed through the vernacular until the highest stages of the High School, for instituting his interesting comparison. There may have been a few students privately educated who came under His Honour's notice, but surely even if, contrary to our experience of privately educated children, these did show some marked superiority of intelligence, they could not afford a fair basis of comparison. There is one test which the Commission could have easily applied to His Honour's dictum, if they had begun, as all

contrary the Gold Reserve in other countries was increased during the War beyond their reasonable share. The recent Committee appointed to inquire into the cost of producing gold in the British Empire has found that the cost is rising; and that if the production is to be kept up at the pre-war level, the price would have to be raised, in order to prevent the less profitable mines from being shut down. But in this country the price of Rs. 33½ a tola of gold roughly equals Rs. 90 an oz. of gold, and so there is no danger to apprehend from that direction. With freedom to settle her trade balance, India can obtain enough gold as she usually has a favourable balance even after paying all the Home Charges and other claims against her. Gold in circulation in India would relieve much of the present pressure on silver in the world and avoid for ever the necessity of tampering with exchange.

The only objection against our recommendation, that is at once reasonable and formidable, is that gold once it gets into circulation will be difficult to mobilize in the event of an international financial crisis. India will, no doubt, absorb a certain quantity of gold for purposes other than currency, which may be described, with pardonable inaccuracy, as hoards. But it is possible to guard against such a tendency running to extremes. With a sufficient substitute currency, the cheaper the better, which however is guaranteed to be immediately convertible in gold, the danger to an excessive circulation of gold would be avoided. The abolition of silver will, we believe, make the notes, convertible in terms of the gold standard coin, in the absence of other credit documents far more popular than they are to-day. The gold thus saved by the use of paper may be economised and mobilised by being kept in reserve in a Central Bank. And if the issue of notes, placed in the hands of such a central dominating banking institution, is made dependant upon the provision of an equivalent reserve in specie or good commercial paper, somewhat on the lines followed by the Federal Reserve Notes in the United States, there would be the easiest transition between metallic currency and commercial credit, an easy automatic expansion and contraction of the volume of currency precisely in accordance with the requirements of trade.

The gravest defect indeed in the entire currency organisation is the absence of any dominating Bank, issuing paper currency and controlling by its position the entire Indian business world. The Government of India must part with their burdensome pre-occupations in managing a currency system through a department, conspicuously lacking in the requisite experience and expert knowledge. They must abandon the present system of keeping huge balances idle in their treasuries at a time when the business world most needs them. With a great public Bank, centralising the financial reserves of the community, and adopting all currency saving devices, as for example the Giro system of payments developed by the Reich Bank in Germany, we shall be free from a frequent meddling with the exchange at the cost of the country's trade

prospects and industrial organisation, avoiding at the same time the unprofitable employment of an excessive amount of a costly circulating medium: Gold.

To carry out in full the reforms suggested here, the establishment of a gold standard with a gold currency, conversion of the currency notes in terms of gold standard, and the organisation of adequate, up-to-date banking facilities, would of course need time. But a beginning can be made now that our whole Currency organisation is under review. Sufficient gold is due to us in the Paper Currency and the Gold Standard Reserves to justify us in the hope that if decided upon the gold standard would not be rendered impracticable for the want of gold. If the condition of our debtors forbid any attempt to realise at once, we may issue bonds of a currency of from five to ten years, within which it may be reasonably hoped our sterling debtors would be able to redeem their obligations, to serve as guarantee of redemption to the holders of the temporary substitute money. If these measures or the like are adopted we shall have finally set at rest the ghost of the exchange problem. The Government would be freed from their present harassing anxieties and their balances made available to the public, from whom, in the ultimate analysis, they are derived. Exchange would become, as it ought to be, a proper concern of the Banks, and would fluctuate within the limits set by trade requirements and the cost of transport. These provide their own corrective. Finally, we shall have mobilised a sufficient Reserve for all international contingency, short, indeed, of such a universal scramble for gold as occurred for five years during the War.

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

THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Association was held on the 28th of August 1919; the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh presiding. It was resolved to despatch the following telegrams to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India in Council in connection with the situation in South Africa and Fiji.

The Managing Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association views with alarm the reported decision of the Government of Fiji not to cancel immediately the existing indentures. The Committee is of opinion that a system under which besides other glaring evils prostitution is almost legalised cannot be allowed to continue under the British Constitution and therefore earnestly prays that the Government of India and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India will secure immediate cancellation of the existing indentures certainly before the 31st day of December 1919.

Regard being had to the fact that a Commission is to be appointed by the Government of the Union of South Africa to cover an inquiry into the position of British Indians throughout South Africa, the Managing Committee of the

Imperial Indian Citizenship Association respectfully suggests to the Government of India and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, that the Commission should contain Indian representatives not less than the number representing the Europeans' interest in South Africa, it being understood that the position of the Indians in South Africa shall not in any way be adversely affected by the findings of the Commission and that the Commission shall have the power to advise withdrawal of the Asiatics Trading and Land Owning Act just passed by the Union Parliament and that the operation of the said Act shall remain in abeyance pending such inquiry.

A HOSTEL FOR INDIAN GIRLS.

The Young Women's Christian Association is contemplating opening a small Hostel for Parsee and Indian Girls who are earning their own living. The Hostel will probably be in the Girgaum district. It is intended primarily for qualified Nurses but also for Teachers and others. Girls of any religion will be admitted but all must give satisfactory proof of good character before admission.

It is proposed to make the Hostel self-supporting as soon as possible, but funds will be needed to start and equip the building. We are therefore asking Rs. 16,000 to cover the cost of furnishing and guarantee the rent and a Matron's salary for two years.

The consciousness for the need of the proposed Hostel grew out of a Club started two years ago for Indian Hospital Nurses. Contact with the Nurses revealed to the Committee in charge the crying need for some safe place for private nurses to live while carrying on their profession in Bombay.

There is also a considerable demand for accommodation from girls who are earning their living in other capacities. We wish to provide a safe and happy Home for all such girls and in order to secure it we appeal to the public to help us. Donations may either be sent in a lump sum at once or promises of a certain sum bi-annually for two years will be received.

Subscriptions may be sent to Lady Tata, Hon. Treasurer, or to Dilshad Begum, Nawab Mirza Mrs. Jehangir Petit Miss Wingate, Secretary Y. W. O. A.

JANMASHTAMI REFLECTIONS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In his article 'Janmashtami Reflections' your contributor remarks "it must be obvious that the 'Eroticism' of Krishna's youth is merely the exuberance of the poetic chroniclers."

He seems to forget that Krishna has been accused of other things viz., lies, deceit, theft and murder. Are these peccadilloes "the exuberance of the poetic chronicler's" too?

There is no need to suggest, as your contributor does, that the denunciation of Krishna is the work of Christian (and presumably, therefore, prejudiced) missionaries. Three hundred years and more before Christ, Plato wrote the unanswerable truth. Can you find room for a rather long quotation?

Socrates and Adeimantus are discussing the education of the young for citizenship "The first thing will be to establish a censorship of the writers of fiction, and let the censors receive any tale of fiction which is good, and reject the bad; and we will desire mothers and nurses to tell their children the authorised ones only. Let them fashion the mind with such

tales, even more fondly than they mould the body with their hands, but most of those which are now in use must be discarded." "Of what tales are you speaking?" he said. "You may find a model of the lesser in the greater," I said; "for they are necessarily of the same type, and there is the same spirit in both of them."

"Very likely," he replied; "but I do not as yet know what you would term the greater." "Those," I said, "which are narrated by Homer and Hesiod, and rest of the poets, who have ever been the great story-tellers of mankind." "But which stories do you mean," he said, "and what fault do you find with them?" "A fault which is most serious," I said; "the fault of telling a lie, and, what is more, a bad lie." "But when is this fault committed?" "Whenever an erroneous representation is made of the nature of gods and heroes,—as when a painter paints a portrait not having the shadow of a likeness to the original." "Why yes," said he, "those stories are extremely objectionable."

"Yes, Adeimantus, they are stories not to be repeated in our State; the young man should not be told that in committing the worst of crimes he is far from doing anything outrageous, and that even if he chastises his father when he does wrong, in whatever manner, he will only be following the example of the first and greatest among the gods." "I entirely agree with you," he said; "in my opinion those stories are quite unfit to be repeated." "Neither, if we mean our future guardians to regard the habit of quarrelling among themselves as of all things the basest, should any word be said to them of the wars in heaven, and of the plots and fightings of the gods against one another, for they are not true. No, we shall never mention the battles of the giants, or let them be embroidered on garments, and we shall be silent about the innumerable other quarrels of gods and heroes with their friends and relatives. If they would only believe us we would tell them that quarrelling is unholy, and that never up to this time has there been any quarrel between citizens; this is what old men and old women should begin by telling children, and when they grow up, the poets also should be told to compose for them in a similar spirit. But the narrative of Hephaestus binding Hera his mother, or how on another occasion Zeus sent him flying for taking her part when she was being beaten and all the battles of the gods in Homer—these tales must not be admitted into our State, whether they are supposed to have an allegorical meaning or not. For a young person cannot judge what is allegorical and what is literal; anything that he receives into his mind at that age is likely to become indelible and unalterable; and therefore it is most important that the tales which the young first hear should be models of virtuous thoughts." "There you are right" he replied "but if any one asks where are such models to be found and of what tales are you speaking—how shall we answer him?" I said to him, "You and I, Adeimantus at this moment are not poets, but founders of a State: now the founders of a State ought to know the general forms in which poets should cast their tales and the limits which must be observed by them, but to make the tales is not their business." (Plato *Republic* pp. 377 ff. to Trott.)

Yours sincerely,

KINGSLY WILLIAMS.

SRI KRISHNA AND THE BRAHMA SAMAJ.

The *World and New Dispensation*, the weekly English organ of the Keshub section of the Brahma Samaj, in the course of an article on the Bhadratsav, observes: "But the most significant thing has been the celebration in connection

with Srikrishna,—the Janmastami festival. Devout souls, here and there, in the community have, now and then, spoken or written on the beauty and richness of this great spirit, but this is the first time that we met together in *communal worship* to meditate on the life and teachings of Srikrishna. Yet it cannot be said that the genius of the New Dispensation left out of account the life and character of one who have entered into the very bone and marrow of Indian life. For it was Upadhyaya Gour Govinda Roy who, in his masterly treatise in Bengali, *Srikrishner Feevan O Dharma*, has left for us all a new and living interpretation of the character and spirituality of this ancient Prophet of Harmony. We hope to be able, in a later issue, to translate for our readers the Foreword to this inspiring volume, giving an account of how Keshub by holding before the Upadhyaya the true Krishna overcame his prejudice and turned him into a devout lover of this singer of the Song Celestial Krishna as the singer celestial—the ravisher of hearts, Krishna as the *yogacharya* of Hindusthan comes in Keshub's yogi-life. Keshub felt the same difficulty and hesitation in speaking about his Srikrishna as he did about his revolutionary vision of the *Nava-durgar Navasatanana*. And the devout and critical student of Keshub must learn to understand Keshub's reserves and silences as well as his recorded utterances."

A ROMAN CATHOLIC CRITICISM.

The *Indian Social Reformer* of the 24th instant in the course of a quarrel with the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the position of Indian woman insinuates that woman in Italy is not very highly regarded. And for proof it goes to the report of a certain Col. Snow of the United States Medical service published in the *Social Hygiene Bulletin* of New York. "Italy" according to this gentleman "is the only one of the larger allies that allowed troops in the front areas to have access to prostitution." In the first place we are not sure of the facts. The Protestant societies that found opportunity for work during the war in Catholic countries have been on the alert to make a case for themselves. We remember at the beginning of the war being shown a confidential letter from a Protestant organisation which contained a foul aspersion on the girls of France who, it appears, were burning to be the mistresses of Indian troops and that this particular organization was the only sure barrier between the vampires of France and their innocent prey from India. If you can't get grit for your mill, you must make it. And even if what Col. Snow says is true, what a conclusion for the *Indian Social Reformer* to draw upon the womanhood of Italy! It only shows that Italy like most Latin nations wears its sins on its sleeves for every Protestant pharisee to peck it. It surely does not imply that the virtuous Protestant armies kept these camp followers at arm's length. The only difference is they did it cleverly and were not found out—which is the deadly sin of Anglo-Saxon morality. The *Indian Social Reformer* has been brought up in the Protestant Tradition and has succumbed to it on this as on other occasions.—The *Standard*, (Madras).

MR. GANDHI'S RELIGION.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In reference to the interesting reading published some time back in your useful journal regarding Mr. Gandhi's views on Mr. Patel's Bill, may I beg leave to place before some of your readers Mr. Gandhi's religious views as gauged by a Christian friend of his.

"I question whether any system of religion can absolutely hold him. His views are too closely allied to Christianity to be entirely Hindu; and too deeply saturated with Hinduism to be called Christian, and his sympathies are so wide

and catholic, that one would imagine 'he has reached a point whose formulae of sects are meaningless.'"

"To him, Jesus Christ is a bright revelation of God; but he cannot set him on a Solitary throne, because he believes God has been incarnate again and again. To him, religion is an intensely practical thing. It underlies all action: Politics, morals, Commerce, all that has to do with conscience must be religion."

"I question whether any religious creed would be large enough to express his views, or any Church system ample enough to shut him in. Jew and Christian, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Buddhist, and Confucian, all have their places in his heart, as children of the same Father. 'I am not a Theosophist. There is much in Theosophy that attracts me, but I have never been able to subscribe to the creed of Theosophists.'"

"That divine love which mocks at boundaries of creed, and limits of race or colour.....is Mr. Gandhi's ideal."

I think it is this truly Christian catholicity of his mind that explains his attitude towards the Depressed Classes, notwithstanding his firm belief in Varnashrama-Dharma. But you were quite right in saying that it was dangerous to use a time-beaten word like Varnashrama-Dharma, as did Mr. Gandhi, in a peculiar way. That Varnashrama-Dharma which touches the so-called "untouchables" with divine love, cannot reasonably be expected to oppose Mr. Patel's Bill. But one who does not believe in the untouchability of any human being will surely come round and help a measure intended to break the bonds of individual selfhood in society.

Godhra.

12-8-19,

Yours faithfully,

S. A. DAVE.

"M. K. Gandhi," by J. J. Dake, (Natesan & Co.), Chap. XXI.

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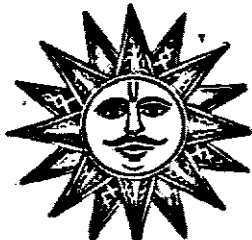
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

An Insidious Allegation: Speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions, the Rev. Dr. Mackichan is reported to have said that "though peace has brought with it many difficult problems, one of them being an anti-Christian spirit in much of India's political life, yet this temporary phase will certainly give place to a deep and permanent consciousness of the fact that only Christ can meet India's need and give it the sense of being right with God." We are for the present concerned with the first and insidious part of this statement. Is it true that the declaration of peace has brought, among other things, an anti-Christian spirit in much of India's political life? We do not know what Dr. Mackichan's grounds are for his opinion, but we certainly see no evidence of it. Mrs. Besant who is rightly or wrongly regarded as an anti-Christian influence by many Christian missionaries, has practically ceased to be a force in Indian politics since the Delhi Congress last December. During the troubles consequent on the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the outstanding figure was Mr. Gandhi who seeks to carry out to the letter Christ's injunction of non-resistance. We may call attention to a significant sentence in the *Civil and Military Gazette's* account of the trouble at Gujranwala in April last, which shows that, while there unfortunately was a certain amount of race antagonism, there was none whatever as regards religion. The American missionaries at Gujranwala were warned by converts to leave hastily and were told "that Indians, whatever their religion, would not be in danger". Some leading figures in the public life of India at the present day are Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, whom the *Hindu Missionary* often chides for extolling the Bible, Mr. Andrews, a true follower of the Cross, if ever one was, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore whose writings, notwithstanding his somewhat astounding denial in America, bear the impress of the Christ-touch.

Turning to the politicians, pure and simple, we fail to see any antagonism to Christianity. A

difference there is, of course, between the teachings of Christ and Christianity. We confidently say that at no time was the influence of Christ's teachings more real and wide-spread in India than it is today. One of the most powerful Hindu religious reformers of recent years was the late Swami Vivekananda. He had a profound reverence for Christ, and so had his Master, Ramkrishna Paramahansa. Pandit Sivanath Sastry in his book, "Men I have seen", which we noticed not long ago, relates that a Christian preacher who was the Pandit's friend once accompanied him on a visit to Ramkrishna. When he introduced his friend to the Paramahansa, Ramkrishna bowed his head to the ground and said, "I bow again and again at the feet of Jesus." The Christian gentleman asked: "How is it, Sir, that you bow at the feet of Christ; What do you think of him?" Ramkrishna replied: "Why, I look upon him as an incarnation of God—an incarnation like our Rama or Krishna. Don't you know there is a passage in the Bhagwat where it is said that the incarnations of Vishnu or the Supreme Being are innumerable?" That represents the attitude of India to Christ. Indian politics is not anti-Christian if by Christian is meant Christ-like. Perhaps, Dr. Mackichan refers to Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's agitation about a conscience clause in the educational grant-in-aid codes. Surely, it does not imply any antagonism to Christianity. If anything, it is in the true spirit of Christ who would not have things that are of God mixed up with those that are Caesar's. Mr. Gladstone disestablished the Irish Church, yet the Church of England had no more faithful and devout son. Moreover, Mr. Sastry's pamphlet was published long before the conclusion of peace.

Wednesday Wit and Fun: The *Wednesday Review*, published at Trichinopoly, is strongly opposed to the scheme of constitutional reform now before the Joint Committee of Parliament. That is quite intelligible but, we cannot understand its embittered and even contemptuous references to Mr. Montagu personally. While there are Indians who differ on several aspects of the reform scheme, we rather think that the *Wednesday Review*, with *Justice*, are about the only Indian-edited journals which indulge in such references to Mr. Montagu. It is necessary to state this because we think it extremely unfair to the Indian public to allow the impression to go forth that its attitude to Mr. Montagu personally is anything but one of high respect for his intentions and character. However that may be, we must emphatically protest against the *Wednesday's* comments on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's evidence before the Joint Committee. The Trichinopoly journal begins by saying that her evidence is a fair sample of the funny things said about India for the edification of the Committee. It continues:

We are told that she appeared as the representative of Indian women who desire enfranchisement. Indian women

who may wish to go to the polls and who have confided their desire to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, may amount to a dozen all told. The question is not whether Indian women should be given the vote or not. To tell the Committee solemnly that there are women here who desire the vote and they have sent a representative to lay their case before the Committee, is sheer camouflage. It is news to those who are here, whatever it may be to those living six thousand miles off. Mr. Montagu loomed on the Indian horizon and by July 1911, he launched out his scheme of reform and in 1919 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu tells a Parliamentary Committee that her sisters have so far advanced in education as to demand the vote. This is too quick even for the Montagu pace. Lord Selborne seems to have been gushingly chivalrous and spoke of Mrs. Naidu's memorandum of evidence as illuminating our prosaic literature with a poetic touch. The Committee might have had a brass band in attendance when she was giving evidence so that there could have been a musical touch as well. That would have made a fit setting to the evidence of the kind tendered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

The *Wednesday Review* does not know what it is writing about when it says that Mrs. Naidu represents at most a dozen women. She represents a far larger number of India's men and women than our contemporary does when it indulges in such a farrago of bad sense and worse taste as the above. India is grateful to Lord Selborne and the Joint Committee for the great courtesy and consideration shown to her womanhood in the person of this gifted representative of theirs, who appeared before them. The impertinent remarks of the *Wednesday* about Lord Selborne's gushing chivalry and the brass band, gives point to Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's remark about the lack of culture of some educated Indians.

The Punjab Inquiry Committee: Mr. Gandhi writing in *Young India* deprecates criticism of the constitution and personnel of the Punjab Enquiry Committee. He says:

In my humble opinion a Commission appointed from Delhi can be just as effective as a Royal Commission. And Royal Commissions have been known in our own times to have been perfectly abortive. In a case, however, like that of the Punjab an inquiry is the necessary sequel. We need not therefore complain of the inquiry not being a Royal Commission, but we have every right to examine its personnel and though Lord Hunter does not enjoy a world-wide reputation it need not be doubted that he has a reputation to lose. After all he must be pre-eminently Mr. Montagu's choice and I would hesitate to distrust his choice or his intentions, even though he has quite unjustly and unwarrantedly put in an energetic defence of some of the measures adopted or approved by the Government of India. Nor may one cavil at the appointment of the other members.

We quite agree with Mr. Gandhi that carping criticism of the machinery of an enquiry is undesirable. But sometimes, as in the case of the Solomon Commission before which Indians in South Africa under Mr. Gandhi's advice refused to appear and state their case, it becomes the duty of publicists to indicate beforehand the measure of public confidence which the conclusions of a particular Committee of Enquiry are likely to command. This is a duty as much to Government as to the public. We cannot sit quiet now and seem to accept the personnel as satisfactory, and then when the Report is out, cavil at it. This was the mistake made in the case of the Rowlatt Committee with disastrous consequences to the country. Mr. Justice Rowlatt, by the way, was also a nominee of Mr. Montagu. We have great confidence in Mr. Montagu, which we have expressed in another context to-day, but we must remember that as Secretary of State he cannot always give free play to his own individual judgment—his plea for the Rowlatt Act is, perhaps, in point—and that the British system of Government rests on the assumption that those who suffer or expect to

suffer will represent in time their suffering or fears to those in authority. Royal Commissions have, no doubt, often proved abortive for the purpose for which they were constituted, but they have always been useful in the sense that they did their work of exploration thoroughly and impartially, and let in light in many places which had thereto remained hid from the public eye. This, after all, is the main purpose of most public enquiries—to avoid mistakes in the future rather than to remedy those which are past and are, as in this case, mostly irremediable. Much of the material which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji so effectively utilised was gathered by digging into the reports of Royal Commissions. A Committee reporting to the Government of India has obvious limitations. And, it is especially unsuitable in this case, because as Mr. Gandhi himself suggests in another part of the article. His Excellency the Viceroy "stands in the same box as the Punjab Government to be judged by the Commission" inasmuch as he of his own showing gave the Punjab Government a blank card. The report of a Royal Commission is, as a rule, published unedited; there does not seem to be such a rule as regards Enquiry Committees.

Brahmans and the Depressed Classes. In May last, the Rev. John A. Sharrock read a paper before the East India Association, London, on "Caste as a factor in Indian Reform." Mr. Sharrock's views were of the crudest and most unqualified sort, and Sir J. D. Rees, who presided, pricked some of his elaborate bubbles both before and after the reading of his paper. We should add, however, that Sir J. D. Rees is quite as much an extremist on the one side as Mr. Sharrock, on the other. The truth about caste as a social institution and as a factor in reform, lies midway between the Rees and Sharrock points, Mr. N. M. Samarth was one of the speakers in the discussion which ensued on Mr. Sharrock's paper. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Samarth urged that, whatever amount of truth there might be in Mr. Sharrock's remarks as regards Madras, they did not hold in Bombay where Brahmans were working among the depressed classes. We highly appreciate his reference in particular to Mr. Sohoni's work in Parel. They are so just and well-deserved that we should quote them, "Had he (Mr. Sharrock) lived in Bombay" said Mr. Samarth, "he would have found an institution there connected with the depressed classes—a hostel and a school, where the boys and girls of the depressed classes had board, lodging, and primary education given to them—and he would have found there a young Mahratta Brahman with his wife and children living at that institution, mixing with the boys and girls of the depressed classes, treating them as children of the one common God of humanity and devoting his energies to the noble task of uplifting them from darkness unto light. He would have found, further, that the children of that Brahman gentleman were not sent to some other schools but were receiving their education along with the children of the depressed classes in the same institution. He would have found also several night-schools for the depressed classes conducted by Brahman teachers at Bombay. None of them was outcasted. They are enjoying the same privileges in the Brahman community as they would have enjoyed had they never touched what have been called the untouchable classes." This is as creditable to the Brahman community as to Mr. Sohoni and his co-workers, and we are glad that Mr. Samarth took the opportunity of mentioning it prominently in his speech.

A Misleading Reference: There was another passage in Mr. Samarth's speech, however, which, we think, was likely to have been misunderstood. We take the following from

the report in the Journal of the Association. "The speaker (Mr. Samarth) was not a Brahman. He had for sometime the privilege and honour of being the elected representative of the Bombay University on the Bombay Legislative Council. At the election at which he headed the poll he was opposed by a rival candidate, who was a high caste Brahman, Mr. K. Natarajan. And yet the bulk of the Brahman vote of that constituency was cast in favour of the speaker." Mr. Samarth's triumph was thoroughly well-deserved. But his words quoted above might suggest that the defeated candidate had endeavoured to advance his candidature by pleading his caste. We are sure that Mr. Samarth did not in the least intend to suggest it. We need hardly say that neither in that election nor in the next in which Mr. Samarth was succeeded by Principal Paranjpye, was any attempt made to influence the judgment of the voters on the plea of caste.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Government could not have made a better choice than Mr. Joshi to represent India at the International Labour Convention at Washington. Mr. Joshi is the life and soul of the Social Service League, and has an intimate knowledge of the needs and grievances of the labouring population. We are sure that his presence at Washington will materially help the cause of the Indian workman. We wish Mr. Joshi a happy voyage and early return. His experiences in Europe and America are sure to be of great use in his work in connection with the Social Service League.

The Health of Bombay: A valued medical friend sends this note of warning, which, we trust, will meet with a ready response. "In spite of the good rains we have had," he writes, "illness of an epidemic character seems to be on the increase. And there are whole families down. Some say it is influenza, others, malaria, still others that it is a mixture of both. Is it not time for the different volunteer institutions which did excellent work in the last epidemic to move without further delay?"

When was it? A contributor to the *Hindu Message*, published at Srirangam, says: "The *Indian Social Reformer* observed recently that it was a matter for congratulation that the Theosophical Society has ceased to coquet with orthodoxy or sit on the fence but has come over and joined the reform party. Can any one explain this *volte face*? But when did we make the remark imputed to us?"

The Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha: We have received a copy of a brief sketch of the work of the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha which was established in 1909 to promote the wellbeing and to watch the interest of the working classes in this city. This account is full of interesting and useful information regarding the habits and hardships of the people in whose special interests the Society was founded. It makes appreciative reference to the interest exhibited in the institution by the late Mr. Bhivaji Ramji Nare, the first president of the Sabha, himself a retired weaving master. Mr. Nare conducted a free night school for over 31 years, and we are glad to learn that his son has continued to keep it up after the death of his father.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1919.

NEO-HINDUISM.

The Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Advocate-General of Madras and President of the Hindu Social Reform Association, delivered an interesting lecture on Neo-Hinduism on the 2nd instant at the Young Men's Indian Association of that city. Mr. Iyengar prefaced his observations with the remark that Hinduism was a living and growing religion. It was not a thing which they could discover in a set of formulæ and, therefore, it was that there were intrinsic difficulties in stating exactly what Hinduism was. Divorce of practice from precept and the fact that authoritative books on the subject were written in Sanskrit, not a spoken language of the people, were additional difficulties in the way of defining Hinduism. Nevertheless, said Mr. Iyengar, he would place before his audience a set of propositions arrived at as a result of the faith that was in him merely for the purpose of provoking the faith which was in every Hindu and which made him feel proud that he was a Hindu. The central feature of Hinduism, its root idea, was that this world was merely a stage of preparation for the world beyond. Its whole scheme of life here was framed in view of the life hereafter. Hinduism in common with other great religions upheld the ideals of sacrifice and self-surrender. It laid more emphasis than other religions on the idea of God in man. It inculcated an idealistic attitude of mind and laid great store by the quality of reverence. The distinctive features of Hinduism, in the opinion of Mr. Iyengar, was the Vedantic interpretation of the Universe, and the doctrines of Karma and Samsara which, he said, were imperishable possessions with them. He supposed that it was due to these that "taking things as a whole, the average Hindu was happier than the average citizen of the world elsewhere and to the extent to which the Hindu fell below that average to that extent the difficulties of materialism would come in." The keystone of Neo-Hinduism was in that part of the Gita's teachings which were true and sound for all time. "There were different values attached to everyday virtues," Mr. Iyengar went on to say, "by people of different religions. Truth to the Hindu, Chastity to the Hindu, Society to the Hindu, meant a quite different thing to what it was to other people. The whole thing was bottomed in their own concept of other-worldliness."

There is a good deal of scope for difference of opinion in regard to each of the special features of Hinduism mentioned above. In fact, these differences constitute the different schools of Hindu philosophy or metaphysics such as the Sankara, Ramannja, Madhva and others. Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, also a devoted Hindu, who presided at the lecture, while agreeing in the main with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's views, indicated certain points on which "he wished to reserve an expression of his views for another occasion." But both the lecturer

and the Chairman were agreed that Hinduism was emphatically not the social arrangements with which it happened to be associated at present. Said Mr. Iyengar:

Those who looked upon caste as identical with Hinduism did injustice to the fundamental basis of Hinduism, and to the extent to which Hinduism was identified with caste, to that extent Hinduism would lose its hold on the community and perish. Caste was really a social structure and had absolutely nothing to do with the religious basis of Hinduism. Belief in the supremacy of Brahmana priesthood was not an essential of Hinduism, nor were sacrifices, ceremonialism and animistic practices consistent with the higher concepts of Hindu religious thought and life.

The social, religious and economic conditions to which Hinduism was adjusted, said Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer, were not permanent. They came in contact with new nations and new ideas. When a new wave of discontent swept all over the world, unless they were able to adjust their ideas of religion to those environments, they would never be able to uphold their religion. He proceeded to observe,

One of the greatest achievements of the past was that their seers were *Dergadarases*. They were framing their laws and regulations far in advance of the times they lived in. It was because those ideas had been conceived in that far-seeing spirit that they had been so long able to make that religion felt all over the world. If they were to conserve the privileges in their possession, religion would become a reproach in this land and would not give the great good intended by its authors. They must understand the circumstances which were now pressing upon them. If they did not give a proper turn to the flood which was coming upon them they would be swept away. Neo-Hinduism ought to embrace a large variety of subjects and he would express his ideas on another occasion. The question of caste and its relation to religion, the question of marriage and the question of laws, portions of which had become impracticable and inhuman, had to be moulded according to their new ideas. Temple worship was another important matter.

These observations of two Brahman gentlemen who are proud of their religion and devoted to its interests, are a conclusive answer to the Maharaja of Darbhanga's movement confusing Hinduism with the caste system. In fact, as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar pointed out eloquently in his remarkable address at the Benares National Social Conference twelve years ago, Hinduism has in the *Sanatan Dharma* an enduring system of spiritual culture, on which social systems are reared to suit the changing conditions of life. The *Varnashram Dharma* was one such system. It was not meant to supersede the *Sanatan Dharma*. The idea is that men and women brought up in the eternal graces of the *Sanatan Dharma* may be absolutely depended on to adjust their social and domestic institutions to changing environments without their being bound down by hard and fast rules. Rules are for those who cannot rule themselves. The object of the *Sanatan Dharma* is to implant in the individual the qualities and the values which tell in spiritual evolution. In other words, given the right type of individual, there is no need to fix once for a

the right type of society. Hinduism, then, is not a set of doctrines, but an outlook and a method. Is it impossible to convene a great gathering of representative Hindus to discuss and settle the broad lines on which the religions and social systems should be readjusted to our present environment? Mr. Iyengar's suggestive lecture should pave the way for such a conference. We do not like the word Neo-Hinduism. Plain Hinduism without any prefix would cover all the ideas set forth in the speeches of Mr. Sriivasa Iyengar and Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT IV.

There is no vernacular in India which has developed so richly as Bengalee during the last one hundred years. Bengalee authors have produced true literature in no inconsiderable quantity. The common plea urged in other parts of the country that the vernaculars are neglected and languishing, has no application to Bengal. Bengalees have said that the fact that they were the earliest and most enthusiastic to take to English education has had a direct bearing on the development of their vernacular and its literature. However that may be, it cannot be truthfully alleged that English education has come in the way of the Bengalee language. The worst that can be said is that Bengalee has grown in spite of English education. We admit that if, on other grounds, it is concluded that vernaculars should henceforth be the principal media of instruction in High Schools, Bengalee is the one vernacular the substitution of which for English would be least open to the objections generally urged against them. But we utterly deny the truth of the main ground on which the Commission rest the case for their recommendation. That ground stripped of its euphemism is that the English-educated Indian is intellectually, morally and politically a failure. It is a strange coincidence that this view rests mainly on the authority of those who have a vested interest in resisting the political reforms for which the English-educated Indian asks. It is true that it is reinforced by the support of Indians, some of them of high authority, who have been stung into the conclusion that English education has produced a mental subservience on the part of the Indian, which aids and, indeed, rivets his political subservience. It can be easily proved that all such generalizations are untenable; that the average English-educated Indian is a better man intellectually and morally for his education, and that his education makes neither for political subservience nor for political dreaminess, but for political self-reliance. The facts which prove these things are so easily available that only interested persons or fanatics can overlook them. We submit that a system which has done so much good should not be fundamentally changed except for very much more and sounder reasons than the Commission have been able to produce. We shall show in the course of these articles that the Commission began their

enquiry at the wrong end, and that the effects of that initial error pervade and vitiate some of their central recommendations. They started with the large and (as it seemed to them) unwieldy number of undergraduates in the Calcutta University and, with the impression created by the contemplation of it imprinted on their sub-conscious minds, they started their investigation of the quality of the education in the University. That impression remains throughout as the background of the Commission's recommendations. We shall return to this important point in a subsequent article.

The question of the position of English in our educational system is conditioned by the position of India as an integral part of the British Empire. If at any time India ceases to be a part of that Empire, the subject will assume a different aspect, though we believe that the hold which the English language has already acquired on our affections will not even then be materially relaxed. India's international position, whether as part of the British Empire or otherwise, has been fixed once for all as one of evolution in close sympathy with the English-speaking nations of the British and American Commonwealths. We, for one, are unable to visualise the problem of English in our educational system except with reference to what we believe to be the future destiny of India among the nations of the world. The Ram Mohun Roy-Macaulay decision, as interpreted by the action of time, is to our mind the best index of the needs of the country both as regards her present and her future. It is a decision resting not on narrow pedagogical considerations but on those broad expediencies of national necessity which must always have precedence over provincial and particularist considerations. Then again, what is the future we contemplate for India with reference to her component parts? The two great States formed in the last century out of a multitude of small States were Germany and Italy, Bismarck in Germany had to follow the principle of federation, while Cavour in Italy resisted the idea of a federated Italy in favour of his great idea of a unified Italy. The idea of a federated India has, perhaps, a larger following among us at present. But the whole past history of India protests against it. The one great lesson written in letters of fire on the pages of our political annals is that a strong central Government is the only security of progress within and against aggression from without. Whenever India had a strong imperial Government she prospered. When the central Government weakened she fell to pieces. One of the difficulties of maintaining such a Government, is the absence of a common *lingua franca* in the country. This omission was being rapidly supplied by Urdu and would have been completely supplied by it, had not India been drawn, for her own ultimate good, into the vortex of European politics. It is not fashionable nowadays to speak of the finger of Providence in politics or history; we speak instead of sea-power and money-power. We do not wish to quarrel over phrases but it is impossible to read history, especially Indian

history, without being forcibly impressed by the presence in it of a factor incalculable by material means. We may seem to be travelling wide of the subject but the gist of it all is that, perhaps, the great mission of British rule in India is to give a common language to the country in the shape of English.

The Calcutta University Commission cannot be blamed for not having in view these larger considerations in making their recommendations. That they recognised them but felt some delicacy in expressing them freely, seems to us to be clear. They observe:

But we do not wish to prejudge the future. It is not for us to predict whether the natural desire to use Bengali to the utmost will eventually outweigh the immense advantages of being able to use a medium common not only to the educated classes throughout India, but to more peoples than any other, and giving access in effect to the literature and the scientific records of the world. We are disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India, will, like those of some other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual; to use their mother tongues for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards, and which are the very breath and substance of poetry and of national feeling; to use English as a means of inter-communication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India, and of touch with other countries; for the mutual interchange and stimulation of ideas in the spheres of scholarship and science; and for the promotion of that inter-provincial and inter-national commerce and industry on which the economic future of India will largely depend.

We respect the feelings which dictated these suggestions thrown out with so much hesitancy but, writing as Indians, we are at liberty to speak more plainly. The place of English in Indian education cannot be determined without reference to the future. The Indian statesman should take a longer view and a larger view than the Indian schoolmaster or professor whose vision is rightly concentrated on his class-room and the academic circle. The expert view in this as in other matters should subserve, not dominate, the larger purposes of statesmanship. There is no analogy between an English boy learning French and an Indian learning English. The English boy lives in a country where the administration is carried on in English and not in French; the language of business and politics likewise is English not French. The English boy wants French only to carry on a conversation with a Frenchman or to be able to read French books and newspapers. The Indian boy's requirements in regard to English are more numerous and important. Without English he cannot belong to any of the liberal professions; he cannot aspire to any place beyond a primary school teacher or a village official. Industrial openings are only for men who have received a good English education, often in England. In business, even Marwaris nowadays want clerks with a good knowledge of English. Many of the men who have made their mark in vernacular journalism have also been either successful conductors of English newspapers or could easily have become so if they had wanted to. They are mostly graduates, some of them distinguished graduates, of our Universities.

THE INDEMNITY BILL.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.)

Surprise is expressed in some quarters that Indian politicians of all shades of opinion have opposed the decision of the Government of India to introduce an Indemnity Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council at the earliest convenient moment for the purpose of indemnifying all the officers in respect of their acts in connection with the recent disturbances. Moderate politicians are once again charged with joining and placating Extremists in this opposition. The authority of the constitutional lawyer, A. V. Dicey, is cited in support of the principle and policy of the measure.

But here is what Mr. Dicey says in his book called "A Leap in the Dark":—

"Of all the laws which a Legislature can pass, an Act of Indemnity is the most likely to produce injustice. It is on the face of it the legalisation of illegality, the hope of it encourages acts of vigour, but it also encourages violations of law and of humanity. The tale of Flogging Fitzgerald in Ireland, or the history of Governor Eyre in Jamaica, is sufficient to remind us of the deeds of lawlessness and cruelty which in a period of civil conflict may be inspired by recklessness or panic and may be pardoned by the retrospective sympathy or partisanship of a terror-stricken or vindictive Legislature".

Farther on he writes:—

"An *ex post facto* law is the instrument which a legislature is most apt to use for punishing the unpopular use of legal rights. There is not a landlord, there is not a magistrate, there is not a constable in Ireland, who may not tremble in fear of *ex post facto* legislation. There is no reason, as far as the Home Rule Bill goes, why the gaoler who kept Mr. William O'Brien in prison, or the warders who attempted to pull off his breeches, should not be rendered legally liable to punishment for their offences against the unwritten law of Irish sedition. No such monstrosity of legal inequity will, it may be said, be produced. I admit this. But the very object of prohibitions" (against the passing of an *ex post facto* law) "is the prevention of outrageous injustice. The wise founders of the United States prohibited to Congress and to every State legislature the passing of *ex post facto* legislation."

The principle of an Indemnity Act is generally understood to be this: Where Government are compelled to adopt extreme measures to cope with and put down disturbances of an extraordinary character amounting to rebellion and when the ordinary law is inadequate for the purpose and martial law becomes necessary, policy and practice require the passing of an Indemnity Act to protect themselves and their officers against liability for any mistakes or excesses committed in the *bona-fide* exercise of their extraordinary powers. The principle of such legislation underlies, for instance, the Judicial Officers' Act which provides that Judges are absolutely protected from all liability in respect of

their decisions when those decisions relate to matters within the jurisdiction of the Judge concerned, and that a Judge is also so protected in respect of decisions relating to matters outside his jurisdiction, if the decisions in such matters were passed *bona fide* and not from any by-motive such as malice.

That principle is regarded as applying to the officers who carry out the orders of Government in coping with lawlessness by means of martial law on the ground usually assigned that they have a moral and also legal claim to be indemnified against acts committed *bona fide* and not from any by-motive in the exercise of their jurisdiction under martial law. They can claim no such right in respect of acts committed perversely or recklessly, perversity and recklessness being evidence presumptive of by-motives and malice.

So much for the constitutional aspect of the question.

Now as to its application to H. E. the Viceroy's two announcements (1) that an Indemnity Bill will be introduced "at the earliest convenient moment" into the Imperial Legislative Council, and (2) that a Commission has been appointed to enquire into the causes of and the measures adopted regarding the recent disturbances.

Mr. Dicey's opinion quoted above from his booklet "A Leap in the Dark," published in 1893, examined into "the leading principles" of the Irish Home Rule Bill, officially styled "The Irish Government Act, 1893" introduced in that year in Parliament.

In Mr. Dicey's opinion, one serious defect of that Bill was that its provisions relating to the restrictions on and safeguards against the legislative power of the contemplated Irish Parliament, "contain no prohibition against the passing of an Act of Indemnity" by that Parliament. Such a prohibition was, he thought, necessary, because:—

"Circumstances no doubt may arise in Ireland, as in other countries, under which the maintenance of order or the protection of life may excuse or require deviation from the strict rules of legality. But the question whether these circumstances have arisen will always be decided far more justly by the Parliament at Westminster than it can be decided by the Parliament at Dublin. Can any one really maintain that a Parliament in which Mr. Healy, or, for that matter, Col. Saunderson might be leader, would be as fair a tribunal as a Parliament under the guidance of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Salisbury for determining whether an officer, who acting under the direction of the Irish Government and with a view to maintain order at Belfast or Dublin, should have put an agitator or conspirator to death without due trial, had or had not done his duty?"

Apply that to India, substitute "India" for Ireland, and Simla for Dublin and so on in the passage above, and it ought to follow, on Mr. Dicey's high authority as a constitutional lawyer of acknowledged repute, that not the Indian Legislature but the British Parliament ought to pass an Indemnity Act, if after having considered whether circumstances necessitating it

have arisen, it concludes that they have. Whether those circumstances have arisen can be settled by Parliament, only after a Commission appointed by the Crown on its behalf has enquired and reported the results of its enquiry to the Crown for consideration by Parliament.

That is the sound constitutional principle and policy supported by the high authority of Mr. Dicey. It justifies the substantially unanimous Indian protest against (1) the appointment of the Commission of enquiry by the Government of India instead of by the Crown and (2) the introduction of an Indemnity Bill into the Imperial Legislative Council in India.

That protest is against what one might well call, adopting Mr. Dicey's phrase, "a leap in the dark."

DR. BHANDARKAR'S RELIGIOUS WRITINGS AND SERMONS.

(BY PRINCIPAL G. C. BHATE.)

We hail with delight the third edition of Dr. Bhandarkar's religious writings and sermons in Marathi published on the eighty-third anniversary of the birth of the venerable sage. The book is a handsome volume of about 735 pages finely printed with fine photos in the Manoranjana Press. In recent years plenty of books have been published in Marathi on religio-philosophical subjects. But most of them are mainly translations or adaptations of Sanskrit works and the style of the writings is the dialectical one of the dryadnat type. But of books devoted to the exposition of earnest, devotional religious thought, and written in a simple serious style suited to such a subject, there is a lamentable lack. Mr. Vaidya, the editor of the present work, must therefore be congratulated upon supplying such a want by the publication of the present book. By way of introduction, Mr. Vaidya has written what he calls a short sketch of Dr. Bhandarkar's career. It consists of 121 closely printed pages and forms a very inspiring and interesting reading in itself. This brief biography brings out the salient features of the life of Dr. Bhandarkar and points out the manifold activities in which the revered Guru of Maharashtra took part. On whatever he undertook to do he brought to bear his zeal, earnestness and devotion. Consequently he was successful in every undertaking. Dr. Bhandarkar's life is a living example of what can be achieved by patience, perseverance and singleness of purpose. The biography graphically depicts Dr. Bhandarkar as a talented teacher, as an impartial antiquarian, as a Sanskrit savant, as a social reformer and, above all, as a religious revivalist. His life presents, in miniature, the manifold movements carried on in Maharashtra during the last half a century and shows how every sincere well-wisher of his country is bound to be an all-round reformer. We strongly recommend the young and the old of this generation to read this short but inspiring sketch of Dr. Bhandarkar's career and we request Mr. Vaidya to print it in a separate book form.

In the main body of the book, Mr. Vaidya has brought together all the religious writings and sermons of Dr. Bhandarkar. It consists of 614 pages and is divided into three parts. In the first part, essays and articles on religious subjects, from the pen of the venerable sage, are printed, while in the other two parts summaries of his sermons and prayers are printed. The first part is more religio-philosophical. In this Dr. Bhandarkar has brought out ideas of permanent value in the Upanishad literature. He has shown how the Upanishads have considered and stated the various arguments brought forward for proving God's existence, how the religion of the Upanishads is a universal religion capable of satisfying the craving for spirituality of all men. In this part, too, Dr. Bhandarkar has given an interesting exposition of the tenets of the Prarthana of Brahma Samaja and tried to answer objections against those tenets. This part of Dr. Bhandarkar's book is calculated to remove the impression that the Prarthana Samaja movement is a mere imitation of the Christian religion and to confirm the right view that this movement was an indigenous growth and is an attempt to purify the existing Hindu religion of its accumulated dross of superstitions and to impart to it its pristine purity.

The latter part of the book is still more valuable. Dr. Bhandarkar's sermons and prayers are the overflowings of his devotional heart. They indicate how deeply he had dived in the poetry of Maharashtra saints and especially Tukaram. They also show how Dr. Bhandarkar has caught the religious thought and the devotional spirit of the Maratha saints and has completely assimilated the teachings of the Bhakti school. This complete assimilation of the teachings of the Maratha saints is a characteristic feature in the life of the first batch of English-educated men in Maharashtra. Take Rao Saheb Ranade or Wamanrao Modak or Bal Mangesh Wagle or Mr. Parmanand; all of them were imbued with the devotional spirit of the saints and this is to be attributed to the systematic study of Marathi in their youth. In the early days of the spread of Western education on this side, Marathi was a compulsory subject throughout the whole course and this early acquaintance with Marathi saints left a permanent impress upon the young minds. Later on the place of Marathi was taken up by Sanskrit in the School and College curriculum. Now Sanskrit literature has a twofold character. It is either purely secular, being love literature of the sentimental romantic type and is thus calculated to appeal to the sentimental nature of the young; or it is purely dialectical and theological and is calculated to appeal to the pure intellect and create a love of theological controversy. In fact, Sanskrit literature is lacking in devotional literature which is the peculiar characteristics of old Marathi literature. Thus the exclusive study of secular Sanskrit literature has given a secular and orthodox bias to the minds of the later generation. This undesirable state of things in itself would be a strong argument for the restoration of Marathi in our University curriculum,

and to give it its rightful place in a national system of education. I feel that the complaint of excessive secularity and intellectuality of our young men would disappear in time if the restoration of Marathi which is now asked for is carried out at an early date.

Thus it will appear that Dr. Bhandarkar's book is a unique book of its kind in Marathi. It is bound to be healthy reading calculated to lead to elevated thought and feeling. We think that the book ought to be in the household library of every educated man. Mr. Vaidya has incurred a heavy financial burden in printing such a big book and in offering it so cheap. We hope the educated public will give a liberal patronage to the valuable book and thus relieve Mr. Vaidya from his heavy liability.

THE LATE Dr. T. M. NAIR.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

At a meeting of the Non-Brahmins of Southern India held at the office of the South Indian Liberal Federation, Mount Road, Madras, on the 2nd August 1919, the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

I. That this meeting of the Non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency expresses the poignant grief and the keen sense of loss which it feels at the death in London on 17th July 1919 of Dr. T. M. Nair to whose leadership, characterised as it was by far-sighted persistency of purpose, firmness of will, fearlessness of expression and disinterested labour and to whose advocacy of their claims, distinguished as it was by rare intellectual gifts and a wide comprehensive culture, and by clear exposition, irresistible logic and readiness of resource the non-Brahmins including the depressed classes owe a debt which can never be adequately repaid.

II. That steps be taken to perpetuate Dr. Nair's memory in a fitting manner and that in the opinion of this meeting this object can be best attained by (1) the erection of buildings, to be named after him, for locating the offices of the South Indian Liberal Federation and of *Justice*; (2) the establishment of *Justice* on a firm and substantial basis; and (3) the erection of a statue of Dr. Nair.

We have now to carry out these objects for which a sum of not less than two lakhs of rupees will be required.

It is needless to dwell at length upon the great services rendered to the country during nearly a quarter of a century by the late Dr. Nair. He distinguished himself in several fields of activity and his public spirit, force of character, personality, independence and earnestness of purpose, and his brilliant abilities were a great public asset. To refer here specifically only to his activities during the last 2½ years, you will surely agree with me that during a critical juncture in India's History he came forward to champion the cause of the down-trodden and depressed classes in India in general and the non-Brahmin communities of this Presidency in particular and exposed in his own inimitable and characteristic way the pretensions of the educated few to speak and act for the voiceless millions in India.

If, to-day, we find the Government reckoning us as a political factor and have an Anti Dravida in the Local Legislative Council, they are due to the untiring and unsparing efforts of Dr. Nair. What we are and what we shall be, on close analysis, will be found to be due to that one man who worked and died for us. We have evidence, if any were needed, that, even in his last moments, his own thought was the non-Brahmin movement.

It is to perpetuate the memory of such a great and good man that I now appeal for funds. What other objects could satisfy his soul than strengthening *Justice* the organ of the non-Brahmin movement, and the cause he loved so much and for which no sacrifice, Dr. Nair thought was too great?

I, therefore, appeal with all the earnestness at my command to all friends and admirers of the late Dr. Nair and well-wishers of the non-Brahmin movement to subscribe liberally towards his Memorial Fund and make it a success.

Subscriptions may be sent direct to the Bank of Madras, Madras, in which an account has been opened under the name "Dr. Nair Memorial Fund" or to the undersigned. They will be duly acknowledged in the columns of *Justice*.

Yours truly,

P. THYAGARAJA CHETTY.

Chairman, Dr. Nair Memorial Committee.

A BENGALI-NAIR MARRIAGE.

To,

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay.

Friday last witnessed the performance of a marriage—interesting in many ways; interesting in the uniqueness of its ceremonies; interesting in the persons contracting the marriage—a Bengalee and a Malayalee—interesting in its officiating priest—Dr. S. Subramania Ayyar—between Srimati Subasheni Devi, the youngest daughter of Aghornath Chattopadhyay and Sriman A. C. Narayanan Nambiar son of Vengail K. Ramani Nayanar. There were gathered the elite of this city and the cream of Madras youths and maidens, representing all classes, creeds and castes. There was a sprinkling of few Europeans—ladies and gentlemen. A spacious hall very beautifully decorated, with a Shamiana in the middle, simple, yet tastefully and artistically done, with a gathering of cultured men and gay ladies presented a charm all its own. The bride dressed in a golden hue saree was led to the altar by her sister, and was given away in marriage, after a simple ceremonial ride, by her brother Mr. Bhupendranath Chattopadhyay, Asst. Accountant General, Hyderabad State. A cosmopolitan dinner was served to all guests in two halls, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, who avidly enjoyed the catering and the company. A musical entertainment by two gifted musical artists from Hyderabad, including some selected pieces from Harindranath Chattopadhyay, closed this novel, nonetheless, inspiring ceremony. In these days of so much loud talk and little action, it is really a great relief to see a reform marriage of this type performed under the blessings of India's Grand Old Man and with the moral support and sympathy of the young India. Such a marriage will be a service of inspiration to many, no right thinking man will ever deny. All gratitude to those pioneers who, facing ridicule, calumny and ostracism, have the courage of their convictions and fight their lives' battle all alone and unaided. Srimati Subasheni Devi and Mr. Nambiar have heartiest support and the sincere sympathy of every patriotic Indian and well-wisher of Social Reform in this country, in the noble example they have set to the world; and one would really wish that more of our young men and women will try to emulate them, and set to reconstruct the social fabric of our country by more practical examples than by empty effusions from lofty platforms as they do to-day. Then and then alone will India's regeneration be assured.

G. VENKATACHALUW.

INDIAN WOMEN AND THE VOTE,

THE AGA KHAN ON OBSOLETE VIEWS.

Sir,—The summaries given in *The Times* of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee on the India Bill go to show that the attitude of casual negation on the question of women suffrage adopted in the Southbrough Report, and endorsed by the Government of India, is without substantial foundation. Lord Southbrough himself admitted that he was very much astonished at the volume of evidence in favour of female enfranchisement; but he brushes it aside as so much political idealism. It seems he has forgotten that the world is governed by ideas, and that true progress is rooted in idealism.

One member of the Franchise Committee, Mr. Malcolm Hogg, was in favour of the removal of sex disqualification; but not of making special arrangement for recording women's votes. I entirely dissent from Lord Southbrough's opinion that the reservation "robbed the gift of all its merit." We are not setting up the public hustings and open voting of a past age in England, nor is the number of male electors—some five million for the whole of British India—large enough for the jostle of the ballot station to be so serious as Lord Southbrough and Sir James Meston suggested. The great majority of Indian women of the well-to-do classes, *e. g.*, the better class of cultivators, are not in real seclusion. The official witnesses who hold that very few women will go to the polling booth forget that purdah ladies go into the law and registration courts all over the country, and give evidence in relation to the transfer of property &c. As owners of land and other property, purdah women play parts, in the affairs of the countryside day by day which makes ludicrous the suggestion that there would be anything revolutionary in recording a vote once in three years or less.

Sir James Meston's statement that female enfranchisement would present many difficulties, practical and social, is an instance of the regrettable fact that while many conscientious British officials spend their working lives in administrative duties in India, they never enter into a real understanding of the life or aspirations of the people—national, social, or religious. Only one man in a hundred, a Woodroffe in Calcutta, a Pollen or a Beaman in Bombay gains such real understanding, of the people he serves. It is painful to Indian readers that men who have attained high distinction in the Civil Service should have to be seriously asked if they would be shocked at the inclusion of women in the electorates. No Indian, not even the most conservative, will be shocked by the proposal that now that the sacred right of enfranchisement is to be given on a substantial scale to men, women should share it just as they share the sacred rights of property.

I do not believe that Sir James Meston, and Lord Southbrough are right in the opinion that very few women would exercise the franchise; but the point is not pertinent to the issue. The question is one of justice, and not of the degree to which the right would be used. The logical deduction of the assertions of Sir James Meston and Lord Southbrough about Indian womanhood would be to take away from them the rights of property and of equality before the civil law they have enjoyed for centuries. My general views on this question can be seen in some detail in my book, "India in Transition," published before the issue of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But I feel it my duty to hundreds of venerable and sensible purdah ladies of position I know in India to register this protest against the obsolete views of men who have attained to place and power in India, but who have never taken the trouble to know the people among whom they do office work.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
AGA KHAN.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

ELOCUTION COMPETITION FOR HINDU LADIES.

To encourage public speaking by Hindu women, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has resolved to hold an Elocution Competition for Hindu ladies in the middle of October 1919. The following subjects have been prescribed for the Competition:—

Marathi.

Subject I.—"For what occupations are women specially fitted?" 4 prizes Rs. 15, 10, 10 and 5.

Subject II.—(For girls under 14). (a). "Truth alone triumphs," or. (b). "Even oil may be extracted by squeezing dusts of sand." 4 prizes Rs. 10, 6, 5, 4.

Subject III.—(Will be announced 24 hours before the appointed time). 3 prizes Rs. 25, 20, 15. The first prize of Rs. 25 is common to the best speech either in Marathi or Gujarathi.

Gujarathi.

Subject I.—"Social Service of well-to-do ladies and gentlemen." 4 prizes Rs. 15, 10, 10, 5.

Subject II.—(For girls under 14). (a). "Truth alone triumphs," or. (b). "Patience and perseverance overcome mountains." 4 prizes Rs. 10, 6, 5, 4.

Subject III.—(Will be announced 24 hours before the appointed time). 3 prizes Rs. 25, 20, 15. The first prize of Rs. 25 is common to the best speech either in Marathi or Gujarathi.

Ladies and girls intending to take part in Competition should apply before the 30th September 1919 to the Secretaries, Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, stating their full name, age, caste, occupation, address and the subject on which they intend to speak. Girls under 14 should also send a certificate of age signed by the parents or guardian and the Head Mistress of their school or any gentleman.

The annual General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was held on Saturday the 6th September 1919 at 6 p. M. (S. T.) at the Servants of India Society's Home. Mr. D. G. Padhye presided. Among those present were Messrs. D. G. Dalvi, N. M. Joshi, B. N. Motiwalle, T. A. Kulkarni, V. S. Ravat and others. After the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed, the accompanying report of the Association for the years 1917 and 1918 was read and approved. The election of the office bearers, members of the Managing Council and the Auditors was made for the next two years. A vote of thanks to the Chair terminated the proceedings.

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Current Accounts opened and interest allowed on daily credit balances from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1,00,000/- at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum. If the balance to the credit of any account does not fall below Rs. 25,000/- at any time between 1st January and 30th June, interest will be allowed during that period at 2½ % per annum. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs 8/- Half-yearly.

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Savings Bank. Interest allowed on Savings Bank Accounts at 4 per cent per annum. Rules may be obtained on application.

Loans and Cash Credits are granted on approved securities.

Purchases and sales of Securities and shares effected.

Bills of Exchange purchased and collected and every description of Banking and exchange business undertaken.

14-4-18. J. PAGAN DALZELL Acting Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)

Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 48,000,000.

Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

Head Office:—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies at Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Changchun, Chi-Nan, Dairen, Fengtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kaiyuan, Kobe, London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoseki, Singapore, Soerabaya, Sydney, Tientsin, Tokio, Tsingtao.

Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and Interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

N. IGARASHI

Post Box No. 207, Hornby Road, Bombay.

I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17.

Post Box No. 406, Clive street, Calcutta

THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaskwar.

Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 1897

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari, Mehsana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed... .. Rs. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up " 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund " 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS :

The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Somaldas, C. I. E., Chairman

Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar, Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalker, Sur Subha, Baroda State.

Bhaskerrao Vishaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld. Baroda.

R. B. Shirsogkar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, 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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. BANDLE.—General Manager. 15-4-18.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Subscribed Capital... .. Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital " 25,00,000

Reserved liability of

Shareholders " 25,00,000

Reserve Fund " 6,00,000

Head Office:—Alice Building, Bombay.

Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharis, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ld.

Current Accounts :—3 % allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
2½ % allowed on Daily Balances from July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5 % per annum.

Long and Short period Deposits received at rates to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted.

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.

Manager.

25-2-17

Timely advice to the Wealthy

Costly but certain remedies are in the long run cheaper than cheap and uncertain ones.

KANDARPA SANJIVINI PILLS AND OIL

are the safest and surest remedies for indigestion constipation, loss of appetite, memory, mental, physical and nervous debility and all sorts of urinary disorders, improve impoverished blood.

Price per tin of 40 Pills Rs. 5 & per tola of Oil Rs. 10

Both Purchased at a time Rs. 11/4—

Medical Advice and a Medical Book containing 128 pages sent Gratis and Post Free.

RAJ VAIDYA NARAYANJI KESHAYJI

Head Office :—Jamnagar, Kathiawar, (India.)

Branch :—No. 187, Kalbadevi Road, 24-8-1919. BOMBAY.

Empire Hindu Hotel

Opposite Victoria Terminus
Bombay.

(Central Situation)
Strictly Vegetarian
Charges Moderate

Fitted with
Electric Lift, Fans and Lights.

TELEGRAMS: } TELEPHONE
"FOOD," BOMBAY. } 2789.

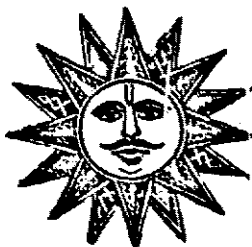
22-8-19.

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 Darbars, Hakim and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75 year and is well known for its purity and genuineness.

S. NARAEN & Co.,

17-2-18

21, Hammer Street, Fort Bombay.

SHORTHAND.

Like Other Arts and Sciences, Shorthand is subject to the Law of Progress. Based on greatly improved scientific and analogical principles, the **Sloan-Duployan** system (contained in a compass of 12 lessons) saves a year's laborious study, ensuring highest efficiency and speediest results. Shorthand is the open-door to many well-paid positions; at any rate it will mean advancement for you. Expert Individual or Postal Instructions for a fixed fee, payable in easy monthly instalments. Speed Classes Conducted. Specialised Training **Guaranteed**. Enclose stamp for booklet, etc.
CENTRAL CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE,
G. P. O. Box No. 424, Bombay.

"EVERYTHING FOR EVERYBODY"

- National Standard Portable Typewriter No. 3 (10 lbs.) Rs. 190
 - Oliver No. 5 (American Rebuilt) B.S. & Tab. Rs. 175; No. 7 " 200
 - " " 3 (Second-hand) in thorough working order. " 125
 - Empire No. 1 (" Do.) in good working order. " 85
 - Multikopy Typewriter Carbons, per Box of 100 sheets. " 8
 - Webster Brand " Ribbons for all machines, Doz. " 21
 - Typewriter Oil (best 1 oz. bot.) or Eberhard Erasers, Doz. " 6
 - Safety Razor, Rivals Gillette, with 6 Gillette Blades (best) " 5
 - Do. (Made in U.S.A.) with 3 spare blades, Set " 1
 - Portable Electric Battery & lamp (burns 200 hours) compl. " 30
 - Envelope Making Machine (to make 30,000 per day), New " 35
 - Full Jewelled Lever Watch (Square or Octagon) Silver " 25
 - Conklio's Self filling Fountain Pen (non-leakable) Gold nib " 9
- UNIVERSAL BUSINESS SYNDICATE,
20-4-19. Post Box No. 424, Bombay.

HYPNOTISM

PERSONAL MAGNETISM,
WILL POWER,
NERVE FORCE—

Call what you will—

Is the intangible power that controls human destiny. It is the key to all business and social success. This power is no special gift of any one. It is latent in every one. We help you how to display it. By our system, you can learn in a few days at your own home and not only achieve success yourself, but you can influence the mind, health and actions of others to a remarkable.

Write immediately for our free booklet—The Pride of India.

THE LATENT LIGHT CULTURE,
TINNEVELLY, S. INDIA.

Batlivala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.

Batlivala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 2 each bottle of 100.

Batlivala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.

Batlivala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.

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

Batlivala's Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth

Batlivala's Ringworm ointment for Ringworm Dhobi Itch etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or from
Dr. H. L. Batlivala Sons & Co., Ltd.
No. 12, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS :— " Doctor Batlivala Dadar "

THE BOMBAY CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK.

HEAD OFFICE :—Apollo Street, St., Bombay.

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj 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 Sahab 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 Gazettee."

20-5-17.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 50,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 22,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 5,680,000

Head Office :—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES—

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

8-12-17.

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. 1,00,00,000

Capital Called up ,, 50,00,000

Reserve Fund ,, 15,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

*Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

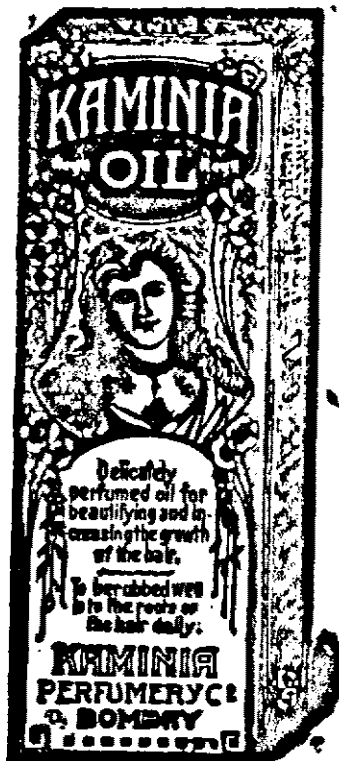
The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

15-1-11.

Manager.

A Lady's Best Ornament is a Glorious Head of Hair.



A profusion of rich, so 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, as just as much for **Brain Workers and Students.**

Heated head cooled, aching disappears and dandruff becomes a thing of the past. Added to all these possesses a beautiful fragrant smell.

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 only once; and like many people you will prefer to use also always.

Price per bottle, Re. 1. V. P. Charges 6 annas extra

Price for 3 bottles Rs. 2-10. V. P. charges 14 annas extra

Write now, Do not delay.

Sole Agents—
The Anglo-Indian Drug & Chemical Co.,
(5-8-16) No. 155, Jumma Masjid Market, BOMBAY.

Now-a-Days.

All things have advanced in price. Even the vegetable ingredients used in our *Atank Nigrah Pills* have advanced in price.

Even the labourers demand heavy wages being dearer. Even the users have increased yet the *Atank Nigrah Pills* for Toning up the system are sold at before war price i. e. at a Rupee.

Valdya Shastri
Mahishanker Govindji,
Atank Nigrah Pharmacy,

Head Office:—Jamnagar—Kathiawar.

Branch:—Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

H. K. JOSHI & Co.

Kalbadevi 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 MAKERS-

ROYAL TONIC PILLS.

A powerful Nutritious and Strength Restorer. Price Re. 1-4 per bottle of 30 Pills.

PREPARED BY—GOVINDJEE DAMODER & Co.,

Wholesale and Retail Druggists and Commission Agents.

1-12-10.

No. 3 Sutar Chawl Market, BOMBAY.

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,

THE EXCELSIOR

BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE

AND

THE EMPIRE

BOMBAY'S MOST PALATIAL

PICTURE THEATRE

Where Film Plays of Distinction are shown

Every Week.

A

Great Cinema Masterpiece

is shown,

Both theatres are near the Bori Bunder

and are run by the

EXCELSIOR SYNDICATE.

The Pioneer of Bombay's

AMUSEMENT WORLD.

FURUKAWA & CO.

TOKIO

**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.

Best Portland Cement.

"GANPATI" BRAND.

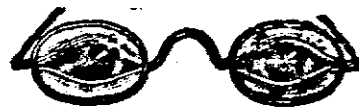
Guaranteed to pass the British Standard and all Engineering Specifications.

It is absolutely uniform and most finely ground, which means economy in use and strength in constructional work.

TATA SONS Ltd.

Agents, The Indian Cement Co., Ltd.
Naysari Building, Fort, BOMBAY.

Works at Porbunder, Kathiawad.
11-8-17.



When **YOUR EYES**

need to be examined by **QUALIFIED OCULISTS** and by **SCIENTIFIC REFRACTIONISTS** of 26 year 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, Spherical, 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. Chhandavarker, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Beaman, the Hon'ble 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. O. Co. Brigade, Lieut. Col. G. H. Bull, M. D., I. M. S., Lieut-Colonel Peters M. B., I. M. S., and other high personages.

(7) 379, HORNBY ROW,
Opposite the Government Telegraph Office,
Fort, BOMBAY.
62-11-10.

INTERESTING 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-FORFEITABLE 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.

MONTHLY PREMIUM.

AT AGE 30, Rs. 6-9-0.

AT AGE 35, RS. 7-8-0.

AT AGE 40, RS. 8-14-0.

AT AGE 45, Rs. 10-18-0.

AT AGE 50, Rs. 13-12-0.

AT AGE 55, Rs. 18-10-0

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. As specially authorized to guarantee the employees of the Post Office

Proposals Forms and full Particulars may be obtained from any local Agent in India or from ALLUM, BHARUCHA & CO. Managers.
22-9-10.

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 Indian Market. Each piece guaranteed for One Suit Complete.

Price Rs. 10 per piece.

Write to—THE BHARGAVA COMMERCIAL SOCIETY,
2-18. Benares City.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. Contract Rates for Advertisements.

Number of insertions.	1 Inch.		2 Inches.		3 Columns.		4 Columns.		5 Columns.		Page.	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.		
18	11	0	16	0	20	0	30	0	50	0	87	0
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52	25	0	38	0	50	0	87	0	155	0	300	0

Casual advertisements at Rs. 4 per line for the 1st insertion and Rs. 2 per line for succeeding insertions. Advertisement charges are strictly payable half-yearly or yearly in advance.

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—

NORUHIRO 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

Billiousness, Headache, Vertigo, Nausea, Indigestion, Diarrhoea, and Dysentery, etc., etc.

To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price—20 Pills Packet Rs. 0-1-0. 90 Pills Packet, with Tin case., Rs. 0-4-0; 380 pills Packet with fancy case., Rs. 1-0-0

Prepared by Messrs. MORISHITA Co., OSAKA, JAPAN.

Sole Agents: Jintan Agency (G. R. Chaubal), Juma Masjid. BOMBAY.



As case 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.



By Appointment to H. E. the Governor
Sir George Sydenham Clarke of
Bombay.

HARIDAS VALJI,

(KING OF INDIAN CONFECTIONERS)

Highest Confectioner, Caterer and Grand
Military Contractor.

Proprietor—**RATINATH,**
Chitra Bazar & Grant Road,
BOMBAY.

20-4-18.

DENTISTRY.

Extractions Painless;
Terms Very Moderate;
Gold Crown, Bar and
Bridge Work a Speciality
(teeth without plate);
Latest Successful Treatment
for Pyorrhoea (pus in gums).
SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

(Hours: 8-1-30 & 3-7-30; Daily.
(Sundays—From 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.)

ADROOS BUILDING,
NEW CHAWRI ROAD,
CHENNAI, BOMBAY.

E. R. AHAT,
Surgeon Dentist.

1-6-18.

THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX BOMBAY—SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1919. No. 3.

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

CONTENTS.

Turkey and India.	The Indian Theatre.
The Punjab Indemnity Bill.	Constitutional Reform, in Travancore.
A Women's College for Bombay.	"The Future Government of India."
Communal Amenities.	The Depressed Classes, and How to Raise them."
An Uncalled for Outburst.	A Hindu Widow - Remarriage.
The Rev. Dr. William Skinner,	The Indian Boy Scouts Association.
Control of Religious Trusts.	
Calcutta University Commission V.	

NOTES.

Turkey and India. The question of the future of Turkey is causing a great deal of perturbation among our Mahomedan countrymen, which is producing in its turn a sympathetic effect on the minds of the whole population. The great demonstration held on Thursday in Bombay voiced the feelings of the community in studiously temperate but, on that account, all the more emphatic language, in regard to the Peace terms with Turkey so far as they appear from the occasional, fragmentary and unconnected items which are published from time to time. There seems to be some ground for the fear that the conclusion of Peace may find the once powerful Turkish Empire cut up and distributed into numerous "Mandatory" States, which is the modern euphemism for feudatory or dependant countries. It is true that, if this happens, Turkey will not be the only country to which it has happened. Austria, whose flagrant act of piracy in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina the Powers took no steps to prevent, has ceased to exist as an Empire and is henceforth to be known as the Alpine districts of Germany. What differentiates the case of Turkey is that it is well-established that the Turkish people had been intrigued into the German side by a clique of politicians, and that, in recognition evidently of this fact, solemn assurance had been given by British and Allied statesmen that nothing would be done to impair the sovereignty of Turkey over her Musalman provinces. In view of this fact and, in view also of the conspicuous share which Indian Mahomedans, as soldiers and citizens, have taken in ensuring the success of the Allies, it is necessary for the sake of preserving the principles of justice and self-determination, for which the War was fought and has been won, to ensure that the Peace Terms are such as conform with the deep-felt sentiments of millions of His Majesty's subjects, Mahomedan and Hindu, in India.

The Punjab Indemnity Bill. The Punjab Indemnity Bill is being discussed in the Indian Legislative Council. The leader of the opposition is Pandit

Madan Mohan Malaviya, who has paid several visits to the Punjab and made personal enquiries during the last few months, and who represents substantially the feelings of Indians in respect of the doings in the Punjab and the inopportuneness and impolicy of bringing in the Indemnity Bill on the eve of an enquiry into the happenings some of which will no doubt be covered by the Indemnity Bill. We can understand such a Bill being passed if it had been decided not to have any enquiry. A general amnesty accompanied by an Indemnity Act would have meant that what is past is past, and that the Punjab may now start on a clean slate. But this one-sided measure, the very introduction of which cannot but affect the attitude of all concerned in the forthcoming enquiry, when a number of appeals are pending before the Privy Council, strikes us as being a reprehensible intrusion of the Legislature in the domain of Justice. As Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, citing Professor Dicey, pointed out in his widely quoted article, which we printed last week, *ex post facto* legislation of this kind, besides the injustice it may and does often involve, is highly impolitic as setting an evil example. If the excesses of officials can be indemnified, why should we blame those who indemnify (mentally since they cannot legislatively) the excesses of the mob? If it is true that a people gets the kind of Government it deserves, it is also true that a Government gets the kind of subjects it deserves. The Indemnity Bill will have probably become law before this is printed and added to the unprecedented extent of alienation between the Government of India and the public, which is such a melancholy feature of our time. A change of Viceroyalty seems to be imperatively demanded to re-knit the broken threads of good understanding between the Government and the people of India.

A Women's College for Bombay. The Committee appointed by Government to consider and report on the need for more colleges in this Presidency, recommended, with a single dissentient, the establishment of a Women's College in Bombay city. The dissenting member was Principal Paranjpe who holds "that it is better that women students who go in for higher education should study in a larger institution where there will also be men students, though care must be taken to give them wider oppontunities for a social collegiate life among themselves" by providing special hostels. He seems to think the establishment of a Women's College will encourage the growth of the purdah system in this Presidency, and that attending the same lectures as men students has an enlightening effect on women. A shrewd Indian lady graduate, not a Hindu, to whom we mentioned the matter aptly remarked that co-education has certainly its good points but what we have in Bombay and Poona could not be called co-education in any sense. The girl under-graduates attend the present Colleges by sufferance, they are practically excluded

from the larger life of the College, they do not get sufficient facilities for recreation, they sit by themselves and walk out of the class rooms after the lectures. Principal Paranjpye's arguments are flatly contradicted by the experience of Madras which is as little a purdah province as Bombay. Prior to the establishment of the two Women's Colleges, one Government and the other a Christian Mission institution, the number of girls attending the Colleges in Madras could be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Since the establishment of the two institutions the number has jumped up to over two hundred, and those who have had experience of the teaching in the Women's Colleges assure us that it is no whit inferior to that in men's. The learned Principal's dogmatism really rests on an unwarranted presumption regarding the unapproachable efficiency of men Professors, and a vague feeling that co-education is an advanced idea, and that co-education is for women to attend the same lectures as men. The Government of Bombay, we are sorry to say, has shelved the idea of a Women's College on the ground that it is premature! Meanwhile our Christian Missionary friends have welcomed Mr. Paranjpye's interposition as "Providential" (see last week's *Dnyanodaya*) and have decided to start a Women's College and Hostel. We congratulate the Council of Missions on its wise and sane decision.

Communal Amenities: The *Dnyanodaya* corrects the report in the *Times of India* of Dr. Mackichan's speech to which we referred last week and gives the correct version to be that there was a "temporary opposition to any religion that has not sprung from the Indian Soil." Even this is not borne out by facts, as we pointed out last week. Mahomedanism is not sprung from the Indian soil, and Hindu-Mahomedan feelings were never more cordial. Mr. Gandhi has published the message which he received from an eminent Mahomedan divine at Ajmere stating that no cows were sacrificed in his jurisdiction during the Bakr Id festival. That this conciliatory sentiment is not confined to eminent personages and that it extends to persons in comparatively humble walks of life, is illustrated by a striking incident which happened at Naupada, a little village in Bandra, inhabited chiefly by Mahomedan and Hindu milkmen. One of the former wishing to sacrifice a cow during the Id, bought one and kept it tied up in front of his house. The Hindus of the locality tried to persuade him to give up the cow in return for the cost of several goats, but he was obdurate. They thereupon invoked the friendly mediation of Mr. Kazi, a Municipal Councillor, and resident of Naupada. Mr. Kazi is not what is called an English-educated man but his heart is in the right place. As member of the Bandra Schools Committee he has done excellent service to the cause of Mahomedan education and his colleagues have learnt to value his judgment. Mr. Kazi at once interceded with his co-religionists and persuaded them to exchange the cow for the price of some goats. He himself brought the cow out of the mosque and handed it over to the Hindus. When he was complimented on his noble act, he simply replied that it was his duty to promote brotherly feelings between Hindus and his co-religionists. It is about the happiest signs of the times that the spirit of brotherhood and good will among all classes of India's people is growing rapidly. May it continue to increase!

An Uncalled for Outburst: *New-India* of Madras is wroth because the Government of India have selected Mr. N. M. Joshi and not Mr. B. P. Wadia to

represent Indian labour at the International Labour Conference at Washington. We have nothing to urge against our contemporary's nominee, but it is obvious that *New India* knows absolutely nothing of the great work which Mr. Joshi, as Secretary of the Social Service League, has been doing in a score of ways to raise the status and capacity of the large working class population in Bombay. We understand that each representative is entitled to take some advisers with him to help him with their advice on the several questions that may come up for discussion at the Conference, and we are sure that Mr. Joshi will be very pleased if, when he reaches England, he finds it possible to take Mr. Wadia, who is already there, with him in that capacity. We are sure that Mr. Wadia, whose disinterested concern for the working classes is well-known, will, on his part, be glad to cooperate with Mr. Joshi on his very important and responsible mission.

The Rev. Dr. William Skinner: The Rev. Dr. William Skinner has retired after 35 years' service from the Principalship of the Madras Christian College. He succeeded the Rev. Dr. Miller, the eminent educationist to whom South India owes so much. He was in many respects a contrast to Dr. Miller. Quiet, retiring, scholarly, Dr. Skinner never mixed himself up with matters outside his College, but his influence on his students was, on that account, scarcely less deep or beneficent than that of the forceful personality of his distinguished predecessor. Dr. Skinner concluded his reply to the farewell address presented to him by the students of the great College, with which he had been so long and so honourably associated, with a hope and a prayer which might stand as a watchword to Indian students all over the Country. "Is it too much to hope that out of a College like this there may spring a school of politicians, and that in the days to come, when India is growing into possession of herself and her freedom, the *alumni* of the College may be found upholding the ideal of a United India, India, great and impartial for the good of all her children, an India in which privilege shall mean service and service, privilege, an India in which nationality itself shall become merged in the kingdom of God."

Control of Religious Trusts. In the statement of objects and reasons attached to the Bill introduced in the Indian Legislative Council to provide more effectual control over the administration of charitable and religious trusts it is pointed out that the present measure has as its object the simplification and cheapening of the legal processes by which persons interested can obtain information regarding the working of both religious and charitable trusts, and the exercise of a more efficient control over the action of trustees. The Bill provides that any person interested in a trust may apply by petition to the District Judge for an order directing the trustee to furnish him with information as to the nature and objects of the trust and of the value and condition, management and application of the subject-matter of the trust, and of the income belonging thereto, or as to any of these matters, and also directing that the accounts of the trust shall be examined and audited. Failure to comply with such an order of the Court would be deemed a breach of trust. The draft Bill only embodies general principles. It is intended that such details as the institution of some public record of the facts regarding these trusts, the publication of audited accounts, and the relaxation of some of the conditions governing committees constituted under the Act of 1863, should be left to Provincial Legislatures.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1919.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION V.

It was pointed out last week that the international and interprovincial evolution of India would be most facilitated by English being and becoming the *lingua franca* of India. A scarcely less important consideration is the question of intercommunal relations. The acid test of Indian statesmanship, that which distinguishes it from mere political opportunism, is the extent to which solicitude for the claims of minorities enters into the calculations of our leaders. The interests of Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees and even smaller communities should constantly be before the eyes of Indian statesmen. Representative and distinguished Mahomedan witnesses before the Calcutta University Commission expressed lively apprehensions regarding the consequences to their educational interests of any attempt to minimise the position of English in our system of public instruction. The Muslim deputation which waited on the Commission at Calcutta, urged that any change in the existing system would be detrimental to the advancement of English education, the importance of which has been so lately realised by the Musalmans. "The introduction of Bengali as the medium of instruction and examination in the top classes of high schools and the University," they urged, "will increase rather than lighten the burden of a Mahomedan boy, and will surely weaken his knowledge of English". The Muslim deputation from Assam also deprecated the introduction of the vernaculars as media of instruction in the top classes of high schools. The Principal of the Dacca Madrassah, Shams-ul-Ulama Abu Nar Waheed, said that, if Bengali is adopted as the medium of instruction, the Mahomedan students, especially of East Bengal, will be the greatest sufferers. "English", added the Shams-ul-Ulama, "is in the process of becoming the *lingua franca* of intellectual India and it would be a bad day for her, if this process is to receive a set-back." Khan Bahadur Maulvi Absanullah thought that the displacement of English as the medium of examinations would have a serious effect on the study of English; that English should not only be employed as the medium for colleges, but that it should be introduced as a medium in the 'middle stage' of secondary schools and used entirely in the high stage, and that 'any ill-advised attempt to uproot English from its present position will have a disastrous effect not only upon the study of English but also in the study of the vernacular.' Sir Abdur Rahim of Madras urged that, for the present, the test for admission to the Universities should be matriculation passed in schools where the medium of instruction has been English for at least 6 or 5 years previously. In such schools, he adds, the vernacular should be a compulsory second language until 3 or 4 years before matriculation. Sir Ali Imam thought that, whatever may be the claims of the vernaculars, English language and literature should be the most

predominant subject in the Universities. There were some Mahomedan witnesses who favoured the substitution of the vernaculars for English, and some others who advocated two parallel systems, the present system and another with the vernaculars as the media of instruction. The last should really be classed with those whose views we have quoted above. In any case, the predominant weight of opinion among Mahomedan educationists and leaders is against any radical change in the present system. The Commission had no occasion to gather the opinion of other minorities. But there can be little doubt that opinion among Christians, Parsees, Jews and such others is of the same trend as among Mahomedans.

If follows from what has been said above and the previous articles that English is necessary not only for those Indians who go up to the university, but to all, of course, in varying degrees. The Commission observe that their general aim is to make the educated classes bi-lingual. The utility of a knowledge of English to the classes not generally known as educated has escaped their notice. The postman, the policeman, the artisan, the village officer, the Indian soldier, and the office peon have all better prospects of pay and promotion if they have a working knowledge of English. This is the case at present in and about large towns, but with the rapid growth of industries, to which we are all looking forward, it will become general throughout the country. Take the case of Jamsbedpur (Sakchi) where the great Tata Iron and Steel works are situated. A large town has grown up right out of what was only a few years ago a jungle. Men from all parts of India are to be found among the employees—Bengalees, Bombay men, and Madrasees. Great oil, soap, sugar, chemical, metal and leather industries are being projected, and they will be placed at centres where the raw materials for them can be most conveniently and economically assembled. A little knowledge of English adds greatly to the mobility of Indian labour. From this point of view, the spread of English education has a bearing on the industrial future of the country. Large industries involving huge capital outlays running to crores of rupees should necessarily draw their man-power as well as materials from several provinces. The Commission have not given due weight to the fact that India is fast changing, through a process of peaceful revolution, in all aspects of life, and that its educational equipment should be such as to enable her to cope with the demands of the new era. And our interests and responsibilities overseas are growing. The Commission conceive themselves to be precluded from going beyond the secondary stage, but their recommendations regarding the use of English at this stage, affect the middle stage (between primary and secondary) which is the stage at which a large majority of Indian students leave off schooling. Should this large proportion go without an opportunity of learning English? The fact is that the problem of the position of English in Indian education is a much bigger one than the Commission have conceived it to be: they had not the materials

before them for a comprehensive view of the problem, and only a comprehensive view of it can furnish a right and just solution.

The considerations urged above lead to the conclusion that what is needed is a wide diffusion of a knowledge of English with a high standard of it in University. Indeed, we regard the one as the necessary basis of the other. Some years ago, the President of the British Association, Professor Dewar, we think, emphasised in his address the wide diffusion of scientific information among a people as the indispensable condition of research work of high quality at the top. That observation has a bearing in more ways than one on the position of English in Indian education. In the first place, the Commission's suggestions, several of them admirable ones, for the improvement of English-teaching in secondary schools and the standard of English in our Universities, will not yield their best results without a diffused familiarity with English sounds and words and modes of expression in the community. The next application of Professor Dewar's axiom is even more direct. The Commission recommend that only English and mathematics should be taught in English in the secondary schools up to the matriculation. As regards Science they accept Sir Gurudas Banerjee's opinion that English terms can be bodily adopted into the vernaculars. We are not sure that all vernacularists are agreed as to this device. In some other parts of the country, we have seen elaborate attempts made to invent Sanskrit terminology for scientific subjects. Even if Sir Gurudas' suggestion be generally accepted, the process can extend only to names and not to processes. The British sailor is, no doubt, able to understand what a telescope is although he knows no Greek, but we doubt if the Indian student will be equally able to understand what electrolysis or polarisation or syncope means unless he practically learns his science in English though nominally the vernacular be supposed to be the medium of instruction. Then, again, science now-a-days furnishes metaphors and parallelisms to literature as the Bible and the classics used to do in the past. The word "evolution" is the best-known instance. From biology it has extended practically to all fields of thought and is the favourite plea of Indian bureaucrats in politics and of orthodox Indians in social reform against effective action. The curious thing is that even some of the most ardent vernacularists in Bombay admitted that science subjects should be taught only in English because a boy who learned science in the vernacular at school will be handicapped in pursuing the study of it in the University. The reasons which led the Commission to recommend English as the medium of instruction for mathematics in secondary schools, are even more applicable to the physical sciences. Both Arabic and Sanskrit had made considerable advances in mathematics (especially in relation to geometry and astronomy) and a fairly full vocabulary of terms is already available in the subject. But the physical sciences are an altogether new field. The fact is that the very process of making Indian education

less literary and more scientific, is bound to fix English as the indispensable medium of instruction. A diffused knowledge of science in India will thus necessarily involve a diffusion of the knowledge of English. Now, a diffused knowledge, whether of English or science, is only possible through the lower stages of education, principally the middle stage. Most pupils, more particularly of the Mahomedan and non-Brahminical communities, leave off at the end of the middle stage, and what they do not learn prior to that, they have few opportunities of learning thereafter. That is the underlying reason for the demand for English teaching, as an adjunct to the instruction in the higher form of primary schools, which the Government of Bombay have experimentally introduced in selected village schools.

THE INDIAN THEATRE.

We have received a copy of a lecture delivered by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Inspector-General of Education in Mysore, before the Amateur Dramatic Association of Bangalore on the "Drama in the East and the West". Mr. J. S. Chakravarti presided, and contributed some useful remarks. Mr. Reddy at the outset warned his hearers that his lecture would be rather in the nature of a desultory talk especially on the subject of the Telugu drama. To generalise from the Telugu drama even to the theatre in all provinces of India is, as Mr. Chakravarti pointed out with reference to Bengal, risky. Much more so is it to draw conclusions from the Telugu regarding the drama of the whole of the East. Even as regards the Telugu theatre, we are not sure that Mr. Reddy has given a true picture at the present day. His references to the Indian theatre are throughout conceived in the vein of caricature. Mr. Kolachallam Srinivasa Rao, who has written an excellent book entitled "the Dramatic History of the World," did much, we think, to improve the Telugu drama. A Dramatic Association has for many years past been engaged in developing the Tamil theatre, and some competent authorities have spoken highly of its work. In our own Presidency the Marathi stage has become a power for good, though the Gujarathi stage, observers tell us, yet shows a tendency to linger in the wilderness of eroticism. The Bengali theatre has reached a high stage of development, among Bengal's dramatists being Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. If Mr. Reddy had travelled as much in India as out of it, his representations regarding the Indian stage would perhaps have been cast in a less depreciatory mould. Mr. Reddy's estimate of the present position of the Indian stage would have been more in perspective if he had looked at the accounts of the English theatre, for instance, at the time of Shakespere. Still more would this have been the case if he had before his mind the open air theatres in ancient Greece. High authorities have observed that the multiplication of mechanical accessories in the modern western

theatre has not been all to the good. Art, it is a commonplace, consists in a strict economy of means in relation to the end intended. The most realistic ocean on the stage cannot compare in reality to the sea as you can see it any hour of the day or night from Cuffe Parade or Chowpati. Mr. Redde's imagination is fired by the thought that £ 50,000 was spent in staging a single play of the French poet, Rostan. We fancy that very little must have been left to the imagination of the audience, or, perhaps, the audience had little imagination to spare to appreciate the poet's poetry with. Byron has somewhere spoken of the "paltzy jargon of the marble mart where pedantry gulls folly."

The art of the drama, like every art, must harmonise with its environment. Mr. Reddi confessed that the first time his art consciousness was awakened was when a Parisian artist, M. Madrass, who was travelling through India, told him that he had not come across any people who had so little sense of harmony as the Hindus. He said: "Isolated patches of beauty you can find in any number in your dramatic pieces, and in your literature. But what is known as harmony, the co-ordination of these into one well-integrated whole, that was lacking." Mr. Reddi accepted this suggestion without question. As Mr. Chakravarti aptly pointed out: "To understand the harmony of art, culture is necessary. A man may stand in a garden planned and planted with superb art or harmony, but unless he has got the key or plan, he may think he is in a forest. So perhaps it was with Mr. Reddy's French critic in the garden of Sanskrit drama, without the key of spirituality." Spirituality may be regarded by some as a shibboleth of Indian apologetics but the point may well be illustrated in a more mundane sphere. An Indian banquet with its vast variety of dishes of every taste and savour, is bewildering to the European who enjoys eating one thing at a time with his whole gastric soul concentrated on it. Similarly, the European's multiplicity of sounds in music bewilders the Indian who likes to elaborate one particular melody to, what to the Western seems, tedious lengths. But the European as well as the Indian can by taking pains learn to appreciate the beauty in each other's art, whether it be culinary or dramatic. To appreciate the distance between the Indian who accepts a foreigner's impressionist verdict about his country's art and a foreigner who had studied that art and, as a consequence, has grown to appreciate it, the reader may be recommended to peruse Mr. Reddy's lecture and side by side with it, a little book, called "the Indian Theatre" by Mr. Horowitz. Mr. Horowitz shows that the dramatic art is a very ancient and well-developed one in India. He observes:

The earliest Sanskrit plays which are preserved suddenly flash upon our sight like lightning when it breaks through

a dark thundercloud. They see a perfect and full-grown as Minerva when she leapt in complete armour from Jove's creative forehead. The countryman of Homer may well have doubted the miraculous conception of the goddess of wisdom, and questioned her fabled birth without ancestral lineage, but it is quite certain that Kalidasa, who generally opens the list of playwrights of Indian literature was but the heir and successor of a long line of distinguished Sanskrit dramatists—Saunillu, Bhāsa, and others whom the poet himself acknowledges. Those, two, were undoubtedly preceded by reputed writers of Prakrit's plays. This view is corroborated by the existence of an old Sanskrit treatise on dramatic art. The essay, which is ascribed to the sage, Bharata, abounds in technical Prakrit terms, most of them relating to scenic details.

The Indian drama has a great future. But it must be remembered that literature and art reflect life, and that life should flow full and free for great art and great literature to be produced.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN TRAVANCORE.

The new official year in Travancore opens with a generous gift from H. H. the Maharaja of a scheme of constitutional reforms, enlarging the legislative council on a representative basis and extending its functions on a deliberative plan. The scheme has been passed by His Highness direct instead of through the Council, which practice is in close keeping with the characteristic features of prominent Indian States e.g. "the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice". It is a well-known rule of law that no subordinate legislature has the power to alter its constitution and H. H. the Maharaja as the sovereign legislative authority can alone do this in the State.

For a better appreciation of the democratic reforms now introduced, a brief survey of the genesis of the Legislative Assembly of Travancore will not be quite out of place here. Until so late as 1888, the work of legislation in Travancore was carried on like any other business of government in the Huzur office and thus the laws were promulgated in the shape of Regulations and Proclamations. On his accession to the throne, His Highness the present Maharaja inaugurated of his own accord for the purposes of open discussion and mature deliberation a duly appointed Legislative Council which was the first of its kind in all the Native States in India. But the first Council was very small and rudimentary, the maximum strength being only 8 out of which only two were to be non-officials all being nominated by the Maharaja.

From this Council strictly limited to the consideration of legislative business evolved the present and the larger one in 1898, in which the minimum number of members was raised to 15, the proportion of non-officials being not more than two-fifths. Until 1907, members to the Council were

all nominated but in this year an elective element was introduced by empowering the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly to select a member for each of the four Revenue Divisions of the State.

The new Council as proposed by the present scheme is distinctly democratic although in its very elementary stages. The minimum strength of the Council is to be raised to twentyfive and although it is not a large one, it is at any rate a substantial advance on the existent minimum of fifteen, remembering also the fact as the Diwan observed that it is to be transitional. For the time being it is proposed to have 24 members in the Council of whom 13 will be officials and 11 non-officials. Of the later 11, the seats thrown out for election are 8 and the remaining 3 seats will be filled up by the Government out of unrepresented minorities.

This is the first time in the history of Travancore that the people will be allowed to have their voice heard in the legislative Council through their chosen and accredited representatives. And it is also the first time when the Government in any part of India, will to quote the words of the late Marquis of Salisbury "given representation not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole population." The Jenmies and the European planting community, it is gratifying to note has each been granted one representative and one seat is given to the industrial and commercial interests. The fourth seat is to be represented by the non-official members of the Town Improvement Committees. The remaining four seats are to be filled by the four Revenue divisions of the State. In view of the controversy over the matter in British India, it is highly encouraging to note that a system of direct election has been adopted throughout in the scheme under consideration.

The two salient features of the Regulation are the rights of budget discussion and interpellation. Hitherto the people were associated only with the work of occasional legislation, hereafter it will be their privilege to participate in the work of actual every day administration.

"THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA."

The announcement of the 20th of August 1917 and the visit of the Secretary of State for India with the avowed object of discussing constitutional changes removed the ban on politics as an unlawful and somewhat suspicious if not shady pursuit and made it quite respectable. The impulse to our political literature already given by the memorandum of the Nineteen and the Congress-League-scheme was thus immensely strengthened. Everyone became a politician and constitution-making became for a time the

fashion. Literature was flooded with schemes, specifics, panacea. In this new literature, the "Future Government of India" has its place. It is the biggest book that we have come across on the subject written by an Indian. The aim of the book is explained by the author as follows: "The problem now is to determine the lines of our advance. It is with this question of practical moment that this book deals in a critical and constructive way. The scheme of reform offered for consideration is intended to be given effect to immediately by suitable statutory provisions and is so designed as to give minimum room to contention and controversy on the ground of an abrupt and sudden break with the past". (Pref. pp. V.-VI). This practical and constructive aim is further emphasized when he says "while avoiding abstract constitution-making, the book is a systematic constructive exposition of reforms too long delayed" p. XII. It is re-iterated in the Introduction when the author says: "In the following chapters the problem of the ways and means of constitutional development in India, and the outstanding questions of Indian administration form subjects of constructive criticism." (p. II). This is a tall claim to make and not easy to substantiate. The mode of argument is emphatic and the author has no doubts. The irony of the matter is that the publication of the M. C. Report and the presentation of a Bill based on it to the House of Commons, makes the discussion of this claim of Mr. Vyasa Rao more or less academic. All non-official projects have now been thrown into the shade.

Without, therefore, making any attempt to test the claim of Mr. V. Rao so late in the day, it may be useful to indicate the nature of our disagreement with him. To begin with, his work shows in the constructive part, a nervous anxiety to acquire a reputation for sobriety and statesmanship from Anglo-Indians, official as well as non-official. This is indeed the fault of much of our political literature. The result is that in our anxiety for the approval of Anglo-Indians we conceal too much and then end by floundering in difficulties of our own making. There is too little writing with a refreshing disregard for praise or blame from interested parties—'Bureaucrats and Boxwallas'. We have been in the habit of accepting the conclusions of Western writers without critically examining them. Only in Philosophy and Religion have we shown any inclination for examining credentials, and challenging the conclusions of Western writers. This process of emancipation has not it is true gone very far even in Philosophy and Religion. But in Politics we are still content to accept almost any generalisation tending to slow down the pace of our development and thereby necessarily helping to prolong the supremacy of Europe. The use of the expressions "evolution" and "revolution" and the numberless changes rung on them are a typical example. Evolution we are told is the way of Nature, Revolution the way of ignorant, impatient man. Therefore follow the one and avoid the other. And yet is it not clear that this is a very misleading

contrast? Is not Revolution very often another and a terrifying name for an obstructed Evolution? Again is not Revolution very often a name for any change which vested interests have reason to dislike and dread? And is it quite true that Nature's methods are always slow and peaceful? Landslides, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, fires, floods and droughts, are they not processes of Nature as much as those held up for our admiration and acceptance? The travails and risks of child birth are known to every one. The pains and penalties of a new birth, new life no one can avoid. If this is so then, is not the contrast between Evolution and Revolution so frequently emphasized for our edification, a gross misrepresentation of Nature and its processes? Is not it safer and sounder to trust to an argument rather than an analogy which at the best is an uncertain guide and at the worst a snare?

Leaving this deceptive contrast aside and turning to the "lesson" of Evolution what do we find? Does Nature always show slow and steady progress as it is commonly understood? Does not the rate of growth depend on a variety of circumstances? On the Central Asian steppes grass shoots up six feet and more in a few weeks while it takes months in the plains of India. To ascertain and assess the rate of growth a study of the conditions is therefore essential. Moreover the processes of Nature are conditioned by locality. Left to themselves, there can be no borrowing from other localities. Borrowing and selection has to be done by Man. Limitations of locality are modified and transcended through human action alone. But even then only the rate of growth can be quickened. The number of stages remain the same. In mental and moral development alone, not only can the rate of growth be quickened, but what is more, the "stages" can be skipped. In fact, we soon discover, there are here no inexorable stages of growth, as we are led to believe. Man imitates, borrows, selects assimilates, in short, learns from experience which is not always his own or that of his community or even his race. It is this capacity of learning from the experience of his species in all climes and ages that helps Man to compress the experience and the development of centuries into as many years or even months. It is a common place to say that India has made great strides in the last five years. We have grown in stature though our height remains the same, scales have fallen from our eyes and we have begun to see how we have been the victims of phrases. Our mental and moral growth has been marvellous and it has necessarily quickened our political growth. It has confounded prophets—official as well as non-official. Mr. Morley, as he then was, in his first speech on the Indian Budget in August 1906 said among other things, that for as long a time as his poor imagination could pierce through, for so long a time the British Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element. From this statement of the "dry Rationalist" the Imperial Government itself has advanced to the momentous announcement

of the 20th of August 1917 in which Responsible Government is shown in perspective and accepted as the goal of its endeavour. In 1919 India has become an original member of the League of Nations. The transition from the position of a Dependency to that of the membership of the League of Nations has been made within a quinquennium. Shall we call this an instance of Revolution or obstructed Evolution? It is still the hope, it is true, of the Boxwallas, if not of the Bureaucracy, that Responsible Government may be so far off as to be practically negligible. It is their fear that the Bill in the House of Commons may bring it within near reach, if the Indians wake up and emancipate their judgment from the influence of their Anglo-Indian mentors.

Without this capacity of learning from other people the possibility of human freedom would be so narrowed down, that civilisation would be and remain a monopoly of particular races and countries. This would be the theological doctrine of Predestination applied all round. But we find that modern civilisation is an exclusive possession of no race or country. On the contrary it is rapidly becoming a common possession, a common inheritance of Man.

Mr. Vyasa Rao, however, is a rigorous "evolutionist". He is a firm believer in stages and is afraid of making "an abrupt and sudden break with the past". He ought to be shocked, on his own theory, that India did not pass through all the intermediate stages through which the Colonies passed before becoming Members of the League of Nations. It ought to be still more bewildering that India took only five years to attain a position in the International world, which it took Canada a century and more to attain. Time has thus no necessary connection with human development. The duration will be longer or shorter as the conditions require.

What Mr. Vyasa Rao calls his constructive proposals and by which he probably sets great store, are such as to satisfy the requirements of a second-rate Indian state, at the most. They are not only inadequate but, one is compelled to say, ludicrous in their application to British India. The Bill before the House of Commons is a sufficient condemnation of these constructive proposals.

To be quite fair to Mr. Vyasa Rao though his proposals of constitutional development have practically no value, his remarks on the "outstanding question of Indian administration" possess considerable merit. He is a facile writer with a gift for turning a phrase and his pages on the machinery of Criminal Justice (p. p. 161-179), to select one instance, are the most effective we have read. If instead of dealing with constitutional development, he had confined himself to the exposition of such outstanding problems, his work would have been a distinct addition to what little indigenous political literature we possess. Even as it is, considerably more than half of the book is devoted to the discussion of administrative problems. That is his *forte*.

POLITICUS.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES, AND HOW TO RAISE THEM.*

(By Mr. K. SRINIVASA RAO B. A.)

These millions of Panchamas are of course equal in the eye of Law, with the other classes. The equality has been in the statute Book, but it is not in the life. Why? Because equality is unmeaning without the culture and character necessary for the exercise of equal rights of all. If we want the Panchamas to exercise equal rights with the other classes socially, we must develop the conditions under which the Panchamas will have the necessary culture and character to exercise their rights. The worst of it is that these 50 millions and more whom we have been treating as untouchables and whose shadow is pollution, are after all the backbone of society and without them the classes would be nowhere. Thus we have the tale of social tyranny of a kind unknown to the civilized world, in the protest raised by the Nandas and Kanakas of all ages and times. We have got a way of honouring our Nandas and Kanakas. We canonise them and we sing their songs. We derive all the spiritual benefit we can from their great and saintly lives. We even shed a drop of tear, when we hear the story of Nanda and when we hear anyone propound to us the great life of Nanda, we say: "Verily, Verily, here is a Pariah who taught a Brahmin. Here is a real man, the lowest of the low, as we have made him and his class to be, who has helped the highest of the high. He is really amongst the highest." Yet have we done by him and his class or community? We have taken all that they can give us but have given them nothing back, and left his community in the old state of seclusion and slavery. Nay, we treat the Kanakas and Nandas and all those men who have come up from the lowest strata of society as saints and philosophers, as only exceptions which prove the rule, as special *Avatars* and spiritual guides whose memory we may respect ever so much, but for all practical purposes and for social life, they and their community must still remain where they are. And this is due first and foremost to the theory that they are untouchables. That is the problem. How are we to deal with it? To get rid of it, we must get rid of the social idea that to any man this great stigma could be attached, merely because of his birth. We must knock that wrong idea on the head and the rest will follow. No man could be born untouchable or be such all his life, and propagate only untouchables to the end of time without any reference to his conditions or merits. It is this that has to be preached and practised. The class divisions and the caste divisions are no longer tenable. As was pointed out the other day at the Conversation (at Madras) presided over by Mrs. Whitehead, what we want is not merely the housing of the Panchamas or educating them or giving them money but what we want is that this idea of untouchability must first go out. Of what avail is it to build mansions for the Panchamas if you do not mean to remove the stigma from them socially? Let the higher classes go down to them and work for them as a part of social economy. The moment this attitude is adopted towards them, our work will be easy. What elevates them socially is the benefit of healthy contact, and exchange of thoughts. Just as you have the contagion of disease, you have got also the contagion of health, the contagion of joy and the contagion of good association. What the Panchamas claim is this healthy contact this healthy contagion at least from all the Social liberals, who would look upon them as their fellowmen.

* From a lecture delivered by Mr. Srinivasa Rao B. A. District Judge, Gunbar, at the Mysore Civic and Social Progress, Association, Bangalore.

There is going to be shortly an all-India Conference for propagating the anti-untouchability movement. The organisers propose to bring it about in Bangalore. It is, if I may say so, most appropriate that it should be held here. His Highness the Maharaja is full of sympathy for the Depressed classes. His Highness is a high-souled Hindu and a Patriot Prince. His Highness the Yuvaraja is a tower of strength to the Social Service movement. Sympathy with this great movement is not inconsistent with the most rigid devotion to Hinduism.

I must congratulate the Mysore State on the lead it has given to the cause. Mysore has led the way in declaring equality of all citizens in respect of educational rights and privileges. I find that the Mysore State and the Inspector-General of Education are doing their utmost to push on the backward and the depressed classes, in every possible direction. Special measures have been adopted by way of giving the Panchamas, scholarships so as to help their general education. Scholarships are also provided to help their technical education. Boarding arrangements are made in Panchama Schools. A free supply of books and slates and clothing has been provided for and their travelling fare from their villages to the schools to and fro is also given. Every inducement is offered to the parents of the Panchama boys to send their children to school. Inducements are also offered to teachers in these institutions by way of special allowances and grants.

The formation of a Depressed Class Advancement Trust, as proposed by Mr. Reddy will, I venture to think, complete the links in the chain and give the movement an organic and working machinery from top to bottom. In Madras the Hon. Mr. Paddison is in-charge of the Depressed Classes Mission and the latest order of Madras Government is that no public schools can be established in Chavadies, Agraharams and other places to which all classes have not equal access. Another rule of the Madras Government is that no Grant-in-aid can be given to any school which is not open to all classes equally. The Inspector-General of Education, Mr. Reddy is facing the situation with all strength and if he would only carry public opinion with him in fighting this great question, he would have taken a great step in the right direction. It is when the question assumes a practical form and shape that the strength and power of social liberals and the members of Social Service Associations must make itself felt. We must make up our minds and say whether we are going to vote for untouchability or anti-untouchability. That is a fair test of our practical sympathy with the cause. If we are going to deny admission in our Government Schools to the Panchamas we are once more practically condemning 50 millions of our fellowmen. We are reminding them of the stigma attached to them. We are perpetuating the untouchability without doing away with it. Are we right? In these days, when we are claiming the highest rights of self-determination, will it not be a sorry comment on our public spirit and patriotism alike, if we cannot face this problem like men and resolve that henceforward there shall be no untouchable in this great country, of Ramannajacharyas and the Alvars, of Veman, Nanda and Kanaka of Kabir, Nanak and a host of them too numerous to mention?

A HINDU WIDOW-REMARriage.

Under the auspices of the Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay, the remarriage of Bai Shantabai Bapalal belonging to Dasa Shriwasai Bani Community with Mr. Maganlal Katakchand Vaidya was celebrated on the premises of the Home on Thursday the 28th August 1919. Among those present to witness the marriage were Dr. V. B. Tendulkar, Messrs. V. T. Joshi, M. G. Mehta, T. P. Dasa, B. G. Mehta, N. M. Joshi and A. S. Wagh.

THE INDIAN BOY SCOUTS ASSOCIATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The principle aim and methods of the Indian Boy Scouts Association are I presume too well known to need any recapitulation. Every movement in India has to be judged from the point of view of the future of the country. The India of tomorrow will need stalwarts who will win and guard the freedom of the Motherland. Politics apart from it must be recognised that India will hereafter have to take a greater share in the welding of human destiny and that she will be in the fuller enjoyment of civic freedom. "Nations by themselves are made and if India is to play her role nobly her children must be worthy of her and must therefore be reared in the true spirit of citizenship.

Scouting among free Nations has for its sole object the training of the youth for citizenship and the Indian Boy Scouts Association only hopes and aspires to do for the youth of India what the Boy Scout organisations of England, America, France, Japan and Switzerland hope and aspire to do for the youths of those countries. Among all self-respecting and free people Scouting is a National Movement managed and guided by private effort and though scouts have always been placed at the disposal of those governments by the various organisations they have always shown a firm determination to be free from all departmental official or State control. The I. B. S. A. holds the same creed.

In the interests of the motherland it is essential that the I. B. S. A. which is the National Scout Movement of the country should ramify and spread into every Province, District, Town and Village and that in the next few years every Indian boy and girl should be a scout. In India if she is nation the scout spirit of Brotherhood, Purity, Discipline Sacrifice, and Service must be dominating every action of her children-

In America this has been recognised and the world renowned President Wilson in a Proclamation (reprinted in the August issue of the *Indian Scout*) recommends to the American people that "the period beginning from Sunday 6th June to Sunday 14th June shall be the Scout Week when efforts shall be made for attending the Boy Scout Programme to a larger proportion of American Boyhood, and stated that "anything that is done to increase the effectiveness of the Boy Scouts of America will be a welfare of the Nation."

India too is having its Scout Week. Though it is perhaps too much to hope that His Excellency the Viceroy following the example of President Wilson should issue a proclamation asking the people to support the National Scout movement of their country, it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to share in the work of organising the scout week campaign in every Province, District, Town and Village. The week is from September 28th to October 5th and includes our great Scout Day Outlet. The purpose of the Week is fourfold: (1) to popularise the movement (2) to collect funds for the central head quarters (3) to organize Local support for the troops (4) to increase the circulation and advertisements in the "Indian Scout". It is essential that our friends should co-operate with our officers in their efforts to make the Scout Week a success. The head quarters 3/35 Mount Road, Madras is ever at your service and is willing to do what it can to help. In the next column that I shall have the privilege of writing in these esteemed pages, I shall give more information about the I. B. S. A. and more details about the Scout Week campaign. There is very little time to lose and as the chief Commissioner points out it is planning

before hand that is needed if we should like Scouts "Be Prepared" to meet it when it comes and make the best of it. So Brother Scouts and friends, start at once if you have not already done so. All energy without organisation is futile. Organise, Organise now, and Organise well if you desire that the week should be a Grand Week.

Yours in the service of the Motherland,
V. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Commissioner, Indian Boy Scouts

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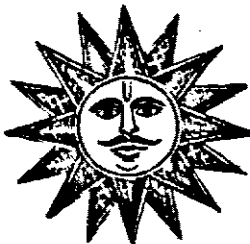
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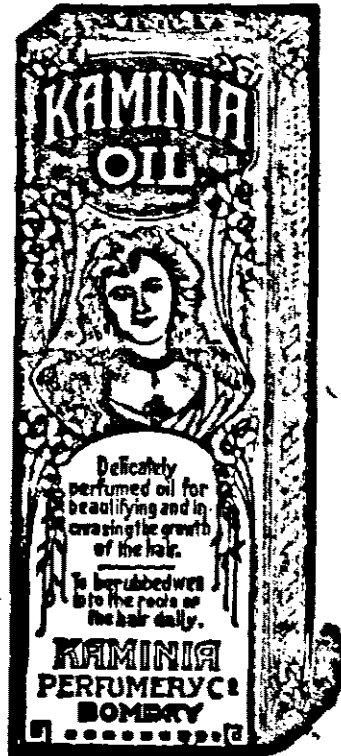
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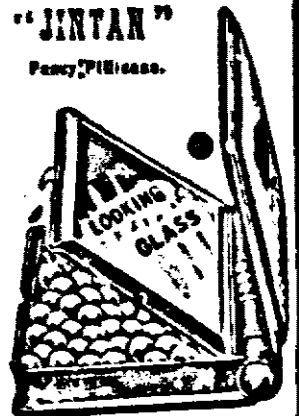
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX BOMBAY—SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1919. No. 4.

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

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NOTES.

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The Depreciation of the Vernaculars : The neglect of the vernaculars in Bengal and else-where is not due to over-attention to English and will not be removed by less attention to it. It is due to the aristocratic structure of society and the bureaucratic structure of the administration, in both of which the common people—the masses who know only the vernaculars—had no part or lot except that of obeying the behests of those above them. The break-down of the social and administrative systems in recent years and the advent of the forms and the spirit of democracy, are making intercourse with the masses possible as well as necessary. The educated Indian was for a long while under the illusion that by making convincing speeches and drafting unanswerable memorials on the divergence between the principles and the practice of the administration, he could effect all necessary improvements. The illusion continued to be fostered till, driven to a corner, the educated Indian was told, not that his arguments were bad, but that he did not represent the masses. The immediate effect of this report was, perhaps, to stimulate demagoguism. English-educated men foreswore social and religious reform, defended caste and superstitions, and did their best to prove to the masses that they were in no way more enlightened than themselves. But it is an ill-wind that blows nobody any good. Vernacular journalism began to flourish, vernacular orators sprang up everywhere. This reaction is now steadying itself. The point of importance in the present context is that there is in operation a powerful national sentiment making for the growth of the vernaculars which did not exist even in Lord Curzon's time, and that, apart from all educational reforms, the vernaculars can never fall into such neglect as they fell into in the last century. The extension of the franchise, adding as it will to the political importance of the masses, will be a powerful stimulus to the cultivation of the vernaculars by the English-educated classes.

Pro-Hindu—Not Anti-Christian : Referring to our allusion to the incident of a Christian visiting Ramakrishna Paramahansa in the company of Pandit Sivanath Sastri, and the Paramahansa's declaration that he regarded Jesus Christ as an avatar of God, the *Hindu Missionary* observes that a person here and a person there may be taking Christ as a great Being, but a day is yet to come when Christ is generally accepted as an avatar of Vishnu. Surely, the views of an inspired saint like the Paramahansa on a question of this kind, are of more weight and value than the opinion of the man in the street, which most of us are in spiritual matters. In a remarkable address on Krishna delivered in Allahabad on Janmashtami day, the well known Hindu scholar and thinker, Babu Bhagavan Das, spoke of Christ as one of the avatars or incarnations. We repeat, therefore, that the Paramahansa's attitude is more truly the attitude of India than that of any number of us whose vision is bounded by the necessities of our position. The *Hindu Missionary* goes on to complain that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is quoted in an American publication as having observed: "The ideals that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society and modifying every phase of Hindu thought." Assuming that Sir Narayan's words are rightly quoted, what is there wrong or reprehensible in them? The *Hindu Missionary* should know that it is the genius of Hinduism to welcome light, to assimilate truth, from all sources. Has not Hinduism been influenced by Mahomedanism, and has not Mahomedanism been influenced by Hinduism? Are not the ideals of Christ's Gospel comprised by those of Hinduism also. Some years ago, we read the Gita and the "Imitation of Christ" together, marking analogous passages. Some of the resemblances were very striking. In our opinion, no one has understood the wonderful underlying catholicism and infinite charity of Hinduism, who believes he is doing it a service by picking holes in other religions. Ramakrishna Paramahansa would have found nothing reprehensible in Sir Narayan's statement; indeed, he would have rejoiced that it was so. We think, however, that there is much in the following observations of the *Hindu Missionary* for Christian Missionaries to ponder: "The one thing that is surely *anti* in India is that the Christian missionary movement is *anti-Hindu* from one end of it to the other. They desire that India should soon become a Christian land. Hindu India desires to remain Hindu, and this pure and holy and legitimate desire is said to be anti-Christian! Hindu India refuses to be Christianised; Hindu India loves to remain Hindu, loves her Vedas, loves her Scriptures, loves her Saints and Sages, loves her divine incarnations, loves her deathless Rishis, loves her noble spiritual heritage, and hopes—poor India only hopes, helpless India only *hopes*, to remain Hindu! And all this is said to be anti-Christian. When one loves himself, it is not true to say that he hates his neighbour.

It is right to say that there is a spirit that is pro-Hindu; it is not right to say that spirit is anti-Christian."

What Dr. Mackichan said: A valued correspondent who was present at the Bombay representative Council of Missions when Dr. Mackichan spoke, writes that what he said was in effect as follows: "One of the difficulties we have to face in the immediate future is the prevailing antipathy to anything which is not indigenous to this country. This has led to an anti-Christian feeling in some quarters, for Christianity is looked upon as a foreign religion. This is only temporary and this temporary phase will give place to the consciousness that only Christ can meet the true needs of the people of India." We gladly publish this correct version. But we would again say that, in our experience, there is far less feeling against Christianity as a foreign religion today than some years ago. We admit that, unfortunately, there is somewhat acute racial feeling but it has nothing to do with religion. As regards Dr. Mackichan's belief that only Christ can meet the true needs of India, it is natural in a Christian Missionary gentleman. India's true needs are as hard to define as those of any other country, and since countries that have long been Christian have, apparently, not as yet had their true needs met by the Church, it is rather sanguine to preach it as a panacea for India's ills. But we respect the faith that is in Dr. Mackichan and shall say no more about it.

The Stage in England. On the opening day of the Conference of the Theatre, organised by the British Drama League, at the end of last month at Stratford-on-Avon, Mr. Archer pleaded for the removal of the obstacles which block the path of an already existing and vigorous movement for the betterment of British dramatic art. He concluded by saying that the commercial theatre of today was little more than a great gambling hell, where the speculator took great risks in the hope of still bigger profits. The comment of the *Challenge* on this observation is worth pondering over: "In short," writes our contemporary, "it comes back to the question of what is the public taste in these matters. In industry we find a new movement growing in every land for the destruction of competitive individualism, and the substitution of service to the community for a greedy search for profits at all costs. The same phenomenon is also true of drama. What is required is an educative programme which shall uplift the public taste to higher levels. At present the answer always is: "It will not pay." Without stopping for the moment to consider whether this is true, the time has come when we must bravely consider in Art, as we are already bidden to do in industry, whether that is always to remain the first consideration." Our contemporary goes on to plead for "a co-equal alliance" between the Church and the stage, as being calculated to bring untold benefit to each.

"It requires for its consummation" concludes the *Challenge* "an unflinching courage and a sound wisdom, but it is not impossible of attainment. The theatre must be robbed of its commercialism, its impurity and its frivolous brainlessness. The church must drop its scorn, its censoriousness, its didactic claims. Every individual can help on the achievement of these ends. The Actors' Church Union, the British Drama League, and the League of Arts for National and Civic Ceremony, are only a few of the agencies whose efforts should be energetically furthered. Life cannot be divided into exclusive departments—recreation, business, religion. Without beauty life is incomplete, and with incomplete life there can exist no Christianity. For the Master of all arts came that we might have life and that we might have it more abundantly."

Mr. N. M. Joshi's Deputation: In view of the ignorant or prejudiced comments in certain quarters on Mr. Joshi's deputation to the Labour Conference at Washington, we appreciate the very fair observations of the *Deccan Ryot*. Writes our contemporary: "We congratulate the Government of India on the election of Mr. Joshi than whom a better person could not have been found for the purpose. We know that Mr. Joshi has certain disqualifications for the character which he has been now invested with. As he admitted at the entertainment given to him, he has never been a labourer himself. Nor has he ever lived among the labourers and become one with the people whose representative he is to be. He goes to a Conference where distinguished labourers, men who have passed through the various stages of labour life, will meet to assert their rights and discuss their needs. Mr. Joshi's position in such an assembly will not be very comfortable. But that is not his fault. Nor was it possible to avoid the awkwardness of the position. The conditions of our labourers is so hopelessly unsatisfactory that they could not have been reasonably asked to organise themselves for electing a representative. So far as we know, the higher kinds of our Mill-labourers have got few among them who could properly voice the opinions of their brethren: Mr. Joshi, though not himself a labourer which we wish he had been, is a man of generous sympathies and no prejudices such as mar the character of our educated people will stand in the way of his fully and frankly voicing their grievances at the Conference. He knows the labour life in Bombay as well as any non-labourer could know it. Under the circumstances and in the absence of a more suitable representative, we must be satisfied with his nomination." It is not fair, by the way, to lay undue stress on Mr. Joshi's statement that he was not a labourer. In England, the Labour Party now consists of manual as well as brain workers, and that is the right classification.

Mr. Jadhav's Evidence before the Joint Committee: A special word of praise is due to Mr. B. V. Jadhav for the moderation and thoughtfulness which inspired his evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament on constitutional reform. We have never admitted the validity of the argument that a majority under any circumstances should not need special protection. A minority is a numerically backward category. There are other forms and kinds of backwardness which equally require special provision. Mr. Jadhav's suggestions followed the lines of the amended resolution adopted, at the All-India Moderate Conference held last year on the motion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Mr. Jadhav's evidence is reported as follows in *India* of the 5th instant: "Mr. Jadhav was heard on behalf of the Mahrattas, the backward classes, and the Deccan Ryots Association. Mr. Jadhav stated that the Bombay Presidency was not homogeneous, and that the Thana district ought to be taken into consideration along with the Central and Southern Divisional Districts. In this district Mahrattas and others were very backward and illiterate. The Mahrattas and Kunbis ought to be classed together, and on behalf of them and of the Deccan Ryots he asked for a certain protection in the electorates—not communal representation, but the reservation of certain seats in the general electorates, at any rate for a few years. He asked for 30 per cent of the seats to be reserved. The Mahrattas had done greater service to the Empire, but he did not ask for any distinction. By "backward" classes he meant all whose literacy was below 10 per cent."

One of the Things to be Indemnified: One of the more balanced speeches in the debate on the Indemnity Bill was that of General Hudson who

put the case for the military employed in enforcing martial law. He pointed out that the Army did not enjoy being called upon to deal with the civil population: that, in fact, it was most distasteful to it having to do so. Moreover, the British troops were expecting to go home after a protracted absence, and it was a great disappointment to them to be stopped and ordered to the Punjab in the hot weather. But, as soldiers, they had no option but to carry out orders. The Military Code had only one reference to martial law, and it was that the civil power will take measures to indemnify the troops for carrying out orders under martial law. We cannot but admit that there is a good deal of force in General Hudson's contention that the position of the troops in the controversy between the Executive Government and the popular leaders, was vindictive. But the General himself referred to a flagrant case which shows that there is another side to the question. A missionary lady, Miss Sherwood, was dragged from her bicycle, cruelly beaten, and left for dead by the Amritsar mob. This was, perhaps, the most cowardly deed during the riots, and every sane man would demand that those concerned in it should be severely punished. The authority administering martial law in the area, however, was not satisfied with this. He ordered that all persons (Indians, of course) should crawl on their hands and knees if they happen to pass the place where the assault was committed. General Hudson's comments on this extraordinary measure are suggestive: "It is easy to criticise the orders issued by the officer in command at Amritsar, but the circumstances were altogether exceptional, and the punishment, though humiliating, was not such as to cause danger to life or physical hurt. Except on one occasion when a body of prisoners was brought down the street in which Miss Sherwood had been assaulted, no compulsion was brought to bear on any individual to submit to the order. It remained in force for a period of five days. There is good reason for the belief that except for the party of prisoners already mentioned those who were subject to the order came voluntarily to submit to it for the sake of the notoriety or martyrdom. One man, after going down the street on his hands and knees three times had to be stopped giving further exhibitions. The order was of course an unusual one and not such as might have been considered necessary by other officers in like circumstances. The officer in command at Amritsar will doubtless be prepared to justify his action should he be called upon to do so." There is not a hint here that the authorities disapproved of this extraordinary order which is more consonant with the mentality of a Prussian apostle of the mailed fist than with that of a British officer brought up in an atmosphere of freedom. The General himself admits that other officers in like circumstances might not have considered such an order necessary. And yet this high-handed order involving the humiliation of innocent citizens is to be covered by the Act of Indemnity! Even the flogging may in time be forgotten but this compulsory crawling will rankle.

High Officials Quoting Popular Leaders: His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the opening of the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council quoted Mr. Gandhi as having declared that educated men were behind the Punjab troubles. Mr. Gandhi promptly contradicted His Excellency and said that what he had stated referred to Ahmedabad only, and had no reference whatever to the conditions in the Punjab of which he knew nothing. Mr. Hailey in the course of the debate on the Indemnity Bill cited the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry as having admitted in a public speech that the Punjab Government was justified in proclaiming martial

law in the province. The present writer happened to be present when Mr. Sastry made that speech. By the way, the *Servant of India* printed important parts of the speech which had not been reported. Mr. Sastry, we think, did say something to the effect that the Punjab Government might have had good reasons for taking strong measures, but he also denounced in scathing terms the use of aeroplanes, and the whipping in the streets news of which had come, if we remember, on the day that he spoke. Mr. Hailey thinks it fair to embroil a popular leader with his people by referring to a casual and tentative remark in a long speech which contained a good deal diametrically opposed to the views he expressed in the debate. Sir William Vincent quoted Mr. Gandhi in replying to the debate, as supporting the Indemnity Bill and, indeed, as wishing that it should go further. Nothing can exceed the grace and force of the manner in which the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, after lowering his weapon for a moment to a mark of respect for Mr. Gandhi, thrust it home with the hope that the Home Member may soon rescind the order which prohibited Mr. Gandhi from entering the Punjab.

Total Prohibition, a Business Question: Speaking at a great meeting in London under the auspices of the Temperance Council of Christian Churches at which His Eminence Cardinal Bourne presided, Sir Donald Maclean the leader of the Liberal Party in Parliament, narrated the following incident. "Not so many weeks ago I was talking to an American gentleman of the highest official position. We were talking general politics. He was asking me about politics here, and incidentally we touched upon the question of the liquor trade. Said he, "I am not a teetotaler, and I do confess that since I have been in this country I have taken more light wine in three or four months than I have in the previous six years in the United States; but" he said, "if I went back to the United States, and voted on this question, I should vote 'dry.'" I said, "Just tell me a reason or two." "Well," he said, "I will. "Don't you be mistaken in the idea that the final moving cause for America taking this great decision was a moral, or even a religious one," he said. "I grant you that they started it, and they maintained it, but the dominating final cause was the business future." He told me that in his own State, which was "wet," industries were leaving it for an adjoining "dry" State—and his own State since then has gone "dry." I repeat again, that this question is most of all a business question, a national efficiency question; and I am not afraid to argue that out with anybody on those grounds." We are indebted for a report of Sir Donald Maclean's speech, to that excellent monthly, the *Indian Temperance Record*, published at Calcutta.

Distress in Backergunge. We have received an appeal for help to relieve the distress in Backergunge signed by Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta, President, Backergunge District Association, Barisal and Mr. P. L. Ray, President, of the Local Hitaisbini Sabha, Calcutta. It is stated that the distress in the district is getting more and more acute. The signatories observe: "The out-turn of *Aus* crop has not appreciably improved the situation. We had sufficient stocks of *Amon* rice for the winter crop was good, but export and profiteering have placed them beyond the reach of the middle and the lower classes of people. The *Bhadraloks* and the landless labourers are at present in a miserable plight. Thousands are on the very brink of starvation. The whole District is suffering very much from the abnormal rise in prices of food-stuffs, clothes and other necessities of life; but certain parts of it are grievously affected."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1919.

PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S GREAT BOOK.

The first volume of Professor A. Marshall's *Principles of Economics* was published in 1890. Since then the public have been waiting expectantly for the second volume. This, however, is not to come. In his preface to his great book just published, entitled "Industry and Trade,"* the eminent economist takes the public into his confidence and tells it how the publication of the second volume came to be put off. He writes :

For many years after the publication in 1890 of the first volume of my proposed complete *Principles of Economics*, I continued to work at its second volume: part of the type for that was set up in 1904 and is now used at last—I am told that this long waiting of type for its ultimate appearance is unique. Shortly afterwards I decided to bring out separately a more or less independent volume, devoted to Industry and Trade. Later on two volumes appeared to be necessary for the purpose: and at last it seemed best to round off the present volume in such manner that it would be an independent unit.

Professor Marshall adds that his progress has been delayed not only by weak health and constitutional unfitness for rapid work; but also by heavy professional duties till 1903; by preparing evidence and memoranda for various Royal Commissions on currency and other matters; and by service on the Royal Commission on Labour 1891-5, during which, he says, he received from working men and other witnesses, and from members of the Commission, the most valuable education of his life.

Professor Marshall goes on to say how the first bent of his studies was towards Socialism. For more than a decade he remained under the conviction that the suggestions which are associated with the word "Socialism" were the most important subject of study for him. But the writings of socialists generally repelled him as much as they attracted him, because they seemed far out of touch with realities: and, partly for that reason, he decided to say little on the matter, till he had thought much longer. He goes on to sum up his mature conclusions in a passage in his preface, which deserves wide attention:

Now, when old age indicates that my time for thought and speech is nearly ended, I see on all sides marvellous developments of working-class faculty: and partly, in consequence, a broader and firmer foundation for socialistic schemes than existed when Mill wrote. But no socialistic scheme, yet advanced, seems to make adequate provision for the maintenance of high enterprise, and individual strength of character; nor to promise a sufficiently rapid increase in the business plant and other material implements of production, to enable the real incomes of the manual labour classes to continue to increase as fast as they have done in the recent past, even if the total income of the country be shared by all. The

average level of human nature in the western world has risen fast during the last fifty years. But it has seemed to me that those have made most real progress towards the distant goal of ideally perfect social organization, who have concentrated their energies on some particular difficulties in the way, and not spent strength on endeavouring to rush past them.

Professor Marshall's emphatic testimony to the rise in the average level of human nature in the Western world during the last fifty years, is in pleasing contrast to the conclusions of Professor A. R. Wallace in his old age. Professor Marshall dates his preface in June last, with his eyes wide open to the war and its consequences. The acts of Germany and the other belligerents, not to speak of the Bolsheviki, have not induced him to qualify his opinion regarding the rise of the level of human nature. If, however, the average of human nature has risen, that fact must express itself in the improvement of social institutions, including industrial. Professor Marshall's last sentence in the passage quoted above has a special lesson for Indian public men.

The present volume is a study of industry and trade with special reference to the technical evolution of industry, and its influences on the conditions of man's life and work. We are glad to know that it is to be followed by a companion volume which is to be occupied with influences on those conditions exerted by the resources available for employment; by money and credit; by international trade; and by social endeavour. The work, though primarily dealing with economic questions, has a much wider purview. Its outlook is broad. Every class of reader will, we are sure, profit by a perusal of this book. Without letting go for a moment the special aims before him, Professor Marshall glances at many objects of great practical importance, and his observations always impress one as being wise and helpful. He has chosen as the motto for his great work a phrase which forcibly recalls a saying of the Upanishads: "The Many in the One, the One in the Many." He explains the appropriateness of his selection thus:

Economic conditions and tendencies show, even more than most others, the One in the Many, the Many in the One: for those, which prevail at any place and time, reflect the habits of action, thought, feeling, and aspiration of the whole people, or at least some large part of them. Each reacts on the character of the population: but the roots of all are deep set in the human characteristics of the place and time: thus the One is seen in the Many. And conversely each tendency embodies in some degree almost every influence, that is prominent then and there: inasmuch that a full study of it would present incidentally a nearly complete picture of the whole: thus the Many are seen in the One.

There are few references to India in this book. In one place (p. 653) Professor Marshall takes occasion to emphasise Britain's special responsibility in respect of the trade and industry of India. He observes that in all international trade policies,

* Messrs Macmillan & Co., price 18 shillings net.

Britain's self-governing Dominions are able to take full care of their own interests. "But," he adds, "her Crown Colonies and India are not in equally strong positions; and therefore Britain is morally bound to attach to each of their interests at least as great a weight as if it were her own." In particular, adds Professor Marshall, in a footnote, no plea should be entertained for Protective taxes on imports into Britain, competitive with some of her own industries, however strong the national need for developing them may be, "unless a similar principle is applied to selected Indian manufactures, whose youthful strength is insufficient for competition on nearly even terms with rival imports from Britain and other western countries."

BOMBAY EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT*

THE PLACE OF ENGLISH IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

We have received a copy of the report of the Second Bombay Educational Conference held in Poona in June 1918 under the Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry. The report is opportune inasmuch as it contains some expressions of opinion on the question of English in our educational system, which are of special interest in view of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. Professor V. B. Naik, President of the Shiksha Vichara Mandala, and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, contributes an introduction to the Report in the course of which he refers to the allegation that the wastage in secondary schools is due to "the desire to learn English, in spite of insufficient pecuniary means and slender intellectual capacity, growing unchecked, so that the mental development and acquisition of knowledge which would be possible for them in a place of vernacular instruction are checked and superseded by a short-lived attempt to master a difficult tongue". Professor Naik comments as follows on this allegation:

Another remedy proposed for preventing wastage in schools is to make the vernacular continuation schools more attractive, so that the temptation to waste time and energy on the acquisition of a difficult foreign language like English may not prove too strong in the case of poor and intellectually inferior students. This, however, is a dream. English may be a difficult tongue to learn, and its use as the medium of instruction, so far at least as secondary institution is concerned, may be a long-standing and keenly felt grievance, but the almost universal feeling, (nay, conviction) is that a knowledge of English must for a long time to come form an essential feature of any course of instruction, whether general or technical. The keenest advocate of the vernaculars would under existing conditions rather have English used as the medium of instruction than lose the advantages of a knowledge of English if his choice lay between the two. Every boy knows that ignorance of English means a future of poor prospects and crippled activities, and tries, if he can, to prevent his doom being sealed in this fashion. Vernacular continuation schools must continue to exist for the

* Published by Mr. Kumbhare, Secretary, Shiksha Vichara Mandala, Poona.—Price one rupee.

unfortunate ones, but it is useless to expect them to relieve to any great extent the strain on English Schools. While reiterating its demand for the recognition of vernaculars as media of instruction and examination, it is to be noted that the Conference advocated the introduction of English in full primary schools during the last three years of the course, as an optional subject of instruction.

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry also referred to the matter in his Presidential address. We are not able to correlate some of his remarks at the commencement with those that follow, but his concluding observations are sufficiently clear. He said:

I am one of those who think that it is intrinsically wrong to afford instructions to children in the lower grades through foreign languages. Vernacular must be the national medium of instructions in the primary stage, and I am strongly of opinion that we should expand this system of teaching all subjects through the vernaculars into all schools, even secondary schools. So far as higher education is concerned, English language enables us to become more refined and to enjoy a larger outlook and to have the capacity of leading a higher life when we receive the benefit of higher education. But I am one of those who think that the adoption of English as the necessary medium for higher education is by itself a denial of the benefit that I have here described, to a large number of our population who, however, are all intellectually fully qualified to enjoy those benefits. They are deprived by an artificial barrier. An apt comparison may be given by stating that you may suppose that it is the duty of the Railway Companies to build first class conveyances. But suppose that the Railway Companies instead of putting doors have very small openings. Then you would not consider that the Railway Companies would make a great profit. By insisting on having English as the medium of instruction in higher education, Government close the benefit of higher education to all who are unable to acquire a certain amount of liberal English scholarship. In their case Government are somewhat in the position of the Railway Company who does not know its own business and inflicts a wrong on the people who wish to serve its interest. The Railway Company thus cripples its own usefulness. The Government in that case do not fully realise the difficulties of that very large proportion of our people to whom the acquisition of a foreign language is a grievously added difficulty in order to receive the benefit of secondary education. A little forethought on our part and a little co-operation from the University would make it possible for us to convey this benefit to our people through the Vernacular, and I know no reason whatever why that reform in our educational system should be, at all, withheld or even postponed. *But, as to the advantages of expanding the system of vernaculars for higher instruction I am still somewhat sceptic. I see no halting place between the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and their use for instruction in the college department. I think those who advocate the use of the vernacular for higher education are in a position which is logically sound; but logic does not cover all human affairs.* By the mere process of abstract reasoning you cannot get far and far away from the field of practical politics, and it seems to me no practical politics to think of the vernacular as the medium of instruction for colleges. That problem we may well leave to those who come after us and, perhaps, to the succeeding generation.

The italics are ours. No doubt, Mr. Sastry was using the term "higher education" in two different senses when he complained first, that by insisting

on having English as the medium of instruction in higher education, Government closed the benefit of higher education to all who are unable to acquire a certain amount of liberal English scholarship, and, next, when he declared himself somewhat sceptical as to the advantage of expanding the system of vernaculars for higher instruction.

HUMANITARIANISM IN INDIA.

Note:—While humanitarianism consists in many forms of social service, the object in view of this article is with reference to lower animals.

If there is any country which has a deep-seated interest in humanitarianism it is India. The principal reason is that it is an essential part of Hinduism. Cows and monkeys have a special religious significance; other animals have a semi-religious significance. The Vishnupurana says that before we are born as men, we are to pass through various births—first we are born as standing forms of life, such as plants; then as aquatic animals, such as fish; then as amphibians such as tortoise; then as birds and beasts; and, lastly as monkeys, and from monkeys we are borne as men. This theory of evolution shows that man has blood relationship even to lower animals; and, therefore, he is in duty bound to have some regard for them.

In spite of all this, we find that in India the principle of humanitarianism has not been carefully and sufficiently followed up. Leaving out of consideration the wild animals for whom God directly provides all necessaries of life, think of our domestic animals who have been deprived of all freedom which is the birthright of every living creature. The very fact that they are our slaves and our servants, inevitably requires that we should be concerned about their welfare. Think of the dirty and unsanitary sheds where our cattle live; think of the many diseases to which they so frequently fall a victim; think of the inadequate supply of food and water; think of the heavy and overtime labour to which they are so vigorously subjected and think of the bamboo sticks so mercilessly broken on their backs, just because they cannot drag an over-loaded cart or an ekka. These thoughts should appeal to the conscience of every man to whatever race or religion he belongs.

Animals are a part of God's great creation. He has made us all their trustees. According to Solomon 'a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast.' In a higher sense this is not at all contradictory to the statement in the first chapter of Genesis that God gave man 'dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.' The reason given by Solomon for his statement is 'what befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath..... and all is vanity'. On the other hand, God made

man 'after His own image'. Man bears a stamp of God himself. Animals were made to serve man, and man was made to serve God. Therefore, man has a higher purpose to fulfil in life. God does not treat man unjustly or cruelly, nor should man treat animals unjustly or cruelly. A man is, therefore, morally bound to show mercy to these 'dumb creatures of God'. And isn't it strange that when we see a man being troubled by an animal, we run immediately for his assistance; but when we see an animal being troubled by a man, we simply overlook the matter. Remember, this deliberate neglect is not only a crime legally but also morally, and you are responsible to God for it. But one should not let loose one's cattle to eat up or destroy the vegetable gardens or crops of a neighbour, thinking that no one is going to hurt them, otherwise the Cattle Trespass Act I of 1871 will have its own course.

Should one eat meat? This is a question that every individual can answer for himself. Christians and Mahomedans eat flesh of certain animals, not all. There is a very large section of Hindus who freely eat meat. Therefore, generally speaking, Hinduism, like Mahomedanism and Christianity, does not definitely forbid meat eating. But the question is not of meat eating but of good treatment towards animals. We may kill certain animals for eating when the time comes for doing so; but before doing this, let us treat them and our domestic animals with kindness. But, as far as possible, none of our best and most useful animals, such as cows, should be slaughtered only to satisfy hunger.

Before man was made, animals were made. This was the Divine plan. Probably the world could not have lived without them. In India, at least, the people would have been starved to death if there were no such animals as cows and buffaloes. Love to domesticated animals is scarce in India. It should not be so. In the West, people love their animals regardless of the amount of service they render them. Animals are a great asset to a nation's resources. It is also very often that most of our domestic animals teach us the lessons of service, faithfulness, love and patience.

It is the time honoured custom among the luxurious sections of all the countries to indulge in hunting. This practice gives a little amusement and a sense of *brava* to the hunter; but it deprives the world of one of God's fair and free creatures. If it is not an act of inhumanity, it is not an act of humanity either. This sort of amusement which is so common in all countries and communities should be discouraged.

In conclusion, the question may be asked, 'Is vivisection in the interests of science reasonable? The answer is in the affirmative. This is necessary for the proper study of Biology—a science without which the surgical world would be the poorer and helpless. Experiments which have deprived thousands of frogs of their existence have saved thousands or rather millions of people from death and misery.

Allahabad.

M. C. BANSAL.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

(BY BAO BAHADUR HARGOVINDAS DWARKADAS KANTAWALA RAJ RATHA, BARODA.)

There are four general usages of disposing the human dead. *Dafan* the underground burial, *Dahana* the cremation, *Jaldaha* the under water burial, and *Sooryadaha* the scorching by the sun. The major portion of the world practises *Dafan*. The *Dahana* is a chief practice among the Hindus, though some bury their dead under ground or water, i. e. they push their dead into the waters with the idea that the turtle and fish etc. may feast on them. Some of the Hindus practise the double usage of cremation and *Jaldaha* i. e. they throw the half burnt dead into the waters. The usage of *Sooryadaha* is practised by the Parsis only. The western scholars consider cremation to be the best method of disposing of the dead, and several people of the west practise it against public opinion. Cremation being the easiest, cheapest shortest and the best of the methods for disposing a dead body, public crematoria are established in Europe and America. A modern crematorium is far more desirable than the awkward shameless, much-time-occupying and expensive present method practised here; but our people of the old school consider all better methods to be irreligious! We here lay the dead body on a bed of cowdung cakes and cover it with the fuel for cremation on open pyre, and when any portion of the dead body is accidentally uncovered, or a hand or a leg of the same is hanging or detached it is to be tonged with a bamboo into the fire. The poor people feel the cost beyond their might. The cost of cremation by a modern crematorium comes below rupees five, and in five minutes the dead body is turned into ashes, which can be thrown into the waters without the act being in any way irreligious.

The difficulties for conveying the dead to the funeral grounds are ever increasing. In former times when very few people used to go abroad and the number of the members in each caste was great, it was a common rule that one out of every family of the caste had to attend a funeral, and as the rate of mortality was not so high as at present, there was no difficulty whatsoever in conveying the dead to the funeral grounds. Nowadays people go abroad for service or business, where there may be some men of their castes or none, and a man born in one caste would not like his dead to be carried by people lower than him, while those of a higher caste would not touch his dead. The official class cannot think of carrying a dead on their shoulders, while several delicate folks would be ashamed of it. The scourges like cholera, plague and influenza are common in these days, and thousands and millions of people die. Some times two or three deaths occur in a single family during a day, and the caste people are so much afraid of plague that they abstain from helping in carrying the dead to the funeral grounds. A husband of a lady died while returning home. The caste people were informed of it, but none heeded her call for the help; so she herself alone had to carry it as far as the funeral grounds and she cremated it! What would have been the fate of the dead body if the lady were not strong?

When there was heavy plague in Surat, the dead had to be carried in carts, but when a cartman was attacked by the disease, the cartmen hesitated to give their services in the matter. In the current year when influenza began its havoc five to seven hundred deaths occurred daily in Bombay, where the dead were to be kept piled up for hours for want of space on the funeral grounds, and the difficulty was also increased on account of the want of fuel. Had some philanthropic people not raised the fund for it, the dead would have been

neglected. At times only five to seven men are available for carrying the dead, and when as in Surat or Ahmedabad where the funeral grounds are at a very great distance, the commission of carrying the dead becomes nearly impossible. The Municipalities of Ahmedabad and Baroda had to arrange for carts to remove the dead of the helpless, and the philanthropic people of the places had raised funds for fuel.

There is one more matter for consideration. When any family is excommunicated or out-casted, the caste people totally abstain from any social connection whatsoever with the family, and even if the family may be outcasted out of sheer injustice and jealousy or for a trifling fault, in that case also the family must pay heavily on the spot to get the help of the caste for the funeral purpose, or to go to aliens for the same. At several places the people are also fined for not attending the caste funeral.

At some places where the head of the family desires to convey a dead as far as some distant big river, he has to treat the *daghoo* with sweetmeats (and therefore is a proverb that "It tastes cardamoms in the funeral sweet balls.") Also one has to give a caste-dinner even if the deceased be very young or his family very poor. The custom of weeping very loudly and of beating breasts by the female section of the castes is also overgrowing. All these practices place the survivors in a greater hell than the loss by death, yet the people have not the courage to abstain from the irreligious practices.

The Y. M. Hindu Association in Bombay have arranged to surmount the difficulties of carrying the dead. If we have *Khandhia* like those of the Parsis, one of the public needs would be overcome, but where is the difference between conveying the dead body on bamboo stretches and in a carriage? If a cart were used there would be no need for carriers, and the dead can be quietly conveyed to the funeral grounds in a mannerly way. If a modern crematorium were used instead of the open pyres it would be far more better for the public. Mr. Chotalal Tejpal artist has moved the matter in both the English as well as the vernacular press, and the press has supported him. He has also written to the Government, but he has received a reply that "the initiative in such a matter must come from the public." This is the important problem in connection with social reform, and it is hoped that our reformers and the leaders will take the matter in a favourable light.

BACK TO HINDUISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your issue of Aug. 3rd and on P. P. 687 there is a notice headed "Back to Hinduism" and which tells of the initiation of three converts from Christianity. Each convert was invested with the sacred thread. I shall be very grateful if you or your readers will answer the following questions in order that I may have additional light upon the significance of the ceremony of investing with the sacred thread.

1. Of what caste were these converts before they converted to Christianity?
2. Now that they have again become Hindus to which caste do they belong?
3. Is the sacred thread given to all converts irrespective of the caste to which they belonged before they became Christians?

This is not for the purpose of controversy that I ask the above questions but for light upon a subject that interests me very much. I recognize the fact that every one has a perfect right to choose his or her religion and to change it as often as he or she may become convinced that such a slip is necessary but I do not understand how a convert from Hinduism, if reconverted, can, irrespective of his former caste, be invested with the sacred thread.

Thanking you in anticipation

I Sir,
Yours sincerely
A. H. Gray

BOLSEEVISM AND SOCIALISM.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

No keen politician can fail to remark that the long sustained outcry raised against Bolshevism by the so-called "Capitalist" and "Imperialist" press of the world, has begun to produce its inevitable reaction. Surely the greatest service to the cause of Bolshevism has been rendered not by its professed adherents, but by those of its antagonists who are so purblind as to brand all socialists, all trade unionists, all workers in the cause of reform, all critics of the iniquities of the existing social structure, with the common misnomer of Bolsheviki. Of this blunder the true Bolshevik has been quick to take advantage. "Bolshevism," said a prominent English exponent of its tenets, "is only socialism with the courage of its convictions." This is arrant nonsense, and dangerous nonsense. Are evil deeds the invariable outcome of good intentions? Or, is murder necessarily the courageous expression of an innate ethical sense? To confuse Bolshevism with Socialism is to confound "fiat-right" with justice.

Let us look facts in the face. There is no need to quote the "Capitalist" press of this or any other country. Naturally, criticism from such a source is suspect in many quarters. Turn to the Bolshevik organs themselves, the "Izvestiya," or the "Pravda," and see what the Russian Bolsheviks say about their own work. Turn to the solid social-democratic press of Germany, of Sweden, of England. This evidence alone suffices to prove that under a Bolshevik regime, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of public meeting are ruthlessly suppressed; that the cause of social reform is being hindered and the steady progress of centuries threatened, by the crackbrained conceptions and criminal savagery of a handful of denationalized fanatics, who have constituted themselves into a tyrannical bureaucracy. The following comes from the "Pravda" of October the 8th last: "The absence of the necessary restraint makes one feel appalled at the 'instruction' issued by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to 'All-Provincial Extraordinary Commissions which says: 'The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is perfectly independent in its work, carrying out house searches, arrests, executions, of which it afterwards reports to the Council of the People's Commissaries and to the Central Executive Council.' Further, the Provincial and District Extraordinary Commissions 'are independent in their activities and when called upon by the Local Executive Council present a report of their work.' In so far as house searches and arrests are concerned, a report made afterwards may result in putting right irregularities committed owing to lack of restraint. The same cannot be said of executions.

It can also be seen from the 'Instructions' that personal safety is to a certain extent guaranteed only to members of the Government, of the Central Council and of the local Executive Committees. With the exception of these few persons, all members of the local Committees of the (Bolshevist) Party of the Central Committees and of the Executive Committee of the Party may be shot at any time by the decision of any Extraordinary Commission of a small district town if they happen to be on its territory, and a report of that made afterwards."

It may be of interest to know that the leading German socialist paper, "Vorwärts," quoting from the "Pravda" says that 13,764 persons have been executed within the last three months. As regards the internal economic situation in Russia under Bolshevik rule, a Russian workman makes the following statement in the "Socia'-Demokraten" of Stock-

holm: "The output of the factories has decreased by 80 per cent, notwithstanding that the Revolutionary committees stimulate production with the revolver. The condition of the railway is worse than ever. All the industrial workmen are against the Bolsheviks, and the same is the case with the peasants. The so-called 'Committees of the Poor' are drawn from the small number of peasants who sought employment in the factories during the war and have now returned to the country. The only supporters of the Bolsheviks, apart from the Letts and the Chinese, are those belonging to their own official caste. The European press has rather understated than exaggerated the 'Red Terror'."

The inner kernel of Bolshevism, the sinister factor which has brought about the condition of affairs noted above, is well summed up in the battle-cry of the Bolsheviks..... "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Let us consider what this means. Dictatorship means despotism, and despotism remains despotism whether exercised by a Czar, a Kaiser, an oligarchy or a Bolshevik administration. At the bottom of this idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat lies impatience with the mass of the people. The people must be emancipated in spite of themselves. We are reminded irresistibly of the wildest and most transient phase of the French Revolution, when an orator declared that people must be "forced to be free." The Bolsheviks say that liberty and democracy can come afterwards, when the socialist dictators have transformed the present capitalistic society into the socialist state. But while the transformation is going on, the mass of the people must obey the minority which has seized power; must accept as right and just any tyranny which that minority decrees; must abandon liberty of speech, and liberty of the press, and must refuse those liberties particularly to all who do not see eye-to-eye with the minority in power. And if the mass does not like it, well, we know what happens. Bolshevik propagandists have scouted all stories of massacres. Their own press gives them the lie. True, these massacres are generally the work of the dregs of the Chinese population recruited abroad for labour gangs, and if the "removals"..... as wholesale mass murders are euphemistically termed..... "counter-revolutionaries"..... by which expression, is denoted all whom the Bolsheviks dislike for any reasons at all..... can be accomplished by Chinese battalions, the Bolsheviks then solemnly swear that they have had no hand in the matter!

The Bolsheviks are in fact pure nihilists of the most extreme type. Their one idea is to pull down existing society, no matter what the consequences, in the blind hope that a better order of things will arise of itself. Is there any need to point out how contrary is this idea to all socialist notions of the steady progress of society towards a better order of things? The social organism, like nature, does nothing at a bound. By ruthlessly scraping all the progress towards a more equitable state of society which thinkers and workers have hitherto achieved, the Bolsheviks are really delaying and not hastening the social revolution which they desire to bring about. Nothing for the benefit of the people at large can possibly emerge from what is now going on. All Bolshevism can do is to help reaction, and to make even the majority of the working classes throughout the world acquiesce cheerfully in mild dictatorship, as an evil more readily to be borne than Bolshevik tyranny and violence.

The attitude of the typical socialist towards bolshevism may be summed up in the words of Mr. H. W. Lee, the Secretary of the British Social Democratic Federation and the editor of "Justice," the greatest socialist newspaper in Great Britain. Mr. Lee says, "There is no royal road to social revolution. The steady and patient work of social

propaganda and organisation, together with the pressing forward of thorough-going collectivist proposals for the ownership and control of industry for the common good, and the imagination to take advantage of everything will help forward the great change from capitalist production for profit to socialist production for use these are the lines we must follow. All the imaginary short-cuts of the impatient ones which lead to anarchical deserts or re-actionary morasses, serve only to retard real social-democratic progress."

And yet in the face of facts like this, a publicist of the reputation of Lala Lajpat Rai is found to say, I am neither a socialist nor a Bolshevik, but I am not afraid of becoming either." It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Lajpat Rai has enquired from any leading socialists what Bolshevism really implies.

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

A PANCHAMA GURU.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Advocate-General, presided on Sunday at the 63rd birthday anniversary of Sri Narayana Guru which was celebrated at Salla Gurusami Chetty's Hall. The Guru who lives at Alwaye in Cochin has done much for the depressed classes by way of imparting Hindu religious instruction and also by way of spreading education in their midst. With a view to steering clear of social difficulties, the Guru has been also instrumental in constructing numerous temples from Cape Comorin to Mangalore solely for the use of the Panchamas, and these temples have done a vast amount of good to thousands of Panchamas within the Hindu fold. The celebration yesterday bore a special feature about it, namely that it was entirely organized by members of the depressed classes themselves.

The proceedings commenced with a prayer, after which Pundit K. Munuswami Pillay delivered an address on the life and work of the Guru. Mr. P. Natarajan, a Thiya graduate next spoke on the need for a socio-religious institution in Madras for the backward classes. The speaker regretted that most of the institutions now in existence for the benefit of the Panchamas were worked by people belonging to the higher castes. This did not for one thing encourage self-reliance and he would like to see Panchamas themselves undertaking more of the work of social amelioration in their midst.

Swami Sabajananda pleaded for unity among Panchamas. The so-called depressed-classes were now divided into two hostile camps, and one of these was distinctly anti-Brahmin. The speaker failed to see why anybody should single out Brahmins for hostile treatment. It could not for a moment be denied that Brahmins were also at the present day doing much for bettering the lot of the Panchamas. Brahmins in every walk of life were being fired with a sense of responsibility for the well-being of India and considering their achievements in the past, it would not do to entertain towards them any but friendly feelings. It might be that there were some Brahmins who were intolerant and who were apt to be harsh in their dealings with the Panchamas, but for the matter of that there were black-sheep in every fold and this should not be made an excuse for deliberate anti-Brahmin propaganda. Lastly the speaker referred to the fact how his scheme for a Panchama Secondary School at Chidambaram was meeting with much encouragement from all quarters and a number of high-caste people, including Brahmins, were giving help.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar who on rising was accorded a most warm welcome, said that it gave him the

greatest pleasure to be present at the gathering. He was one of those who looked forward to the complete unification of castes in India. It was his firm belief that all Indians were Brahmins (applause) and there was no such thing as a separate Brahmin Caste. Those people who talked of preserving caste, or maintaining caste inviolate and inviolable in India, did not talk rightly. Caste was not at all a fundamental basis of the Hindu religion. There was no mention of caste in the Vedas although the Smritis made mention of caste. But there was no knowing what inaccuracies and interpolations might have crept into the Smritis, not necessarily fraudulently not necessarily dishonestly. And since it was not possible to vouch for the absolute literal accuracy of the Smritis, it would not do to base on them one's belief in the caste system. It had been laid down that women and Sudras should not be taught the Vedas; but centuries ago, they always broke through this injunction and admitted forbidden people to Vedic knowledge. It was the emphatic opinion of the speaker that Hindu religion had absolutely nothing to do with the caste system. It was really the political life of India that had been responsible for the caste system: and Hindu Kings such as those of the Chalukya and Pandian dynasties, to mention but two, as a matter of policy thought it wise to allow the perpetuation of caste. It was easy by means of the caste-system to preserve the balance of power in the State. Surely caste was nothing which God had revealed. If revelation, divine revelation, had anything to do with caste, the Panchamas would have been born as a distinct species and incapable of breeding with higher castes. (Laughter and cheers) Lastly the speaker said that there were great potentialities in the Panchamas, and if only they become educated they would also have an important part to play in bringing about the regeneration of India. The first requisite for India's regeneration was the reformation of Hinduism, in fact, the ushering in of Neo-Hinduism, would lead to India's greatness, both politically and socially. And the Panchamas with their undoubted intelligence and emotional enthusiasm could certainly contribute much that was valuable for establishing the Hinduism of the reformed and genuine type which the speaker had in view. (Prolonged applause.)

There was afterwards a dramatic performance, the play staged being *Nandanar*.—The *Madras Mail*.

BURMA AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

Mr. Maung Pu, B. A., and Mr. Bernard Houghton were called in before the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform. Mr. Maung Pu stated that he represented not only the Burma Reform League, but a very large section of the Burmese population. Burma was larger than France or the British Isles, and had had a very long history. They had a proper kingdom by the time of the Roman Conquest of England. His league had over 220 Associations and control of 30 schools. There were Hindus and Mahomedans settled in the country, but Buddhism had had no stain of intolerance, so there was no need to be apprehensive as to their liberties. The Announcement had aroused great expectations in Burma, and when the Secretary of State visited India they sent him their deputation to Calcutta. Witness read paragraph 198 of the Joint Report explaining the omission of Burma. Mr. Maung Pu controverted every one of the reasons given for that omission. The scheme approved by the Lieut-Governor was very inferior to the one in the Joint Report. Subsequent modifications had made it more retrogressive, with the result that in May, 1919, the Council

of the Burma Reform League had condemned the Craddock scheme entirely. Witnesses described the Craddock scheme; its chief defect was that, instead of proper representation of the people, the village headmen (Government officials) would form about half of the Council. Sir Reginald Craddock had himself emphasised Burma's freedom from the caste difficulty, religious dissensions, and marked social cleavages. The emancipated condition of the Burmese woman markedly distinguished Burma from India, as well as the higher standard of living. Moreover, Burma possessed a ready-made electoral register. The elective system was practised and understood in Burma. The loyalty of Burma was wonderful, and she had rendered yeoman service during the war. They had great faith in British Statesmen, British Justice, and the British Parliament, and placed the fate of Burma in its hands. They wanted a Lieut-Governor sent out direct by the British Parliament, and an executive Council containing one European and two Burmese. In their Legislative Council they wanted four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members.

Burmese women occupied a very high position. They had a better status than English ladies because they had control of the purse of the family, which was not the case in England. The absence of the Purdah system helped to make Burmese literacy high—in every 1,000, 376 males and 61 females were able to read and write, which was higher than in Bengal or Madras. Women at present had the Municipal Franchise, and in the rural districts they had the vote for headmen. Most of the retail business was in their hands, and they moved about quite freely like ladies in the West. He trusted that Lord Selborne's Committee would report favourably on behalf of reforms in Burma.

Lord Selborne complimented Mr. Maung Pa on the clearness of his evidence, and thanked him.

DISEASE AND MARRIAGES.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for publishing my letter, and I expect you to show me the same kindness in publishing the following few lines.

I have stated in my last letter and I beg to state again that the eight of the unfortunate innocent girls, in the midst of the higher society, who have been forced to ruin themselves or to lead a bad immoral life, on account of their being married to unfit, defective men, has made me look upon the institution of divorce not an ugly thing, but a means to remove ugly things and to purify the society.

When I advocate the institution of divorce, allow me to make myself clearer. I look upon marriage not as a social contract but a holy tie. Marriage therefore must be performed before God, in good faith and with clean hearts. Both the parties must understand what they do. It must not be a child's-play or a fraud.

When marriage is a child's play, when marriage is a fraud, divorce is a necessity. It is a medicine and is as essential as food and must be taken, when the system goes wrong. It is not the rigorous, unjust laws, that keep us pure and honest but it is the noble-teaching and full social liberty to stand to one's honour and to one's higher ideal. Virtuous, honest souls must not find their way blocked up. The line must be clear for their growth and their march onward.

Yours Sincerely,
KANKAR, K. G.

A Panchama Conference: Under the auspices of the Civic and Social Progress Association a Panchama Conference will be held at the Town Hall, Mysore on the 1st and 2nd October 1919 commencing at 2 P.M. each day. Delegates have been invited from all the Talukas in the State and arrangements made for their boarding and lodging at the Central Panchama Institute. The Hon. Mr. M. C. Raja, member of the Legislative Council, Madras, has kindly consented to preside. Swami Shahananda of Nandanar Mutt, Chidambaram has also been invited. All gentlemen interested in the uplift of Panchamas are requested to attend and co-operate in the movement.

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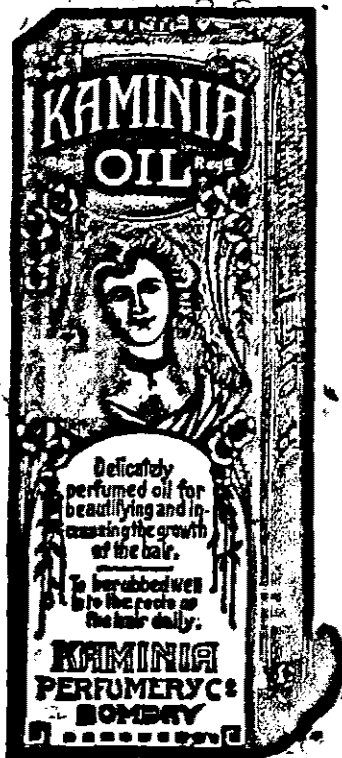
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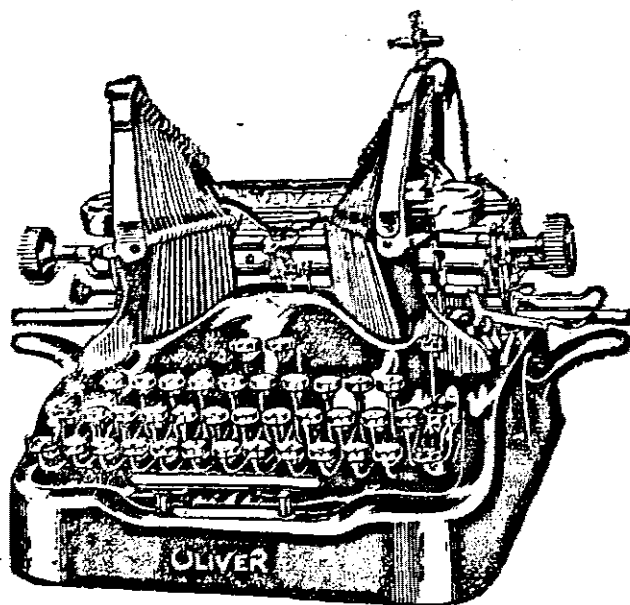
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX BOMBAY—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1919. No. 5.

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

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NOTES.

Tariff Reform in India. The *Gazette of India* prints the text of the Act levying an export duty on hides and skins of 15 per cent *ad valorem* with, subject to such conditions as the Government of India may prescribe, a rebate to the exporter of two-thirds of the duty levied on hides and skins exported to any part of the British Empire, Indian States, or of any territories under the protection of His Majesty or in respect of which a mandate of the League of Nations is exercised by the Government of any part of His Majesty's Dominions. In other words, the right of rebate will pertain to exports not only to the United Kingdom, the Self-Governing and the Crown Colonies, but also to Egypt and to the mandated countries not only of the United Kingdom but also of South Africa and Australia. The last occasion on which the Government of India expressed a considered opinion on the policy of Imperial Preference was in Lord Curzon's time, and their verdict then was distinctly against it. Since then the Indian public has not been called upon to declare its views on the question. The introduction of this measure at Simla in such circumstances is unjustifiable. The Government spokesman told the Council that this arrangement was not proposed as part of any general scheme of Imperial Preference. That only makes it worse. We respectfully urge that Government have no right to deprive the country of an opportunity of examining the general principle by bringing it in, in the guise of separate items. A general principle has no existence if its particular applications are dealt with independently of each other. We are surprised to see that so shrewd a publicist as Sir Dinsbaw Wacha acquiesced in the transparent subterfuge. We rather like this export duty because it is well-known that the temptation offered by the high prices of hides and skins in foreign countries, has been a cause of the crime of cattle-poisoning which is chronic in some parts of the country.

Government had the unanimous support of the Council so far as the policy of an export duty on hides went. But the proposal to tack on to it a rebate of two-thirds of the duty on exports to the vast number of countries enumerated above, has all the appearance of taking away with one hand what is given with the other. The argument that a differentiation against South Africa in the Bill would be a pin-prick detrimental to Sir Benjamin Robertson's mission, could have proceeded only from one who was strangely insensible to the numerous pricks, from more substantially pointed articles than pins, to which Indians have been subjected in that part of His Majesty's Empire. By the way, His Excellency the Viceroy was understood to imply that there was to be a deputation to South Africa to be conducted by Sir Benjamin. But we have not since heard of any one else being on the deputation. Sir Benjamin is apparently to be all of it. We are unable to accept this as a satisfactory arrangement. Men who were in South Africa on the last occasion were by no means agreed as to the precise role adopted by Sir Benjamin. We can only hope that the mission will be a success.

The Dye Stuffs Ordinance. There was some plain speaking at the annual meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber regarding the order prohibiting the import into India of dyes except from the United Kingdom. If dyes are made in the United Kingdom in sufficient quantities, and if they are as good as, and not more costly than dyes produced in other countries, the need for, such an order would not arise. The order presupposes that the English product is either not as good as, or that it is more highly priced than, dyes available in other countries. So far as this supposition is well-founded, the order is clearly tantamount to a compulsory levy of the difference in cash or quality from the Indian manufacturer of cloth to the English manufacturer of dyes. We have not seen any defence of this extraordinary measure from Government. There may be a defence, there must be some. But we are unable to think of any. If the United Kingdom were asked to take all its supply of cotton or wheat from India and no other country, there can be no doubt about the answer. A rebate of quite two-thirds of the export duty of 15 per cent now levied on hides and skins by the Government of India, on exports principally to the United Kingdom, was justified on the ground that without it the surplusage of India in respect of these gruesome but useful commodities would rot in this country. Perhaps, the United Kingdom has undertaken to sell dyes to India at specially favourable rates. We do not know. We trust that the injustice and impolicy of placing all the give on one pair of shoulders and all the take on another is obvious to our rulers.

The Home Coming of the Deputations. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. K. C. Kay and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyar, members of the Indian deputations to England, returned last week. They were interviewed by an Associated Press representative, and the Western India National Liberal Association welcomed Mr. Banerjee at a public meeting presided over by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar were hopeful that the Joint Committee will enlarge the scope of the Reform Bill to some extent in the directions desired by Indian opinion, especially in regard to the introduction of an element of responsibility to the Indian people in the Government of India. This has been inaccurately described as liberalising the Central Government. We prefer to call it a very necessary strengthening of the Central Government. We have repeatedly urged in these columns that a strong Central Government is the indispensable condition of security and prosperity in this country. The present Government of India is a hard Government but it is not a strong Government. No strong Government should need a Rowlatt Act or Martial Law to uphold its authority. Only a Government absolutely divorced from and out of touch with the currents of the people's life would need them. The Government of India in Delhi and Simla is completely isolated. There is all the greater need to introduce a substantial measure of effective popular influence in its Councils. The Government of India can be strengthened only if it is liberalised.

Indian Women and the Suffrage: Mr. Surendranath Banerjee referred in his speech to the question of woman suffrage in India in a manner which was rather apologetic. He was, he said, a member of the Franchise Committee, and he would say this question was not placed before them in anything like earnestness, except in Bombay. Hardly a witness, who appeared before the Joint Committee, was not asked about woman's franchise, and it appeared that there was an idea in the minds of some of the members of the Joint Committee that perhaps the solution of this problem lay in giving the Legislative Councils the power to determine whether in any particular province, women should be given representation. Mr. Banerjee's statement that the question was not placed before the Franchise Committee earnestly except in Bombay, is in conflict with Lord Southbrough's statement before the Joint Committee that he was astonished at the volume of evidence in favour of women suffrage all over the country. However that may be, we are glad that the Joint Committee has shown greater appreciation of the importance of the question. We can trust the Legislative Councils to deal justly with it, but we do not see why this alone should be left to them, involving, perhaps, the disfranchisement of women in the elections which will inaugurate the reforms. Let the new era see the men and women of India step on the threshold of responsible Government hand in hand.

Sir Stanley Reed: Mr. Banerjee spoke in glowing terms of the important evidence given before the Committee by Sir Stanley Reed, and its helpfulness to the cause of Indian progress. He said: Speaking from a platform in Bombay, he desired to pay a tribute of his appreciation and admiration to the evidence which Sir Stanley Reed gave before the Joint Committee. It was in every way worthy of the occasion and worthy of the great traditions of the journal which he edited with such consummate ability. He said in the course of his evidence that the Moderate Party was a great asset, and that unless the Montague-Chelmsford scheme

was given effect to in its essential features, the proposed reforms would fail to satisfy the Indian people. Mr. Banerjee thought that Sir Stanley Reed's evidence made a great impression upon the Joint Committee. His evidence and that of Sir Michael Sadler, President of the University Commission were, he thought, "the most impressive among those of the European witnesses." Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar also spoke in similar strain of the service rendered to India by Sir Stanley Reed and Sir Michael Sadler. "We ought never to forget," he said, "the services of Englishmen like Lord Southbrough, Sir Stanley Reed and Sir Michael Sadler, who bravely championed the Indian cause with a statesmanlike perception of the essential needs of India and advocated their views before the Parliamentary Committee."

Hand and Brain: The current number of the *Challenge*, the sprightly and vigorous organ of democratised Christianity, contains the following admonition to the Labour Party in England which is not without application to this country: "Mr. Henderson more than a year ago pleaded for an alliance between the workers by brain and the workers by hand. It is a thorny question and upon its answer depends the fate of those whom, for want of a better term, we call the middle class. It is significant that our contemporary, *The Daily Herald*, has been investigating the conditions of life amongst clerks and teachers during the last few days. Education can only be very gradual in its effect, and a generation at least must elapse before Mr. Fisher's Act can show any tangible results upon the democracy of the country. The interregnum must be bridged, and it is difficult to see how Labour can progress without the active co-operation of the brain workers. But there is a more important side to this question. The bank clerk, the teacher and the shopkeeper are looking in vain for any avenue of escape. At present they are being crushed between the upper and nether millstones. Labour professes the welfare of the whole community. Oxford and Cambridge are being thrown open to an increasing degree to the poorer men and women who have shown promise of ability. An alliance will benefit both parties, and it is not only being sought from interested motives. Certainly an alliance will tip the scale."

"Justice" on Mr. Joshi's Deputation. *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahman movement in Southern India, criticising Mr. Joshi's delegation to the Labour Conference at Washington, observes. "Mr. Joshi belongs to the Servants of India Society. So far as we are aware, the Servants of India Society is financed among others by some of the mill-owners in Bombay; and is it expected that Mr. Joshi would represent the labourers when their interests clash with those of the persons who are financing the Society? He would more rightly be the representative of the millowners themselves." But may we ask in reply to our contemporary. "*Justice* is owned by the South Indian People's Association. The Association is supported by several Zemindars. How can *Justice* represent the interests of the non-Brahmans, who are mostly cultivators, a certain proportion of them being tenants of these Zemindars? It would more rightly be the organ of the Zemindars." The answer to both the questions, is that there are mill-owners and Zemindars who are broad-minded enough to understand that their interests are identical with those of their workmen and tenants, and it is these who support public movements and not those who care only for their own pleasure and profit.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 5, 1919.

THE LATE PANDIT SIVANATH SASTRY.

The death of Pandit Sivanath Sastry at the age of 72 removes the last remaining link between the pioneers of social and religious reform in Bengal and the present generation. The Pandit was born fourteen years after the death of Raja Rammohan Roy. He was born—he tells us in his paper on his uncle, Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan, in his "Men I have seen," which we recently reviewed and from which the material is derived for this tribute to his honoured memory,—in his maternal uncle's house at Chandripota, ten miles from Calcutta, on the 31st of January 1847. He was the first male child born in the family for many years. His advent, therefore, was hailed by the ladies of the house with the loud blowing of conch-shells, and his uncle, at his first visit to the village home after the event, greeted his newly-arrived nephew with the present of a gold mohur. The child grew up in an atmosphere of learning, piety and sturdy public spirit. His maternal grandfather was the great Sanskrit scholar, Pandit Hara Chandra Nyayaratna, his maternal uncle was collaborator with Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar on the Bengali journal *Soma Prakash*, and his father was Head Pandit in the village school. The women of the family were typical Indian women, "honest," to use the Pandit's epithets about his maternal grandmother, "truthful, warm-hearted and loving, charitable and forbearing, devoted to religion and full of kindness for the poor and the suffering." The Pandit tells us that he got into the evil habit of smoking at the age of twelve, and was detected by his venerable grandfather who made him promise that he will never smoke again. He kept his promise to the end of his life. "Since then" he writes, "I have almost a horror of all cigars and cigarettes. It pains me to see boys smoking." In the same essay, the Pandit relates how, having been commissioned by his father, to hand over a letter to Mr. Woodrow, then a Government Inspector of Schools, he angered that official by refusing to take off his shoes in his presence. His uncle, when he heard of the incident blessed him for his high spirit, and published an account of the incident in the *Soma Prakash* with proper comments on Mr. Woodrow's bahadurism.

Young Sivanath Sastry was brought to Calcutta when he was only nine years old, and was soon admitted into the Calcutta Sanskrit College of which the illustrious Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was Principal. Vidyasagar was as thorough-going an educational as he was a social reformer. He had just before Sivanath Sastry joined the College in-

roduced great reforms. He had thrown open the doors of the College to others than the twice-born castes—Brahmins and Vaidyas; he had altered the old mode of teaching, namely, commencing with *Mugdabodha*, the well-known Sanskrit grammar, and had introduced in its place the practice of commencing the education of beginners with his own Bengali primers, and his introductory Sanskrit grammar—a change disliked and criticised by the old Pandits. Vidyasagar had also introduced the system of payment of fees in place of free education. Further, he had commenced the practice of teaching English as a second language in the higher classes of the Sanskrit College. He was at the same time carrying on his vigorous propaganda in favour of the remarriage of Hindu widows. The College—teachers and students—took sides in the controversy which was dividing Hindu society into hostile camps. The first widow remarriage was celebrated in 1856. "When Vaidyasagar Mahashoy came with his friend, the bridegroom, at the head of a large procession," writes Pandit Sivanath Sastry, "the crowd of spectators was so great that there was not an inch of moving space in the whole street, and many fell into the big drains which were to be seen by the sides of the Calcutta streets of those days." Vidyasagar fell out with the Director of Public Instruction shortly after that, and resigned his post, and was thenceforth wholly absorbed by his social reform work. Sivanath Sastry threw himself heart and soul in the widow remarriage cause, which estranged him from his parents. But it was not in his nature to turn back after having once put his hands to the plough. At much personal sacrifice, he stood by remarried couples, sharing their hardships, bearing persecution. But his mind was taking a wider range. He passed his F. A. in 1869, but before that religious problems were beginning to trouble him. Sivanath Sastry states that it was about 1865 or 1866 that he began to feel earnestly about religion. We have omitted to mention that the Pandit Sastry was engaged when one or two years old to a baby girl of two or three months. In point of fact, he says, in his essay on his uncle, this custom of giving little babies in marriage prevails among Kulin Brahmins in Bengal even now, though, we are sure, to a considerably smaller extent.

In August 1869, while yet an undergraduate at College, Pandit Sastry was formally initiated into Brahmoism on the same day as the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. Even his uncle who had stood by him when his father excluded him on account of his participation in the widow marriage movement, cast him away. His father himself left his village home in despair and went to spend his last years in Benares. Before doing so, he expelled

his apostate son with his girl wife and infant daughter from his house, leaving young Sastry to maintain himself and his little family from the scholarships he had won. The fact that he had joined the Keshub party, which had split in 1866 from the Adi Brahma Samaj of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore on the question of Brahman Ministers of the Samaj continuing to wear the holy thread, no doubt, made more bitter the estrangement from his relatives. The Maharshi had yielded on many points to Keshub, including the abrogation of the rule that only Brahmans should be Ministers of the Samaj. But when Keshub demanded that no Brahman should be a minister unless he threw off his holy thread, the Maharshi refused. Whereupon Keshub formed a new Samaj. It was into this Samaj that Pandit Sivanath Sastri was initiated. "Up to 1868," he writes, "my sympathies were rather with the Adi Brahma Samaj than with the Brahma Samaj of India of Keshub Chander Sen. Born in a *shakta* family, accustomed to *shakti* worship from childhood, I had an inborn repugnance to the Vaishnava *khond kartal*, the musical instruments of *sankirtan*." But he gave up this prejudice under the influence of Keshub. The real cause of the schism was caste. Keshub who was a non-Brahmin wanted to break the tradition of Brahman leadership which the Brahma movement had inherited from Ram Mohan Roy, and which had been confined by the succession to its headship of Mahashri Devendra Nath Tagore, who were both Brahmans. That Sivanath Sastry, a Brahman, should have elected to throw in his lot with the Keshub party and not with the Adi Brahma Samaj, says a great deal for his strength of character and conviction. The same qualities were even more strongly exhibited when later Pandit Sastry with Ananda Mohan Bose fell off from Keshub when he gave his daughter—a tender girl—in marriage to the heir to the gadi of Cooch-Bihar. Pandit Sivanath Sastry has given a vivid description of the meeting convened to send a letter of protest to Keshub, on the night of 2nd February, 1878.

The proceedings commenced with earnest prayer and we sat deliberating till about 2 A. M. when the question of sending the letter was decided upon and its points settled. But a new difficulty arose at that point. Our friends Messrs D. M. Das, late Vakil of the High Court, and D. N. Ganguli, late Assistant Secretary of the Indian Association, raised the question as to the next step we wanted to take, in case Mr. Sen gave no heed to our letter. Were we prepared, they asked, to start a new Samaj? Every one was taken aback, for they had not thought over such a contingency till then. Myself and my friend (Bose) positively declared that such a thought was till then out of our mind, and that we were earnestly hoping that things would settle down, without leading to a rupture in the body.

The break came. It had to come. Keshub had broken the Brahmanic tradition in the Samaj. But there was a far deeper and more inveterate tradi-

tion of which, in fact, the Brahmanic tradition was but a symptom, which he could not break, and which broke him. It was the tradition of belief without practice, faith without works, speech without action. It is as deep-rooted in the non-Brahman as the Brahman. Caste may be abolished but unless this also goes, things will be no better. Keshub foiled in the field of action, betook himself to mysticism. The stern nature of Pandit Sastry revolted. The Sadaran Brahma Samaj was founded. For now nearly a generation, Pandit Sivanath Sastry has been its most venerated head. We rather think that of late years he was not quite satisfied with some developments in the Sadharan Samaj. That is, however, another story. Pandit Sastry was one of the founders of the City College. We have no space to recount the manifold missionary activities of the late great reformer. To him may be truthfully applied the resounding lines from the Epilogue to *Asolando*. He was

One who never turned his back, but marched breast
forward,

Never doubted clouds could break,

Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would
triumph,

Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

POST GRADUATE TEACHING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

The report of the Council of the Post Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University during the session 1918-19 just to hand is an interesting record of work. The late Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, reviews the working of these Councils, with genuine gratification which does one good to see. The originality of the experiment and the boldness of its aspirations are equalled only by the success of the scheme and the supreme confidence of Sir Asutosh. He claims with pardonable pride that "nothing like this has ever been achieved or even attempted in any Indian University." The difficulties have been enormous and they have suffered from lack of funds and sometimes from lack of sympathy.

There are two Councils, one for teaching in Arts and the other in Science, and the task before these two Councils is stupendous. We will try briefly to indicate their scope. During the year under review the work of instruction and investigation was carried on in seventeen different branches of study. In the Department of English there were 521 students in the fifth and sixth year classes. In this subject there are two divisions, one predominantly literary and the other chiefly linguistic. The Council has decided that lectures by themselves are not sufficient, and individual research work is practically enforced. There were 21 teachers

for 521 students in English making an average of one teacher for 25 students.

The next department is Sanskrit with 3 students in the two classes with a teaching staff of 20 university professors. The organisation for Higher Sanskrit studies had not been undertaken a moment too soon in this University. Sanskrit is in the domain of learning an empire by itself. The qualifications of the teachers are of the highest and we can assert without hesitation that such a galaxy of Sanskritists of a variety of types have not been brought together for purposes of instruction in any university of the world.

The next is the department of Pali or Buddhistic studies. Here the number of students was 7 and there were 10 professors. In Pali as well as Sanskrit there were scholars trained in western methods as also those brought up under the indigenous system. The orthodox teachers in Pali belong to the sect of celibate monks for whom it is sacrilege to accept service. This combination of teachers is a unique feature and is likely to lead to fruitful results in the domain of Buddhistic learning.

Comparative Philology, for reasons quite obvious does not attract very many students and there were only 3 students in the two classes. The next in the syllabus are the Islamic Studies, Arabic and Persian, which attracted 9 students. But Mental and Moral Philosophy was more popular, the total number of students being 175. The staff consists of 17 teachers all of them of the highest academic distinction.

A most interesting item is the department of Experimental Psychology which has taken a full dozen years to start. Here there were 22 students. It is significant that this is the first Indian university where arrangements have been made for the systematic study of Experimental Psychology.

The course in History was very crowded, there being 189 students in the general course alone. The second division consisted of a special course in Ancient Indian History and Culture. Many wondered at the boldness of the idea of a separate degree for this branch of study alone but time has proved that the course in its entirety would be too vast for the comprehension of any student within the time at his disposal.

The subject of Economics opens up an attractive and illimitable field of work with a variety of avenues divided into two divisions, Political Economy and Political Philosophy. The studies had to be carried on with special reference to Indian conditions and in all there were no less than 18 different subjects in this group in which instruction had to be provided.

Mathematics lies on the borderland between Arts and Science. There were 192 students in Pure Mathematics and 45 students in Applied Mathe-

matics. In the department of Physics there were 56 students in all which is a record number for the University. It is highly gratifying to note that the demand for instruction is very great, but it is a pity that many applicants had to be refused admission for want of accommodation and lack of laboratory appliances. The development of Physical Science in its modern ramifications has been astonishing in scope and variety, and as a consequence it has been decided to have, in addition to the general course of lectures, special courses on a number of topics which make a formidable list of 16 advanced series.

In Chemistry there were 46 students and a staff of 12 teachers of unexceptionable professional qualifications. The department of Botany has not attracted as much attention as one would have wished. The total number of students being only 12. In physiology there were 9 students, the staff consisting of two lecturers. The arrangements in Geology were by no means adequate and there were only 6 students on the whole:

Sir Asutosh maintains that "higher teaching is likely to be of little value unless it is imparted by men who are themselves engaged in extending the boundaries of knowledge." Where so many contributions of high value and abiding interest have been made in a variety of directions, it will seem invidious to select a few for special mention. Mr. Shama Sastry of Mysore, the greatest living authority on the Artha-Sastra of Kautilya, delivered a course of inspiring lectures on his wonderful work. Babu Surendra-nath Sen has entered the promising field of the Administrative system of Shivaji, and a volume on the Inscriptions of Asoka by Prof. Bhandarkar and Babu Surendra Nath Majumdar is ready for publication.

At the top of all these comes the arrangement for the study of Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan. These languages furnish abundant material for the exploration of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Dr. Vidyabhusan has also in hand the preparation of an elaborate index of the two great Tibetan Encyclopaedias which occupy 225 volumes and embody translations of more than five thousand Sanskrit books which have disappeared from India. Arrangements have also been made for the study of French, Dutch and German both by the students and the teachers. Professor Seal has during the last two years carried on an investigation on statistical principles and methods of the history of examinations in this University. No other country or University probably possesses a collection of statistical records like this affecting hundreds of thousands of students and the exploration of this untrodden field is likely to yield results of great significance for educational re-organisation in this country.

There have been also arrangements made for the scientific study of the Indian Vernaculars. Instruction is given in Bengali as a principal subject with a number of other vernaculars as subsidiary subjects, including Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Maharatti, Gujarathi, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese Malayalam, Sinhalese and Maithili. The enthusiasm which has been roused by the scheme for the institution of special degrees in Indian Vernaculars is really inspiring.

The contributions of the professors figure prominently in journals of the highest standing in Europe and America. This is most emphatically true of the members of the Physics and Chemistry department. The researches of Prof. C. V. Raman and his colleagues have made their name familiar and have secured for their views respectful consideration in academic circles in Europe and America. In Chemistry the researches of Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. P. C. Mitter etc., have helped not merely to maintain but also to advance the reputation of the Calcutta School of Chemistry founded by Sir P. C. Ray. Indeed, contributions by members of the staff have become so prolific that the University has undertaken the publication of two journals, one for the department of Letters and one for that of Science.

The fact that many of the workers are in the prime of life is of immense significance. It indicates that a magnificent opportunity for academic work has been opened out to the present generation, such as never came within the reach or even the vision of the generation now about to pass away.

THE PROBLEM OF CASTES IN INDIA. I

The Hon. Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Validating Bill has created a great stir in the orthodox section of the Hindu community. The latter have gone so far as to apprehend that the passing of the Bill into a Law, will produce nothing but hybrid castes in India. Let the wise and the thoughtful see, how far those people who declare it as a mischievous plot against the Hindu Society, are justified on social or religious grounds. Let it first be considered thoroughly how far the present-day castes are quite identical with those of the ancient days.

The advent of the Europeans, and the introduction of railways, modern methods of trade, and machinery in India, have made it impossible for the Hindus to follow and act according to the ancient canons of Society. The old social organisation as legislated for by the ancients, is not practically suited for the people of to-day, who live in an age, quite different from theirs, and from the days of Manu. In all directions, people are deserting their traditional occupations which according to the ancient order are the chief characteristic features of their castes, and now a man's occupation is no longer the sure index of his particular caste. The Brahman and the Shudra travel in the same train, and the people of all castes are crowded up in the same streets of

big towns. While on a journey it is impossible for a Brahman to do his daily duties properly, and he cannot observe strictly the rules of eating and drinking. The rigid barriers between the people of one caste and the other seem to be broken a little, though the process is exceedingly slow. The majority of the people are still very punctilious in matters of eating, drinking, and various other kinds of social functions.

There is not a single place on the face of this earth, where one may not come across the division of the people, in different social groups. In modern Europe the social intercourse is confined to the people belonging to the same social standing. But there is no hard and fast boundary between one class and the other. No class dominates over the other. A man of lower social group can raise himself to the position of a proud aristocrat, and thus has the freedom of moving in the highest circle of society. Every one is left alone to decide his own case. He can take a wife from any class, and have social intercourse with the people without any fear of interference or penalty. The Hindus, on the other hand, are divided into innumerable castes and sub-castes, and they are compelled to abstain from eating and drinking or having any social intercourse with the people not belonging to their castes. A Hindu must take a wife from his own fold, and he must observe the ceremonies customary to his caste fellows. There are countless restrictions forced upon each group, and they are so deeply rooted in them, that an average Hindu lacks the moral courage to act independently or to do any thing of which his caste disapproves.

The word "caste" being of Portuguese origin, meaning "breed" or "class," does not express fully the sense conveyed by the Sanskrit word "Varna" or "Jati". As the word "caste" has been in vogue conventionally, let us adopt it for our purpose. It was Manu who laid down the rules and regulations for each caste, so that the duties allotted to each may be fully and carefully explained, and the progress of the country may not be retarded. He stands as an authority, and there is no Hindu who dare question the truths expounded by him and the rules laid down by him. Though much of inconsistency is observed in the Manu-Smriti, yet this does not, in any way, weaken the faith of the Hindus in this sacred book. Fictitious laws have been introduced by unknown persons to serve their own interests, yet much of the matter remains unpolluted. Let us see what he has to say in regard to the duties of each caste.

Manu tells us that there were only four principal castes in his days. He, after laying down the duties for the four castes, the rules of discipline, ceremony, and rites, and telling us something about education, Shradh, and the Veda-study, classifies the legitimate and illegitimate issues of hybrid castes, and has given separate names for classes formed by half-breeds. The history of India has changed since the days of Manu. The colour of the skin of the people has changed, their forms and figures changed, and even their languages have become different. At the present time, it is extremely difficult to trace out the caste of a man from the colour of his skin, or the

cut of his nose, even by physiognomy. Judging from Manu's point of view, we have not true Brahmanas, Kshatriyas Vaishyas and Shudras who inherit the qualities of their predecessors.

According to Manu, the Brahmanas alone could teach the Vedas, and nobody else. In our days we see the deplorable condition of the illiterate and uneducated Brahmanas. Should they, then, be allowed to call themselves the true successors of those intellectual giants and the spiritual leaders of the ancient Aryavarta? Many of the modern days, have taken to trade. The punishment inflicted on such Brahmanas, according to Manu, is that they should be judged as Shudra! He says that those Brahmanas who sell milk even for three days, become Shudras; then what to say of those Brahmanas, whose very source of income is from selling milk! We have scholars in Sanskrit, and of Vedic literature, who are not only non-Brahmanas, but foreigners. The number of educated Brahmanas sinks into minority when compared with the people of other castes, who are comparatively more highly educated. How many Brahmanas have we then, who represent the priestly class of the days of Manu? The other castes too, are not free from degeneration. The Kshatriyas have lost the proud privilege of being the protectors of the country. In the regular military forces, we have very few of the Kshatriyas. Many of them are engaged in trade, services, vocations not prescribed for them. No longer the Shudras are to remain in their degraded positions. Societies have been formed, for the improvement of the "untouchables." Some of them are receiving higher education in schools and colleges.

THE AMATEUR DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION, BANGALORE.

The stage has in all ages been recognised as a potent factor in popular education, combining as it happily does, instruction and amusement. What Poetry and Fiction do for the cultured few, Drama does for the uncultured and unlettered many in lightening their cares and helping them to a right appreciation of life.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Stage has not, however, been fulfilling its legitimate function, having, with but few honorable exceptions, been monopolised by persons with no pretensions to culture or character, and having been largely given over to frivolity in varying degrees, with neither the desire nor the capacity to aid in the advancement of genuine Art. This unfortunate change in what was once a useful social institution, bound up with some of the best instincts of human nature, has gone so far as to lead some persons seriously to maintain that there is something radically vicious in the whole theory and principle of the stage and therefore to advocate its being put down with an aggressive hand. But fortunately for the Art of which the Stage is a prominent exponent, there is a great and ever increasing number of persons that do not forget that some of the best representatives of Poetic genius in the East and the West wrote for the Stage; and that Kalidasa and Shakespeare wield even to day the Magic Wand of Prospero over the imagination of mankind not only by the infinite charms they have for the most refined

taste of Scholars but also by the facility with which their sublime and thoughtful teaching may be brought delightfully home to simple minds through the medium of the Stage. They would therefore make no futile attempts to destroy this useful Public Institution, but would rather strive to remove its abuses and to elevate it stone.

Attempts at resuscitating the Indian Stage have been going on for some time past in Bengal, in the Maharashtra, in the Andhra and the Tamil Countries with great success. The association possesses in one capacity or another eminent persons such as H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the late Messrs. D. Krishnamacharlu and Kolachalam Srinivasa Rao of Bellary and V. Krishna-swamiyer of Madras, the Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur M. J. S. Chakravarti and Mr. T. Raghavachari with several amateurs and it is a gratifying sign of the willingness of educated public opinion to rescue the stage from the undesirable hands into which it has fallen. It was a desire to take up this work and extend it in the Kannada Country as well that led to the starting of the Bangalore Amateur Dramatic Association in 1909.

The objects of the Association have been laid down as:—
(a) The study and cultivation of the histrionic and other Fine arts, (b) the improvement of Indian Dramatic and other Art Literature, (c) the raising of the tone of the Indian stage, (d) the advancement of the Civic and Social progress of the people.

And the means among others are: (a) the representation of dramas on the Stage, the production of original dramatic and other art literature, lectures and exhibitions, (b) games, entertainments and socials.

During the first few years, the Association confined its attention to the stagic representation of Shakespearian Dramas. It was the uniformly sympathetic and generous reception accorded to these shows by the educated public of Bangalore and Mysore, that led to the opening of a Telugu section and nearly a Dozen different dramas some of the masterpieces of the late Messrs Dr. Krishnamacharlu and Kollachalam Srinivasa Rao and Mr. D. Gopala Charlu of Bellary have been staged before distinguished audiences in Bangalore and Mysore. Among the guests of the Association were H. H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Association considers it a gratifying token of public approval of their efforts that on most of these occasions people have been seen in the theatre who otherwise rarely darken its doors. The Association staged twenty plays in each of the years 1917-18 and 1918-19, in Bangalore Mysore and Madras.

In 1917 the Association instituted a prize for a Histrionic competition and the Prize was given away by Sir Leslie C. Miller.

In 1916 the Association instituted a Prize for an Essay on the late Mr. Gokhale. In 1919 A Prize of Rs. 250/- was instituted for the best Kannada Drama on a Historical or a Social subject. 10 plays have already been received and are in the hands of the Judges. Another Prize of the value of Rs. 50 was instituted for the best short humorous sketch in Kannada on some Topical subject. 7 Sketches have been received and the Prize was awarded to "Tolu Gatti" by Mr. T. P. Kalianam B.A., Etc. By kind permission, the last two prizes have been associated with the name of the Patron of the Association H. H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore, who has graciously consented to give them away himself. Since 1917 periodical meetings of a Religious-Literary nature have been held at which Lectures of and Readings from eminent authors such as Tagore, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sister

Niveditta, Gokhale and others were followed by Poja and Bhajana. The first of the series of Public Lectures contemplated by the Association was delivered in September 1918 by Mr. C. R. Reddy M.A. I.C. of Education in Mysore on Drama in the East and West. (The Lecture with the Presidential Remarks of Dewan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti has since been printed and published by the Association.), The Association maintains a small Library and is furnished with 16 Periodicals.

In January 1919 the Association organised the Festival of Fine Arts. At the request of the Association Dr. Rabindranath Tagore came down to Bangalore to preside at the opening ceremony of the Festival, when the Association had the privilege of presenting the distinguished guest with an address enclosed in a suitable casket. The Programme of the Festival week included a Fine Arts Exhibition at which were put on view Exhibits of the Modern Bengal School of Painting, copies of Ajanta Frescoes, casts of Vijayanagar Sculpture, specimens of the Mogul and the Rajput and South Indian Schools of Painting, besides specimen art-crafts from Mysore and elsewhere.

The Association hopes to keep up and increase its activities in the fields of art and social service. When financial considerations permit, it hopes to give free entertainments and carry amusement with instruction to the very doors, as it were, of even the poorest; to organise an Art Gallery of which it possesses a small nucleus; to introduce greater opportunities of club life for its members by the provision of games and by putting up a building and theatre of its own.

THE CASUALTIES AT THE JALLIANWALLA BAG.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

In the course of the debate on the Indemnity Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 19th instant, the Hon. Mr. Thompson is reported by the Associated Press to have made the following remarks regarding the casualties at the Jallianwalla Bag of Amritsar on the 13th April, 1919, "Coming to the Jallianwalla Bag incident, he (Mr. Thompson) said that the casualties there according to Pandit Malaviya amounted to 580. Now the Government of the Punjab had adopted every means in its power to ascertain the actual number of deaths there. A proclamation was made in Amritsar and the surrounding villages inviting all persons who had any information regarding the names of deaths. Instructions were issued to the local authorities there to encourage men to come forward and give information they possessed. Every possible step was taken in that direction. The result of the enquiry was that the total number of casualties amounted to 291, and any further number suggested by any body must be taken with great discretion."

As the question is one of more than passing interest, may I venture to intrude on your hospitality and, through the medium of your esteemed, journal to state the correct facts bearing on the point. Before proceeding further, I feel I should mention the fact that I have been working at Amritsar from the 18th July, 1919, in connection with the distribution under the auspices of the Allahabad Seva Samiti of relief to the sufferers from the recent disturbances. Owing to the nature of the work entrusted to me, I have had to make, from the very day I came here, strenuous efforts to ascertain the number of the killed and the wounded at the Jallianwalla Bag. The method pursued by our volunteers has been to go from house to house in the City of Amritsar, ascertaining the names not only of the killed, but also of the wounded. I

further arranged to send out volunteers to visit every single village in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot & Lahore so that we might give relief to their dependents in case of want. We are also advertising in the Urdu and Gurmukhi papers of the Punjab, asking people to communicate to the office the names and addresses of the killed and the wounded. We have so far finished the district of Amritsar only, and I am awaiting the reports of our volunteers who are touring in the remaining three districts.

I think that what has been said above will suffice to satisfy even the Hon. Mr. Thompson that the figure mentioned by our President, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is not based on mere unattested hearsay, but has been arrived at as a result of several weeks' patient, and hard labour. The number of the killed, so far known to us, comes up to 530, including 60 who could not be traced and, unknown and unclaimed, were cremated by certain philanthropic gentlemen. We have also received the names of over 200 persons who were wounded but have now recovered. Thus the total casualties come up to 730, of which 530 were killed and 200 wounded. Our lists are however not yet complete and I expect that some more names will have yet to be added. The figure of 291 given by the Hon. Mr. Thompson is therefore a palpable understatement.

I know that the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar issued on the 11th August, 1919, a proclamation, asking people to Communicate up to the 20th August the names of the killed to the Health Officer, Amritsar. He also asked the Patwaris to send in the lists from villages. But the Officiating Deputy Commissioner knows, and the Hon. Mr. Thompson does not know, how much the people here are terror-stricken and how reluctant they are to supply the information to the public authorities. Mr. Puckle therefore requested me to assure the people that those who communicated the information in their possession would in no way be harassed or prosecuted. I accordingly issued a notice in Urdu and Gurmukhi, asking the people to come forward and give information. Notwithstanding this, several persons could not muster courage enough to give the information to the Health Officer. As regards the reports from the Patwaris, the less said the better. I will content myself with saying only this much that their reports have in several cases, been found by us to be grossly inaccurate.

I should like to know if the Punjab Government has made any attempt to find out the names of the persons belonging to districts other than Amritsar, who were killed or wounded on the 13th April. So far as I know, no such attempt has been made. And yet it is known to all that a considerable number of persons present at the Jallianwalla Bag were drawn from the ranks of those outsiders who had come on account of the great *Baisakhi* day to Amritsar from such far-off places as Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Montgomery, Campbellpur and Srinagar (Kashmir). We have got the names of the killed belonging to these places in our list, but they are not to be found in the official list, copy of which has been supplied to us through the courtesy of the Officiating Deputy Commissioner. In the face of these facts, I venture to suggest with great respect to the Hon. Mr. Thompson that he is wrong in saying that "every possible step was taken in that direction." I assert that "every possible step" has not been taken to ascertain the names of the killed and the wounded. I further say that such action as has been taken was not taken until it was too late. And having regard to the facts narrated above I would in all humility request the Hon. Mr. Thompson to take his figure of 292 "with great discretion."

Yours truly,
V. N. TIVARY,

(Member, Servants of India Society.)

Honorary Secretary,
Seva Samiti, Allahabad.

Amritsar.
21st September 1919.

THE PLAGUE OF ANNOTATIONS.

To
The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*
Sir,

Sometime back a correspondent of the *Chronicle* under the pseudonym "A Recluse" while criticising in his article entitled 'Students and Loyalty' stated: "If students are told to accept the guidance of their teachers, they may understand definitely what to do. But in the first place all teachers are not of the same political persuasion. No teacher, unless his salary and prospects are assured by Government, will constantly risk his popularity by criticising newspapers and men of light and leading. You cannot expect students to be independent thinkers." Well as a matter of fact, students are encouraged by some external resources to be totally slavish to ideas and thoughts of others on any matter, and the reason of it is quite succinct. Just imagine the present day student, who is confronted, as it were, with so many text books prescribed by the University authorities, and, at the same time there are so many notes and catchisms on them—which generally are a sort of mania very commonly to be found in our educated persons and, I am sorry to state, some of the members of the I. E. S., who unnecessarily take the uncalled for trouble of annotating them and to which, it must be said in all fairness, the present day student cannot resist the temptation of being slavish.

I do not comprehend whether students are benefited by such notes, for as I have already stated they are encouraged by other resources to be slavish to thoughts of others on any fundamental subject, and there is no doubt that such notes do bring them success in their respective examinations after twice or four times administering to themselves that universally acknowledged bad habit of *cramping*, which has now been detested by every thoughtful person. Are not students I ask, in a position to prepare their own notes on any prescribed text book by the valued help of their professors and teachers? Can they not after independently thinking surmount their difficulties and thereby develop the power of independence in themselves? There are too many notes on different books edited by many educated persons, which naturally prevent even the careful student from taking the trouble of thinking over any problem independently. Thus the learned correspondent of the *Chronicle* is justified in stating that *students are not independent thinkers*. For how can they be independent in their thoughts under such circumstances?

If students do not comprehend their own interests that notes on their prescribed text books are a sort of great danger to their future career, then it is quite but natural that the same sort of bad habit will be developed in them, with the result that they will be completely non-plussed and wait for others' opinions, when they are called upon to express their own opinion on any fundamental subject. Let us therefore hope that students who are the future citizens of their country, will shake of this wretched habit of merely depending upon their notes and thereby develop the power of *self investigation* and *self-help*.

K. D. UMRIKAR.

DEVALAYA RESEARCH LIBRARY. CALCUTTA.

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

Need has always been felt of a library containing books on the lives and works of workers, religious and social, of all denominations and also books that they have left behind for

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The books of this library will be available to all readers in the Devalaya reading room which will be open from 7 to 9 A. M. and 4 to 7 P. M. daily. Only in exceptional cases will books of this library be allowed to be taken home. Newspapers and periodicals also will be kept in the reading room. Special consideration will be shown to those readers who intend to carry on research studies in some branch of the religious or social history of the country.

SASIPADA BANERJEE.

Calcutta, September 1st 1919.

A PUNJABI LADY OXONIAN.

"Oxford Majlis" (which is the name of the Indian Society at Oxford University) had, for the first time in its history, a Lady President during the last Trinity term, which terminated about the end of June. This young lady (Miss Shukla Behari Lal) hails from the Punjab, and is the daughter of a practical social reformer—Dr. Behari Lal Dhingra, Chief Medical officer of Jind State. She went to England before the War, and joined the Somerville College about three years ago. She was very popular socially, and was in a great measure responsible for the successful organisation of the Indian Conference—a purely social congregation—in England, which held its first session last year and the second during June this year. The "Oxford Majlis" held a reception in honour of their Lady President last June, and presented her with a handsome souvenir. Miss Behari Lal left homewards soon after that, in order to spend the hot weather with her parents at Mussoorie.

INTERMARRIAGES IN UPPER INDIA.

We take these two items from a recent issue of the *Leader* Allahabad.

Pandit Kesava Dasa Shastri of Benares will arrive in India some time in October. He will be married to an American lady in Bombay according to the Vedic rites. This

lady and her sister are coming to India with him and both will formally join the Arya Samaj here. Pandit Keshava Deva Shastri is now an M. D. and will, therefore, remain a physician as he was before he had left India. His activities will be exclusively social and religious to which he will devote his energies mainly. All enquiries about the date of his arrival, etc., should be made to the secretary, Arya Samaj, Benares city.

The marriage of Mr Senkar Saran, B.A. (Oxon), bar-at-law, son of Munshi Ishwar Saran, vakil, High Court, at Allahabad, has been settled with the daughter of Babu Lakshmi Sahai, B. A., state forest officer of Alwar. The bridegroom is a Srivastava (Dacre) and the bride an Asthana.

Increased Salaries: In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, it was stated on behalf of Government that the cost per annum of increased salaries sanctioned since January 1919, was:—(i) Army matrons in Hospital stations Rs. 4,50,000; revised rates of furlough to Indian Army and Medical Service Officers. Rs. 3,30,000; (ii) Indian Police Service Rs. 13,00,000, (iii) Indian Forest Service. Rs. 4,50,000, Indian Medical Service (civil and military) Rs. 25,00,000, (v) Educational Service Rs. 2,50,000. Total Rs. 52,80,000. These do not include the contemplated revisions in respect of pensions and other allowances of the Civil Services including Police, Forest and Educational, on the lines of the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. The Government do not know how far additional taxation may be ultimately necessary to meet the expenditure involved by these increases of pay coupled with the revisions of the pay of subordinate establishments which have been recently carried out or are under contemplation in the various provinces.

The Religious and Charitable Endowments Bill: The *Hindu* of Madras is not satisfied with the Religious and Christable Endowments Bill which the Government of India have introduced. It characterises it as halting and timid. Our contemporary holds that the solicitude expressed by the Home Member for orthodox opinion, may be more appropriately displayed in other directions. "If Sir William is so anxious to placate orthodox feeling, writes our contemporary, why then do the Government withhold from the people their right to withdraw their children from the religious classes in Protestant Mission institutions? There is a vital distinction, however, between the two cases which should be obvious. In regard to the conscience clauses the demand is based on the pledge of the non-interference with religious beliefs or worship of His Majesty's subjects which the Government have solemnly held out and which Sir William relied on. As regards charitable or religious endowments, it is the primary duty of the Government, in the interests of public morality, to see that the objects of such trusts are fulfilled, and that ordinary precautions are taken against abuses, malversation of funds and mismanagement. It is not interference with such trusts if efficient measures are taken to see that they are conducted properly; it is on the other hand, a means of promoting their objects. The anxiety about respecting orthodox opinion which the Government often express is of a questionable kind; and they would do well to remember that this orthodox opinion is not always opposed to efficient and honest management of trusts, and where this could be secured only by legislation, then it is the bounden duty of the legislature to provide safeguards against corruption, abuse of authority and misappropriation of trust funds and trust property, whatever orthodox opinion may think."

Reorganization of the Indian Medical Service: At the meeting of the Indian Legislative Council on the 15th September, the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha

put some searching questions regarding the reorganization of the Indian Medical Service. But His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief met them by pleading that as the report was being considered by the Government of India, it should be treated as confidential. A despatch to the Secretary of State, said His Excellency, has not yet been prepared on the subject as the opinions of Local Governments have not all been received. The report has evidently been sent to Local Governments, and we do not see how it would be disadvantageous to publish it and invite public opinion on it. This Committee sat *in camera* and examined a few selected witnesses. The Government of India will be in a better position to form an opinion on its report if they had before them the views of the interests affected by the principal recommendations. There is much uneasiness of a justifiable kind as to the effect of the Committee's recommendations on the position of Indians in relation to the Indian Medical Service; and it is certainly desirable to remove it.

The attention of our overseas subscribers is drawn to our advertisement printed below. We were obliged to increase the rates from 8 shillings to 12 shillings owing to the increase in exchange.

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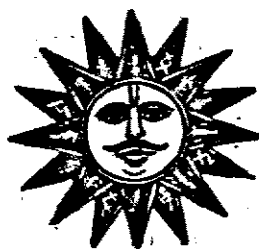
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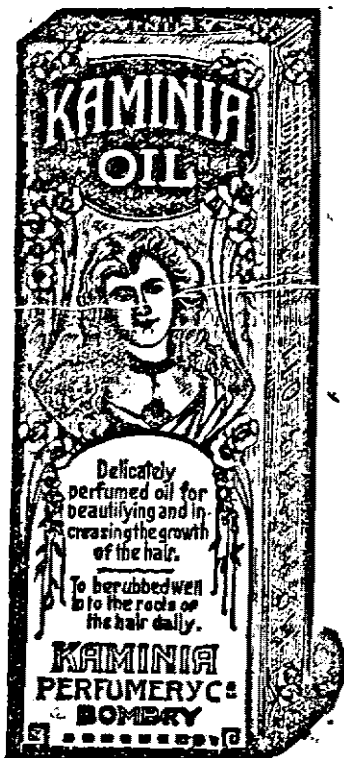
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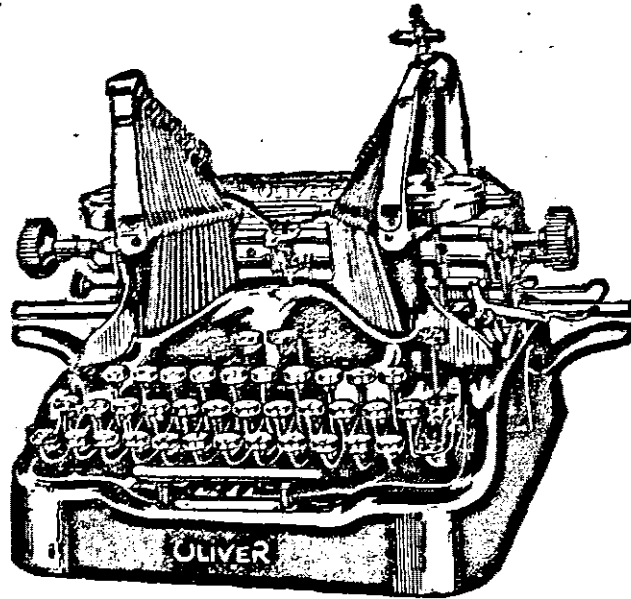
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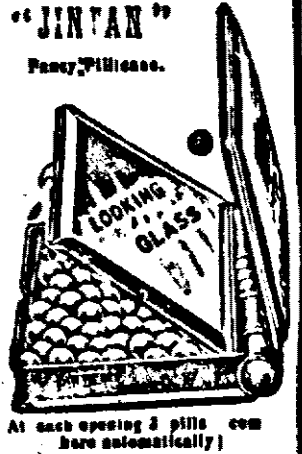
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX BOMBAY—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1919. No. 6.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not crouch, 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. Last week came the startling news that President Wilson was "very sick" and that his condition was grave; later telegrams report some improvement. We earnestly trust that this will be kept up and that the illustrious President will be completely restored to health and vigour. No man is indispensable, it is true, but some men are replaced with far more difficulty than others, and this is especially the case with men who espouse great ideals in advance of their generation. Humanly speaking at this moment more seems to be wrapped up with the life of the President than with that of any other man in any part of the world. One feels that a progressive stage in the evolution of humanity into one great brotherhood, may be interrupted if anything should happen to remove or incapacitate Mr. Wilson from participation in the history which is being made before our eyes. No doubt, many people profess that the President had given up his points, and that the political world of Europe has been too much for him. We do not share this view, and, indeed, we are inclined to think that those who profess were never very anxious to see the President's ideals realized. No one who understood and believed in these shining ideals in all their far-reaching implications, least of all the President himself expected that the Peace Conference at Paris would usher in the millennium before it dispersed. On the contrary, the most earnest believers in these ideals were also the most painfully convinced that a world seething with corruption cannot get better without getting worse, or seeming to do so, for a time. Thought moves, as has been truly said, in a spiral curve and not in a straight line. A great idea has been implanted in the fertile human heart, and it will, it must, grow to fruition. Every thing which seems to retard it, will in the end but subserve its inevitable triumph, as every storm blast that shakes the teak sapling but adds strength to its roots, though it will break down quicker growing but lighter woods.

The End of the Railway Strike in England: The news of the end of the great railway strike in Great Britain came quite suddenly. Prior telegrams had spoken of a deadlock. On the whole, the Railway men have scored rather more than Government as is indicated by the fact that they obtain an assured minimum wage of 51 shillings a week till September while the original Government offer was 40 shillings a week till March next year. They themselves had asked for a minimum of 60 shillings; what they get is 9 shillings less but it is 11 shillings more than what the Government had offered. More than the settlement itself is the fact that both sides have come out of a critical contest with their goodwill towards each other evidently unimpaired. Mr. Lloyd George has once again demonstrated his wonderful capacity for turning what seemed to overwhelm him into a means of augmenting his strength. The end of the strike, indeed, leaves the Prime Minister securely established in his great position from which he appeared to be in imminent peril of dislodgment. This happy result is no less due to the self-restraint and statesmanship of the responsible Labour leaders. The British democracy has been severely tried and it has emerged stronger than ever and purified out of the ordeal. A monster gathering of the strikers received the news of the settlement by singing the hymn "Abide with me." That shows the spirit of English Labour, and it is a spirit which must win and by its victories exalt the whole life of the nation.

The Old Enemy in a New Garb: The old feeling which prompted the institution of *purdah*, early marriage, enforced asceticism of widows, and the prohibition of Vedic learning to women, is expressing itself in the new garb of devising special courses of study in the vernacular for women. One of the latest exponents of this gospel is Mr. C. R. Reddy, the Inspector General of Education in Mysore. This gentleman has put forward a scheme of vernacular schools for women. The women of Mysore, however, seem to think that Mr. Reddy's scheme is not likely to help them much. The second Mysore Ladies' Conference was opened in the Maharani's College under the presidency of the wife of Deputy Commissioner of Bangalore. After the reading of an address of welcome by Mrs. K. D. Rukmaniamma, Superintendent of the Maharani's College, the President made a lengthy address in Kanarese in the course of which she said:—"The educational memorandum recently issued by Government proposes that women's education should be entirely in Kannada and that English should be relegated to the place of a secondary language. This proposal has a serious defect, inasmuch as it does not take stock of actual conditions. There are no suitable books in Kannada for the spread of knowledge, scientific or general, and the writing of books is not so easy as seems to be thought. There are many women who wish to undertake a higher course and whose conditions provide convenience for a longer

course. No provision is made for such cases in the proposed course. The subject deserves serious thought, and I think it is desirable to form a committee to formulate our views on the question of female education." We trust that the Government of Mysore will give heed to this reasonable request.

Professor Dhruva on the "Untouchables": *Young India* which appears from last week as a weekly published in Ahmedabad under the editorship of Mr. Gandhi, translates a striking passage from a speech which Professor Dhruva made at the opening of six night schools for the depressed classes, through the efforts of Mrs. Anusuya Sarabhai. The Professor observed: "Untouchables none of us are, or all. Those whose hearts are polluted by the presence of the untouchable spirits, vanity, infatuation, hate, greed etc. are untouchables, even though they be Brahmins by birth. Those so called untouchables whom these deadly enemies dominate are not worthy of our adoration. There is no religion in the idea that we should abandon you (so called 'untouchables') or that we should not touch you. It is the duty of us Hindus to help you in every way. Most of my time has been spent as a teacher and I am delighted to be present on this occasion. I wish education may help you all to be good." Special importance attaches to these remarks as proceeding from one who is one of the best specimens of Hindu orthodoxy.

Mrs. Besant's Evidence Before the Joint Committee: *New India* has printed the written statement and oral examination of Mrs. Besant before the Joint Committee of the House of Commons on Constitutional Reform. We have been greatly impressed—and so, we are sure, have been many others—by the close study and complete mastery of her subject of which Mrs. Besant gave evidence in her prolonged examination. It is evident that the members of the Committee felt that they had before them a witness who could throw light on several aspects of the subject into which they were enquiring. Mrs. Besant's statements were crisp and clear, and she completely identified herself with India and the Indian point of view. She told the Committee that, having lived in India as an Indian and not as an European, she was able to understand many things information as to which was not easily accessible to the average Englishman in India. We think it due to her to say that she has rendered valuable service to the cause of constitutional reform by her evidence. Incidentally, she proved in a concrete way that women, as women, are quite as competent to form reasoned opinions on political matters as men, some of them more competent than many men.

Leprosy in India. Amongst the multifold diseases of the human body nothing is more loathsome, nothing more terrible in its lingering torture than leprosy which has persistently baffled the efforts of modern medicine to find out a remedy. Incurable in its ravages, it overwhelms sympathy and pity by an instinctive sense of repulsion and makes a tragedy of the victim's life. Leprosy had been so intimately connected with the miracles of Jesus Christ and Christian saints and missionaries have ever since made the cause of the leper their own. It is in this Biblical loathing of leprosy not unmixed with the most profound pity for the sufferer that we must trace the origin of that resolve and effort which have made the existence of the disease almost a thing of the past in Western countries.

In India the leper problem has been a sort of "no man's land." According to the Census report of 1911 the number of lepers in India was 100,094. It was 132,968 in 1881; 126,244, in 1891; and 97,340 in 1901. There is a general belief that the number of lepers has shown a tendency to decrease. But these figures are greatly to be discounted by the fact that omissions due to wilful concealment are common in regard to leprosy. According to the Census Commissioner therefore there are about 150,000 of these unfortunates in India, while the Rev. Oldrieve is inclined to put the total at 250,000. Assam suffers most from this disease and next come in order Burma, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, Madras, Bengal etc. About one sixth of the lepers are to be found in Native States.

Contagious but not Hereditary: The National Leprosy Commission (1891) has declared that leprosy is contagious but not hereditary. The two important International Conferences one in 1897 and another in 1909 have arrived at definite conclusions: that leprosy is highly contagious but not hereditary; that the disease has hitherto resisted all efforts to cure it; that it is necessary that countries with leprosy should isolate lepers; that it is desirable that the children of lepers should be separated from their leper parents. So now the only solution to the leper problem in India is wise, humane, but complete segregation of the diseased leper from the healthy community.

A hopeful sign of the times is that the Auxillary Body to the Mission to Lepers was started under the patronage of Lady Chelmsford. But the real crux of the problem is finance. As to the exact amount that will be required, we have the experience of the Mission to guide us. The Mission spends about £28,500 on about 5,000 lepers. According to this estimate, to maintain 100,000 lepers would require about £570,000, almost the same as the jail figures on the pre-war basis. The burden of the Government might be relieved by an appeal to public philanthropy, and specially to the rich mutis, temples and mosques, since it is around these places that destitute lepers make begging their profession. The Native States might share a portion of the burden.

A Students' Benefit Fund: The Saraswat Vid-yarthe Sahayak Mandali was started in Bombay in May 1902 by a band of enthusiastic young men of the Goud Saraswat Brahmin community with the object of raising funds by co-operation and utilising them in helping poor and deserving students of both sexes of the community, prosecuting their studies in India, as well as in foreign countries, in obtaining primary, secondary, collegiate, post-graduate, professional, technical, industrial, religious, moral and physical education. From the Report it appears that the number of members, which was 84 at the beginning has now risen to 1111, including 5 Patrons and 103 Life-Members. During its 17 years' existence, the Mandali has spent nearly Rs. 42,600 in giving aid to 216 students of both sexes of whom 37 have taken University Degrees, 20 Technical Education 9 education in Midwifery and Nursing and others including women secondary and primary education. The Institution has been registered under Act XXI of 1861 and has recently created a Trust of its properties which mainly consist of bonds, debentures etc of the value of Rs. 32,000.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 12, 1919.

THE PUNJAB ENQUIRY DEBATE.

The Viceroy's diagnosis of the Punjab troubles, in His Excellency's opening speech at the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council, should have prepared the public for the extraordinarily virulent tone of some of the official contributions to the debate on Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya's motion for the appointment by His Majesty's Government of a Commission, consisting of gentlemen unconnected with the Indian Administration, to enquire into the causes of the recent disturbances in the Punjab and the propriety of the measures adopted in dealing with them. The Pandit further proposed that the Commission should be vested with legal authority to annul or modify sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissions or by Magistrates specially empowered to deal summarily with cases alleged to have been connected with those disturbances. Lord Chelmsford in his opening speech had given a very simple explanation of the cause of the troubles. "Last session," said His Excellency "certain Hon'ble Members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that, if that Bill passed into law, there would be agitation of a serious nature. I think Hon'ble Members will realise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However, there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred which are to be the subject of an enquiry." This makes it perfectly clear that so far as the Viceroy and presumably the Government of India are concerned, there is no doubt whatever as to the cause of the troubles. They were the work of those who wished to make good the threat of agitation if the Rowlatt Bill was passed. This being the case, we fail to see what purpose is served by requiring the Hunter Committee to "enquire into and to report regarding the causes of, and the measures taken to cope with, the recent disorders in Delhi, the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency" The Government of India's place, after such an expression of view by the Head of that Government, is in the witness's chair, not in the judgment seat. Add to this the emphatic declaration of His Excellency that he promised support to the head of each Local Government for such measures as he thought it might be necessary to take, and that support was unwaveringly given throughout. Whatever view we may take of this, whether we regard it as the right thing for the Government of India to do, or whether we regard it as depriving the Provincial Government of the superior guidance to which it is entitled by its very constitution, whether we regard it as a noble act of timely self-effacement, or a weak abdication of its functions at a great crisis, by the Government of India, it must be obvious to every impartial person

interested in getting at the truth of things, that the Government of India is not the proper authority, either to appoint the Committee of enquiry, or to which such a Committee should submit its report. We pointed out in a recent issue that, while a Royal Commission's report is usually published, there is no such rule regarding the reports of Committees appointed by the Government of India. We may indeed say that reports of Committees of the latter kind are as often not published as they are published. The Indian Medical Services Committee's report is quite a fresh instance. Regarding the Hunter Committee, Sir William Vincent told the Council that it was the intention of Government, "unless there is some unforeseen reason to the contrary, to publish the final report." Apparently there is to be one or more *ad interim* reports before the final report, and the latter only will be published "unless there is some unforeseen reason to the contrary" which may be not unfairly interpreted to mean, after the emphatic declaration of the Viceroy, unless it upsets preconceived official theories. The report will be published if there is nothing to conceal in it.

Notice of his motion was given by the Hon. Pandit several days before the Council met. This has to be done according to the rules. The Viceroy might, if His Excellency had thought the Pandit worthy of such courtesy, have privately intimated to him that he (the Viceroy) would make an announcement on the opening day, and suggested that the Pandit might perhaps find it necessary either to withdraw or modify his motion. Of course, the Pandit is not entitled to complain that this was not done. If it had been done, it would have been a graceful act of courtesy to a non-official colleague in the Council. As it is, the Viceroy's announcement might be taken as a shrewd move to dish the unwary Pandit. The Pandit also could not be exculpated from blame. We believe that his brave and chivalrous stand in the Council on behalf of the sufferers in the Punjab, has raised him high in the estimation of his countrymen all over India. He stands today in a position of such unassailable supremacy in the hearts of his countrymen that a little kindly criticism on our part can do no harm. The Pandit procrastinated. Instead of giving notice of an amended motion as soon as the Viceroy sat down (as Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta would have done) the Pandit spent six days in consulting his friends, and only on the night previous to the adjourned meeting did he make up his mind to intimate to the Viceroy that he was obliged to alter the terms of his motion after the announcement made by His Excellency. He would have done better to have given the notice first and then consulted his friends. The Pandit in his simplicity believed that his prayer would be granted but he counted without his host. He naively began by declaring that the motion of which he had given notice had become "dead as queen Anne"—we confess we do not know why this lady has come to be regarded as the pattern and prototype of completely dead persons and things—and gently requested leave to amend it. Thereupon up sprung the Home Member and demanded three day's notice under the rules, and the Viceroy, as he was bound under the rules

to do, upheld the objection. The Pandit responded by requesting that his resolution might be taken up three days later. Sir William Vincent rose again and asked that fifteen days' notice was necessary under another rule. The Viceroy agreed that that was clearly the rule. The Pandit offered to wait for fifteen days, but the Viceroy would not promise that it would be taken up then. The Pandit had, therefore, to go on with his dead resolution as best as he could. He placed his case at great length undeterred by the evident impatience of his official and some of his non-official colleagues. He bore with equanimity the taunts and discourtesies to which he was liberally treated. The official report in the *Gazette of India* merely says that the resolution was put and negatived. It gives no division list. We are afraid that the blame of not having backed up the Pandit in the Council can not be laid wholly at the doors of Indian non-official members who did not vote in the division. The Pandit has acquitted himself greatly as a soldier, but he has been lacking in leadership. Now, one of the attributes of leadership is that the public should never be in doubt as to the meaning or purpose of every move. Owing to circumstances to a certain extent beyond his control, as explained above, the Pandit's resolution left the country perplexed. We do not know if there is any precedent for a Commission such as that proposed by the Pandit, which would not only enquire into the causes of the troubles but also deal with the sentences passed by the military tribunals. In his concluding remarks, the Hon. Pandit indicated two alternative Committees: one to consist of Lord Haldane, Viscount Esher and Sir Lawrence Jenkins, and the other, of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge. Neither of these Committees could undertake the twofold task, certainly not the latter. It would have been well if he had simply asked for a Royal Commission leaving it to the Privy Council or Government to deal with the sentences. Unfortunately in public life much hardship and even wrong to individuals has to be given a secondary place by the side of large issues affecting policy and the future. The Pandit's resolution attempted too much. Sir Dinshaw Wacha requested the Viceroy to put the two parts of the Resolution separately but His Excellency thought that, as it was discussed as a whole, it should be put to the vote as a whole.

MYSORE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

The first address of the new Dewan of Mysore, Sardar M. Kantaraj Urs, to the Mysore Representative Assembly at the opening day of the Dasara Session, is well calculated to create a favourable impression on the public in Mysore and outside. As a near relative of His Highness the Maharaja and as the successor in somewhat dissonant circumstances of a Minister who had secured a great hold on the mind and imagination of the country, the position of the Sardar Sahib was a difficult one. The position of the finances added to his difficulties. The revenue in some of the most lucrative industrial concerns had been hitherto in sterling, and the

raising of the exchange from 1s-6d when the estimates were framed, to 2 shillings, is likely to increase the budget deficit of Rs. 64,000 to nearly Rs. 16 lakhs. Fresh taxation under the circumstances cannot be avoided. The accumulated surpluses of the State have been greatly trenched upon to provide the capital expenditure on several large projects and further expenditure on these and other productive works can be met only by public borrowing. We may say, in passing, that the fiscal policy of most Indian States of budgetting for enormous surpluses every year, which, in some progressive States are later invested in productive works, in several others are simply hoarded and become the private property of the ruler, and in a few others, we are sorry to say, are wasted on worthless favourites and ruinous excesses, is fundamentally wrong. Capital expenditure on works whose benefits extend to many generations should be met by public loans the incidence of which does not fall exclusively on one generation. In the normal budget the revenue should balance the expenditure, with a reasonably liberal margin for contingencies. A certain amount of public sympathy will naturally be felt for an administrator who starts with so many difficulties. In spite of it, however, Sardar Kantaraj Urs' debut as Dewan before the Representative Assembly, might easily have been less satisfactory, but for a certain indefinable blending of sincerity, modesty and straightforwardness in his address, which disarm opposition and predispose one to put the best interpretation on the Dewan's observations. The monsoon has given good rain in Mysore and promises a plentiful harvest. The health conditions are also far better than last year. The signs are auspicious for a successful Dewan-ship for Sardar Kantaraj Urs.

We are pleased to notice the earnestness and enthusiasm which mark the Sardar's references to nation-building activities. First and foremost of them all is the question of temperance. We welcome the Dewan Sahib's frank confession that the policy hitherto pursued, in imitation of British India, of trying to diminish consumption by administrative regulation of shops and prices, has failed and that other means must be found of combating this growing evil. "It cannot be said," observed the Dewan, "that these measures have been attended with conspicuous success. It is time that leaders of society organised active measures of reform to deal with an evil for which the remedy largely lies more in an awakened public conscience." We agree; but we would add that the State ought to, and that the State in Mysore can, provide the public conscience with a foothold for effective action by adopting as its policy, Total Prohibition. The deep religious sentiment of His Highness' subjects—Hindu and Mahomedan—will hail with joy the promulgation of such a policy. We are convinced that the Government of India would view the lead of Mysore in this matter with sympathetic interest. The Dewan's reference to the problem of the elevation of the depressed classes leaves little to be desired. There is no class, he rightly observed, more deserving of assistance towards social amelioration and

more in need of it than the Panchamas. He alluded to the throwing open of all public schools in the State to Panchama scholars. May we say that a good deal too much is made of the opposition of the orthodox classes to this measure of simple justice? The idea that these untouchables are the backbone of the Indian nation, and that the nation's rate of progress will in the last resort be determined by the pace of the most backward classes, has by now fairly permeated to all intelligent sections of the Indian communities. In a Municipal School in Bandra, where no untouchable pupil had been *hitherto* admitted, admission was secured not quite two months ago for four Chamar boys, not by any fiat, but by merely putting it to the patriotism of the Brahman headmaster and his colleagues that to deny admission to them was treason to the country's highest interests. The precedent thus created can never be revoked. Dewan Kantaraj Urs rightly said that something more than merely throwing open schools, was due to the Panchamas, and that it would be his endeavour to keep this in view.

The Dewan announced that His Highness the Maharaja had decided to enlarge the Legislative Council, to increase its powers especially in regard to finance, and to make education in middle schools absolutely free. We congratulate Mysore on being the first administration in India to make education free beyond the elementary stage. The Dewan also announced that it was His Highness' order that free scholarships should be granted on a liberal scale in High Schools and Colleges. Thus the educational highway is being made free to all in Mysore. Special regard is being paid to Mahomedan education. With reference to the education of women, we do not believe in special curricula for them. Mr. Reddy, the Inspector General of Education, is said to have prepared some special courses for women. We have not seen them. The placing of the Maharani's College under the control of the University is a good idea. In these days of women's advance, it cannot be difficult to get a competent staff of women for teaching and administrative work. Salaries, however, are not the sole consideration. A high moral atmosphere is even more important. Sir M. Visvesvaraya's presence at the head of the administration, apart from his administrative achievements, strongly re-inforced the very high standard set by His Highness the Maharaja, and we trust that this will be further developed under the new Dewan, Sardar Kantaraj Urs has been made to appear in some quarters as a protagonist of the anti-Brahmin party. The Sardar has clearly no desire to appropriate the doubtful distinction thus sought to be imposed on him. Speaking of the duty of doing everything to elevate the Panchamas, he managed to express his resolve to follow the wise policy enunciated by His Highness the Maharaja in his reply to a non-Brahman deputation. "My aim," said His Highness, "is to pursue a just and righteous policy as between various castes and communities in the State, neither unduly favouring nor suppressing any individual one but trying to uplift them all for the permanent good of the State." It is impossible to find a wiser motto for an Indian administrator.

THE LATE PANDIT SHIVNATH SHASTRY.

(By SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.)

I first met the late Pandit Shivrath Shastri in the year 1878-79. It is a memorable year, because the political, social and commercial events which crowded it, formed a turning-point in the history of India, and their spirit is operating even now, in the events of the year 1918-19. It was in 1878-79 that the policy of repression and suspicion, initiated in 1877 by Lord Lytton's Government, was bringing politics to the front and thrusting behind religious and social reform which till 1877 had held the sphere of Indian activity and subordinated political movements to its ends. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and Sir Whitley Stokes, two members of Lord Lytton's Government, who in 1878 had lent hearty support to the Vernacular Press Act, the Arms Act and other reactionary measures of the new "Imperial" policy, were confessing their mistake, and saying that if they had known that the policy of repression was intended to stifle Indian opinion and enable Government to deal with Indian interests for purposes of English party politics, they would have declined to be parties to the repressive measures. Mr. Gladstone was carrying on in Scotland his Midlothian campaign and fulminating against Lord Lytton's policy in India. The second Afghan War with its creed of a scientific frontier had proved a millstone round India's neck and Sir John Strachey's trusted financial genius had ended in a huge deficit which had swallowed the Famine Insurance Fund. Wasudeo Balwant Phadke was collecting Mavlas and committing political dacoities in the Deccan and Konkan. The new school of political thought, which divided religious and social reform was ridiculing Ranade and Telang and all of their school in Western India, and Kristo Das Pal in Bengal, and creating a new taste for the public by the new journalism that was coming into existence. In Bombay the failure of the Glasgow Bank had led to a commercial crisis. Altogether the atmosphere was one of political unrest and mistrust, the signs of which were more visible in Western India than in any other Province. But Western India was giving then the lead to the rest of the country.

It was in this state of things that Pandit Shivrath Shastri, who had democratised the Brahmo religious movement in Bengal, toured several parts of India and visited Bombay. At the time of his visit Swami Dayanand Saraswati had some time before finished his campaign of the Arya Samaj in Poona and Bombay; Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott had come and planted themselves in Bombay to propagate Theosophy. The Pandit's lectures and sermons delivered in the Prarthana Samaj drew large audiences; his Sanskrit scholarship, and the presentation by him of the Brahmo faith in the Upanishad garb aroused interest; but more than

all that, were his visits to the homes of the people, great and small, to whom he could have access, that gave him the power to influence men and women he met and talked to, by the charm of his manner and the human touch of his heart. Tall and of fine physique at the time, he met you by a hearty shake of the hand as if he met a brother; and the hand-shake was followed by as hearty a laughter, loud and lively, which was characteristic of the man. His tour through several parts of India before he visited Bombay had given him abundant reasons for depression about the prospects of religious reform—wherever he went, he had found apathy, and yet he did not lose hope, rather discerned the soul of good in the depressions of the day. I remember, he and I met one morning at the house of the dear soul we loved and venerated for his saintly life—the late Mr. N. M. Parmanand—and the talk turned on the future of religious reform in general and the prospects of the Brahmo faith in particular. This is how he summed up the whole situation:—

“Wherever I have gone and toured, I find people complaining that the burden of life is becoming so intense that they have hardly time to give thought to religion.” “How do you account for that?” I asked. He replied:—“Our social customs, our political disabilities, our industrial weakness, make us ill prepared for the new struggles of life, to earn our bread and maintain our families. It is not in human nature to think of the reform of religion when life is becoming a struggle. Religion, it is true, is born in adversity; but India's position is neither of prosperity nor adversity yet—it is a situation of complex problems and we must handle it in the religious sphere, with sympathy.”

And that is how he lived his whole life of a Brahmo Missionary. He could enter into the hearts of poor clerks or sweated coolies, realise their struggles, and engender hope. While in Bombay he was the guest of several families; and in every home where he stayed he created an atmosphere of heartiness to make the best of the struggle of life. For instance, he stayed for a day or two with a gentleman in humble circumstances of life—who had to bring up his family on an income that barely sufficed. Rising one morning, he found his host's wife had risen earlier and going the round of domestic duties without worry. That became the text of a sunshine sermon at that day's family prayer in the house—and how it brightened all that heard it! At another house where he was a guest, the host, a firebrand of a reformer who hated the caste system, told the Pandit, while the evils of that system were being denounced, that he was determined to defy his caste, come what might. “Don't, my brother”—interposed the Pandit—“defiance is not the word. Do your part with devotion—leave defiance to caste, and you shall win.” At a third house his host was a busy man,

who complained that he felt so oppressed by his work that he got frequently confused, hardly able to collect his thoughts. “Yes,” said the Pandit, “I have been watching your life since I have stayed with you—your trouble arises because you work in the midst of noise. Your case gave me a subject for an article for the *Indian Messenger* which is just to hand. Read it and see if you can change your ways of work.” At another house where he was the guest of a friend, the friend's wife happening to say that the day following was her child's birthday, the Pandit asked her how she was going to celebrate it. “Of course, by having some sweets at meals and decking the child nicely with a few ornaments.” The Pandit said: “Try a better way: after the child has fallen asleep to-night, put a few nice toys and pictures near his bed without telling him, and watch him the moment he rises.” That was done and the child's unexpected pleasure was the delight of the home the whole day.

It was this homeliness of the man and missionary that made the Pandit the beloved of all who came in contact with him and were drawn to him as a preacher both by precept and example. His prayers and sermons in Bengali drew crowded audiences and I have seen men and women moved to tears—the tears of spiritual joy—by his earnest, heart-stirring talks to Deity. Men and women, not Brahmos only, but even orthodox Hindus loved him and felt edified to fall at his feet and invoke his blessings.

It was said in the leader of the last number of the *Reformer* that “of late years he was not quite satisfied with some developments in the Sadharan Samaj.” I have had talks with him on the subject in 1916, 1917, and 1918 when I visited Calcutta and the impression left on my mind was not that he was not satisfied but rather that he thought the developments were natural and deserved to be handled with patience, courage and sympathy. As in all other movements, so in the Sadharan Samaj. There has been a sort of struggle between the elders and the younger portion of the Church—the former for spirituality, the latter for secularity, as some put it. The kernel of the situation is that the younger generation wants more action, more independence, more freedom of thought and movement. The elders think there ought to be more of spiritual cultivation. It cannot be difficult to harmonise the two by remembering and trying to realise that the spiritual life—which the Samaj is and ought to be for—is an inward state which should lead to outward conduct in all the secular concerns of life. The young in the Samaj do not believe much in long services, prayers and sermons, mere abstract and abstruse theories of theology and philosophy but they believe in plain sermons helping one's attitude to the work-a-day problems of life and environment and in active work. So far

as I could gather, Pandit Shivrath Shastri discerned this sign of the time, did not regret, rather thought it was a necessary offshoot of the democratic Samaj he and Ananda Mohan Bose had helped to found. He never felt depressed and dispirited. He was always buoyed up with hope and faith. That, manifested by his life of cheery laughter that rang through you, whether he was well or ill, formed the sanctity of his character and he was a character to love and cherish.

THE PROBLEM OF CASTES IN INDIA. II.

We see only four castes existed in the beginning. To-day we have innumerable sectarian castes and sub-castes, divided into water-tight compartments. Numerous causes operated to create varied social groups. The intermixture of the blood of the invading races, from time to time, with the people of India, can be accounted as one of the reasons of the divisions of principal castes. There are again exogamous castes, which have their own rules and regulations. Are we willing to accept the distinguishing characteristic feature of each caste, as laid down by Manu, and thus class the Hindus into separate castes? Should individuals be placed in different castes according to their qualifications, accomplishments, and character? Manu says that every man is a Shudra by birth, he makes himself worthy of any caste by his actions, and he who has the knowledge of God, is a Brahmana. The Upanishads teach the same. In the Bhagvat Gita, Shree Krishna tells Arjuna, that He has created the castes according to qualifications and not according to birth. The Hindus of to-day are accustomed to consider the caste of a man according to his birth and not according to his deeds. A Hindu of the upper caste may be foul in his actions, and yet he is allowed to be considered as belonging to it, while a member of the lower castes, though educated and well-behaved, has no privilege to move freely in the higher circle of society, and have social intercourse, without any outside interference. Counterfeits are there in every nation. India is not an exception. Should they, who do not keep up to their standard, be honoured and respected, only because they are born in that particular caste? Manu says :-

"The seniority of Brahmans is from sacred knowledge, that of Kshatriya from valour, that of Vaishya from wealth in grain (and other goods), but that of Shudra alone from age." II. 155.

We have already seen that there are practically no Hindus who inherit the fundamental qualities of their own castes. Neither the commonsense nor our Shastras, allow us to call a man belonging to a particular caste, in which he is born, unless and until he lives a life according to the rules laid down for his caste, and discharges his duties properly.

The castes of India are in a fluid state. They have assumed the forms of mere ceremonials, rites, and restrictions. No lively interest is created in the members to be perfect and ideal. The evils of the present-day castes are many, and they have been explained from time to time. They have played a prominent part in the degeneration of the Hindu

Society. The principles of the caste-system, and the motives of the makers may be good, suited for an age when there was one language, one king, and one religion. Swami Rama Tirtha once observed :- "The face of the earth has changed many times since Manu's days, the rivers have shifted their beds, the wild forests have been hewn and burned the flora and the fauna have varied; the Kshatriya or the warrior profession has been in a way, entirely swept out of India. The language of the country has been washed out of the land, and has become to the modern Hindu as strange and unknown as Latin and Greek, and yet India remains up to this day an abject slave to the caste conventionalities, rites, and rules, laid down by Manu for his contemporaries. Independent thinking is looked upon as heresy, nay, the worst crime. Whatever comes through the dead language is sacred. If your reasoning does not slavishly glorify the freaks fancies, and sayings of the dead, damned are you, everybody will turn right against you. You must fill the new wine into the old bottles."

The problem to-day is whether or not we are willing to acknowledge a man as belonging to a certain caste, if he really possesses the character and qualifications incidental to that caste. Are we ready to keep pace with the advancing times and adopt our "Karma Kandas to our environments," instead of "to continue peeping through the eyes of our most venerable seers and sages of the past." Should the system of hereditary caste be abolished? Those who have received modern education, entertain no rigid view about caste, very scarcely care to observe their customs—except on the occasion of marriage—and other rules of their caste or sub-caste. Can they be said to belong to a certain caste, whose laws they violate? One may conjecture that the same will happen by and bye, in the case of those who are highly educated, and will come in touch with those, who are disbelievers in the present-day caste-system, which is so fatal to the advancement of the Hindu Society. The advanced type of the educated Hindus is careless of innumerable rites and customs, observed by the orthodox class. Then one may pause to think, that if this is the case what fundamental difference is there between highly educated members of different castes, except their heredity?

These are the times of practicality, and let us see for ourselves, where we stand to-day in our social progress, and how reforms can be introduced for the uplift of the Hindu race. Tagore has rightly pointed out to us, "not to take the very immobility of our social structure as sign of their perfection—and because the healthy feeling of pain is dead in the limbs of our social organism, they (i. e., the nationalists) delude themselves into thinking that it needs no ministrations." When India is in the throes of a stupendous national awakening, let none mislead the masses and the orthodox people of India, by their sophistical arguments and loud clamour. Let us be cautious. We are living in a period, when the Western civilization is at its highest pinnacle. India, though moving in the old grooves, is slowly but surely coming under the influences of Western thoughts and Western ideas. It cannot be helped. Let us by no means be a mere copy of the West, but retaining our ancient ideas let us chalk out a path for us to follow. Let us neither go fast with a tremendous pace only to stumble, nor let us lie wallowing in the morbid drowsiness of the past.

M. K. P.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN MYSORE.

The extracts below are important parts of the address delivered by Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., as President of the Ninth Mysore Provincial Co-operative Conference, 2nd October 1919.

Speaking personally, my experience of the past twelve years of work in various fields of co-operative activity has deepened my conviction in its great power and influence for good and I am one of those who have now come to believe in its supreme importance in our scheme for national reconstruction. There are to-day in India 26,465 Co-operative Societies with a total Membership of over 10,50,000, and the amount of the working capital brought into play by these means stands roughly at Rs. 14,50,00,000. Considering the varied needs of our vast population the progress so far made, though very encouraging, is not quite adequate. The directions in which we ought to endeavour to push on the work by introducing new life and vigour, in the light of rich and valuable experiences regarding the growth of this movement in western countries which I was privileged to gather during my recent trip to Europe, are as follows:—

(1) To develop agricultural co-operation on non-credit lines, so as to secure rapid advancement of our agricultural industry on the basis of extended and democratized credit which is its primary need in India.

(2) To organise on a larger scale, and on systematic and modern lines, the purchase of the needs of agricultural life, and the production, the collection, the distribution, and the sale of our agricultural output.

(3) To start distributive stores for the cheap supply of daily requirements of the various classes of the community for which the recent experiences of cruel profiteering have clearly established a need.

(4) To start co-operative societies on the basis of limited liability to help small traders and poor artisans.

(5) To promote distribution of the daily wants by means of co-operation among the struggling middle class.

(6) To restore to co-operation in supplying sanitary houses to the needy section of our community.

(7) To associate our women in a suitable way with the growth of this movement.

(8) To interest our younger generation of boys and girls at schools and colleges in the life-giving principles of co-operation.

(9) To introduce on a much larger scale the social and the educational activities which are some of the outstanding features of the western growth of the movement.

(10) And thus to elevate co-operation to the level of a powerful lever, as in the West, to lift up the masses; and lastly.

(11) To adopt popular methods of propaganda.

These, in my opinion, are some of the channels in which our co-operative enthusiasm will have to flow in the near future if we are to secure the ends for which the great principle of co-operation stands.

Now coming to your co-operative movement let me tell you at once that I have conceived the profoundest admiration for the progress that you have achieved here. Your growth clearly shows that you are conscious of the many purposes to which co-operation can be applied and of the varied services which it should be impressed to render to your fellow countrymen. It also seems that you are making attempts in several directions in which they have not been made so successfully elsewhere; and as in many other matters of public importance, we are accustomed to look up to Mysore, so even in this field

of co-operation we, in British India, will gladly look up to you for new experiments and convincing results which you can strive to show on account of several facilities that you are so proud to possess and which your enlightened Government is so ready to give.

You have up-to-date 1,350 Societies which number has grown from 5 in the year 1905-06. Your membership to-day is about 90,000 and your working capital stands at Rs. 90,00,000. It is gratifying to note, in this connection, that your share capital amounts to Rs. 32,39,600 and that your loans and deposits aggregate to a total of Rs. 45,47,000; and these Societies have collected so far a reserve fund of Rs. 4,13,878. Your movement claims total transactions amounting to Rs. 2,40,00,000. On examining these figures very closely you have, as is quite natural, a very large proportion of Credit Societies (including 60 grain banks) their total being 1,200 out of 1,350 co-operative institutions at the present moment.

The non-credit Societies in Mysore whose number naturally is small, i. e., 150 to-day, show a fairly wide and interesting range of agricultural and industrial co-operation and the scope for its extension is unlimited. There are in all 25 Societies that are engaged in supplying agricultural implements, seed, and manure; there are besides 35 additional societies that have opened branches for the supply of these articles to their members. The needs of the weaving of handloom industry have rightly attracted your attention inasmuch as you have to-day 40 co-operative Societies to help this class of artisans at each stage of their work. Very encouraging results have been achieved and your Government have given them liberal help in money and men. Every well-wisher of these two basic industries of an advancing community would like to see more attention and greater care bestowed upon the development of these two great and useful branches of industrial advancement. Moreover, you have 45 co-operative stores. I read in your reports that these and about 200 other societies have rendered very excellent service to their members and the general public during the recent trouble of high prices. The number of house-building societies is 4. I remember very well how I saw, during my last visit to Bangalore, the houses of a few members that had materially profited by the work of one of these and had secured comfortable homes. The need for better housing is a crying want that is being keenly felt all over the country and I trust here, too. Going into further details I find that in many matters of Co-operative interest and importance you are more favourably situated than many other Native States or even the provinces in British India.

One of the very interesting directions in which your department is engaged is the institution of investigation into the economic condition of the members of the Co-operative Societies. This, in my opinion, is a step in the right direction to determine the process of liquidation of old debts. So far, this investigation has been complete with respect to the members of 268 Societies, and I am sure the valuable data thus collected will throw great light on the problem of redemption of old debts.

It is very refreshing to read of the larger usefulness of the co-operative organisation as a ready machinery or a willing agency for urgent social service during the period of the serious food situation and also during the time of the all-pervading out-break of Influenza. You cannot be too grateful to your Government for the very liberal measure of assistance they have given you in respect of men, money, and concessions in the initial stage of the movement, and if the

people will rightly understand that State help is always to be utilised as a necessary incentive to voluntary effort, it will prove a source of great strength rather than weakness. But last, though not the least, I cannot forget to mention prominently the most valuable services rendered to the cause of co-operation in your State by your most distinguished and enlightened citizen, I mean His Highness the Yuvaraja Sahab of Mysore, whose parental interest in the growth of the movement has been the largest factor of its growth. His Highness seems to me, more or less, the Guardian Angel of Co-operation in your State and your deepest gratitude is due to him for all the initiative and interest and personal association and valuable sacrifices he has made to make it a great success.

I, in my humble opinion, would further suggest for your earnest consideration the need for the following types of institutions. First, bull-breeding or cattle-breeding societies; secondly the organisation of Co-operative dairies or societies for dairy produce; thirdly, land redemption societies on the lines of the Danish institutions; fourthly, a comprehensive co-operative housing scheme as attempted in Denmark and in England; and fifthly, a Mysore Wholesale Co-operative Society on the lines of the Irish Wholesale, or the Wholesales of England and Scotland. If you keep before your mind's eye the idea that there should be a Co-operative Society organised in each of your 20,000 villages, you will need a vast organisation to as to bring in its net-work every one whom Co-operation can help and assist. I have noticed in Denmark that in rural areas many farmers belong to more than half a dozen Co-operative Institutions in their neighbourhood, and your State, judging from its past achievements, can legitimately aspire to reach that goal and thus be in India a model tract for Co-operative knowledge and experience.

A NEW COLLEGE IN DHARWAR.

A crowded meeting was held on Tuesday 9th September at Dharwar under the distinguished presidency of Dr. Y. G. Nadgir L. M. S. of Bombay, to express the sympathies of the Karnatak public in favour of the New Arts College that is to be started under the auspices of the Karnatak Education Society from June 1920. Mr. B. N. Datar M. A. first explained the College scheme and announced that funds amounting to Rs. 54,000—have been already secured and that more were forthcoming from all quarters. The Hon'ble Mr. Pathan, then exhorted the audience to help this educational movement to the best of their abilities. Prof. Moulvi of the Karnatak College pointed out in his eloquent speech the necessity and the advantages of a College conducted by a private agency. Mr. Honnarpurnath, a leading Lingayat publicist of the place, dwelt on the sacred and unsectional character of the movement and assured that his community would magnificently help all such national endeavours. Rao Bahadur Joshi retired Educational Inspector S.D. and Messrs. Kadapa, and Mudvedkar also took part in the proceedings, the latter dwelling on the brilliant qualifications of the staff of the proposed College, the former drawing pointed attention to the fact that if the idea of a Karnatak University were to materialise more colleges were absolutely necessary. Dr. Nadgir in his concluding remarks pointed out in clear terms how the Government and the University would raise no objections in the matter of affiliation of this proposed College, in the light of the recommendations of the Calcutta University commission. He also showed how even now a large number of students had to seek admission in Poona and other Colleges through sheer necessity and appealed to the audience in most enthusiastic terms to help magnificently the promoters of this movement in their endeavours to open larger facilities for collegiate education in Karnatak. Everybody was most favourably impressed and the meeting was an unparalleled success.

GENERAL SMUTS ON INDIA.

IN REPLY TO DURBAN INDIANS' ADDRESS.

The following speech was delivered by General Smuts in reply to the address presented to him by the Durban Indian community on the 26th August:—

* Gentleman,—I thank you for the beautiful address with which you have presented me and for the sentiments expressed therein. I am glad to note that, in the address, you have made mention of the fact of your countrymen having served under my command in the Great War. As I have said on previous occasions, I have been proud of the privilege of having had under me in East Africa so large a number of your countrymen. Some of them came from the independent Native States of India, Imperial Service Contingents and others who did great and glorious work in this War. I had written from East Africa to the Princes of India of the splendid part played by their troops and that there were few better than they. Your countrymen fought not only in East Africa but took part in other theatres of war. The conquering of the Turkish Empire was in the main the work of the Indian Army. The burden of the work in Mesopotamia, Turkestan and the Indian Frontier fell almost entirely upon the Indian Army. If the war had continued until this year, the Indian Empire would have had over a million men in the Field. The stupendous part India played in this great struggle had considerable effect on the result of the war. Owing to her magnificent efforts, India has won for herself a place among the nations of the world. As a member of the War Cabinet I have had great opportunities of knowing more about the feelings of the Indians and their desire for a larger share in the appointment of commissions in the army and I am glad I was able to do something for them in the Cabinet. I have worked in public and a good deal in private for the recognition of India and her services to the Empire. I strongly supported the proposals of granting commissions to Indians, and when it was pointed out that this might create an anomalous position and that there might be the possibility of Europeans being placed under Indians, I replied, "Why not? I would be proud to serve under an Indian Officer if he were able." In the Peace Conference, India was represented by the Maharajah of Bikanir, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu. The Maharajah is a personal friend of mine, and Lord Sinha is a man of considerable ability and training. He is one of the cleverest men I have met, and I was able to learn much from him on Indian problems. As a result of the war, there was an emotional feeling throughout the world which did not leave India unaffected. She desires to govern herself. Other Asiatics have been ruling and misruling; and India, after having been under the British for over a hundred years, should be given a large measure of Self Government. I have been a party to the Honourable Mr. Montagu going to India to study the question there, which has resulted in some far reaching concrete proposals being submitted to the British Parliament. The British are a very highly imaginative people though they do not appear to be so. There was a great feeling in England in favour of India's aspirations. With the improvement of the status of India, the position of the Indians in other places will be better. Before my return, I found that the Asiatic Trading Act had been passed in the Union Parliament and that there had been a great deal of irritation among the Indians here and which had also caused a great deal of feeling in India. But the Government has decided to appoint a Commission to go into the whole matter. India will be represented by members on the Commission to watch over the interests of Indians so that no stigma may attach to them

Some of you think I look down upon Indians, but that is not so. I look up to them. They come from a very old civilisation—much older than ours. They are able to hold their own. We have our difficulties in South Africa, and we, as a small white community, cannot withstand a great influx of Indians. We would be crushed and overwhelmed if we had an open door. India, if she is in need of emigration for her surplus population, has the fertile fields of Mesopotamia, Euphrates, Tigris and Turkestan which can hold thirty millions of people. But now that the Indians are here, I hold they should have fair treatment in all parts of the Union. We have to live side by side in conciliation, and we must endeavour to understand each other's standpoint so that we may live and grow together. We are members of the one family and belong to the same Empire. I thank you again for the beautiful address and the silver casket in which to put the address. Mrs. Smuts will be glad to hear of the kindly reference made to her. I thank you all once more."—*The Indian Opinion.*

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Send your time and date of birth or your star and age or note the time when you write the letter, you will be given a full reading of your life or one year to come for **ONE RUPEE ONLY.**

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Authorised Capital Rs. 12,00,00,000.
Subscribed Capital Rs. 7,54,99,275.
Paid up Capital Rs. 1,50,99,855.

TO SHAREHOLDER ONLY.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a FURTHER issue OF SHARES is about to be made, at a premium of Rs. 42 per share.

The new Shares are to be offered to the Shareholders of the Company whose names appear on the Register on the 7th; November 1919, in the proportion of three new Shares to every ten Shares in the existing capital held by them on that date.

The Shares in the capital of the Company are of the nominal value of Rs. 75, Rs. 15 paid up, and the amount payable in respect of the new issue will be Rs. 57 per Share, made up of Rs. 15 in respect of the nominal value of the Share and Rs. 42 for premium.

Each Shareholder will receive notice by post informing him of the number of new Shares of which he is entitled to claim allotment, and if necessary fractional Coupons to make up his correct proportion.

Acceptances in respect of the new Shares with the amounts payable in respect thereof must be received in the Registered Office of the Company on or before the 15th December 1919, after which date no acceptance will be considered.

The whole of the new issue has been underwritten. All moneys received in respect of premium will be carried to Reserve.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed on and from the 3rd November to the 7th November 1919 both days inclusive.

Dated the 9th day of October 1919.

By Order of the Board
R. H. PARKER
SECRETARY.

Registered Office
Wallace Street,
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NEW YORK AGENTS: THE GUARANTY
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AUTHORISED CAPITAL... Rs. 12,00,00,000.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL..... " 7,56,00,225.

PAID UP CAPITAL..... " 1,50,99,225.

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Sir Sassoon David, Bart.

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Sir Francis Stewart, Kt.

Sir Henry Proctor, Kt.

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A. J. Bilimoria, Esq.

Secretary, R. H. Parker.

Current Accounts opened and interest allowed on daily credit balances from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1,00,000/- at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum. If the balance to the credit of any account does not fall below Rs. 25,000/- at any time between 1st January and 30th June, interest will be allowed during that period at 2½ % per annum. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 8/- Half-yearly.

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Savings Bank. Interest allowed on Savings Bank Accounts at 4 per cent per annum. Rules may be obtained on application.

Loans and Cash Credits are granted on approved securities.

Purchases and sales of Securities and shares effected.

Bills of Exchange purchased and collected and every description of Banking and exchange business undertaken.

14-4-18. J. PAGAN DALZELL Acting Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)

Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 48,000,000.

Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

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Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 3 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

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I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17.

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Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari Meshana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed... ..Rs. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up " 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund " 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS :

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Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld. Baroda..

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 800 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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. RANDLE,—General Manager. 15-4-12.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Subscribed Capital... ..Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital" 25,00,000

Reserved liability of

Shareholders" 25,00,000

Reserve Fund" 6,00,000

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Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Basar, (3) Share Basar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharis, Karachi.

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Manager.

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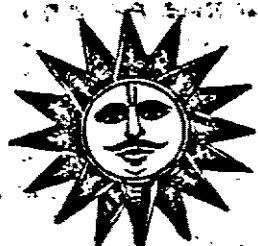
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Share Capital (fully paid) Rs. 7,00,000

1 Deposits fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the order 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 Gazettee."

20-5-17.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 30,000,000
Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 22,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 5,680,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	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. 1,00,00,000

Capital Called up " 50,00,000

Reserve Fund " 15,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. 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.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules 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.

6-1-11.

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- Liberal Surrender Values 40 per cent. of the Tabular premium paid.
- Immediate payment of Claims.
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AT AGE 40, Rs. 13-12-0.

AT AGE 45, Rs. 18-10-0

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22-9-10.

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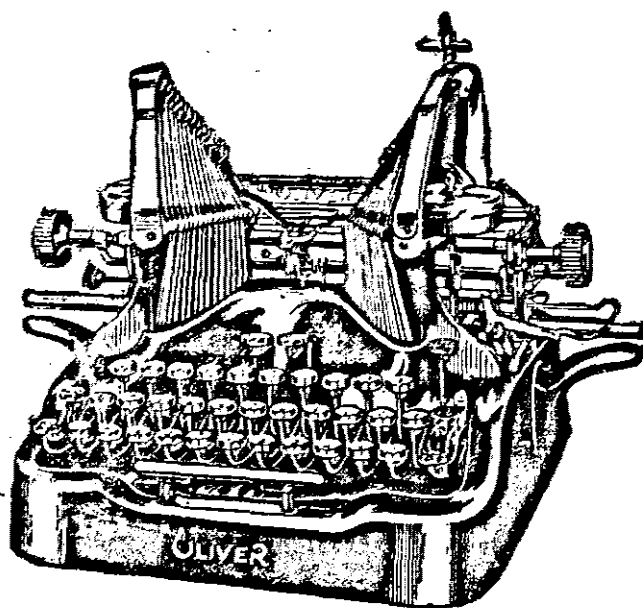
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Bombay City.

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Those who examine its workmanship admit that it is of the finest.

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We are always willing, even anxious, to have people judge the Oliver by making comparisons. ~~THE OLIVER~~, we believe, as no other machine, more of the wanted features. No single advantage dominates at the sacrifice of others.

The Oliver has won its thousands of friends mostly through comparisons. Over 700,000 Olivers have been sold.

We urge you to do as others are doing—don't buy without first investigating the Oliver and making careful comparisons.

THE OLIVER TYPEWRITER COMPANY

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W. H. THORNS & Co.

25-29, CHURCHGATE STREET, BOMBAY.

Always mention Indian Social Reformer, when you write for the Oliver.

WONDERFUL TONIC AND

MOUTH-REFRESHER

JINTAN.



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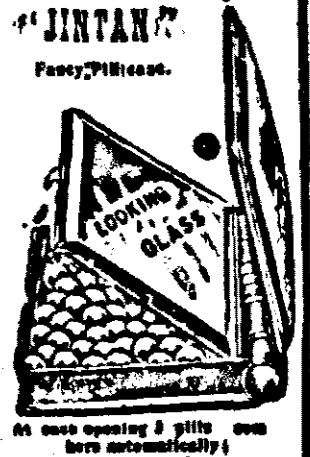
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

Indian Opinion on Mr. Montagu: We print today an article headed "Mr. Montagu's Failure" from the pen of a contributor who has considerable opportunities of feeling the pulse of public opinion. There can be no doubt that the introduction and administration of martial law in the Punjab, the belated appointment of a Committee, instead of a Royal Commission, to enquire into the causes of, and means employed in dealing with, the trouble in the Punjab, and the passing of the Indemnity Act before even this Committee pronounced its verdict, have led to a general belief such as that suggested by our contributor. Even some prominent Moderates are beginning to feel whether, after all, a declaration of rights such as that suggested by the National Congress, should not be embodied in the Reform Bill. So long as the Government of India can by merely pleading an emergency get the official majority in the Legislature to give them unlimited powers of restricting the liberty of the subject, so long, it is being generally felt, it is idle to expect them to choose the less facile methods of statesmanship. In many countries, constitutional reforms have been inaugurated by guarantees of the liberty of the subject, and it is useless to pretend, after what has happened, that they are not needed in this country. At the same time, we would strongly deprecate the conclusion that Mr. Montagu's stewardship has been a failure. That he does not enjoy in British public life the authority and prestige of Lord Morley is true; but, in this respect, Mr. Montagu is in the same case as most other English public men. Sir Bampfylde Fuller had to resign in consequence of the Government of India, with the support of the Secretary of State, refusing sanction to a very much less violent species of statesmanship than Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with the full support of Lord Chelmsford's Government, was able to exhibit. The late Lord Minto did not think he would be discharging his duty by supporting Provincial Governments in whatever they wanted to do. Lord Minto was not a genius but he knew

his own mind, which is a great thing. The extent of Mr. Montagu's difficulties is, perhaps, greater than the public is aware of, and it is not always the most heroic or effective course for a person in a responsible position to resign office because things are not going in the way he would like them to. When Mr. Montagu comes to write his "Recollections," it may be found that he too had exerted his influence on those who in the name of "peace and order" are prepared to create as much dispeace and disorder as possible. We plead for a more sympathetic judgment of the Secretary of State's apparent failure to control the "Martial law and no d...d nonsense" section of the bureaucracy. It has shot its last bolt, as is evident from the astonishingly temperate tone of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence before the Joint Committee.

The English Political Situation: *The Challenge*, the Church of England journal devoted to democracy in religion as in politics, writes of the Trades Union Congress as a great success. Our contemporary's observations are worth quoting as a detached and impartial estimate of the political situation in England:—"The Trades Union Congress is over--and signs are not lacking that the Revolution has begun. The Congress was the largest and in many ways the most successful ever held. It was also the most revolutionary, not in any "wild" sense, but thoroughgoing, ready for big changes, and conscious that Labour may itself any day, so to speak, have the responsibility of Government. It there be any who have thought of the Congress as riven by incurable divisions, or as a battle royal between the "moderates" and the "hotheads," they may as well be disillusioned. Never was Congress more united. To Churchillian adventures in Russia, to British futility in Ireland, Labour offers nothing but implacable opposition. The policy of "nationalisation"—first of the mines, then of other public services—it endorses by a vote that would have been unanimous but for Mr. Havelock Wilson and a few coadjutors, who have long ceased to have a scintilla of weight with intelligent working people. Only on what is called "direct action" was there serious difference of opinion. We can well understand Labour, surveying the feeblest and most nerveless Parliament since the Reform Act, crying out for the thunder and lightning of "direct action." That mood will pass, or will remain only as the spontaneous outburst of public opinion to which all Governments must give heed. For ourselves we place our faith in Parliamentary Government, not as an end but as a beginning, as in our country and time the way, not yet sufficiently used, to social amelioration. We look for the election of a really representative Government that will hold the general confidence, that will have the courage to do big things in a big way, that will recreate our local life, that will increase production of desirable com-

modities and will encourage responsibility among the producers, that will bend itself to the job that this Government took on and shirked—the reconstruction of a civilisation. The time is past for tinkers and pedlars. We want a few seers and statesmen. For, as we hinted above, the Revolution has begun.”

Sir Abdur Rahim's Convocation Address: The Mysore University has instituted the excellent practice of inviting distinguished men from all parts of India to deliver the annual address at its convocation. Last year, the choice fell on Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. This year the Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim of Madras delivered the address. It was characterised by much sound sense. He touched on the question of the medium of instruction in schools and said that he adhered to the opinion he had expressed to the Calcutta University Commission. He added: “The vernaculars of the country are unfortunately too numerous and it is my own belief that not one of them is yet fitted to be the medium of higher instruction. If there be any vernacular which possesses a sufficiently educative literature, my objection does not apply to it, but at the same time there must always be a school in every secondary educational division with English as the medium of instruction so as to allow of a choice. In deciding upon this question, every care should be taken not to sacrifice the interests of sound education for the sake merely of sentiment, however laudable. Besides I must confess to you that I am one of those dreamers who look forward to the time when there will be one common language for the whole of India and even if the language which has the best chance in this respect be not one of indigenous growth such as English, I would be prepared to accept it, and readily sacrifice some very dear predilection of my own in the best interests of the generations to come. I may also point out here that the languages of our religions and the classics are not in any spoken vernaculars but either is dead or foreign languages. For all boys to have to learn a number of languages when education can well be imparted and useful practical knowledge absorbed through the medium of one, is a wonderful waste of energy and time which must ultimately be obviated.”

The Late Pandit Sivanath Sastry: The biographical sketch of the late Pandit Sivanath Sastry which we reprint from the *Bengales* contains some interesting particulars of the life of the great Brahmo missionary. Among others is the fact that he was descended—as his name suggested—from a Vaidic Brahmin family of Southern India which had settled in Bengal in the time of the Emperor Jehangir. That this family from South India found no difficulty in entering into marriage relations with the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal and was soon merged in them, shows that three centuries ago orthodox Hindu society did not recognise provincial barriers. In contrast to this, is the fact that South Indian Vaidic families which settled in Maharashtra in the time of the Peishwas have to marry either among themselves or to go to their native districts to find wives or husbands. In our article on the late Pandit, we stated, on his own authority that he was betrothed when two or three years old, to a infant girl of about a year. The *Bengali* states that he was married at about thirteen years of age to a ten-year-old bride, and that five years later, his father forced a second wife upon him. When young Sivanath Sastry threw himself, first, into the social reform movement of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, and, then, into the Brahmo Samaj movement, his relatives cast him off. The Pandit himself states in his “Men I have seen.”

that he had to maintain himself, his young wife and child, while yet a student, from the proceeds of his scholarships. The *Bengales*' account would show that the young reformer had a more onerous responsibility.

The Punjab Enquiry Committee: The following Press communique has been issued:—“In his opening speech in the Indian Legislative Council on September 3 His Excellency the Viceroy announced the decision reached by the Government of India to appoint a committee under the presidency of Lord Hunter to enquire into the recent disorders and intimated that the Committee would consist of Justice Rankin, the Hon. Mr. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan. In view, however, of the wishes expressed in the Council, the Hon. Sir William Vincent undertook on behalf of the Government of India, to consider the question of adding to the Committee a non-official European and another non-official Indian member. It has now been decided, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to make both these additions. The two additional members selected are the Hon. Mr. Thomas Smith, of Cawnpore, and the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narayan, of Lucknow.” Both the additional nominations have been received with satisfaction.

The Epidemic of Increased Salaries: At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 24th September, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha asked Government to state the names of the various services, the scale of salaries of the members of which had been increased since the publication of the Report of the Public Services Commission, the amount of increase in each grade of the various services so affected for the better and the total additional cost to be incurred as the result of the re-organization schemes already sanctioned. In reply Mr. Sinha was referred to the reply given to Mr. Sarma's question at a previous meeting, which was noted in these columns. “In the case of most of the services mentioned in that reply,” it was added, “grades have now been abolished, and it is, therefore, impossible to work out the definite comparison of cost asked for.” This is a very curious statement. Surely, there must be some way of estimating the increased expenditure which is incurred in consequence of the re-organization schemes. If not, how will Government frame their budget of expenditure on the Services?

The Late Justice Ranade: We are informed by the honorary Secretary of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandal, Poona, that the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of the late Mr. Justice Ranade took place on the 4th inst., the *Dussehra* day, at the Shri Ram Library Hall, Sholapur, by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Sathé, C. I. E. Among those present were: The Hon. Keshavrao of Haidarabad, Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Mr. Ganpatrao Atré, Mrs. Saraswati Bai Kbare, Mrs. Kamabai Ranade and many others.

Soldiers' Pay: The *Outlook*, New York, gives the following figures of the salaries paid to the soldiers of different countries during the War. Australia gave her soldiers 43.50 dollars a month; New Zealand, 36.60 dollars; Canada, 33 dollars; the United States, 30 dollars; the United Kingdom, 11.40 dollars; France, 1.50 dollars; Austria, 98 cents; Japan, 78 cents; and Italy, 58 cents. German privates received 3 dollars a month.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 19, 1919.

IF BOLSHEVISM CAME TO INDIA.

Sometime back Sir Theodore Morison wrote an article in the *Observer* of London forecasting the probable outcome of the advent of Bolshevism into India through Afghanistan. He began by exhorting stay-at-home Englishmen to reject the facile and superficial view that it was grotesque to imagine that an Oriental monarch, like the Amir of Afghanistan, should deliberately ally himself with the Bolsheviks who stand for the supremacy of the proletariat. Arguing from his reading of the literature of the French Revolution, he suggested that Bolshevism must have been presented to Afghans in some garb which would make it attractive to them. "Although we cannot be sure in what guise Bolshevism has presented itself to the Afghans," he wrote, "we know that it has come to them with, at least, one strong recommendation. It has laid low that terrible Tsarist Government which terrified Asia, which had overthrown one Mahomedan Kingdom after another, and was reputed to be the inveterate foe of Islam. These are good credentials in Central Asia, and with them Bolshevism metamorphosed in its passage from the Neva to the Helmand, may have received a welcome from the Afghans." Moreover, he went on to observe, "Islam is fundamentally so democratic that Bolshevism may not prove very subversive in Afghanistan." But, he added, "Hinduism is a very different matter." If Bolshevism came to India, the Indian masses will not revolt against the British Government. "It has never been the way of the illiterate crowd to attack anything so remote, so abstract as is the Government of India." The revolt will be "to shake off the Yoke of the Brahmin, of the Landlord and of the money-lender." "Those are the traditional powers in the Indian Countryside, and it is against power and tradition that the new teaching incite them to rebel. In short, it is the upper castes, the twice-born, against whom the revolt will take place if ever Bolshevism manifests itself in India." He concludes: "Let the subversive doctrine of the Supremacy of the Proletariat once reach them and a Jacquerie may follow in which the Chamar and his fellows will feed fat the ancient grudge they bear the Brahmin and the Thakur. The carnival of bloodshed and lust that would follow needs no elaboration; the details would be substantially the same as in the French Revolution. I can never read Taine's "Origines" without thinking to myself "So might it be in India." A certain lady came to beg Andre Dumont for the liberty of her husband. "Il la prend sur ses genoux, lui fourre la main dans la poitrine et dit, ayant tate, 'Je n'aurais jamais cru que les tetons d'une cidevant Marquise. Se fondissent ainsi sous la main d'un representant du peuple.'" So might an exultant Chamar show a high caste lady how cheaply he held the sanctity of the Brahmin." Sir Theodore concludes:

These grim possibilities are no arguments against Mr. Montagu's Reforms. On the contrary, they are strong

reasons for them, they show that no time should be lost in making a beginning of the political education of the Indian people. But the possibility of Bolshevism in India does support the plea advanced by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords that the power of the Government of India should be maintained. While the new ideas are being absorbed and immense social changes are taking place there should be somewhere in the country a sufficient power to maintain order. Society must hold an adequate force in reserve in case the front line should be rushed by an onslaught of British anarchy.

We do not think that Afghanistan is likely to entertain Bolshevism for the reasons suggested by Sir Theodore Morison. The Afghan Government doubtless knows that it was not Lenin but Kerensky that overthrew the Tsarist regime in Russia; and that Kerensky had behind him the enthusiastic support of the Allies. Sir Theodore says that Islam is fundamentally so democratic that Bolshevism may not prove very subversive in Afghanistan. France and England and the United States are democracies and yet they are afraid of the subversive influence of Bolshevism. The veiled suggestion that Islam has anything in common with Bolshevism is absolutely unfounded, as authoritatively declared by the Chief Ecclesiastical authority in Egypt, who, in an elaborate *fatwa*, has denounced it as the negation of every fundamental principle of Islam. As regards Hinduism, Sir Theodore Morison, for the purposes of his argument, identifies it not only with the Brahman caste, but also with the institutions of landlords and money-lenders. The Government of India, he thinks, is too impersonal and remote to be exposed to the resentment of the masses, but the Brahmans, landlords and money-lenders are the tyrants of the countryside and they will feel the brunt of Bolshevism if it comes to India. Landlords and moneylenders are no part of Hinduism. They exist in countries professing other religions. Nor can the Government of India disclaim responsibility for them, itself being the biggest landlord in the country. Sir Theodore's ingenious attempt to hold up Hinduism, the Brahman, the landlord, and the money-lender as the root cause of the hardships of the countryside, is about as absurd as the suggestion that the depressed classes are likely to be the most apt pupils of the Bolsheviks. Such outbreaks as we have recently had in this country do not bear out Sir Theodore's dictum that the Brahman and the landlord will attract the first fury of the mob. Moreover, in the south, where there is a movement against the Brahman, the landlord and the money-lender have not withheld their support from it for the reason that they, with the Brahman, are regarded as the common enemies by the Depressed Classes. In the South, at any rate, landlords and money-lenders are not synonymous with the twice-born, and a movement against them may get as many adherents among the twice-born as among the other classes of the population. The conclusion that the Government of India should not be liberalised, in order that its power to prevent the Chamar and his fellows from feeding fat their ancient grudge against the Brahman and the

Thakur, may not be impaired, is too grotesque for comment. Sir Theodore's observations suggest that those Indians who ask for the introduction of an element of responsibility in the Government of India, are risking the probability of Brahman women being obliged to sit on the knees of Mahars and Chamars. This is an attempt to rouse the forces of fanaticism and obscurantism in this country against the movement of constitutional reform. But it will be understood in India at its true value. The most orthodox Hindu will refuse to believe that the Government of India as it is today is any protection against Bolshevism, and it can become a real protection only if it be strengthened by being liberalised largely in respect of its responsibility to the representatives of the people.

THOUGHTS ON POLITICAL FRANCHISE IN INDIA.

Two of the fundamental defects in the Southborough Franchise Committee's findings are the disqualification of women and educated men as such from vote. It is hard to understand especially in this twentieth century how sex can stand as a barrier against the enjoyment of one's rights as a citizen. The only argument brought forward for this exclusion of women from the vote is that the Indian woman is by temperament unwilling or not sufficiently advanced socially and educationally to make use or right use of the vote and if there be any who may be desirous of getting the franchise and using it, such women are too few and far between to justify legislation and the cost of establishment to collect their votes. Granting that the facts assumed in the argument are true, it is not only illogical but unjust to deny a person his natural rights because he may not or does not use them. It is the person's own lookout while it is the business of legislation, civic or otherwise, to be concerned solely with laying down rules and regulations and the necessary qualifications, for a right, and whosoever possesses these must be at liberty to exercise the right or not as he pleases. It would be as absurd and unjust to act upon such a piece of reasoning as it would be to debar a person from making use of a public institution because he is unable to do so for some reason or other, or to forbid university women to take up mathematics as their optional subject because, generally speaking, they have no liking for it. As for making 'right use' of the vote, if a man of certain qualifications is capable of doing so it is impossible to see why a woman should not be so capable. The woman wishing to exercise her franchise equally with men will not as a rule, the writer thinks, be reluctant to go to the common polling booth to register her vote and hence the question of a separate establishment does not come in. But if the number of such women is large enough and if they object to jostle with men, many

of whom may probably be wanting in manners, some way will have to be found to register their votes and it would not be uneconomical or inconvenient to have a separate arrangement for the purpose. We hear, however, that it has been recommended to empower the various Provincial Legislatures to enfranchise Indian women according to the needs of each province and we hope, the recommendation would be carried into effect. From our experience of it in England, we do not want a suffragette movement to spring up here in India and it would be better for us to take a lesson from that country in this respect and be careful beforehand.

To come now to the second defect: It is indeed to be regretted that education has not been recognised as a qualification for vote. This would disable from voting many a worthy citizen who is a member of a joint family, a system commonly prevalent in India—while every illiterate person who may not know how to use his vote or even what it means has been enfranchised. The intelligentsia of a country are its greatest asset. It is these people who are leading India towards her political salvation and helping her in a rational, all-round progress notwithstanding Anglo-Indian perversion of facts. It is they who are not afraid of criticising the self-willed vagaries of an autocratic or bureaucratic Government. If England is now in the throes of Labour strikes and of a social, economic and political upheaval, it is partly because her Parliament has long been flooded with wealthy members who are either directly or indirectly connected with landed, commercial and other vested interests and partly because it is influenced overmuch by the so-called public opinion formed through newspapers, owned by a few capitalistic syndicates, the educated middle classes following independent professions who have or expected to have independent, liberal, selfless and patriotic views on questions affecting their country's welfare being meagrely represented on it. Let us not make the same mistake in India by giving over-representation to vested interests and minimising the importance of educated opinion. The candidate for election at any rate ought to be able to express himself well in English, for, it is only then that he would be of any use as a representative to protect the interests of a particular class or community. The writer would take independent professions and education in all its forms to be strongly represented in all the Legislative Councils of India, for, after all it is the educated and cultured *elite* everywhere and at all times that have made the world what it is and been instrumental in advancing the cause of civilization in the true sense of the word.

Another great drawback in the Committee's report is their advocacy of communal electorates. Let it be pointed out at the outset that communal

electorates are not the same as communal representation as is so often supposed by the unthinking average man in the street. It is only one of the ways to secure the latter and they are, (1) nomination, (2) communal electorates, (3) reserved seats in general electorates and (4) proportional representation. Is communal representation necessary? The writer does not know of a single instance where a sectional measure affecting the rightful interests of a class or caste, minority or majority, has ever been introduced by a non-official member in any of the Legislative Councils in India, unless it were to abolish the unjust special privileges enjoyed by them. Moreover, India with her heterogeneous castes, customs, languages and religions is sadly in need of centripetal forces to get rid of her narrow interests and to bind her as one nation, without which the sense of nationality, and patriotism of the highest kind, are impossible and self-government would be a failure for want of mutual sympathy and unity. Communal representation would only tend to accentuate the differences already existing and is thus unsound in principle. However, in practical politics we have to face facts as they are and not be led away by pure theoretical considerations however far-sighted or altruistic. There is no knowing that the caste or class that will find itself in power in the Government of our country will not misuse it to tyrannize over others less fortunate. Therefore, in order to placate the diverse elements some of whom are waging a kind of political war among themselves, we must come to a compromise and adopt communal representation at least for the present. We have next to consider the question whether communal representation is as necessary for a majority as it is for a minority. By making the franchise sufficiently broad so as to reach the lowest strata of society as far as possible, no majority is likely to be unrepresented on the Councils and one is glad to note that the recommendations of the Franchise Committee in this respect leave little to be desired. The non-Brahmins are thus deprived of some of their cogent arguments for separate representation. Then there is also the difficulty of defining 'backward classes' which, however would be surmounted by making a certain percentage of literacy as a basis. The case is different with Mahommedans who are a minority. Their interests will have to be protected through separate representation so long as we have not outgrown our petty parochialism and acquired a sense of responsibility for the good of our country as a whole and a consequent desire to elect the best man available notwithstanding his caste or creed. And although the seats allotted to Mahommedans in the Councils are out of all proportion to their numbers and thus not in accordance with the strict principles of justice or fairplay, the writer does not think it a dear price to pay for their goodwill and Hindu-Moslem unity. He hopes a time will

come when every section of Indian Society including the Mahommedans will willingly give up their special privileges and be ready to stand as candidates in cosmopolitan electorates. One does not grudge the Indian Christians their separate representation which it is proposed to give them by the Committee though one would like to object strongly to the same being given to Europeans or Anglo-Indians, for two reasons. Firstly, there are very few Europeans or Anglo-Indians in India, if any, apart from the official bureaucracy and vested interests which are already being abundantly represented on the Councils. Secondly, granting there are any such, their interests are bound to be almost identical with those of the latter and hence there is no need whatsoever to give them special representation.

Let us now see which is the best method of securing communal representation the necessity for which in the case of minorities being granted. Nomination takes away the liberty of independent judgment and vote from the councillor, who is on the average a man of the world, and thus makes him a mere mouthpiece of the Executive Government, a thing to be detested in a really popular assembly. Communal electorates tend very much to exaggerate communal differences and sense of caste or class exclusiveness, a thing greatly detrimental to the progress and welfare of a country. Moreover, such electorates will, as a rule, return to the Council, members who have got the most extreme or sectarian views on matters affecting their community and thus the Council is prone to turn into a veritable battle-field with words as weapons. The last two methods presuppose cosmopolitan multi-membered constituencies. Of these, that of Proportional Representation is the best on pure theoretical grounds inasmuch as the voice of the Council elected on the principle is as near being a perfect reflection of that of the majority as is possible, and on that account it is being adopted in politically advanced countries of Europe. However, under the system there is no certainty of a backward community being always able to send a representative and consequently for the present, at any rate, it is desirable to have for minorities reserved seats in general electorates as proposed by the Moderates' Conference held in Bombay. The most obvious advantage of these two methods is the existence of multi-membered constituencies which gives least room for corruption and other direct or indirect influence on the voters. A still greater advantage peculiar to Indian conditions, is the existence of cosmopolitan electorates which will serve to banish by and bye, the conflicting interests of diverse elements from India until she stands firm as a united nation, and a supreme exemplar to the less heterogeneous peoples of the West.

A. S. BHANDARKAR.

MR. MONTAGU'S FAILURE.

[From a Correspondent.]

1. "The British Government which has crushed foreign foes and quelled internal rebellion, could afford to despise these agitators."

2. "They have given these people a lesson which they will not forget for fifty years."

3. "As to India, by her remarkable contribution to our triumph, notably in the East, she has won a new claim to our consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower, and must overpower, all prejudice and timidity which may stand in the way of her progress."

4. "These sacrifices of India will ever be remembered as having forged a fresh link in the bonds of the Empire, never stronger than they are today."

The first quotation is the utterance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who, while praising the Punjab, rewarded the heroic efforts of her martial races with the gift of martial law. The second of the extracts is from the "Nation," said to be the boast of military officers, which is now going the round in all Indian papers. These two remarks are worthy of the worst days of General Von Bissing in Belgium. Only, still, there is the hope that just as the sting of the German's boast in Belgium about Belgium not forgetting the 'Hun' Rule there, is sought to be removed by lavish promises of guarantee, reparation and restitution, by help of all sorts and by the grant of a major portion of the fine levied on Germany, so noble-minded and God-fearing Englishmen will try to soothe and balm our much-lacerated feelings. To that end, we find some support in the latter two utterances, the one by Mr. Lloyd George, the other by Lord Jellicoe, two Empire-builders as against two Empire-destroyers. Let us take heart at these two remarks and we shall still hope that Mr. Lloyd George or any other Premier will make good these grateful words.

Now, in this predicament, what is our Secretary of State doing? He calls Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an eminent man, in the House of Commons. He appoints him a member of the Army Commission, thus inflicting an insult on a whole nation. And the Secretary of State spouts forth platitudes of sympathy, pours out liberal views but is not shocked at the throwing of bombs by aeroplanes on an unarmed mob and he has the lack of feeling and consideration or statesmanship to say that the recent administrative acts in the Punjab have no bearing on this enquiry by the Army Commission. Well it may have no bearing if much more than "this little thing" of Mr. Montagu had been granted, if we had secured full responsible Government or self-Government and if we could afford to despise any more incursions of supermen. The coming-in of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on some responsible work, is like appointing Lord Milner, Secretary of State for Colonies immediately after the Boer war. At least, tact and good sense, would dictate to the contrary.

It is not in these alone that Mr. Montagu has failed to rise to the occasion. Except the so called Reforms, he is giving away on every conceivable question to

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One noteworthy feature of his character was its many-sidedness. There has hardly been any important movement in Bengal during the last forty years with which he was not connected in some way or other. He was one of the founders of the City School, the Brahmo Girls' School, the Students Weekly Service, the Indian Association and the Calcutta Literary Society; he founded the 'Ram Mohun Roy Seminary' at Bankipore in 1897; he was in his youth and mature manhood, a vigorous temperance worker, a leading figure in the Metropolitan Temperance and Purity Association, he filled for some time the office of the Vice-President of the "Bangiya Sahitya Parishad" and was invited to preside over the Literary Conference held at Jessore in 1919, but on account of failing health he was compelled to decline the invitation. He presided over some of the Theistic and other conferences outside Bengal. He was in full sympathy with the political aspirations of his countrymen and gave practical proof of it in the troublous year 1907, by which he exposed himself to considerable harassment for a pretty long time.

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MR. MONTAGU'S FAILURE.

[From a Correspondent.]

1. "The British Government which has crushed foreign foes and quelled internal rebellion, could afford to despise these agitators."

2. "They have given these people a lesson which they will not forget for fifty years."

3. "As to India, by her remarkable contribution to our triumph, notably in the East, she has won a new claim to our consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower, and must overpower, all prejudice and timidity which may stand in the way of her progress."

4. "These sacrifices of India will ever be remembered as having forged a fresh link in the bonds of the Empire, never stronger than they are today."

The first quotation is the utterance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who, while praising the Punjab, rewarded the heroic efforts of her martial races with the gift of martial law. The second of the extracts is from the "Nation," said to be the boast of military officers, which is now going the round in all Indian papers. These two remarks are worthy of the worst days of General Von Bissing in Belgium. Only, still, there is the hope that just as the sting of the German's boast in Belgium about Belgium not forgetting the 'Hun' Rule there, is sought to be removed by lavish promises of guarantee, reparation and restitution, by help of all sorts and by the grant of a major portion of the fine levied on Germany, so noble-minded and God-fearing Englishmen will try to soothe and balm our much-lacerated feelings. To that end, we find some support in the latter two utterances, the one by Mr. Lloyd George, the other by Lord Jellicoe, two Empire-builders as against two Empire-destroyers. Let us take heart at these two remarks and we shall still hope that Mr. Lloyd George or any other Premier will make good these grateful words.

Now, in this predicament, what is our Secretary of State doing? He calls Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an eminent man, in the House of Commons. He appoints him a member of the Army Commission, thus inflicting an insult on a whole nation. And the Secretary of State spouts forth platitudes of sympathy, pours out liberal views but is not shocked at the throwing of bombs by aeroplanes on an unarmed mob and he has the lack of feeling and consideration or statesmanship to say that the recent administrative acts in the Punjab have no bearing on this enquiry by the Army Commission. Well, it may have no bearing if much more than "this little thing" of Mr. Montagu had been granted, if we had secured full responsible Government or self-Government and if we could afford to despise any more incursions of supermen. The coming-in of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on some responsible work, is like appointing Lord Milner, Secretary of State for Colonies immediately after the Boer war. At least, tact and good sense, would dictate to the contrary.

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made. His life was a harmonious combination of work and worship. He ever lived in his great Task-master's eye and counted no sacrifice as worth a moment's thought for the sake of his God, conscience and fatherland. In the midst of stress and storm his loyalty to truth never wavered, his courage of conviction never flagged. He was characterised by great openness of mind and soul; his love of knowledge was a source of inspiration to younger men; his home was always a refuge to helpless widows and orphans. His living faith in God, his unaffected piety, his self-sacrifice in the cause of religion, his self-effacement, his broad-minded sympathy with all noble aspirations irrespective of creed or colour, and last but not least the remarkable self-conquest that he achieved in pursuit of a lofty ideal will enshrine his sacred memory in the heart of those who had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with him.—*The Bengalee.*

LATE PANDIT SHIV NATH SHASTRI.

MEMORIAL MEETING AT SIMLA.

(From a Correspondent).

A public meeting of the residents of Simla was held on the evening of the 8th instant at the Arya Samaj Mandir to express sorrow at the death of Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri, M. A.

Among those present were Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Kt., Bar-at-law, Judge, Calcutta High Court, Mr. and Mrs. S. R. Das, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Gupta, Mrs. Mukherji, Rai Bahadur Jai Lal, Mr. J. G. Bhaudhari, Mr. B. B. Das, I. S. O., Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy, Messrs. Mohun Lal, Sundar Das Bhalla Mr. and Mrs. Besant Lal; N. C. Roy B. A., B. T., Dina Nath Bhalla B. A., Lalit Mohan Roy, B. A., Rai Sahab K. N. Mustafa Nihal Chand B. A., Mrs. Hem Raj, B. A., and Harish Chandra, B. A., LL. B.

On the motion of Rai Bahadur Jai Lal, B. A., LL. B., seconded by Mr. Mohun Lal, B. A., LL. B., Justice Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was voted to the chair.

Rai Sahab S. C. Lahiri explained the object of the meeting and said that as Pandit Siva Nath Shastri was a representative man, his death was a loss to the whole country and should be mourned by all communities—Brahmos and non-Brahmos alike.

Mr. I. C. Mukerji then read out a short sketch of the late Pandit's life illustrating that the courage of conviction, regard for truth and hatred of all shams which characterised his life were present in his early boyhood.

Mr. Sunder Das Bhalla who had on more than one occasion had come in touch with the late Pandit, next spoke in Urdu expressing his appreciation for the great man who had just departed.

Mr. S. R. Das was the next speaker. He said that he was unable to make a long speech as his heart was very heavy with grief at the loss which he regarded as personal. He asked the audience to read, if not already done, Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri's autobiography and remarked that the reader would be struck with the manner in which the large sacrifices he had made to produce the impression on him that he had made no sacrifices at all.

The President said that occasions of this should be celebrated in silence and by speeches, and that in fact death anniversaries were being overdone in Bengal and he apprehended that very soon the calendar year would prove inefficient for them. He had however agreed to preside as Pandit Siva Nath Shastri was an exceptional man. He was one of the founders of Modern Bengal, a leader and a great scholar and teacher. The Indian Association and the City

College were due to him. He was a Brahmin in the true sense of the word. At birth every one was a sudra and it was by *sanskrit* culture that one became a Brahmin. So far knew there was no prayer so great as the *Gayatri*, which was an invocation for the awakening of intelligence. The *Gayatri*, was the Pandit's birth right, being the son of a great Pandit. He was the member of a community whose daily prayer was "From darkness take up to light, from death to deathlessness." He has now attained "Deathlessness." And we have therefore congregated here, members of different creeds and communities to do honour to his memory. May his teachings prevail, both as a religious reformer and author.

The President then moved the following resolutions from the death chair. The audience then stood up and accepted it in silence.

"That this meeting expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Pandit Siva Nath Sastri by which India has become poorer to-day and that a copy of the resolution be sent to his son Babu Priya Nath Bhattacharjee and to the Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj."

A vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Mr. B. B. Das, I. S. O., and seconded by Mr. A. C. Mukherjee brought the proceedings to a close.

LABOUR AND RELIGION.

SERMON BY BISHOP GORE.

At Browning Hall, York Street, Walworth, there have been held this week a series of conferences which are of deep significance for the future. Mr. G. W. Barnes, who was the chairman, gave a shrewd and vigorous address, in which he pointed out that organisation—from which Carlyle hoped so much—might be itself materialistic, and set itself not to serve but to exploit the public. He was followed by the Rev. H. T. Knight, Vicar of Shortlands, who said that science under the leadership of Huxley had tended to be materialistic, but now under Sir Oliver Lodge was becoming spiritualistic, if not spiritual. The naturalistic doctrine of human nature was contradicted by the moral judgments of mankind, which were unmeaning if all was pre-determined. A man not responsible for his actions was treated by society as insane, and that man was a moral agent and not an automaton was a fundamental belief of all civilisation.

But it was on the second day that the heart of the subject was reached. Mr. George Lensbury, with his accustomed fire, attacked the present order as founded on materialistic principles, and moral falsehoods. Civilisation was still worshipping money and success, our theory of values was all wrong, service to the community being the only test of greatness. An Indian labour leader followed with a speech of remarkable elicity and insight. The East felt, he said, that it had something to contribute to the religion of labour, the worker's ideal being not to "get on" and make money, but that he should be able to do his work with satisfaction and honour to himself, while his faith permeated for him the whole situation. The next speaker came from Belgium, and confessed himself an Agnostic, who had been forced by the revelation of German character in the war to demand a moral basis for all education. On the Continent the Church could not help, but labour must work out a moral creed for itself.

Then came a speech by Bishop Gore, which went to the heart of the matter. "Not charity, but justice," he said, was the cry of the labour movement. But why this antagonism between the two? Charity was nothing else than Justice, Justice with a heart in it. And the cry for Justice meant a demand for equal opportunity for all, as all were equal before

God. This meant a revolution, peaceable or otherwise! Here we were all agreed. Personally he was prepared to cheer on the labour movement, inspired as it was by a noble and fruitful cry, whether it built on the Indian creed of Immanentism or on the Agnostic cult of moral valuation. But labour had had now to build up, which was harder than to denounce or throw down. Many who were heart and soul with the labour movement and its programme were at present anxious as they could not see clearly in what direction the movement intended to go.

With regard to the situation in England, he would venture to suggest three propositions which seemed to be implicit in the labour movement, and might now be made explicit. First, the fact of human brotherhood must be seen to rest on the Fatherhood of God. Labour's instinct for fraternity was no mere dream, but had the purpose of the universe behind it. Years ago Huxley had declared that duty meant a line of action entirely opposed to the cosmic; the universe to him was a ruthless and cruel mechanism with which we had to fight. Personally he would have little hope of a movement which tried to fight the universe. But in claiming recognition for human brotherhood, labour was ranging itself on the side of God, whom we knew as the Father of the spirits of all flesh. Secondly, almost everywhere in England the name of Jesus Christ was held in honour; and labour might step forward and claim His moral leadership. The common people once "heard Him gladly"; and though the crowd deserted Him, and even His disciples also, yet His followers came to believe in Him as alive again and in their midst, Himself holding the destinies of the race in His hand. Can labour reassert the moral sovereignty of Jesus Christ over every sphere of human action? Any movement that can claim the blessing of His name will win.

Lastly—though on this point he confessed that he was less hopeful—the Bishop asked, Can labour reach a belief in the Spirit of God at work in human nature? What the world needs to-day is the Spirit of Christ and the presence of His Spirit ought, therefore, to be recognised in that humanity which He has redeemed. Lots of Christian people are looking with sympathetic eyes upon the labour movement, but at present they are in doubt and darkness. What is labour really going to do? There seemed, therefore, to be room for some organisation which would draw together all sympathisers and workers who believe that without religion the movement will fail.

The Challenge, London.

WHY MISS PANKHURST FAVOURS BOLSHEVISM.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was invited by the "Daily Sketch" to explain why she wants the Soviet principle of Bolshevism adopted in this country. She replied:—

It is much more democratic than the Parliamentary system. The people have a real control over their delegates. We have no control over M.P.'S, or town councillors.

Parliamentary organization has grown up with the capitalist system. The Soviet system belongs to the Socialist and Communist order. Russian Soviets have socialized the lands, mines, railways and all forms of industry, banking and so on. They are aiming at complete equality in wages. They have not got quite there yet, but there has been a great level up. Lenin gets the same salary as an ordinary workman.

Houses are socialized. People only pay a tax sufficient to pay for repairs. All essentials, bread, milk, sugar, etc., are free to the children. Education is free up to the University,

and next year no one under 20 will be working for a living. Under this system ignorance and poverty must rapidly disappear. Russia will possess the finest and healthiest population in the world, if left to develop without interference. Living as I do amid the miserable poverty of East London, I want opportunities such as these for our own people. No one can cope with the ever-rising flood of poverty. We must change the system which creates it.—*The Independent,*

Allahabad.

EGYPT AND INDIA.

Egypt awaits with anxiety the arrival of Lord Milner's Commission. It has been vested with extremely wide powers, and rightly so, for the surprise of the present situation in Egypt consists in the revolt of the fellahen alongside with the usual agitators and hotheads. In our opinion, the most vital problem, both in Egypt and in India, is that of popular education. Up to the present we have made laudable efforts to raise the apex of the pyramid of education, but have neglected to broaden its base. Further than this, after creating an intelligentsia we have closed the door of advancement in the governing bodies and consequently have created a dangerous element of highly educated unemployed. Since their exclusion has exasperated some of them many have argued that they are too dangerous to be trusted. That is to blame results for causes. Self-government must be given a freer growth; as it expands it will absorb the native intelligentsia, who will in turn become imbued with all that is best in British politics.—*The Challenge* (London).

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

Emigration from India, being directly controlled by the Indian Government, does not present the same features, or create the same difficulties, that have risen and will almost inevitably arise again in connection with the outflow from China and Japan. But the economic antagonism to the Aryan Hindus is as strong on the part of the Whites as their objection to the Mongol Asiatics. This has been manifested of late years by the legislation against them in Australia, already mentioned, and more recently in South Africa and British Columbia. They are hated not only as workers who compete with white labourers, but also as small traders who outbid and undersell European traffickers. Their claim to British citizenship has not protected them from most unjust and shameful treatment by their fellow-subjects of the British Empire. This cannot go on safely. As Asia begins to assert herself and to take her rightful place in the world, India, like other portions of that great continent, will demand that her people should cease to be treated as inferior beings, when brought into contact with those whose interests they have helped to defend on the battle fields of Europe.—*Mr. Hyndman in Asia.*

A MAN WHO WOULD NOT BE KNIGHTED.

There have been instances in India of persons who respectfully declined the honour of Knighthood when they were privately made aware of the intention to confer it. We have had two prominent cases recently where the Knighthoods have been relinquished. But we do not think that there has been or is likely to be an incident such as that recorded by the *Manchester Guardian* in its Literary

Supplement of the late Mr. William M. Murphy of Dublin. Our contemporary writes: Another example of inflexibility was given in connection with the Dublin Exhibition of 1907, of which he was chairman. His critics said he was after a title. He denied it, and declared that he wanted and would take neither title nor profit. King Edward opened the exhibition, and after the ceremony was handed a sword by an A.D.C., and turned to give the accolade to the chairman. This, of course, was a blunder of the Dublin Castle people. Mr. Murphy's attention was called to the fact that the King was waiting for him, and those around urged and entreated him to go forward. Most men under such circumstances would have relented, but that was not Mr. Murphy's way. He had said that he would not be knighted, and all the king's horses and all the king's men and even the King himself, only a few feet away, and looking obnoxiously impatient at the hitch, could not move him.

LORD ACTON'S LIBRARY.

An interesting sidelight on the transaction relating to the late Lord Acton's famous library is now thrown by a letter to the *London Times* by the present Lord Acton, son of the famous historical scholar. It might be remembered that the late Mr. Carnegie purchased the library and presented it to Lord Morley. It appears that in the early nineties Lord Acton, under stress of financial pressure, resolved to part with his splendid collection of books and send it down to the auctioneer's. Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone intervened and induced Mr. Carnegie to purchase the library. Mr. Carnegie paid the money, but the books were entrusted to Lord Acton himself as it was thought that he was the worthiest person to keep them. After Lord Acton's death the library was presented to Lord Morley who, moved by an equally generous impulse, presented it to the Cambridge University where Lord Acton was once Professor of History.

SPOONERISMS.

Dr. Spooner who until his recent retirement from the Wardenship of New College Oxford had made the remarkable record of fifty years' residence at the college without missing a single term celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday recently. His name has created a new word in the English language but in what measure he himself was responsible for the many 'Spoonerisms' fathered upon him is a very moot point. Some are obviously *bona fides* but the famous "kinkering kings" and the "half-warmed fish" are believed to be authentic dating from the author's early days at Oxford and forming the foundation upon which countless "Spoonerisms" have been based. One of the most ingenious topsy-turvydoms put into Dr. Spooner's mouth but afterwards confessed to by its contriver was "I have just had time to hatch a pasty snipe" for "I have just had time to snatch a hasty pipe".

Dr. E. Hopkinson in the course of his speech on the Indian Budget said with reference to Indian labour. "If the problem of labour is acute in this country, it is ten times more acute in India. I say that advisedly. The rate of wages in India is far too low for tolerable subsistence. Industrial conditions in India in many cases, and I have particularly in mind the cotton mills of Bombay, are so monstrously bad that I could hardly relate to any decent assembly what I myself saw in the course of my investigations."

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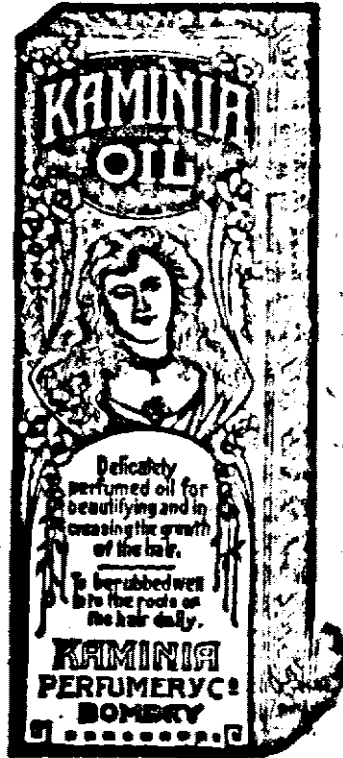
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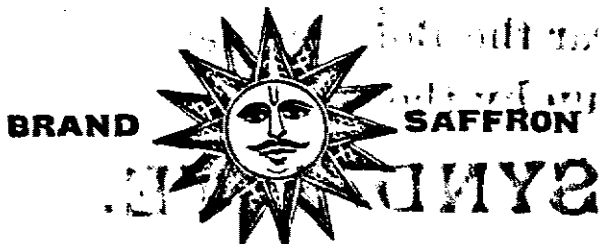
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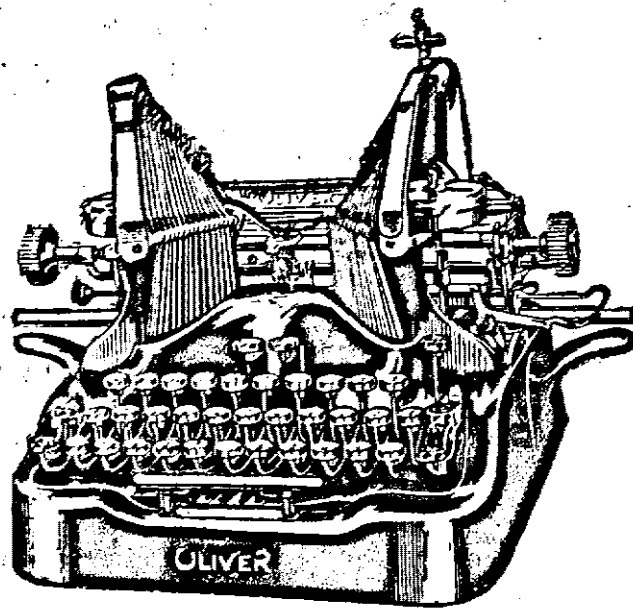
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Khilafat Day: Friday the 17th instant was observed as the Khilafat Day all over the country. The Mahomedan community spent the day in fasting and prayer, and in a large number of places, Hindus also joined their Islamic countrymen in suspending business and in the public meetings which were held to voice Moslem sentiment against the disintegration of the Turkish Empire. The Mahomedan demand is that the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor with Constantinople as their capital, having a predominant Moslem population, must remain under Turkish sovereignty; that the Holy Places of Islam should remain free from non-Mahomedan interference; and that Smyrna and its Hinterland should be evacuated by the Greeks whose treatment of the Moslem inhabitants has aroused indignation. The Mahomedan view is that the temporal power of the Khalif is inseparable from his spiritual authority, and that if he is deprived of the former he will necessarily lose the latter. A correspondent, evidently a Mahomedan, writing in the *Times of India* seeks to stir Government to energetic action in the direction of the Mahomedan demands by asserting that the Hindus in supporting the Moslem countrymen are deftly playing a clever political game and that "the change of Moslem attitude will leave the Government without a party and cannot be regarded with indifference or equanimity." It does not require much shrewdness to perceive whether it is the Hindus or this writer who is deftly playing a political or a personal game. The Hindus, as an Asiatic and non-Christian people, are deeply interested in ensuring, so far as it is possible for them to ensure, that international policy and ethics are the same for Asiatic and non-Christian as for European and Christian peoples. Further, Indian troops and resources have been and are being freely employed in military operations in the countries of the Turkish Empire; and this alone entitles the Indian people, irrespective of caste or creed, to have a voice in determining what the future of these lands is to be. Lastly, if Hindus feel that they have a duty to support their Mahomedan countrymen on a question in

which the deepest sentiments of the latter are involved, surely it is contemptible for any Indian (Hindu or Mahomedan) to impute it to other than a National and patriotic motive. This writer tells his readers that "the elder and the less impetuous Mussalman's still believe in the old policy of Sir Syed and Mohsinulmulk, of union with Europeans;" that "although the Moslem youths have embraced the Congress faith, the community as a whole is still shy of the selfish Hindu politicians who regard the Mahomedans as *bideshis* although preaching unity and co-operation from public platforms." A person who makes such allegations ought to put his name to his writing, so that the public may judge what weight attaches to his opinion. That he does not do so, carries on its face its obvious inference. He is evidently one of those who find that their opportunities of fishing (for titles and soft jobs for themselves and for their progeny) in the troubled waters of Hindu-Mahomedan rivalry are fast disappearing with the growth of a solidarity of National feeling between the two great communities of India. The writer, we are surprised, does not see that he is libelling Government when he calls upon them to concede the Moslem demands in order not to be left "without a party" in this country.

Indians in the Self-Governing Colonies: It will be in the recollection of our readers that Lord Sinha's memorandum on the position of Indians in the British Colonies, was referred to the several Governments of the self-governing colonies, with the general approval of the Imperial Conference last year. The despatches of these Governments with a statement of the course of action which they are prepared immediately to adopt with a view to give effect to the suggestions of the memorandum have been published. The largest number of complaints in the memorandum related to the Government of the South African Union, but the Governor General Lord Buxton, has nothing more to say in his despatch dated 30th August 1918 than that the subject of reciprocity received the consideration of his Ministers and was placed in the hands of Mr. Burton for discussion at the recent Imperial War Conference. There is no word of what has happened since. We know that since the last Imperial War Conference a drastic measure depriving Indians of rights not denied to them even under the Kruger regime in Pretoria has been passed by the South African Legislature. General Smut's speech to the Natal Indian address, which we printed recently, gives some room for the hope that, as the result of the Commission of Enquiry on which India is to be represented, so we are told, by the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, this reactionary measure may be radically modified, if not altogether withdrawn. We would respectfully suggest to the Government of India and the Secretary of State the extreme desirability—not to say the necessity—of nominating Mr. Gandhi also as a member of the Commission in place of one of the two officials of the Government of India who are to

be on it. In regard to this question, there is no difference of opinion between the Government and the people of India, and that being so, Mr. Gandhi will be a much more effective (and by a long way a better informed) representative of the Government and the people than any official. Such an appointment, moreover, will go a long way to bridge the gulf between the Government and the people of India which certain recent events have unfortunately tended to deepen.

Of the other replies, New Zealand points out that provision already exists for the admission of merchants, tourists and students of all nationalities, and that Indians domiciled in New Zealand have equal rights and privileges in every respect with Europeans. Australia recalls that so long as 1904, the Commonwealth Government had agreed to permit the admission of Indian merchants, tourists or students with their wives on passports for a period of one year, the question of subsequent stay to be considered on application. In view of the resolution of the Imperial War Conference last year, and with the desire to give full effect to the spirit which animated the Conference, the Commonwealth Government is now prepared to extend the former arrangements so as to permit Indian merchants, students and tourists to be admitted on passports and to remain in Australia indefinitely without the need for further application so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. They further agree that Indians already domiciled in Australia may bring in a wife and minor children. The Commonwealth Government point out that the main points of internal Australian administration which create a differentiation between Indians and Australian born persons of white British subjects appear to be two: (1) Exclusion from the Parliamentary franchise and (2) Exclusion from the privileges of the old age and invalid pension law. After giving the matter full consideration, they regret that they cannot see their way at present to admit Indians to the Parliamentary franchise, but in regard to the old age and invalid pensions, legislative proposals will be submitted as soon as possible to place Indians on an equality with other British subjects. While appreciating the liberal spirit in which the Commonwealth Government have met the proposals of Lord Sinha's memorandum, we yet hope that the Parliamentary franchise too will at no distant date be conceded to Indians in Australia as in New Zealand. The use of the phrase "at present" encourages such a hope. The Dominion Government of Canada have expressed their approval of the recommendations of the Imperial War Conference.

Anti-Indian Bias in the Public Services: A recent announcement calls for applications urgently to fill 204 vacancies in the Indian Medical Service. Of these, it is stated, 136 will be Europeans and the remainder, that is 68 Indians. The Indian Medical Service, as at present constituted, is intended to meet the requirements of the army and the civil population of this country. That two-thirds of the vacancies in this branch of the public service which concerns itself with the health of the people should be filled up by Europeans and only one third by Indians, is a proof of the extent to which the interests of the Indian public are subordinated to those of Englishmen, of the professional middle classes. This instance does not stand by itself. The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 21st instant quotes the following: "Seventy-eight appointments are being made in England for the Imperial Service of the Indian Public Works Department. Of these three persons (that is one-

twentysixth of the total) are to be Indians." We wonder what Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, Sahibzada Aftab Ali, and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, are about in the Indian office. What is Lord Sinha there for? We hear much of Anti-British Bias, but such flagrant examples of Anti-Indian Bias in the Public Services of India in which Indian subjects of His Majesty ought, according to all canons of right and justice, to have a preferential and predominant place, are, in our opinion, the root cause of whatever of Anti English bias there is in India. We are sure that if Indians were appointed to public offices in Great Britain in the proportion as Englishmen are in this country, Indians will not exactly be loved by the Englishmen whom they would deprive of chances of serving in their own country.

The Newington Tragedy: Mr. De la Hey, Principal of Newington, a school for young seminarians conducted by the Court of Wards in Madras, was shot dead while asleep on the night of the 15th instant by one of his own students under shocking circumstances. The young man alleged to have committed the murder, and a fellow student, said to have been privy to it, are now undergoing trial, and it is not proper to comment on the extraordinary statements which have been published regarding their crime. The *Madras Times*, a local Anglo-Indian Newspaper, actually published what purported to be an interview with the accused under custody! The deepest sympathy is felt for the widow and the infant child of the late Principal. If it is found after proper trial that the murder has been committed or instigated by the students of the deceased, it will be a horrible thing, so repugnant to one of the deepest-rooted sentiments of Indian mentality—reverence and affection to teachers. Difference of race has not made much difference in this regard. Though Wordsworth and Selby in Bombay, and Powell and Porter in Madras, were instances of English teachers who won, in an exceptional measure, the love and gratitude of their Indian students, Englishmen in the Indian Educational Services have, as a rule, secured the respect and attachment of the students and educated classes generally to a much greater extent than Englishmen in any other of the public services. This is explained by the fact that Englishmen in the Educational Services and educated Indians meet on the intellectual plane where race prejudices are at their minimum. Until this Newington crime, it would certainly have been unthinkable that an Indian student would murder his own teacher whatever his race or creed. The whole affair is so strangely at variance with what we know of Indian student character, that we feel that there must be something radically wrong in the atmosphere of Newington to make even such a suggestion possible.

Indian Representation at the International Labour Conference: *New India* of Madras has received a cable from London stating that the Secretary of State has appointed Mr. B. P. Wadia as an adviser to the Indian delegates to the International Labour Conference to be held at Washington and that Mr. Wadia has already left England for America. This is precisely what we had suggested in commenting on our contemporary's nomination of Mr. Joshi as the Indian Labour delegate. We are sure that Mr. Joshi will find an entirely sympathetic and loyal colleague in Mr. Wadia.

The Dnyanodaya's Omission: Our Christian contemporary of the *Dnyanodaya* makes an appreciative reference to the observations of the speakers at

the meeting recently convened in Bombay to give expression to the public feeling regarding the introduction and administration of martial law in the Punjab, strongly condemning the assault on Miss Sherwood and the murder of Englishmen by the mob. We are glad that it has done so, as it cannot be too widely known that responsible Indians look upon such outrages with abhorrence. But we notice with regret that our contemporary is strangely silent about the excesses of the martial law authorities, and especially the "crawling order," which the same speakers condemned with equal energy. We ask the *Dhyanodaya*, as a Christian journal, whether it approves of the order compelling innocent citizens, who had to pass the site of the assault on Miss Sherwood, to crawl on their hands and knees—one version says, on their bellies—as a penance for the sin of some of their fellow-citizens? Does it approve of General Hudson's justification of this order, which, to our minds, is on the same level as lynching? It refers to the General's speech but is silent on this matter! Does our contemporary think that the course of those who wish to see friendly relations between Indians and Englishmen is rendered smoother by outrages of this kind committed by responsible officials?

Indian Teachers of English: When this writer said at the Simla Educational Conference two years ago, that Indian teachers were the most suitable to teach English to Indian students, because they realised their (the students') difficulties better and could put their minds in contact with those of their pupils more readily, the statement created a mild sensation: We are glad that the *Educational Review*, takes the same view in a recent number. Our contemporary writes: "*The Educational Supplement* of the *London Times* rightly maintains, in a recent issue of the journal, that British needs must be interpreted by British scholars and that British birth should be a qualification and not a defect. Is it too much to argue on the same lines, that the Indian who is a good scholar of English can do better justice to his subject than the Englishman who is often selected on the mere strength of his nationality and sometimes does not possess any special equipment for the particular work? The educational superstition still lingers, however, all over the country, that the Englishman is always, and of necessity, a better teacher of English than the Indian whatever the intellectual accomplishments and the intrinsic capacity of the latter. Nothing could be more injurious to the interests of true education than such a belief, and the sooner it vanishes, the better will it be for the progress of English studies in India."

Disease and Marriage: We learn from the *Social Hygiene Bulletin*, New York, that thirteen of the United States of America now have laws relating to venereal disease in connection with marriage. The laws vary greatly in wording and in some cases are so vague or general as to be difficult of strict enforcement. The purport of all is the same, however,—to prevent the marriage of persons infected with syphilis or gonorrhoea in an acute form. These States are: Alabama, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin. The Michigan Law is the most drastic. It enacts that marriage by a person with syphilis or gonorrhoea is deemed a felony and is punishable by a fine of from \$500 to \$1000, or imprisonment for not more than five years, or both, and it is provided that in such prosecution the husband or wife may be examined as witness against each other, whether they consent or not, and that any physician who attended the defendant shall be compelled to testify.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 26, 1919.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT. VI*

It being accepted that the medium of instruction in the University course should be English, the question, so far as it bears on University education reduces itself to what the position of English should be in the lower stages in order that students entering the University may without difficulty follow instruction through that language. There is a general complaint that they are not able to do so now. The Commission propose to remedy this defect by reducing the use of English as a medium of instruction up to the present Matriculation stage and adopting improved methods of teaching English and employing more highly trained teachers of English in secondary schools. For the moment, we may leave out of account the second of these devices. Highly trained teachers of English and improved methods of teaching are not introduced in a day. The practical educationist must proceed on the supposition that the average of teacher and teaching would remain very much the same for some years. Even if we can by a wave of the wand create highly trained teachers in English, capable of adopting the most effective method of teaching, it will, perhaps, be wiser to try that device first, and observe what effects it has on the English of students proceeding to the University, than to adopt radical changes in the present system. Government in their present mood will be only too glad to increase the salaries of English teachers on the plea that highly trained men cannot be had for the present salaries; but we shall continue to get the same set of people, perhaps, a somewhat inferior class, because the missionary spirit of the worker, after a certain point, declines in proportion to the enhancement of the mercenary attractions of his work. Assuming then that no appreciable increase (except as regards salaries) is likely immediately in the quality of teachers or teaching, would the reduction of the use of English as a medium up to the Matriculation, give to the Universities students better equipped with a knowledge of English at the end of that stage? The recommendation of the Committee, thus stated, is in the nature of a paradox. We believe that, with better teachers and better teaching, the present system will give more excellent results in this regard than the reduction in English teaching recommended by the Commission: and that, without them, the reduction can but only lead to a still greater deterioration of the

* Previous articles on the report appeared in the issue of 17th August, 31st August, 7th September, 14th September, and 21 September, 1919.

knowledge of English of the students who go up to the University. The Commission in more than one place refer to the marked superiority of English teaching in secondary schools in Madras where the pupil is introduced to the language earlier than in any other province.

We are among those who believe in the argument for beginning the use of the foreign medium at the earliest age possible, because it is only in that way that the student can in course of time cease to regard it as a foreign medium and as his own natural mode of expression. The application of the epithet "foreign" to a language has no significance except as an illustration of how deeply influenced western thought is imbued with nationalist prejudices. We have been reading the Carmichael lectures for 1918 delivered by Professor Bhandarkar. The first lecture is on the Aryan colonisation of Southern India and Ceylon. One of the problems which he leaves unsolved in it may be thus stated in his own words: No reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the Dravidian speech once having been spoken in Northern as well as in Southern India. In Northern India it was superseded by the Aryan, when the Aryans penetrated and established themselves there. It is, therefore, extremely curious why in Southern India the Aryan speech was not able to supplant the Dravidian. We have an explanation of this problem and of some others in Professor Bhandarkar's lecture, but what is relevant to our present topic is that the larger part of India today speaks what at one time were foreign languages to it. Another point of interest is that Southern India which presented so impenetrable a front to the ancient Aryan speech, has shown itself more favourably disposed to the English language—a variety of Aryan speech—than other parts of India. When Raja Todar Mal ordered that all the records of the administration in the Moghul Empire should be in Persian, he gave a powerful impetus to the study of that language by the Hindus, so much so that it is said that in a century the Hindus became the masters of Mahomedans in the Persian tongue. Neither Hindus nor Mahomedans were oppressed by the idea of Persian being a foreign language. The application of the epithet "alien" or "foreign" to anything starts brain-waves that are entirely irrelevant to a consideration of that thing on its merits. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the sagacious pioneer of modern India reform, religious, social and political, has placed on record his belief that India would one day be an English-speaking country. Sir Abdur Rahim spoke in the same spirit when he said in his Convocation Address to the Mysore University that he was one of those dreamers who looked forward to the time when there would be one common language for the whole of India, and that even if the language which had the

best chance in that respect be not one of indigenous growth, such as English, he would be prepared to accept it and readily sacrifice some very dear predilection of his own in the best interests of the generations to come. We are not without hope that Mr. Gandhi, in his unflinching pursuit of truth, will come round to the same view.

Once we shake ourselves free of the sentiment of foreignness regarding the English language, the problem of English in our educational system becomes easy of solution by purely educational means. We are free to view the problem in the clear light of reason. We can see that a vernacular being the language spoken out of school hours—there is as much education out of school hours as in them—does not require the same concentration of teaching as English which, if reduced during school hours, can find no compensation out of them. With great deference to the Commission, and speaking from practical experience which we cannot set aside, we submit that the attempt to distinguish between a child in a foreign country and a child in a school where instruction is given through the medium of English, may be—and has been by the Commission—pressed too far. The distinction, to our mind, is entirely one of degree. If the Commission had visited some of the English-teaching schools in Bombay—St. Xavier's, for instance—they would have seen reason to be at least less emphatic in the expression of the opinion they have expressed. It is coming to be recognised by practical educationists that the use of English as the medium of instruction even in the Middle School has the effect of improving the standard of English in that school. We have had several instances of this lately. One of the biggest high schools in Bombay had engaged a graduate from Madras on its staff. We happened to mention to the Principal casually that, perhaps, the new man was put to teach the higher classes. The answer was surprising. No, we were told, he was made to take the lower classes, as, being ignorant of the vernaculars, he had perforce to use English entirely for his instruction, and it was found that led to a rapid increase in the competence in English of the class. The opinion of the Commission in this respect is against the weight of experience, at any rate on this side of India. Mr. Sharp, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, had suggested a scheme to the Commission for the gradual introduction of English from the primary school upwards. We think that the right solution of the problem of spacing Indian education justly between English and the vernaculars, should be sought on some such lines, and not in the drastic and revolutionary proposal of the Commission. We have devoted a large amount of attention to this question because, we believe, it lies at the root of Indian national progress.

It is, perhaps, the only important matter on which we differ strongly from the Commission's recommendations. Fortunately, it is not an organic part of their scheme—it cannot be said that if it falls, the whole structure of the scheme falls to the ground. We shall deal with the other parts of the scheme in subsequent articles. But we should not like to close this part of our comments without paying a tribute to the industry, the sympathy and the high conscientiousness which Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues have brought to their important task.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI I.

(BY MR. AGHORAM IYER, B. A. B. L.)

While we are taught by traditional history how Catholicism deteriorated in the Popes and their appointed legates, and led to the Reformation and Protestantism, the history of the saints and devotees of God that the undivided Church of Rome produced in Europe is so luminous that we may well pause to ask if Catholicism should not be judged by the highest and best results; and what bears conviction to us of the vitality of the faith is the continuity in the stream of saints that it has produced down to our own days. It would look as though the ideal that Catholicism placed before itself would not be dimmed in lustre, because the times change and men play a new role from century to century.

One need not fear that this is undue praise of a faith which has roused the bitterest animosity in the heart of a rival Church, and praise too, which would rob us of the true perspective we get through the eyes of the history. The persecutions of the earlier centuries in Europe were not due entirely to religion. They resulted from two causes:—(i) the failure of religion, and its representatives to keep to their limits. Here, one wonders, however, that, in Europe with a race development calculated to create the chronic disease of militancy in its social body, religion could do so much to 'one down the fierce spirit of man. But if it did so, it in its turn was overwhelmed by the social growth of Europe and the phenomenon arose of a spiritual potentate who could not hold together his adherents by love, but required the advantages of material power to compel them to continue their allegiance to the Church; (ii) the failure, worse still, of the State to give redress to the subject's grievances, under papal dominion. Protestantism more political than religious in its aim, freed men from the unscrupulous exactions of the Church. It substituted for the old faith new doctrines and dogmas which were as good or as bad as those of the Catholic Church, but in its best part it contained a core of truth which certainly was not new to Catholicism as well. The immediate remedy that came to Europe was worse than the disease. Its later remedy was tending to belie its name, when science fostered in its growth by the protestant spirit turned back on its foster father by dragging down God from the human heart and substituting the world instead. Surely not even Protestantism was ready for the surprises that science gave Europe;

the power to explore the secrets of nature was increased, and while man had no idea as to why he was growing in mastery over nature, he was getting farther away from the peace that was in the depth of his heart. It is strange that in Europe the progress of truth should have gone on in a different manner from ours. Religion had usurped the province of science by dogmatising about the nature of creation. Science, in its turn, usurped the province of religion by dismissing human study from its scheme. The era of bitter conflict between the two has passed; there are signs that they will coalesce, since there are today friendly exponents of both.

But in that earlier world where lived one of the sweetest saints known to christianity, these oppositions would have been anomalous. The thing, called science, was not competing then on equal terms with religion. The message of religion went deep into the hearts of the flower of the human race. Considerations of rank and social position, and even of sex were ignored, and truth and holiness claimed all as their votaries. Nor did the complex questions which had been popularised by metaphysics or theology, ever enter into the minds of men who heard the irresistible call. These men were not all intellectually brilliant, in our sense of the term. The lore or the craft that was best learnt in those days was often a sealed book to them. There might have been an unconscious strife going on in their hearts for redemption from sin. Perhaps the turning-point in their career came by a mere accident. Some event in the outer world was the suggestion to them to remodel their lives. However they came by their awakening, there was a firm grasp of the essentials of life, and they waged real war with the world. The one whose life is under review possessed a living soul, and had such a continuous growth of spirit that we must say he stands at the top of the saints of christendom.

In accordance with the simple custom of those times Francis, in boyhood, made a pilgrimage to St. Peter's Church, but disgusted with the half-hearted allegiance of the pilgrims he met in and about the Church, he gave away all the money he had; then, as a practical test of the experience of poverty, he exchanged his rich clothes for the rags of a beggar and stood in the public place begging the livelong day. Such sudden transformation in human character is rarely witnessed in the world.

A Hindu religious reformer of modern times, born in affluence, declares in earnest tones that he belongs to the caste of poverty, and gives proof of his words by befriending the poor and exercising an inexhaustible benevolence over them. His words go deep into our hearts and his daily actions shame us by their innocence and purity. But higher still is Francis in the suddenness of his resolution and the firmness he had in acting on it.

The next vision of Francis is that of a Knight on horseback riding along the highways which start from Assisi. He encountered a leper and in the way of common people rode off with a feeling of contempt for the afflicted man; but hardly had he gone a mile,

tenbbé thought came to him that he was violently departing from the teachings of his Master to shun the leper thus. Was it great of Dr. Johnson to have rendered his account clear to his conscience by doing duty as bookseller in old age, as expiation for the offence of disobeying his father who followed the same calling? Francis made a stronger response to his inner voice, when he rode back to where the leper was prostrate on the roadside, and with poignant self-reproach told him feelingly of the grave offence he had committed in avoiding him, implored his pardon, and warmly embracing him tendered to him the obeisance due to God. The young man, Francis, was broadening out into a universal lover. His love and regard were given most of all to those from whom the polite and the respectable in society turned in hatred; and much of the fortune that Pietro Bernardone, by his careful economy, had gathered for his son, was freely spent in the service of the poor.

It often looks darkness before light breaks forth. So, it happened, that the munificence of Francis roused the indignation of Bernardone, who wearying of the son's prodigality, sought the aid of the canonical law to disinherit the latter. But in the Bishop's Court, Francis surprised all by appearing naked, holding the remnant of his father's property in one arm, and forthwith addressed the court thus. "Till now I had called Pietro Bernardone my father; but now I have only one father, and that father which is in Heaven; here is the money, and here are the clothes for which Bernardone has given himself so much trouble." The scene roused such a sudden compassion in the heart of the Bishop that he gave him clothing, which Francis received gratefully, and then he went into the forest, singing merrily of God. There awaited the next great work of Francis, the repair of the ruined church in the neighbourhood of Assisi, and to that he devoted himself with a burning passion. The house of God shall not lie in neglect. Those who have consecrated themselves entirely to God should keep His house beautiful and good. Laying stone on stone, carrying the materials for repair on his own shoulders, Francis, under his own eyes, carried on the repair of the church, and drew crowds of devotees to worship and prayer.

Many rich and poor joined Francis—and renounced all the attractions of the world for his sake—for Christ's sake. The Franciscan order was organised for carrying the teaching of Christ over the whole of Europe. Francis stood at the head of the order, leading the brothers minor in every way. Poverty was strictly insisted on; even for their living, the monks were to toil, and make the simplest provision.

The practice of meditation and prayer was to be constant. Their lives should be spent freely in the services of the poor and the neglected. The devotion of these monks invaded distant shores like England. What concerns us, however, is the personal life of Francis; every new experience was for him a great victory of the soul, a proof of the truth of the Christian teaching.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

(BY MR. MADAN MOHAN VARMA)

One may well feel ashamed that, at this stage of human civilisation, it should still be necessary for one to argue and plead for woman's proper place in a nation's life! However, facts have to be faced, and we can only hope to dwell in a Future which the memory of the Past cannot mar.

The problem of women's franchise is especially agitating the minds of many enlightened and educated women to-day. They are anxious that the Reform Bill should recognize their place in India's political life. Among the men of India opinion is divided. A vast majority of them (especially young men) heartily second the aspirations of their sisters; some men, however, of a rather orthodox type, shrug their shoulders and laugh. If we analyse their attitude, it is like all other such attitudes, based on the "heresy of separateness," or in the "force of habit." Ages of a degenerated life have dimmed their vision, power has intoxicated them!

My purpose in this brief article is to present to my readers the necessity of women's franchise, and the way to meet obstacles. I am convinced that, whatever India may get from outside, she cannot be a really great nation with the better half of her population in the background. Not only that; we are mocking our religious heritage by ignoring the Divine in woman, we are perverted by the delusion of separateness!

No one will doubt that the care and training of children to a very large extent depends on mothers. Mothers know more of child-nature than men do and they have to do much more with children than the latter. They alone are best fitted to propose and make laws affecting the growth and welfare of children. Comparing the rate of infant mortality in India (where women have no share in legislation) with that in New Zealand (where women have political power) we find that the figures of the former are seven times those of the latter. Here in India women cannot see that legislation is introduced regarding "midwifery, pure food for children, healthy education for the mother and the child."

Not only the welfare of children. As Mrs. Considine writes, "Men are always thinking of things—fields, figures, buildings, materials; women are always thinking of people, the children, the old people, the sick, the husband." So, because of their circumstances, women will be more keen than men in getting laws passed which will prevent sickness, which will prevent the adulteration of food, which will make it impossible for small numbers of people to get very rich by the great profits they make through forcing large numbers of people to pay far too high prices for necessary articles.

The same writer proceeds: "Then also women's way of looking at the problems of good government will help men and help their country, because women are such great upholders of purity and religion. In

elections they will vote for the person who has the best moral character. Women's qualities of endurance and self-sacrifice will also strengthen men in the struggle of the whole people for full self-government within the Empire." And again, "women's influence will also be directed towards maintaining peace and unity between castes, peoples and nations, for women hate bloodshed and quarrellings, and it has been amply proved by the great war that none suffer so much in war-times as do women."

History bears illustrious testimony to this powerful influence of women. Confining our remarks to India: think of Kunti, think of Damayanti, think of Gandhari, think of Savitri; come nearer our times, think of Padmavati, think of Ahilyabai, think of Nar Jahan, think of Tara Bai. Come to our own times: think of Mrs. Gandhi, think of Sarojini Devi, think of Sarala Devi, and last but not the least, think of that great world-figure, Mrs. Annie Besant, — Vasant Mata many young Indians call her!

Oh, my fellow-countrymen, where is the hesitation, then, in giving our sisters an opportunity to grow likewise, serve likewise? Is it because most of them are as yet uneducated? Yes, they are; but why deprive such of them as have won distinctions in school and in University, in clubs and in conferences? They do not ask for universal electorate. They only ask you to make no sex bar for the qualified among them. If women become our co-legislators, we can be sure that the ban of ignorance will disappear much sooner than otherwise. Give a chance, then, to those that are fit.

Does "Purdah" frighten our friends? Yes, it is an obstacle, but until it is got rid of (as it must) let women officers—as our good sister Mrs. Jinarajadasa suggests—call at the houses of women voters to get their voting papers. Purdah women must not be ignored altogether. Among them are hidden persons of great accomplishment and learning.

In conclusion, I appeal to my fellow-countrymen in the name of the future generations, in the name of our Motherland, in the name of God Himself, whose Plan we are called upon to fulfil. To my sisters I would say: Remember, yours is a great heritage. Plan your Future so that it may outshine the Past. Let nothing shake you in your task. Yours is a holy mission. Be gentle and steady, be firm and dauntless — Ishwara will bless you and bless us all!

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore: The annual report of this Mission for 1918, shows continued and steady progress. The number of schools conducted by the Mission rose from 9 to 18, and that of scholars from 300 to 400. A Cooperative Credit Society was started for the Panchamas of Mangalore and suburbs. It is managed by 9 directors, 7 of whom are Panchamas. The work of the Mission was greatly hampered by the conditions set up by the war. Nevertheless, owing to the zeal and devotion of the Joint Secretaries, Messrs. K. Ranga Row and K. Sadashiva Rao, the Mission was able to do a good deal of consolidation work.

WOMEN AND ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The following representation, largely signed by women and friends of women's education, has been sent to every member of the Senate of the University of Mysore:—
Sir,

On the 11th proximo, the Senate will consider the question of imparting all instruction to women in Kanada. Mr. Reddy on pages 68—65 of his Proposals quotes a number of eminent men who support his views. But not one of them has taken a step forward in the direction in which Mr. Reddy proposes to go. Prof. Karve's Indian University for women may be a good thing for a class of people. There are reasons to think that the institute has not found great favour with the womanhood of the Bombay Presidency. The girls' schools which teach all subjects in English in Poona and Bombay are flourishing and not deserted. One third of the students in men's Colleges of Arts are ladies. Even in Madras the Science Branch of the Junior Intermediate has 22 girls and 19 boys. Women are very keen for acquiring as much English as possible.

Otherwise where would there be Mrs. Sarojini to plead for Indian women in England or Mrs. Rukmini Anjmal to oppose Mr. Reddy? The six hours of English teaching in the new proposals will hardly produce sufficient proficiency to command respect. When Kanada is adopted in Mysore, lady graduates from Madras and Bombay will certainly be preferred to those of Mysore in every walk of life. Even now, people who are eager for their daughters' education send them to Madras. Some girls from schools in this State are now in Queen Mary's and the Women's Christian Colleges at Madras and in Medical Colleges at Madras and Delhi. Even in Bangalore and Mysore several parents, not satisfied with the amount of English they get in Mysore State school, send their daughters to Convents. Girls from Bellary and Coorg and other neighbouring Districts come to us for instruction. Hereafter all this will cease to be. What has been built up in half a century will be undone in a few days.

When Madras and Bombay are not enamoured of Mr. Karve's scheme why should we be? When the women of the sister Presidencies learn more and more English and proceed to Western countries to complete their Education, should our women be proficient only in Kanada? Of course rich parents will send their daughters to Madras. "When Kanada and English courses exist side by side the former will go to the wall." (Memorandum Page 8.)

The education policy should emanate from Simla, and India as a whole should embark on a new policy. If Mysore adopts Kanada, while sister Presidencies do not, it spells ruin for us. Teachers and Inspectresses will have to be imported from outside. Suppose we adopt Kanada for boys also, then all our higher officials, will have to be imported. Why should we bring in such a catastrophe? Knowledge alone is not respected; if it were, the Mahamahopadhyayas of Sanskrit Academy should in all justice be paid as liberally as Dr. Bourns.

Oosmania college (Memorandum page 65) is not an instance to support Mr. Reddy. In Hyderabad the court language is Persian and we do not know how far the University is intended to benefit women. Nowhere in the world's history is there a retrograde experiment made at the cost of women's privileges.

The marriageable-age of girls is steadily increasing and girls do not leave their parental roofs before they are sixteen. Even according to Prof. Karve's scheme the secondary

education of an intelligent girl can be completed when she is fifteen. How is this a great improvement? The minimum age for S. S. L. C. candidates is 15 years according to the rules at present. Many boys and girls do pass at that age. Two girls have even had to apply for exemption because below 15. Of course dull students take longer. We are not charmed with Prof. Karve's institute. Even girls who go to Poona for education prefer the Hindu Girl's High school to Prof. Karve's institute.

The hobbies of men like Prof. Karve and Mr. Gandhi need not be blindly followed. Surely every woman need not sit spinning yarn.

The list of text books available in Kannda for upper secondary classes (Memorandum Appendix A) is very deceptive. Mere pamphlets on Physiology, Zoology, Mineralogy, Entomology, Cholera, Plague, Small-pox, Malaria, Astrology, Vijayanagar, old Geometry books I and II, the ordinary text books used in the Lower Secondary classes and several old fashioned books are all included to make a long list to impress the readers of the Proposals. If the Senate gets a set of these books and examines the dates of their publications and sees which of them are up-to-date, we have no doubt of the decision it will arrive at. It has taken nearly fifty years to produce this poor set of books and none of them are as good as English text books now in use in the high school classes.

The question of language is made much of. Girls in the IV Form feel some difficulty in the beginning. But by the time they come to the V Form they use English more or less freely.

In chalking out plans for women's education we should not always be thinking of girls who stay at home from their 15th year. For such girls any education or home education will be enough. There are others who have greater ambition which should not be thwarted by the new rules about to be made. If Kannda is considered enough for those who marry early, there should continue as at present, facilities for advance studies in English for boys and girls alike as in Bombay or Madras. Girls who may wish to study medicine in Delhi or Madras or England should not be injured by the new rules. If English cannot be freely used, much of the pleasure of life is missed. Mr. Reddy's proposals and the Government memorandum would be a sealed letter to ladies with a slight knowledge of English. They will not appreciate a newspaper or a novel. So we request that you will kindly speak to all your friends in the Senate about Mr. M. C. Rangaiengar's proposition, and oppose him completely. Mrs. Rakmini Ammal's hands should be strengthened. If reforms in women's Education be merely concerned with such modification in the curriculum as will open yet wider paths of usefulness to women much service will be done to Mother India. The plea for English forcibly put forward by Mr. Mir Hamza Husain in the beginning of an extract quoted on page 65. His remarks apply with equal force to the education of girls. He is satisfied with women talking a few English words. But women themselves are far more ambitious. Mr. Thompson too is not a champion for the higher education of women. But many Indian Christian women are far more ambitious and are not satisfied with the standard he sets up.

The views of educated Mysore ladies on the subject have been well expressed by one of their number, who is a graduate, and who, since Kannada is her mother tongue, most certainly cannot be accused of wishing the vernacular to be neglected.

"If you ask my opinion about Mr. Reddy's new scheme I should only say that he is adding to the disabilities under which our women have already been suffering and Mr. Reddy receives no thanks from us for his benevolent proposal.

"My opinion has been from the beginning the same as Mrs. Rakminiamma's. Every one of us is well aware of the fact that under present conditions a good knowledge of English is indispensable to every man or woman to become a true citizen.

"The very fact that our girls leave school at a very early age makes it clear that they should be taught as much as possible during that brief period, of all that is necessary to them, and English being of vital importance in these days should have a large place in the girls' curriculum. I don't believe what others say, that a girl has to spend her precious school life only in mastering a foreign language to the neglect of other and more useful subjects. But if she gets used to the English language from the beginning she finds it no strain to learn it and within the short period at her disposal, she can learn enough of English to save her purpose. The advantages of having English as the medium of instruction outweigh the disadvantages.

"If a girl spends a few years over English, the benefits she derives are of no little value. The whole world is before her. She need not be at the mercy of our tardy translators for every book and paper that is published in other countries for if any good book of general usefulness is written in any language, an English translation of it is sure to be speedily found. It is to be doubted whether our printers, publishers and translators can even keep pace with their western brethren in this matter. The English language places before us whatever is valuable in the literature of the world thus enabling us to have a wide outlook of men and things. In my opinion this is one of the greatest of benefits that we derive from the study of the English language and if we close this very door to knowledge against our girls, we are doing nothing but a gross injustice to them.

"The vernaculars of India can never have the same place as those of Europe. India is very different from other countries. It is not a land of one people and one language, but of many peoples and many languages. The need of a common language is strongly felt and that need is supplied by English. Again the India of the present day is not the same isolated India of the past. Times have greatly changed. We are brought into touch with the world and our ideas and thoughts too have greatly changed. Women's sphere is enlarged. Along with her household duties the times demand from her other duties as well. Not only has she to educate those at home, but has also to acquaint the people abroad, whose knowledge of India is very limited, with the true state of things here and plead for the cause of women as our sister Mrs. Sarojini has been doing. India is badly in need of such women and to do this is impossible without that proficiency in English which is only acquired by having it as the medium of instruction.

"This problem of women's education gave no little trouble to Plato thousands of years ago and it presents us the same difficulty now and a thousand years hence it will be the same. The great philosopher's words "In the administration of a State neither women as a woman, or a man as a man has any special function, but the gifts of nature are diffused equally in both; all pursuits of men are pursuits of women also" hold good to this day."

All that is asked for is, to allow women's education to progress, along with boy's education, according to the same rules and conditions. In conclusion we request you will be kind enough to interpret our views, to the Senate and try your best not to set back, women's education in the Province.

CYCLONE IN EASTERN BENGAL.

AN APPEAL.

The cyclone of the 24th September has caused terrible havoc in certain districts in Eastern Bengal. Rai Sahib Rajmohan Das, that indefatigable worker of the Brahma Samaj, writing from personal knowledge says, that fifty per cent, if not more, of the houses in certain localities have been destroyed by the cyclone and that the suffering of the poor knows no bounds. Half-fed and half-clad they had long been in the grip of very great misery. The cyclone has now rendered them homeless and destitute and completely helpless. Slender though the means of the Brahma Samaj are, it has at the call of humanity undertaken the work of affording relief to the distressed. Rai Sahib Rajmohan Das has been working in the Naraingunj side, Babu Saibhushan Mitra in Bhanga Sub-Division in Faridpore, and Babu Manomohan Chakravarti, missionary, in Bagerhat in Khulna and Kotallipara in Faridpore. Babu Baradakanta Bose, B.A., and Babu Abinash Chandra Lahiri, B.A., have started relief work in Vikrampore and Babus Harananda Gupta and Prafullakumar Ray, Bsc., in Netrokona and Kishoregunj sub-divisions in Mymensing. The Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj have placed in the hands of their Secretary the sum of Rs. 5000 and have entrusted him with the work of organising relief in the affected areas. Half of the above sum has already been exhausted. The Committee now stand in need of further funds. They address this appeal to public-spirited citizens all over the country with the hope that they would enable the Committee to carry on their work of succouring their helpless brethren in the affected areas by a prompt and generous response to it.

Any amount, however small, will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the undersigned on behalf of the Committee.

FRANKISHWA ACHARJI,
Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj,
(211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.)

Mr. K. N. Dewal writes from Bangalore under date 17th October. During their visit to Bangalore Mr. G. K. Devdhar and the Hon'ble Professor R. P. Paranjpye delivered lectures on "the Widows' Problem" and "Students and Social Reform" respectively in the Government High School. Large audiences assembled and listened to the learned lectures with rapt attention.

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Paid Up Capital... 25,00,000

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Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharla, Karachi.

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NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
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HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
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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.

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Manager

9-12-17.

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HEAD OFFICE:—

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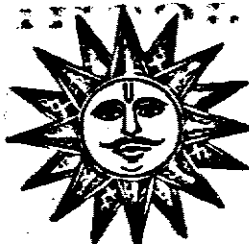
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3. Accounts are audited half-yearly by a special Government Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the “Bombay Government Gazette.”

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Wholesome
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 and testified as to its efficacy by
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PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX BOMBAY—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1919. No. 9.

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

CONTENTS.

An Ominous Defeat.	Sir George Barnes in South Africa.
The British Labour Party's Imperial Policy.	Silver Currency in France.
Iranians in India.	The Reform of the Central Government.
The Administrator of Bhavnagar.	The Maharaja of Bikaner on Constitutional Reform.
The South African Commission.	St. Francis of Assisi. II.
Postponement of the South African Commission.	Total Prohibition.
	An Appeal.
	"The Light of India."

NOTES.

An Ominous Defeat: Following on the repeated failure of Government candidates to hold the seats, won at the last General Elections by large majorities, at by-elections, the defeat of Government on the third reading of the Aliens' Restriction Bill, at such an early stage of the new session in the House of Commons, by a majority of 72 votes is not a favourable portent for the present Coalition Ministry. The voting was 185 to 113, and at least one hundred Ministerialists are said to have opposed the Government. In the face of this fact, the statement that the defeat of the Government was due to a combination of Labourites, Independent Liberals and anti-Aliens Group, is unintelligible. On the result of the division, Mr. Bonar Law moved the adjournment of the House until October 27 to enable the Government to consider the situation, and the motion was warmly received on all sides. It is understood that the Cabinet does not regard the defeat as sufficiently important to justify an appeal to the country. That is to say, it will carry on for the present, as did Mr. Balfour's Cabinet after the South African War after similar defeats in the House of Commons. But the spell which bound the majority to the Government is broken, and no one can say that there will not be a repetition of the defeat on more important questions which Government will not find it easy to ignore. Apart from its general importance, the incident has a special interest to us in India as affecting the fate of the Government of India Bill. A dissolution before the Bill becomes law, will, of course, mean the erasure of all that has been done so far. A section of Indian opinion regards such a possibility as not altogether a calamity. There will be considerable accessions to this section if it be found that the Joint Committees' recommendations leave the Government of India where it was in the original Bill.

The British Labour Party's Imperial Policy: A Reuter's telegram says: "Mr. Arthur Henderson, discussing Labour's Imperial policy in the periodical *Overseas*, writes that Labour is certainly not a Little Englander in the sense of being indifferent to

the potential utility of this great alliance of Free States which the Empire in its best aspect implies. Labour stands in all its traditions for the principle which has made the real strength of the Empire, namely, conciliation through self-government." This is significant as coming from Mr. Henderson who is spoken of as the first Premier in a Labour Ministry in Great Britain. Apart from that, he is a high-principled man. The *Challenge* which is primarily a religious paper and not a Labour organ, thus wrote of him on the morrow of his triumphant return at the by-election at Widnes: "On national grounds the whole result is heartedly to be welcomed, for Arthur Henderson belongs to the band of men who put principle before personal gain, who because they are men of character are not corrupted by politics, but through politics are able to make their highest contribution to the service of their fellows. If Labour can put forward more candidates of the character and calibre of Mr. Henderson, then Parliamentary government is safe for our lifetime; and by its agency the general level of the common life may be raised enormously."

Iranians in India. That the Parsi immigration into Western India some twelve centuries ago was not, like the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, the emigration of an alien people to a new and unknown world, is well-known to students of ancient Indian history. There was continuous intercourse between Persia and India from very early times, and the only special feature about the Parsi emigration was that it was by way of the sea, and not through the passes on our North-Western frontier. Political and diplomatic intercourse between the two countries existed in historical times. Before that, probably, Iranian missionaries came to India, and the late Sir Herbert Risley was of opinion that the Sakadwipa Brahmins were descendants of them. In pre-historic times, the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians dwelt together as one community in the Panjab. The *Karnataka* of Bangalore gives a summary of a lecture delivered by the distinguished scholar, Mr. R. Shama Sastry, in the Mysore University Extension series, on Iranians in India. Mr. Shama Sastry's conclusions mainly accord with those of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra whose lectures on the Indo-Aryans, published many years ago, are the most authoritative exposition of this interesting subject at present. On one point Mr. Sastry seems to differ from Dr. Mitra and other scholars. The latter held that the Indo-Aryans and Iranians were settled in the Punjab as one community. Mr. Sastry, on the other hand, is reported as holding that the Iranians had settled in India before the advent of the Vedic Aryans. After the coming of the latter, they both lived in peace and friendship for a time; and then they quarrelled, and became divided for ever. According to this theory, the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians were originally two different peoples, whereas according to the first theory they

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 Gold Crown, Bar and
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 (teeth without plates);
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 for Pyorrhoea (pus in gums).
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The South African Com-
mission.
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NOTES.

An Ominous Defeat: Following on the repeated failure of Government candidates to hold the seats, won at the last General Elections by large majorities, at by-elections, the defeat of Government on the third reading of the Aliens' Restriction Bill, at such an early stage of the new session in the House of Commons, by a majority of 72 votes is not a favourable portent for the present Coalition Ministry. The voting was 185 to 113, and at least one hundred Ministerialists are said to have opposed the Government. In the face of this fact, the statement that the defeat of the Government was due to a combination of Labourites, Independent Liberals and anti-Aliens Group, is unintelligible. On the result of the division, Mr. Bonar Law moved the adjournment of the House until October 27, to enable the Government to consider the situation, and the motion was warmly received on all sides. It is understood that the Cabinet does not regard the defeat as sufficiently important to justify an appeal to the country. That is to say, it will carry on for the present, as did Mr. Balfour's Cabinet after the South African War after similar defeats in the House of Commons. But the spell which bound the majority to the Government is broken, and no one can say that there will not be a repetition of the defeat on more important questions which Government will not find it easy to ignore. Apart from its general importance, the incident has a special interest to us in India as affecting the fate of the Government of India Bill. A dissolution before the Bill becomes law, will, of course, mean the erasure of all that has been done so far. A section of Indian opinion regards such a possibility as not altogether a calamity. There will be considerable accessions to this section if it be found that the Joint Committees' recommendations leave the Government of India where it was in the original Bill.

The British Labour Party's Imperial Policy: A Reuter's telegram says: "Mr. Arthur Henderson, discussing Labour's Imperial policy in the periodical *Overseas*, writes that Labour is certainly not a Little Englander in the sense of being indifferent to

the potential utility of this great alliance of Free States which the Empire in its best aspect implies. Labour stands in all its traditions for the principle which has made the real strength of the Empire, namely, conciliation through self-government." This is significant as coming from Mr. Henderson who is spoken of as the first Premier in a Labour Ministry in Great Britain. Apart from that, he is a high-principled man. The *Challenge* which is primarily a religious paper and not a Labour organ, thus wrote of him on the morrow of his triumphant return at the by-election at Widnes: "On national grounds the whole result is heartedly to be welcomed, for Arthur Henderson belongs to the band of men who put principle before personal gain, who because they are men of character are not corrupted by politics, but through politics are able to make their highest contribution to the service of their fellows. If Labour can put forward more candidates of the character and calibre of Mr. Henderson, then Parliamentary government is safe for our lifetime; and by its agency the general level of the common life may be raised enormously."

Iranians in India. That the Parsi immigration into Western India some twelve centuries ago was not, like the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, the emigration of an alien people to a new and unknown world, is well-known to students of ancient Indian history. There was continuous intercourse between Persia and India from very early times, and the only special feature about the Parsi emigration was that it was by way of the sea, and not through the passes on our North-Western frontier. Political and diplomatic intercourse between the two countries existed in historical times. Before that, probably, Iranian missionaries came to India, and the late Sir Herbert Risley was of opinion that the Sakadwipa Brahmins were descendants of them. In pre-historic times, the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians dwelt together as one community in the Panjab. The *Karnataka* of Bangalore gives a summary of a lecture delivered by the distinguished scholar, Mr. R. Shama Sastry, in the Mysore University Extension series, on Iranians in India. Mr. Shama Sastry's conclusions mainly accord with those of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra whose lectures on the Indo-Aryans, published many years ago, are the most authoritative exposition of this interesting subject at present. On one point Mr. Sastry seems to differ from Dr. Mitra and other scholars. The latter held that the Indo-Aryans and Iranians were settled in the Punjab as one community. Mr. Sastry, on the other hand, is reported as holding that the Iranians had settled in India before the advent of the Vedic Aryans. After the coming of the latter, they both lived in peace and friendship for a time; and then they quarrelled, and became divided for ever. According to this theory, the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians were originally two different peoples, whereas according to the first theory they

were one people who subsequently split it into two on some differences of doctrine and practice. Mr. Sastry will, we are told, deal with the causes of the secession in his next lecture. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra was of opinion that the most important cause of the split was the question of cow-killing. The Indo-Aryans had settled as agriculturists and in view of the vital importance of the cow to an agricultural community, had foresworn beef, but the Iranians clung to their pastoral habits, and went back to their homelands. We look forward with interest to what Mr. Shama Sastry has to say on the question.

The Administrator of Bhavnagar. The appointment of Sir Prabhaskar Pattani as Administrator of Bhavnagar during the minority of His Highness the Maharaja is obviously the only suitable appointment that could have been made. It is in consonance with the widely-expressed wishes of the people of the State, and has been received everywhere with considerable satisfaction. His long experience as Dewan of the State, amplified by his tenure of the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay and of the Council of the Secretary of State in London, marks him out as the one man most fitted to be at the helm of the State. It is not stated whether Sir Prabhaskar is to be the sole Administrator or whether he is to be yoked to a Political. We trust it will be the former. The appointment comes at a psychological moment in Indian politics, and far more than the interests of Bhavnagar is involved in its success or failure. The capacity of Indians for administration has been established beyond question by men like Sir T. Madhav Rao, Dewan Ranga Chariu, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Salar Jung. But these men did their work under less exacting conditions than those in which Sir Prabhaskar's administration will have to prove itself. Standards have risen all round, and autocratic methods are out of the question. The people will have to be admitted to the confidence of the administration, and it is in them that the Administrator will find his surest support and security for his work when the time comes for him to make over the State to the young Maharaja. The good wishes of a very large circle of friends will attend Sir Prabhaskar's assumption of the most responsible task entrusted to an Indian statesman in our time and we trust he will be given health and strength in ample measure to carry it on to the great benefit of the people of Bhavnagar and to the advantage of Indian reputation for administrative qualities.

The South African Commission. *Indian Opinion* of the 26th September quotes General Smuts as having said in reply to a question in the Union Assembly that the Government had no intention to appoint a Commission to enquire into the whole Asiatic question. The Commission to be appointed will inquire into the question of the issue of trading licenses to Indians. As our contemporary points out, this is inconsistent with the statement of the acting Prime Minister, Mr. Malan, who in June last stated that the Commission would inquire into the whole Asiatic question in the Transvaal. Apart from that, the question of trading licenses is only one of the grievances mentioned in Lord Sinha's memorandum presented to the Imperial War Conference last year, which Mr. Burton, on behalf of the South African Union Government had undertaken to consider favourably. A more important question is the right of ownership of land the law relating to which Lord Sinha urged was demoralising to all parties and the abrogation of which he strongly advocated. There were other points in the memorandum. It is a question whether if the scope of the Commission's enquiry is to be restricted to

trading licenses, it is worth while appointing it, and sending representatives from India to participate in it. Then, we understand that the Commission will be an Imperial one, but it appears from General Smuts's remark that it is to be appointed by the Union Government. Under the circumstances, it behoves the Government of India to make strong representations to the Imperial Government as well as to the Union Government with a view to widen the scope of the enquiry so as to cover all outstanding Indian grievances not only in the Transvaal, but elsewhere in South Africa, and to strengthen its character by making it an Imperial enquiry.

Postponement of the South African Commission. Since the above was in type the Government of India have published the following statement of the Secretary of State's "from himself": "The Union Government have decided to postpone the appointment of the Commission for the present. It has been mistakenly inferred from a passage in the Secretary of State's recent speech that a request has been made that the representatives of India should sit as members of the Commission. No such request has been made to the Union Government, but that Government has been asked to agree to the presence of representatives (probably one official and one non-official) to be deputed by the Government of India to assist the Commission in its enquiry, to give information, and to represent the feelings and the views of the Government of India and the Indian public and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case. The question of the status to be proposed for such representatives and of the composition of the Commission may depend to some extent on the scope of the enquiry, as to which information has not yet been received. It is hoped that the Union Government will in any event agree to the inclusion of an Indian non-official in the deputation from India as the Government of India and the Secretary of State are agreed as to the great importance of associating an Indian with Sir B. Robertson." This is entirely at variance with what Mr. Montagu was understood to have said to the deputation which waited on him, and will cause intense disappointment in this country.

Sir George Barnes in South Africa. *Indian Opinion* has the following very relevant criticism of Sir George Barnes, the member for Commerce in the Government of India, regarding his enquiries on Indian problems in South Africa:—"In his letter to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 15th July last, Sir George Barnes refers to the fact that he was recently in South Africa and had several times discussed Indian affairs with Lord Buxton. So far as we are aware, he never took the trouble to interview members of the Indian community and get their views on questions vitally affecting their welfare. This, we suppose, is typical of the European official in India. And that is why the people of India so greatly desire a change in the form of government. What a fine opportunity Sir George Barnes had of making himself fully acquainted with matters concerning which he would have to deal with later! But he missed it. He was content to confine his enquiries to Government officials and so learnt only part of the truth. His letter to Mr. Gandhi on the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Act proves that."

Silver Currency in France. India, after all, is not the sole sinner in the matter of absorbing rupees. A Reuters telegram says that owing to the hoarding, melting down and export of coinage despite prohibition, silver coinage has practically gone out of circulation in France, although over one thousand million francs should be in circulation.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1919.

THE REFORM OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The Joint Committee on Indian constitutional reform has finished taking evidence and the Bill as amended by it is expected to be presented to Parliament in the middle of November and to be finally passed about the middle of December. The present seems to be an opportune moment to indicate what feature of reform will be most looked for in the revised Bill. The Indian public will look in it for a substantial measure of reform in the constitution and functions of the Government of India. The introduction of a measure of responsibility in that Government was from the first advocated by Indian reformers as a desirable extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, calculated to heighten its symmetry and popularity. For our own part, we have from the first regarded the reform of the Government of India as far more urgently important than that of provincial Governments. Provincial autonomy, without simultaneously strengthening the Central Government by liberalising its constitution and its functions, is, to our mind, positively detrimental to the highest interests of the country. Indian history is a record of repeated chaos supervening on provinces outgrowing the controlling authority of the Central Government. Sir Harry Stephen in his evidence before the Joint Committee professed his anxiety to see a scheme of reform formulated by Indians according to Indian ideas. This is a seemingly reasonable request, but in reality it is an impracticable one. The conditions set up by British rule so complicate the Indian political problem that no scheme of reform based wholly on Indian ideas will be effective as a means of ensuring a stable and progressive administration. At the same time, no scheme of reform which ignores the lessons of Indian history has the slightest chance of success. Now, the first lesson of Indian history is that a strong Central Government is the indispensable condition of progress and prosperity within and security against dangers from without. Lord Sydenham interprets "strong Government" to mean a Government which desires and is able to work its will in absolute disregard of public opinion. In this sense, there never was a stronger Government than the present Government of India. But in truth there never was a weaker, more discredited Government. The Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* cannot be accused of prejudice in this matter. This is what he says in his last letter:

Simla is now at the nadir of its reputation at home, and its suggestions are likely to carry less weight than would otherwise be the case. The bitter comments of papers like

Trust on the conduct of the Afghan Campaign, the stir caused by the Punjab sentences and the Indemnity Act, the general discontent of the English mercantile world at the exchange position—all these ought to give Government furiously to think. Its loss of reputation has now reached a point at which its administrative efficiency is bound to suffer.

The Afghan campaign and the Punjab sentences and the Indemnity Act, and even the exchange position, are but the culmination of a steady process of deterioration which had been at work in the Government of India. The great personalities of Viceroys like Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge, and of a great Secretary of State like Lord Morley in the period between them, retarded to some extent, and masked to a much greater extent, the process of decay. The removal of the Imperial capital to Delhi accelerated the process, and even Lord Hardinge's sagacious and high-souled statesmanship could not withstand it. The Cawnpore Mosque trouble, which led to the personal intervention of the Viceroy, was the first symptom of Provincial administrations getting out of hand. When the magnetic personality of that illustrious Viceroy was withdrawn, the process became unmistakably obvious. The Madras Government, first, and the Punjab afterwards, showed that the Central Government was losing prestige in the provinces. Lord Chelmsford has, no doubt, proved inadequate for his high office, but it is not altogether due to his deficiencies of capacity and experience. Only a statesman of enormous personal prestige, in England and India could have steered the State with appreciable success in the difficult circumstances of the last five years, with a Government of India constituted as at present. The Afghan war and the excitement among the frontier tribes, are due to the same cause, namely, the weakness, owing to want of touch with the living currents of Indian life, of the Central Government of India. A Government of India, even under the present constitution or absence of it, which forfeits the confidence of India, is certain to lose weight with the Government in England. Lord Curzon, with all his amplitude of power and prestige, had to acknowledge his defeat at the hands of Lord Middleton, because the Government in England had tired of his lordship's unpopularity with His Majesty's Indian subjects. If, as the Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* bluntly says, the loss of reputation of the Government of India has now reached a point at which its administrative efficiency is bound to suffer—in our opinion, this untoward result has already happened—His Majesty's Government and Lord Chelmsford himself cannot but contemplate an early change of Vicerealty as an alternative to be preferred. The point we wish to urge is that a mere change of Viceroys will not permanently improve the political position. It will no doubt have the immediate effect of relieving the tension in the

public mind. This by itself is a most desirable thing. But reforms in the constitution of the Government of India, which place that Government in close and constant touch at every point with the surging force of public opinion and make it the focus of life and thought in this country, can alone give it the strength and vitality needed to govern India for her own good as well as for the good of the British Empire.

The liberalising of the Government of India will, of itself, have the effect of communicating a liberalising impulse to all the grades of administration below it. Without the Government of India being liberalised, no amount of reform in the provincial Government and local administration will be of much avail. The weakness of the Central Government will, as the Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* shrewdly apprehends, infect all the ranges of administration below it. Provincial autonomy was suggested in the Government of India's famous despatch of 1911, relating to the annulment of the Partition of Bengal and the transfer of the Imperial capital to Delhi, avowedly as a means of keeping Indian influence confined to provincial matters and of preventing it from extending to imperial concerns. Mr. Montagu devised his scheme on this basis. Indian opinion, however, has never accepted provincial autonomy as a sufficient sphere of its political aspiration. The Congress-Moslem League scheme proposed the same sort of changes in the Imperial as in the Provincial Governments. The present plight of the Government of India, as depicted by the Simla correspondent of the *Times of India*, has come as a concrete refutation of the proposal to leave the Government of India out of the responsible part of the scheme of constitutional reform. The dangers of the excessive stress laid on provincial autonomy (with its implication of provincial isolation) has been brought home to Indian public opinion in an unmistakable manner during the last few months. Why should Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab agitate against the Rowlatt legislation which was evoked by the occurrence of revolutionary crime in Bengal and was most unlikely to be applied to any other province? Why should the United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal and Madras concern themselves with the application and administration of Martial law in the Punjab at the instance of the Punjab Government which is in the best position to know all the circumstances of the case? These questions have been asked in all seriousness by responsible organs of English opinion in India not all of them ill-disposed to Indian aspirations or opposed to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The underlying idea, it is clear, is that Indian political evolution should proceed on lines which reduce each province to an isolated unit without interest in and sym-

pathy with other units. That the effect of the adoption of the scheme with the Government of India left out of it, will be this, there cannot be the least doubt. There is a third reason why the reform should begin with and not stop short at the Government of India. Events have occurred since the Delhi despatch was penned and even since the Montagu-Chelmsford report was drafted, to belie the doctrine of progression from the bottom to the top. India has not only a seat at the Imperial Conference, but is to-day an original member of the League of Nations. The anomaly of her being governed without reference to the views and opinions of the people by half a dozen gentlemen, is obvious. It has been pointed out by critics not very kindly disposed to Great Britain. The Indian people, on their part, do not like to be represented or misrepresented on the League of Nations by persons in whose selection they have had no voice. The international status and the position in the British Commonwealth, of India have advanced to such an extent that an irresponsible Government of India is absolutely out of the question.

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

In bringing the Session of the Bikaner Legislative Assembly to a close, His Highness the Maharaja made an important pronouncement on the attitude of Indian States and their rulers towards constitutional reform in British India and in their own territories. It is entirely due to His Highness that we no longer hear of the opposition of Indian princes to the political progress of British India. When all other resources had been exhausted, it was the time-honoured trick of Anglo-Indian reactionaries to seek to frighten British statesmen by representing that the Mahomedans of India, the Indian troops and the Indian princes would regard reforms calculated to give effect to the promises of equality of Indians and Englishmen in the public services and the Executive Government with dismay. The Mahomedan myth has been rudely dispelled, and it is no longer possible for the most brazen reactionary to represent Indian Mahomedans as being likely to resent political progress. As it is, the Indian Mahomedan, if anything, is more strident to-day in asking for the fulfilment of pledges than the other communities have ever been. The Lucknow compact has been subjected to a fiery ordeal and has emerged unscathed. It was not, perhaps, surprising that numerous Hindu witnesses who appeared before the Southborough Committee, while expressing their dissatisfaction with some of the terms of the compact, declared that they accepted it nevertheless and deprecated any attempt to reopen the question. But it could not but have impressed even Lord Sydenham that the representatives of the Moslem community who appeared before the Joint Committee, absolutely refused to consider the Government of India's tempting offer to add some more seats to the proportion allotted in the Lucknow compact to Mahomedans in the Bengal

Council on the ground that that would upset the underlying principle of that compact. The Indian Army and the Indian princes were still trump cards left for the reactionaries. His Highness the Maharaja, however, rudely plucked it out of their hands in his memorable speech at the Savoy Hotel. Speaking as a Maharaja and a Major-General who had taken part with his troops in the war, His Highness ruthlessly exposed the trickery, incurring thereby the undying wrath of this parblind fraternity. He is not dismayed, however, and his speech at Bikaner shows that if it has to be done, His Highness would cheerfully do it again. As we pointed out in commenting on the Savoy Hotel speech at the time, the Indian princes had been dragged into the controversy by the opponents of reform, and His Highness had no alternative but to state the truth as he knew it from his intimate personal knowledge of them. But His Highness does not stop there. He maintains that the Indian States have a direct interest in ensuring progress and contentment in British India. He observed :

Whilst the Princes of India can always be counted upon to throw the whole weight of their influence and resources on the side of law and order and constituted authority, as they have invariably and unflinchingly done in the past, they are, apart from all these weighty considerations which appeal to them most, prompted not unnaturally by reasons of self-interest also, to see such a course followed as will ensure tranquillity on the other side of their borders and thus avert serious trouble from crossing into their territories. For conditions existing in British India, and the attitude of the people there, find their inevitable reflex in our own States. It is quite clear that any grievance and discontent in British India, still more anarchy and sedition, are bound sooner or later to spread to our States and to affect the Indian rulers and their Governments. Many of us are surrounded by British territory. With the increased railway, telegraph and postal facilities, and the spread of education and Western thoughts and ideals, and with a large number of our State subjects carrying on business in British India, there are, much more than formerly, frequent and intimate interchanges of ideas and opinions and greater contact between our own subjects and those of British India.

His Highness recalled the fact that the late Lord Minto had asked for the co-operation of the Princes and their advice in dealing with the unrest in parts of Bengal and elsewhere. We are sure that had they been consulted with reference to the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the introduction of martial law in the Punjab, they would have given equally moderating advice. Extremism in any form is uncongenial to the Indian temperament—whether Hindu or Mahomedan, prince or peasant.

His Highness next turned on his Indian critics. These were of two classes. The extremists, or as we prefer to call them, "the impatient idealists" of Lord Morley, who rather resented His Highness' plea for patience and moderation. This class has since seen reason to change its opinion. It now realises that His Highness' advice was inspired by sincere patriotism and an inner knowledge of the forces at work in favour of Indian progress, and we have not

seen of late any repetition of the old style of its criticism with reference to the Maharaja's counsels of trust and moderation. The other class was represented, so far as we have seen, by a solitary journal, the *Justice of Madras*, which called upon His Highness to prove his sincerity in the advocacy of political reforms in British India by pointing out the practical reforms he had introduced in Bikaner. His Highness declined to degrade himself by replying to a charge of insincerity but with a view to prevent the public from being misled by such criticisms, he recounted the reforms which he had introduced. The Legislative Assembly of Bikaner was first instituted in 1913. It has a non-official majority, enjoys nearly all the rights which were conceded to the Indian Legislative Council after it had been in existence for thirty years. Only one question and one resolution were disallowed during the six years of the Bikaner Council, and only one out of fifteen resolutions passed which was not accepted by His Highness' Government. Further reforms in the direction of widening the scope of the Assembly are in contemplation. The Maharaj Kumar has been nominated a member of the Assembly, and he, said the Maharaja, "is in full accord with my views regarding the benefits of the representative system of Government." His Highness next gave a long list of the reforms introduced in Bikaner since he assumed charge of the administration twenty-one years ago. These include advance in local self-government; the system of administration introduced 17 years ago; the famine administration of the State; the judicial reforms, including the institution of a Chief Court; the re-organisation of the Revenue Department, including remissions and concessions made to the people; the remarkable increase, considering nature's handicap in the rabi cultivation in the fertile districts of the State; the re-organisation of the Customs Department; the more than trebling of the State revenues; the development in the railway system of the State, excluding the far-reaching projects of railway extensions, as also the irrigation projects in regard to which questions were put; the installation of a big electric plant to supply to the general public electric light and power and last, but not least, the specially liberal policy which His Highness' Government have for the last two years, in particular, inaugurated in regard to education and medical relief in the State. His Highness added for the information of the public that since his coming of age the most scrupulous attention had been paid to keeping his privy purse entirely separate from the State. This is, indeed, a striking record, and if all or most other States could emulate it or the glimpse which His Highness gave of the strenuous life of the conscientious ruler, there would be far less sweeping criticism, much of it necessarily but not unavoidably ill-informed, of Indian States, of which His Highness justly complained. The Maharaja said :

In common with many of my brother Princes, I have devoted the best years of my life to the service of the State and to the interests of the people. That necessitates much hard work and even the sacrifice of one's health and comfort to the

extent that for months one has had to sit in one's study from early morning till late in the evening with only a brief interval for a hurried meal and without even the consolation, some times for months on end, of seeing the faces of one's children or others dear and near to him from the time one rises till long after sunset. If the critics of the Indian Princes really realised this, they would not attribute to them in such sweeping terms the unworthy motives of lack of sympathy and insincerity of purpose.

It is well-known that His Highness does not spare himself, and there are some other rulers of whom also this picture is true. But as the Maharaja himself observed, to contend that everything is perfect in all the States would be as absurd as the sweeping allegations often heard that everything is corrupt and rotten in the Indian States. Then, again, later in his speech, after referring to the strict injunctions as to the duties of a ruler required by the Hindu *dharma*, His Highness candidly remarked:

"With the peace and security that has followed the advent of the British in India and after the continued strife and strain of so many centuries, a reaction was inevitable. Princes in some cases came to adopt ease-loving habits. With competent Ministers, things went on more satisfactorily, but in the case of unscrupulous Ministers, desiring to gain undue power or wealth, the energies of the Ruler were diverted in other directions. It is things like these which are responsible for the views that are held about the Indian States. But they have happily changed or are changing once again."

We are glad to be assured by so high an authority that these things have happily changed or are changing once again.

But what is there to ensure that the change shall take place in all cases, that it shall be permanent and continuous, and that it shall not be subject to relapses according to the idiosyncrasy of individual princes? The objection to autocracy is not that it may not be benevolent, but that there is nothing to ensure that it shall be only benevolent and never malevolent. It is essential to the well-being of the State that beneficence of aim should be the constant attribute of its Government and not a casual concomitant dependent on the accident of the ruler's personal character and pre-disposition. Representative Government ensures this, we do not say absolutely, but in a much greater measure than one-man rule.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI II.

(By MR. AGHORAM IYER, B. A., B. L.)

There was one day among others, when Francis, returning to the monastery with brother Leo, put to him the question, what was the greatest thing in life? It was raining and the brothers were shivering with cold. Francis, himself taking up the question, went over the whole field of human achievement, speaking about the excellence of arts, crafts and sciences alike, but passed over them with the remark that the greatest was not in them. Then, to the impatient and astonished disciple, the leader spoke with deep pathos in his soul, pointing out to him by way of example, that, when on their return

to the monastery gates at night, the keeper turned them out with harsh words, they should recognise in him a messenger from God. Then, said Francis, man attains to the highest state in life. "What difference can there be, where praiser, praised and blamer, blamed are one." The heart of this man could not react in the form of hatred or anger.

His humility was beyond words. He was the greatest moral force of his age. The mediæval world looked to him as to a master. To him was brought the allegiance of all classes; yet to this man, who, without brilliant gifts of mind or charm of person, became the ruler of human hearts, there remained no consciousness of his greatness. God had chosen him for His task, because in him He had found the weakest and the most sinful of mortals.

What would have been pretended self-effacement in others was with Francis, a spontaneous feeling. Then, the love of his heart drew even the wicked. Robbers were overwhelmed by his compassion and became disciples. In the loving ministry of saints on earth, that which has the most powerful appeal to human hearts is the conversion of the wicked. Here, the Saints of the East and of the West are akin. We see in Mirabai, the queen-devotee of Krishna, and Sri Gauranga, the Prophet of Nuddea, a similar overpowering love of sinners. Within recent times was living a man on the banks of the Ganges to whom even a thief was God, and because he adored him as God, the thief himself became a holy man.

A memorable chapter in the life of Francis is his relationship with Santa Clara. She played a prominent part in his mission. The pure soul that she was, she abandoned the prospect of fine living, and overcame the instincts of her sex to become a servant of God. Such self-effacement was hers, such radiant purity shone about her that Francis, in a moment, knew her greatness and accepted her as a fellow-worker. For years this lady went on with the loving office of a servant of God, meekly bearing the trials of life, living for the ideals of the spirit, and faithfully carrying out the instructions of this good and holy man. Ramakrishna and his holy wife, Francis of Assisi and Santa Clara, Buddha and Yasodhara, and Vivekananda and Nivedita, are some of the conspicuous instances in the world's history of men and women who have stood to each other in the relation of mother and son or brother and sister, with a record of deeds which are the ideals of the whole human race. The burning love of God and its fruition in the service of fellow-creatures are the cherished possessions of saints and where the flood rises in the soul, the limiting consciousness of the body is left behind, and purity alone shines forth in the relation of man and woman.

This man who passed a whole life in the rapture of contemplation, his face mirroring the deep peace of his soul, was also a *parivrajaka* (wanderer) like one of our own *sannyasins*. Now alone, now in the company of his brethren, he started on many a campaign of religious preaching, and with sweet and simple words, alike of deeds, he drew numerous men to the feet of God. Toil might exhaust him; like frail mortals he might

seem to clutch at material things for protection. But without any effort, the mask is torn and the spirit in him stands revealed. What a mingling of compassion and strength in such occurrences! Francis, after months of wandering and hard preaching, accepts with the complacency of childhood a mule for riding. Behind him is one of his disciples, who, prior to his conversion, occupied a higher rank than his leader. The thought crossed his mind that had they stood in the relations of older days their positions in the journey should have been reversed. In a flash the rider on the mule has discovered the lurking thought in the mind of his follower. There is no alternative, but that he must implore his pardon for the offence. Qualms of remorse wrang the heart of the tramping monk and to his dying day he carried the memory of the unsaintly feeling he entertained towards his leader. The Lord Jesus washes the feet of his disciples. Vivekananda carries his first disciple on his shoulders for several miles, during the latter's fatigue. "Verily, my compassion overcometh my wrath."

Tragic was the night, Francis passed in the tower of Cardinal Ugolino at Rome. It seemed to his sensitive mind, that this was a luxury he was stealing, for which he was accountable to his disciples. He would not stain his character with such selfishness, and be a bad model to them. So he left the tower and spent the night under the skies, taking leave in the morning of the Cardinal and his prison-tower.

Once in a while heavy storms blow over the soul of great ones and threaten to wreck their vessels. But they prove brave sailors, nevertheless. In middle age, after years of austerity and self-discipline, and the grace of God was like a constant blessing on his soul, a night of temptation was passed by him, in Central Italy. The temptation was alluring to him, as it was borne in upon his mind by specious reasoning. The man had before him the picture of wife and children, property and servants, and what folly was it, thought he, that he threw away the innocent joys of home, and the opportunities of service among his own kindred, in the hope of a far-away redemption. All the tightening of his hempen girdle could not check the flow of this new feeling. In despair and in mad fury he came out into the dark, and gathering up heaps of snow, fashioned them into images and addressing them, as wife and children, said in depth of soul, that having escaped their tyranny he was not to allow their dominion over his mind.

There was a very plain facing of the issue with this man, that one might accuse him almost of carrying a point of discipline too literally. Men like him have natures where no ingenious mind is necessary to excuse a lapse in practice. What their minds have apprehended as right and good, their hearts throb with, and their whole will is exercised to testify in conduct. Francis was literally beyond all ideas of possession. In one of the lofty moods of his soul he could not hear from a brother in reply to an enquiry, that the latter was returning from his cell. The very idea of a cell for him-

self sounded as a discretion in his ears; and he forthwith educated himself into the consciousness of having nothing to own, standing only in sovereign mastery of soul. Or, we may stand speechless and in awe, pausing to study the last act of his life when the man in literal conformity to the teaching of the Bible stripped himself naked and held himself ready to die, to go into the tomb naked, as he came into the world naked.

Truly has it been said that a man grows into the likeness of the ideal he is contemplating upon. To this God-intoxicated man, it was a harrowing thought that he had not deserved well of his Master, for he had flinched from suffering. But there, in the rapture and bliss of spiritual communion, he received the stigmata of the Crucified. He was no conscious artist or poet, but music came to his heart and he sang. Its pure crystal waters rose in his soul and flowed into the heart of the world. Living every moment in intimate communion with the Lord, as also his myriad manifestations on earth the thought of the web of interrelations in the world must have been to him as the air he breathed, and he sang the "cantic of the sun" in the full blaze of realisation. The whole universe was one vast brotherhood and sisterhood to him. But the sweetest of all sisters to this soul was death and his welcome to her was the most cordial of all. There comes to us across the centuries the thundering ascription of his words uttered in a passionate fervour of longing "welcome sister death! welcome! welcome" and mingles itself with the yet more dominant note of the saint of the great Indian mutiny who broke the silence of fifteen years, to say with his last gasp to his murderer: "Thou too art He! Thou too art He!"

The story of this life would appear valueless, like many others, if the impossible question is asked, why in spite of these great men, the world is as bad as ever? Yes, the world is bad to those who see bad in it. We make our world. To those who live in a world of pure thoughts, and whose strength and solace in life is in noble deeds, the past, with the numerous saints who lived in it, is at one's very door. It is nearer to one than one would imagine. Their deeds and their experiences find a record not merely in our brains, but they evoke a living response in the hearts of the self-consecrated, and in the unfathomed depths of the soul, in unbroken stillness and calm, the past and the present are firmly knit, nay, time and space are transcended, and the Eternal and Infinite alone remain.

Total Prohibition. The Secretary, South India United Church, Calicut, (Malabar District) writes to us:—"At its meeting on the 29th ult., the South India United Church unanimously passed the following resolution which has been communicated to the Government of India through the Government of Madras. I shall be very glad if you will give publicity to the fact in the columns of your valuable paper. "In view of the fact of the great movements against the use of intoxicants in various countries of the world, the General Assembly of the South India United Church, in meeting assembled, requests the Government of India to place such restrictions upon the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicants as will lead to the total prohibition of the traffic." The South India United Church is a body of Indian Christian and European Missionaries numbering nearly 200,000 souls. Representatives came to this meeting of the Assembly from all parts of the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travancore and Ceylon."

AN APPEAL.

THE LATE RAO BABADUR

K. Veeresalingam Pantulu's Memorial.

Born on the 16th of April 1848 and after having led a strenuous life for the uplift and regeneration of the country in various fields of activity, social, moral, religious, literary and educational, Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu passed away at Madras on the 27th of May 1919 in the 78th year of his age.

There can be no doubt that his was a soul that would have adorned and enlightened any country or nationality. Born at a time when Hindu Society was undergoing radical and organic changes, owing to the spirit of western enlightenment and civilisation his heart throbbed with anxiety for the future of his country and set himself to work for its regeneration.

He was the pioneer of Social Reform and of Widow Remarriage Movements in Southern India, which he started in the year 1881 and for which he worked with single-minded devotion, earnestness of purpose and sincerity of conviction. Armed with conscience and courage, he manfully combated with obnoxious institutions and customs, tried to put down corruption in official life and elevated the tone of morality of the people both by his writings and preachings. Among the former may be mentioned the paper called "The Vivekavardhani" started by him wherein he relentlessly exposed the foibles and weaknesses of the Hindu Society. By his efforts, child marriages and nautch parties were discouraged, female education was popularised and depressed classes were raised from the thralldom of ignorance.

He was the master of a good, easy, simple and clear style in Telugu and was rightly known as the father of modern Telugu Prose. He wrote simple treatises in Telugu on a variety of subjects, such as Astronomy, Zoology, Physiology and other scientific subjects, with the object of diffusing knowledge among the masses. He was well-versed in the art of satire which he largely used for putting down vice, corruption and social evils. His literary works were compiled and published in ten volumes.

He started a Widows' Home and gave the inmates free boarding, lodging and education. The Town Hall built by him and dedicated to the Public of Rajahmundry, the Veeresalingam Theistic Library, the Prayer Hall at Rajahmundry, and the Veeresalingam High School at Rajahmundry, the Social Reform Association Buildings at Madras, the Bangalore City Brahma Samaj Buildings in addition to the gift of all his properties worth about Rs. 45,000 in trust to the Hithakarini Samaj for charitable purposes, speak volumes of his philanthropy and large-heartedness.

The key-note of Veeresalingam Pantulu's greatness is his passionate and strong abiding religious and moral sense. He started the Theistic Movement by founding the Prayer Samaj in 1878 and preaching the religion of the one True and Supreme God.

Veeresalingam Pantulu is the greatest man born in the Telugu country during the last century. His strong iron will, his undaunted courage, his complete self-sacrifice, his sincerity of conviction and earnestness of purpose, his ambition to give out the best in him for the service of the country, his fearless and disinterested patriotism, regulated and sustained by a keen sense of duty, his bold and intrepid stand against social persecution, his feeling for the weak and the depressed, make him stand out in bold relief to the rest of his countrymen. Such is the man whom we should honor and revere and whose memory we are to keep green by raising a suitable memorial.

At a meeting of the citizens of Rajahmundry, after his demise, it was resolved to raise a memorial to perpetuate his memory, and a strong executive committee was formed to carry it out. At a meeting of the Memorial Executive Committee held on 26-6-19 it was resolved to collect funds for the purpose of raising a statue of Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu and maintaining the institutions started by him.

It is, therefore, proposed to collect a sum of Rs. 50,000 for carrying out the aforesaid objects, and the Committee is sending forth this appeal in the full confidence that it will meet with an adequate response from not only the friends and admirers of Pantulu's Guru, but also from the generous public to whom the memory of the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu is equally dear.

23-7-19.
Rajahmundry,

R. PAPAYYA,
P. GURUMURTI,
Secretaries.

The Veeresalingam Memorial Committee.

N. B:- All donations to be remitted to the Treasurer,
M. R. Ry. P. Sundarasiva Rao Pantulu
Garu, B. A., B. L. High Court Vakil,
Rajahmundry.

"THE LIGHT OF INDIA."

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

The heading of this paper forms the title of a book by Mr. Harold Begbie in which he has vehemently attacked Hinduism in very offensive terms. The book teeming, as it does, with the most offensive expressions the writer could invent, and seething with the most carping criticisms of Hinduism, marks the climax of Christian hostility towards the great religion of India. The contents of the book do not justify the title chosen by the writer; it is a misnomer to call a book like that, "The Light of India" which places before the Indian youth the darkest picture of Hinduism with a bright setting of Christianity with a view to stigmatise the one and heighten the other. The book would have been better entitled, "The Light of Christianity" or "The Light of the West." However ironically the writer may have chosen the title for his insidious purpose, the Indian youth can not fail to detect behind it a thought for self-complacency that the darkness of India appears light to Mr. Begbie, which enhances the value of India's religion whose truer light if the writer had seen would have surely blinded his vision.

Before turning to the main discussion of the subject I wish to make a few quotations from his book which go to prove the validity of the above remarks. To begin with, "Hinduism is a weltering chaos of terror, darkness and uncertainty, a religion without the apprehension of a moral evolution, without a moral code, without definite commandments and without a God. The spiritualization of India is the most material and childish superstitions animalism that ever masqueraded as idealism. The Hindu Gods are wicked and abominable; prostitution is a means of financing many of the temples. The stories related of Krishna's life, says one authority, are more than any one else to destroy the morals and corrupt the Hindu youth." On the other hand he regards, "Christianity's cleansing morality in a country ensconced by appalling vices a supreme need." He flatters himself with the vain belief that "Hinduism is now a child destroying the idols which were once its toys" but laments the absence of "the sign of the Cross on its forehead." "Christianity," he says, "has begun to marginalise Hinduism but it has not spiritualized it. The victory

of Christ in India is the victory of freedom, of virtue, of elevation, as well as of moral grandeur. Christ stands in the history of mankind absolutely alone and unchallengeably supreme as the Light of the World." These quotations amply evidence the entire superiority of the writer's religion to which he assigns an unchallengeably high moral value, an exclusively high spirituality and which he regards as free from idolatry and superstition.

Mr. Begbie has disproportionately devoted more than a half of his book to the various stories of Bhils and Doms becoming converts to Christianity with too much of petty detail repetition which are apt to become cloying and repulsive, vainly believing to be asserting thereby the strength of Christianity as a religion of great spiritual force—a fact which I am inclined to think rather detracts from his argument than adds any strength to it. These stories purely serve to disclose the weakness of Christianity clearly to an Indian youth.

Turning to the subject of idolatry the blame cannot be entirely laid at the door of Hinduism. No religion of the world is entirely free from some form or semblance of it. What do the Cross and various pictures in the churches stand for? Do they not symbolise the idea of God? then what other purpose do they serve? In this connection I would point out an inaccuracy of facts which Mr. Begbie betrays when he says that Brahma is not worshipped by the Hindus and that no temple has been raised to this God. It might be known that the Brahma is the great Guru of the Hindus whose name is the first word that passes the lips of the Hindus in all the devotional prayers they do and that temple at Pushkar in Rajputana is raised to this God. It is not clear why Mr. Begbie pretends ignorance of this fact or it may be that he does not know it at all.

In conclusion I cannot but remark that it is inhuman to call this religion good, that religion bad, these morals decent, those abominable, for every country has its own religion and morals peculiar to its people. What is good in the eyes of one is bad in the eyes of another. Every country must learn the modern method of "sympathetic treatment of other's religion and respect its own." No religion of the world can claim an exclusive superiority and freedom from flaws. But the key to the enigma, why India of all the countries of the world has been most subject to such cultural attacks, is to be found in the words of that able Sir John Woodroffe who in his book, "Is India Civilized"—which forms an answer to all the books of the kind under review and which Mr. Begbie would do well to study for himself—has rightly remarked that the institutions of a coloured people particularly of a politically subservient one are very likely to appear inferior to those without understanding and freedom from prejudice."

Morar,
Gwalior.

C. H. ZUTSHI.

[We have omitted long passages from the above in which Mr. Zutshi dealt with Christianity after the manner of Mr. Begbie with Hinduism. Mr. Begbie does not deserve this sincerest form of flattery.—Ed. I.S.R.]

As it has been brought to the notice of Government that the Kartiki Ekadashi Fair will be held at Pandharpur in November next, it is hereby notified for general information that owing to the need of military traffic, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company cannot 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.

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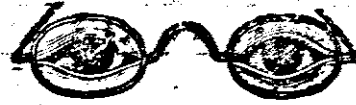
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1919. No. 10.

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

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NOTES.

The Russian Kaleidoscope: For several weeks past, Reuter's telegrams continued to announce that the Bolsheviks were beaten on all sides and that their utter annihilation was only a question of a few days. A message of the 28th October stated that the fall of Petrograd was regarded as inevitable. General Yudenitch had informed the *Times* correspondent at Helsingfors that he would be in Petrograd in a fortnight. The British monitor, *Arbus*, was bombarding the Krasnaja Gorka with two 15 inch guns, outranging the guns of the fortress which, it was hoped, would soon fall. On October 30th we were informed that a telegram to the *Morning Post* from Helsingfors says Yudenitch's entire operations have failed, and it is feared that the retreating army may be driven into the swamps west and south of Gatchina, which is apparently the Bolshevik plan. It is now certain that Finland will not assist Yudenitch, fearing that the triumph of Koltchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch would threaten Finland's national existence. Another message of the same date states that it is now undoubted that Yudenitch has suffered a setback which is specially serious in view of the rapid approach of the winter. It is reported in Helsingfors that he has abandoned Gatchina and withdrawn the whole line, which is now four miles from Gatchina six from Tsarskoesele, and five from Krasnoesele, and he has little chance of securing a favourable base for renewing his attacks. The Bolshevik wireless claims successes against Denikin and says risings have broken out throughout the Ukraine and are spreading to Poltava and Ekaterinoslav. Denikin's troops are fiercely fighting Makno's brigands, who have reached Kherson from the Crimea. The scene again shifts with startling rapidity. A message of the 1st November reports that, on the 31st October, at noon General Yudenitch had regained ground west of Petrograd and re-captured Ropsche, ten miles south of Peterhof. The gap between the right of the Estonians and the left, of Yudenitch's army south-west of Ropsche is now closed. The Bolsheviks continue to concentrate, especially south-west and south of Petrograd. Numerous Communist reinforcements are coming up from the South. A Hel-

singfors telegram dated the 1st says: General Yudenitch has appointed General Vladimirov Governor-General of Petrograd.

Total Prohibition in the United States: The amendment to the constitution of the United States adopting total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor as an organic part of it, has been approved by the requisite majority of States, but it does not come into force till January next. Meanwhile the special war legislation establishing prohibition will expire as soon as the treaties of Peace are signed. A Bill to bridge over the intervening period was brought in and passed by Congress, but President Wilson vetoed it on the ground that the prolongation of war time prohibition should not be extended when the war has ended. With great respect to the President, we think this is nothing but a quibble in the face of the fact that the country had definitely accepted the principle as part of its constitution and that this will come into force in a few months' time. The President's veto could only operate as an advantage to those who are agitating to get the acceptance of total prohibition revoked. But Congress has boldly grappled with the situation, and has repassed the Bill over the President's veto by majorities in excess of the two thirds required to veto the veto. We confess that the President's action in this matter seems to have been inspired more with a view to spite Congress than to help the nation. After this decisive action of the representatives of the people, the allegation that the adoption of the policy of total prohibition is due to the action of wine-pullers and busybodies is no longer possible.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Evidence before the Joint Committee: *India*, the London organ of the Indian National Congress, rightly complains that, while the rule laid down by the Chairman, Lord Selborne, that all references to the actual administration of India, unrest, and so on, would be inadmissible, was strictly observed in the case of all other witnesses before the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Reform Bill, Sir Michael O'Dwyer was allowed to make allegations regarding the Punjab troubles. The aptness of our contemporary's complaint is accentuated by a comparison of some of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's statements with those made before the Hunter Committee at its two first sittings at Delhi by official witnesses. Sir Michael told the Joint Committee in reply to Lord Sydenham regarding the existence of an organised conspiracy behind the Punjab disturbances: "In fact, they found that the disturbances in the Punjab were very largely fomented by men who came from down country. Some of them, calling themselves Mr. Gandhi's men, came from Delhi, and Mr. Gandhi himself said that they were fomented by some very crafty educated men or men. It was their general impression in the Punjab that the Afghan invasion and those preparations were meant to synchronise

and that emissaries were sent from Afghanistan to people who fomented the disturbances in the Punjab." In contrast to this, Mr. Orde, Superintendent of Police, who had been instructed by Government to make enquiries regarding the Delhi disturbances, told the Hunter Committee, in the course of his evidence, that he had originally thought that Delhi was responsible for the agitation in the adjoining (Punjab) districts of Magesh Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Meerut &c. As a result of his special investigation, Mr. Orde found "no connection established between the local and outside agitators. If there was any connection, it was extremely vague." Again, "There was no indication that there was any connection between the Punjab and Delhi disturbances. Witness found no trace of Bolshevik influence behind the disturbances. The result of his investigations went to show that the causes were purely accidental." The next witness was Mr. C. A. Barron, Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Replying to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Barron said that he "generally agreed with the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Orde in his report that there was no evidence of any organised conspiracy. He did not suggest that anybody from Delhi stirred up the disturbances in the Punjab or vice versa. There was no evidence of tampering with the troops and alienating the police." Sir Michael O'Dwyer's asseverations are thus proved to be imaginary. It is by means of such loose statements that he endeavoured to prejudice the Joint Committee, and he was allowed to do so.

Religion and Social Reform: Sir Narayan Chandavarkar denounced in strong terms, at the service at the Prarthana Samaj last Sunday in memory of the late venerable Pandit Sivanath Sastry, the attitude of those who held that religion is an affair of the heart and had no concern with social reform and politics. He illustrated his argument from the life of Pandit Sastry. The *Challenge*, to which we often refer with pleasure, in the issue received last week, urges that religion alone can solve the great problems of the day in a wholly satisfactory manner and calls upon the Church to give up its isolation and to apply itself to the task of reconstruction. It concludes a striking article headed "The Strike and Alter," thus: "If the Church of Christ is faithful in bringing the Mind of its Master, in the power of His spirit, to bear upon the questions of the day, it will create in society a passion for justice, a hunger and thirst after righteousness, which will check the making of unreasonable demands and cause reasonable demands to be granted before they are even expressed. But it must then do more than commend reason and patience in general terms. It must read the signs of the times. It must become clear whether or not democracy is the will of God for our people and generation. It must resolutely think out what is involved in its answer to such a question and fearlessly proclaim the conclusions to which it is led. And to say that the Church must do this is first and foremost to say that each individual Christian is called to attempt this. It is not too much to say that next to the maintenance of personal communion with God the most urgent duty for the Christian to-day is to think, and think again what is implied for our civilisation by the teaching of Christ."

Who is a Sikh? That the concession of communal electorates will have a narrowing influence on social and religious matters, as Sir Sankaran Nair told the Joint Committee of Parliament, and crystallise class divisions, is evidenced by steps which the Chief Khalsa Diwan is taking to lay down a hard and fast definition of a Sikh. The

following definition has been tentatively suggested in the columns of the *Khalsa Advocate*:—"A Sikh is he who believes in the Unity of God and Brotherhood of man and regards the ten Gurus and their very embodiment, Sri Guru Granth Sahib, as the only means of salvation and for religious conduct admits that for every Sikh it is essential to wear *Keshas* and that for an *Amritdhari* it is compulsory to observe complete *Rohit*—(injunctions)." It will be obviously out of the question for the officer preparing the roll of electors to examine each applicant in his beliefs and conduct in religious matters. The only part of the suggested definition which he can verify is the wearing of the *Kesh*. There is nothing, so far as we know, to prevent any person from wearing *Kesh*, if he desires to do so. Any attempt to use the communal electorates as an instrument of religious inquisition, will be rightly resented. Every one who claims to be a Sikh, Mahomedan, Indian Christian or Non-Brahmin, should be accepted as such in the absence of evidence to show that he is an impostor. The burden of proof should rest on those who question his *bona fides*. Any other course will be not only impracticable, but intolerable.

Lord Sinha's Speeches: Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., of Madras have brought out a volume of Lord Sinha's speeches and writings. A biographical sketch of forty pages is prefixed to the collection. The distinguished subject of the sketch made his first public speech in 1896 at the twelfth session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, proposing a resolution declaring that it was desirable that no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of maladministration or misconduct until the fact had been established to the satisfaction of a public tribunal so constituted as to command the confidence alike of Government and the Indian Princes and Chiefs. The next public speech is after an interval of fourteen long years, on the Press Act in the Indian Legislative Council as member of Lord Minto's Government. Lord Sinha evidently does not love to hear his own voice, for his next important public pronouncement was his presidential address to the National Congress in 1915. The volume prints in full Lord Sinha's memorandum on the treatment of Indians in the self-governing colonies, presented to the Imperial Conference in 1918. It also includes his maiden speech in the House of Lords in reply to one putting a question regarding the Katarpur riots by Lord Sydenham. For some reason, it was Lord Curzon and not Lord Sinha that moved for the Joint Committee in that House, though we remember to have read somewhere that Lord Sinha had come prepared to speak. This volume is priced Rs. three.

The State and the People. We have referred once before to Sir Abdur Rahim's convocation address at the Convocation of the Mysore University. There is a passage in it referring to the encouragement of the backward classes, which deserves notice. "When the State," said Sir Abdur Rahim, "is asked to play the role of a guardian of the people and not that of a mere watchful policeman, it has to take as much care of the slow and the backward of its wards as of the more vigorous and pushing ones, if not more. At the same time, the State would itself be a heavy loser if it failed to encourage intrinsic worth or talent simply because it happens to be more common in one community rather than in another." The last sentence enshrines a truth which is ignored in controversies regarding the claims of this or that community. We do not remember to have seen it enunciated with as much force and point by any other Indian publicist. We reprint in this issue, Sir Abdur Rahim's comments on the report of the Calcutta University Commission.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1919.

THE BOMBAY HIGH COURT AND
SATYAGRAHI LAWYERS.

Commenting on the judgments of the Full Bench of the High Court of Bombay in the case of the *Satyagrahi* lawyers of Ahmedabad, who had taken the vow of passive resistance on the passing of the Rowlatt Act and pledged themselves to civil disobedience of any law that a Committee appointed in that behalf by the passive resisters might name, the *Madras Mail* thinks that the Court has taken a "narrow" view of the question as affecting the members of the legal profession. The *Mail* instances the case of Mr. Lloyd George, with whom the High Court in England never thought of dealing for professional misconduct or breach of duty although some years ago he, though on the rolls of the Court as a Solicitor, publicly declared passive resistance to the Education Act then passed by Parliament. That is, perhaps, not by itself a conclusive ground to show that the view taken by the High Court of Bombay is necessarily wrong. In England, the utterances of politicians are not taken notice of in the way they are in India and dealt with by the authorities. The political atmosphere there is different from here. Those, however, who are familiar with the facts of English history and the ancient traditions of the British Bench and Bar, cannot dismiss the *Madras Mail's* instance as of no weight. The High Court's view that the lawyers concerned were guilty of a breach of their professional obligation, because as they lived by the law, they were bound to help and obey the law, does seem "narrow." The British tradition of the Bar is that its members do not, in the eye of the Court, live by the law. They are supposed to practise in the Courts for no remuneration. They cannot legally sue for professional services rendered. The question of their relation to the Courts and the nature and extent of the professional duty which that relation imposes upon them must be judged by the light of a higher fixed standard, if any, than that of mere livelihood provided by the profession *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

That higher standard must be familiar to all careful students of the history of the British Bench and Bar, and their traditions, the written and unwritten laws which have hallowed them as among the most important institutions of the British Commonwealth and Constitution. The High Courts of British India, to which our other Courts are subordinate, have been deliberately modelled on the principles and practice of His Majesty's High Courts in England, especially with reference to the familiar maxim as to the independence of the Bench and the

Bar. That maxim is one of the offshoots of English history. That history tells us that up to the Revolution of 1688 in England, when the Bill of Rights became law, Parliament as the legislative power of the land, was regarded and as a fact acted not as the law-making but only as the law-declaring power, that is to say, it had jurisdiction only to declare laws which already existed in Nature as God's laws of justice and reason. And it was the Common Law Courts alone which had the supreme power of determining whether a law declared by Parliament and the King, was binding on His Majesty's subjects and must be obeyed by them as being a just statute according to God's laws, or whether it was void and could be disobeyed by a subject with impunity as being contrary to those laws. Thus Lord Coke, bigoted Tory as he was, did not shrink from telling the King to his face that the Common Law administered by the Court owned allegiance to a higher King, that is, God, and in Dr. Bonham's case he held that "the Common Law will control Acts of Parliament and adjudge them to be utterly void" where they are "against common right and reason." After the Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights, Parliament changed from a law-declaring to a law-making power. From that period dates the maxim of the British Constitution that Parliament is the sovereign power for making laws and is omnipotent in that respect. Nevertheless, the other maxim that His Majesty's Courts have jurisdiction to declare a law void, still remains in force with this limitation, that those Courts, in exercising that jurisdiction, cannot proceed on the test which obtained previously as to whether a law passed by Parliament was in the opinion of the Court, contrary to God's laws of reason and justice and, therefore, liable to be declared by the Courts as void and not compelling obedience from the subjects. Short of that test, the Courts are the only power of the Commonwealth to decide what laws are valid and must be obeyed and what laws are void and may be with impunity disobeyed. That being the power of the Courts, it would seem to follow as a necessary corollary that the members of the Bar who are allowed to plead in those Courts, become members of the Courts bound by that power and therefore bound to recognise those Courts as the only authority in the Commonwealth to determine what laws shall be obeyed and what laws shall not be obeyed by the subject. A member of the Bar, therefore, undertakes in virtue of his profession, to respect and obey and abide by the power of the Courts as the only authority to whom he owes allegiance for the purpose of obeying and disobeying laws.

That, however, does not exhaust the case. There are some important considerations which arise necessarily from the corollary above stated. Is passive resistance, disobedience of law of such a kind as to conflict with the professional duty of

a lawyer? For one thing, it cannot be said that there is any moral taint or culpability in it—nothing unprofessional in the sense of criminality or dishonesty or dishonour. All the taint that is said to be involved in passive resistance is that it is disobedience of the law, and that as such it creates a conflict with the professional duty of the lawyer. As to that, the element of disobedience is in substance no disobedience of law as such. A passive resister in effect obeys the law, because he voluntarily allows the law he objects to to take its course and willingly suffers its consequences. He commits no violence; resists by force no authority, but of his own will and accord submits to any treatment the law subjects him to. There is the example of Socrates and of Christ Jesus to prove that. And Indian Viceroy's have approved passive resistance as a lawful remedy against unjust laws. Further, the Bar under the British Constitution, has traditionally occupied a unique position. The independence of the Bar has become a familiar maxim of that Constitution. While, on the one hand, it owes professional allegiance to the Court; on the other, it is bound to the public in virtue of that allegiance to espouse its cause when it thinks a law unjust.

Laws are apt to prove, with the progress of society, hindrances to social progress and exigencies, which are always more or less in advance of law; and the public have, as has been said, a right to decide the issue between the higher, real law of social exigency and a timeworn shell of formal law. In so deciding, the Bar has been in England regarded as the proper guide, the bulwark of the people's rights and liberties. This tradition finds expression in Lord Morley's "Politics and History" where he speaks of "the shaken attitude towards law as law—even powerful lawyers speak of a statute as a cobweb." The political theory of Justice, that it is "a category created by the fiat of the State," has been slowly giving way to the view that "Justice is not made by statute but that it exists as a standard outside of legal rules." And this is confirmed by the present tendency of the Courts to revert to the old way of the British Courts which acted upon the principle of Lord Coke above cited. There was a time not long since when Judges used to speak of their function as one only to administer the law, not justice. But the present Lord Chief Justice of England said a short time ago that British Courts exist not to expound law but to administer justice, and that law is only a convention. This observation of Lord Reading's is not a casual remark—it is expressive of the modern tendency to regard Courts as empowered to administer God's justice and where they cannot, to say that the law is unjust and must be modified. The lawyer is now coming to be regarded not as a mere interpreter of law but as one whose duty is

to help public opinion against unjust laws.—It is that which distinguished the independence of the Bar from that of the Bench. The former has more latitude than the latter in the interests of the growth of the idea of just laws. That is one of the traditional privileges of the Bar—hence the rule which supposes that a Barrister is not paid for his professional services and cannot sue for remuneration for services professionally rendered. The British law, recognised in India, regards a Barrister as one who does not live by the law.

If that is the standard of his duty, how can he be held guilty of professional misconduct because he resolved for civil disobedience to a law or advises his client in favour of such disobedience. So long as he does not commit violence or an act of dishonesty, so long civil disobedience cannot be regarded as disobedience of the law, because he does not resist the law; he voluntarily takes its consequences and thereby voluntarily and in effect obeys it. This view seems more in accordance with the traditional, historic status of the legal profession than the view taken by the Bombay High Court. And it accounts for the fact emphasised by the Madras Mail in its adverse comments on that Court's Judgment that Mr. Lloyd George's declaration some years ago that he was resolved to resist passively the Education Act passed by Parliament, was not taken notice of by the British High Court, although he belonged to the legal profession as a Solicitor and at one time practised in the Courts as such. The point is certainly one which calls for an authoritative decision of the Privy Council.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE.

Except the opening address of the Viceroy, the speeches of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on the Victory resolution, of His Highness the Jam of Navanagar proposing a resolution in high appreciation of the selection and the labours of the Maharaja of Bikaner as the representative of the Ruling Princes of India at the Peace Conference, and the latter's acknowledgment of it, nothing has been made public relating to the proceedings of the Chiefs' Conference held at Delhi last week. It is inevitable that His Excellency's formal address on an occasion of this kind should consist to some extent of general propositions. Apart from the jealousy with which the Princes regard any expression in public by the Head of the Government of India, which may be capable of being construed into a reflection on the internal affairs of their States, it is impossible for the most ingenious Viceroy to invent propositions which may be of equal interest to all the members of the Conference, differing from one another, as they do, in history, status and other conditions. Lord Chelmsford's address was not

wanting in the commonplaces which are the current coin of ceremonial utterances. After a reference to the excellent rains, to the ruling Princes who died during the year, and to the successful end of the War to which Their Highnesses had contributed generously, His Excellency reminded the Princes of a new danger which threatened them and the Government of India alike. Said His Excellency :

There is a new spirit abroad in the world, impatient of restraint, prone to look upon order as tyranny, prosperity as profiteering, and expensiveness of living as the result of maladministration. This spirit, embittered by high prices, due partly to the failure of the last monsoon and partly to the diversion of the world's energies from production to destruction, excited by the downfall of the great Powers and encouraged by secret and subtle propaganda to think that anarchy means happiness and prosperity for all. This spirit is the most subtle and the greatest danger that has ever come upon mankind. The Indian States, perhaps, also India as a whole, are less likely than Europe to be primarily assailed, but sooner or later we may all be forced to repel the attack, whether it comes from without or within the body politic. The strongest weapon in the armoury of our defence is good government which, while inspired with sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the people, is resolute at all times in the maintenance of public order. By this means only, can peace after war, safety after danger be secured. I must earnestly enjoin upon Your Highnesses to see to it that your armoury is well furnished in so far as concerns the peril of the Empire, for which you are responsible.

That is how it strikes Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India. The new spirit is capable of a more cheerful presentation, and the old spirit which sees in it a menace and a danger, may itself be described, by a mere substitution of terms, as impatient of freedom, prone to look upon manifestations of liberty as attacks on order, inflation of currency as the accession of fabulous wealth, enhancement of salaries as the criterion of good government. Our readers must make their choice between the two. In we respectfully suggest, to all persons in authority that the problem of good government demands vision.

Well roars the storm to those who hear
A deeper voice across the storm,
and it is the statesman who listens and has an ear attuned to this deeper voice across the storm; who may hope to cope successfully with it. Otherwise, he may be sunk under the weight of his armour. We trust that Their Highnesses have not understood His Excellency to invite them to pass Rowlatt Acts when he enjoined them to see that their armoury was well furnished. As for His Excellency's elaboration of the metaphor about building on old foundations, Their Highnesses will do well to bear in mind the other half of the truth: "No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old: if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old." Their Highnesses will be wise to eschew such and similar metaphors altogether in visualising their problems of State which is neither a building nor yet a garment, but an organic and

living entity and should be dealt with as such. Statesmanship cannot be learnt from the builder or the tailor.

His Excellency intimated to the Conference that it was the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to establish a permanent Chamber of Princes. The formal inauguration and recognition of the Chamber, said the Viceroy, must be reserved for a later date when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out. But His Excellency indicated the trend of opinion in regard to some important points connected with the constitution of the Chamber. The first point is, which of the rulers are to be included and which, not, in the Chamber. The Indian States, as our readers are aware, widely differ in regard to almost every thing which makes a State. The extent of their territories varies from the Nizam's Dominions to Dhar and Sawantwadi. The populations under them also differ enormously. Their historical position and status among their fellow Chiefs is a very varying quantity. The suggestion had been made that the line of demarcation should be based on the salute list—Chiefs having a certain number of guns being allowed the privilege, and those with less, being kept out. In his speech at the Conference last year, Lord Chelmsford said that it appeared to him and Mr. Montagu that it would be unwise to adopt this suggestion and that the line of demarcation should be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between an individual State and the Crown. They had, therefore, recommended in their report that the line should be so drawn as to separate rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. It would appear from the Viceroy's remarks that the Chiefs were not agreed as to this principle and that, therefore, Lord Chelmsford and the Secretary of State were convinced that, after all, it would be really wisest to base the distinction primarily on the salute list. We do not know whether this will commend itself to the Chiefs, but to us it seems in no wise distinguishable from the Government of India nominating by name Chiefs to the Council. We dare say that there is some customary practice governing the grant of salutes, but the point is that salutes are more easily granted or withdrawn than full powers, and under the salute principle the seat of a Prince in the Chamber will be entirely a matter of the personal favour of the Government of India. We think that the principle suggested by the Viceroy last year is more intelligible. As in International Law all States, great and small, are treated as equals, so in the proposed Council or Chamber, all States which enjoy internal autonomy should be entitled as of right, irrespective of the number of guns fired in honour of their rulers, to a place in the Chamber. After all, these salutes are obsolete institutions dating back to the time when the arrival and departure of high personages were regarded as auspicious occurrences worthy of being notified to the public with astronomical accuracy.

Nowadays, the movements even of very minor personages such as Rao Bahadurs and Justices of the Peace are published beforehand in the newspapers, and the burning of gunpowder for such a purpose is waste of money and a source of needless trouble to the person entrusted with the firing and of irritation to the public within earshot of the explosion. Many Indian Chiefs come and go without the honour of a salute, though they are entitled to one. At the risk of being classed with Bolsheviks, we must say that the argument as to the respective merits of men with eleven and those with nine guns appears to be puerile. We earnestly trust that the more enlightened Chiefs will reject this fictitious basis for their Chamber.

As regards the name of the Chamber, it had been suggested in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that it should be one with an Oriental flavour but without distinctive Hindu or Mahomedan associations. The Chiefs recommended at the last Conference the designation of "Narendra Mandal." The Viceroy seemed to think that this might not be to the liking of Mahomedan Princes, but if they raised no objection, the Government of India, he said, would readily agree to it. Apart from the view which Mahomedan Princes may take of it, we think that the choice is not a happy one. Sanskrit is a language in which the facilities for coining names is practically unlimited, and it is no unusual thing for a thing to have forty or fifty names. But amidst this wealth of synonyms the scholar recognises and usage prescribes different shades of meaning. "Narendra" is no doubt commonly applied to princes in Sanskrit, but we think that primarily it has reference to personal pre-eminence. It means rather "Prince of Men," or "Chief of Men," the epithet Milton applies to Cromwell. Now, every Prince, Indian or other, is not necessarily what we should call "a prince of men." To avoid such difficulties, and to meet Hindu and Mahomedan susceptibilities alike, it is desirable to have a plain English name; and we suggest for the purpose, "the Indian States Council." A grandiose Sanskrit or Persian name to what, after all, is formally and essentially a modern British-Indian institution, is a ludicrous affectation. The name we have suggested is direct, simple, and has no inconvenient associations with the past. Also, it emphasises the importance of the States rather than that of the rulers. This, we consider, is a matter of first-rate importance in the constitutional development of Indian States. Individual States may prefer to be represented in the Chamber by responsible Ministers instead of by the Chiefs themselves. This will present no difficulty in a States Council, whereas it is doubtful whether it would be appropriate or allowed in a Chamber of Princes. Then, again, when the time comes, as it must, for representatives of British India to take the place of the permanent officials in discussing Imperial subjects and subjects of common interest, the States Council will be a ready forum. These questions will be best discussed and settled not so much by the rulers and officials of British India as by the representatives of the people in both territories.

VERACITY, EASTERN AND WESTERN.

Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, made a famous speech in which he contrasted the veracity of the West with that of the East, to the disadvantage of the latter. His lordship, we hope, has read the evidence of the American journalist, Mr. Bullitt, before the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate on what passed between him and Mr. Lloyd George regarding his mission to the Bolshevik Government of Russia. It is impossible on the face of it that both should be speaking the truth, and neither is an Oriental. Mr. Bullitt produced documents before the Committee relating to his mission to Russia of which Mr. Lloyd George led Parliament to believe that he knew nothing—"the most egregious case of misleading the public," said Mr. Bullitt, that he had ever known. Mr. Lloyd George himself offered a British cruiser to send Mr. Bullitt to Russia. The visit originated in a request from Colonel House and Mr. Lansing, but the same evening Mr. Bullitt dined with Mr. Lloyd George's secretary, in Mr. Lloyd George's apartment, to discuss Russia. Before his departure he saw Mr. Philip Kerr, the Prime Minister's secretary and received from him a letter which he produced in Russia, Mr. Bullitt reported by telegram asking Colonel House to send copies of two messages to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ballour, which Colonel House said he did at once. Mr. Bullitt reported on his return in writing, the substance being that the Soviet desired peace. Then comes Mr. Bullitt's account of his report to the Prime Minister, which may be set alongside of the entirely inconsistent story which Mr. Lloyd George told to the House of Commons on April 16.

Mr. Bullitt's comment on this contradiction is as follows:—"On the occasion of that statement of Mr. Lloyd George, I wrote the President. 'I clipped his statement from a newspaper and sent to the President and I asked the President to inform me whether the statement of Mr. Lloyd George was true or untrue. He was unable to answer, inasmuch as he would have had to reply on paper' that Mr. Lloyd George had made an untrue statement. So flagrant was this that various members of the British Mission called on me at the Hotel Carlton, a day or so later and apologized for the Prime Minister's action in the case.' After reading *Hansard* Mr. Bullitt went on:—"It was explained to me by the members of the British Delegation who called on me that the reason for this deception was that, although, when Mr. Lloyd George got back to London, he intended to make a statement very favourable to peace with Russia, he found that Lord Northcliffe, acting through Mr. Wickham Steed, the editor of the *Times* and Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary for War, had rigged the Conservative majority of the House of Commons against him; and that they were ready to slay him then and there if he attempted to speak what was his opinion at the moment on Russian politics.' If this had been alleged of an Indian leader, how our contemporaries would have delighted to moralise on the lack of veracity and moral courage among

Indians, and Christian Missionary Journals would have joined the chorus and enlarged on the utter need of Christianity to teach India these virtues! If our friends only paid some little heed to the beam in their eyes, their exhortations regarding the mote in others' eyes, will be more effective.

THE ABORIGINES OF CHHOTA UDEPUR.*

There is no subject of wider ethnological interest than the folk-lore and customs prevailing among the aboriginal tribes. Man is to be studied as an organic whole, and not as a conglomeration of individuals. The aboriginal tribes of India are remnants of the race known in the Rigveda as Dasas, and although these tribes have been brought under the civilizing influence of Indo-European races of the Aryan type for many centuries past, they preserve a unique characteristic of primitive humanity in a living form. Mr. H. J. Antia, during the active period of his service as Diwan of Chhota Udepur State, in the Ravakantha Agency, took special interest in the study of the manners and customs of the various aboriginal tribes called Kolis, Bhils, Dhaukas or Tadvis, Dhaukas, Naikas, etc. The range of Mr. Antia's studies is very wide and encompasses the occupation, diet, habitation, religions and superstitious beliefs, modes of worship, black magic, marriage and funeral ceremonies. The most interesting portion of Mr. Antia's notes is that relating to the marriage institution of the various tribes. The marriage ceremony in vogue among these tribes represents the various stages of the evolution of the institution of marriage, commencing from mere seizure of a female and natural union to a somewhat refined Brahminic form of marriage obtaining among the Jabungu aborigines. Among some tribes, like Dod Sural, a bride is a chattel for sale, and every relation and even the village community enjoys perquisites or monetary consideration in the sale of a girl. The Patel or headman sometimes officiates as a priest in the nuptial ceremony, and liquor and toddy are freely distributed.

The Asura or Paisacha forms of marriage, referred to in the old Hindoo Law books, in which a girl is sold or kidnapped, by force with ultimate reconciliation with her parents by petty gifts in cash or kind, appear to be in actual vogue among the tribes. The pseudo-crying exhibition of the bride at the time of her departure from her parent's house to that of her husband, prevailing among Dod Sural aborigines, seems to be a relic of the barbaric mode of seizure of a girl who is willing to elope but who pretends to be injured with a view to prepare the parents for ultimate reconciliation. Genuine tears are, no doubt, shed by the girl and her parents in the civilized community of high caste Hindus and among other races, but crocodile tears are also encouraged even among modern Christiansdom for we find that in Lithuania if a bride "is unable to bite her jealousy and cannot squeeze out a tear" she is considered guilty of a serious breach of

etiquette and the ceremony is rendered more interesting by a rigorous scolding administered by the two mothers. Just as marriage is a simple affair so divorce is equally simple among these aborigines. Among Bhils the marriage tie is dissolved by the husband tearing a piece out of his turban and handing it over to his wife whereby the latter is free to select a second husband. The aborigines have no metaphysical theory about the condition of the deceased soul after death, but the deceased is given a morsel of sweet food lest he may suffer from hunger in his onward journey after death like a careless traveller. We have Mr. Antia will publish his notes in the form of a booklet for the use of all genuine students of ethnology.

University Settlements in England: The *Challenge* remarks on the lack of residents and workers in University Settlements in England at the present time. "Letters to the Press and meetings in the colleges," writes our contemporary, "have not, so far, sufficed to fill the gap. Is it true, perhaps, that the old battles are a little mishapen now? We have advanced far in social fact and theory, in the balance of power and the grip of problems since the days of Toynbee and Barnett. Is the idea or the form of a settlement no longer in keeping with the spirit and the need of the times? Should they be remodelled or utterly abolished? These are questions that may well agitate the minds and pens of our correspondents. In any case, we shall return to the matter. For the issue is of moment. On the one hand are the colleges, where scores are genuinely anxious to learn and serve; and on the other hand there are surely fields to till."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mazzini: In the *Reformer* of the 19th October, a contributor referred to Mr. Surendranath Banerjee as the fiery disciple (forty years ago) of Mazzini. The *Bengali* protests that this is a gross misconception of the attitude of Mr. Banerjee in regard to the great Italian patriot. "In 1870" writes our contemporary, "Mr. Banerjee delivered an address on Mazzini, before the Uttarparah Hitakari Sabha, which is printed in the volume of his published speeches. Mr. Banerjee there expressed his great admiration for the splendid intellectual and moral gifts and the lofty patriotism of Mazzini. His self-sacrificing devotion to his country he presented as an object lesson and emulation. But linked with this appreciation there was a note of warning. Mazzini was a revolutionary; he followed revolutionary method for the attainment of his end. In his speech Mr. Banerjee warned his countrymen not to follow him in that respect, but resolutely to adhere to constitutional means for the attainment of their country's salvation. That represents his attitude in regard to the great Italian patriot."

Literature in the Nizam's Dominions: In their last annual review of books published in the State, His-Exalted-Highness the Nizam's Government observe: "There are hardly any books, which deserve to be singled out for commendation. We are however indebted to the Anjuman-i-Ishaat ul-Ulum for giving us slender volumes of Persian and Urdu poems written by the late Nawab Fazilat Jung Bahadur (Moulvie Anwarullah Khan Bahadur). The deceased was known for his scholarship and piety, but it is a revelation to find that he was also a poet of no mean order. The poems breathe a deep spirit of devotion. Moulvie Abdul-Haq Sahib, Curator of the Translation Bureau, Osmania University has laid the Urdu-reading public under a debt of gratitude by bringing out a selection from the poetical works of the foremost of Urdu poets, Mir Taqi Mir, to which he has added a valuable introduction."

* A paper read by Mr. Hormusji Antia—retired Superintendent, Managed Estates, Kathiawar—before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 29th October 1919.

SIR ABDUR RAHIM ON THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT.*

A very notable event of the education calendar has been the publication of the report of the Calcutta University Commission. So far as I have been able to go through it, I have found it most interesting and instructive and I have not the least doubt, that the authorities of his University and the Mysore Education Department will find in this five volume considerable matter for very careful consideration and many illuminating suggestions. As I am not an educationist, I will not attempt any criticism of the various proposals, but, generally speaking, I am in agreement with the main outlines of their scheme. I wish only to make some general observations which I hope will not be quite out of place. To start with, the Commission have rendered a great service to the country by printing out in such a clear and convincing manner supported by a string array of authorities that the whole system of Indian education has to be recast so as to keep it abreast of the ideas and requirements of the times. Its different divisions such as elementary, secondary and University education must be interrelated with each other as far as possible, but at the same time each must have a distinct purpose in view. In the present circumstances elementary education in India would fail of its object unless the training of the pupil, in the industry pursued by his parents or some other suitable art or craft formed its integral part. And I most strongly urge that there should be a well-thought out and comprehensive method, supported by a generous system of scholarships and stipends, for selecting distinctly promising boys from the elementary grade for the secondary schools. A proper and adequate system of scholarships in my opinion, should indeed be in the forefront of the educational programme throughout. This I am glad to find is fully recognised by the Mysore Government.

As for secondary education, that must be regarded as the backbone of every educational system. Its aim should be to make of those who have been through its full course cultured, resourceful and patriotic citizens of the State, useful to themselves and to society. A student who has completed his education in a secondary school should be fit to receive training for the different professions such as law, medicine, engineering and for mercantile and industrial business and the management of concerns like zamindari. This course should be so framed as to occupy the average student till his eighteenth year. Here I may incidentally draw attention to one important question, whether there should be any minimum age at all for the grant of a certificate of completion of the secondary course or if there is to be one, whether power of exemption should not be reserved for the benefit of boys of more than average ability. It seems to me that a hard and fast rule by which the most talented youths are kept back—may be for one or two crucial years—is unnecessary and wholly indefensible. One point I wish particularly to emphasise before you—the supreme importance of which is so repeatedly recognised by the Commission, namely, the necessity for an adequate supply of a sufficient number of well-trained teachers. It is a most deplorable fact that the value of men into whose hands are entrusted the training of the future generation should so often be assessed at starvation wages, in the lower grades even inferior to the siph factory and mill hands and in no case sufficient to attract men of the best intellect and character in the country.

* Extracts from his Convocation address to the Mysore University.

in the country. The educational service should be at least as well paid as any other service and it should be accorded an honoured status. There is too much care cannot be bestowed on the selection of both the teaching and the administrative staff. They must be men not only well educated and proficient in the subjects entrusted to them but men of sympathetic imagination who can at the same time enforce discipline, men who regard teaching as a noble profession or rather as a mission and who understand and are in full sympathy with the needs and requirements of the country and with the ambitions of the students.

Another most important question in connection with secondary education is whether English or the Vernacular should be the medium of teaching. My opinion on the point is set out in full in the Commission's Report and all that I would say now is that I adhere to it as a statement of principle. The vernaculars of the country are unfortunately too numerous and it is my own belief that not one of them is yet fitted to be the medium of higher instruction. If there be any vernacular which possesses a sufficiently extensive literature, my objection does not apply to it, but at the same time there must always be a school in every secondary educational division with English as the medium of instruction, so as to allow of a choice. In deciding upon this question, every care should be taken not to sacrifice the interests of rural education for the sake of merely of sentiment, however laudable. Besides I confess to you that I am one of those firm believers who look forward to the time when there will be one common language for the whole of India and even if the language which has the best chance in this respect be not one of indigenous growth, such as English, I would be prepared to accept it, and readily sacrifice some very dear prejudices of my own, in the best interests of the generations to come. I may also point out here that the languages of our religions and the sciences are not any spoken vernaculars but either dead or foreign languages. For all boys to have to learn a number of languages, when education can well be imparted and useful practical knowledge absorbed through the medium of one, is a wasteful waste of energy and time, which must ultimately be obtained. It is often asserted that English can never form a proper medium of highest expression for an Indian. This is not only contrary to past facts. For instance, will not many distinguished poets and orators have used it as a medium of expression more charmingly and at the same time more effectively than they have done by Rabindra Nath Tagore in the English language, though some of his writings are called translations? To millions of educated Indians all over India use English as the chief channel of communication and is it not also a fact that English, especially in the South is rapidly gaining ground among students at least of the labouring classes such as skilled workmen and domestic servants, with advantage to themselves and their employers? In educated families everywhere most children are in fact bilingual. These are facts which have to be taken into account in dealing with the question.

The University, on I understand it, should have two objects in view, imparting a high order of general education and culture and also professional training founded on the work already done in the school, and for students of more than average calibre and scholarly proclivities, the University should provide facilities for the acquisition of highest learning in every branch of knowledge and for training the student for scientific or literary research. If any University is to be a centre of learning and research in this sense, two things are essential: it must at any cost

secure the services of at least a few savants and scholars of high attainments and recognised status, and it must be generally equipped with ample and well-organised libraries and laboratories. The value of good library is, I am afraid, not sufficiently realised in this country. It must be borne in mind that it is the thoughts of the great men of genius as enshrined in the books that are the real instruments of education and the ordinary living teachers can only help and guide the student in assimilating their ideas and in absorbing those sublime and beautiful sentiments and emotions which the best spirits of different ages and countries have expressed in immortal words. A further ideal which should be directly kept in view is that the graduates of the University should be fitted to be leaders of men, which their intellect, will and body efficiently trained for the task. With this end in view, emphasis is rightly laid on the importance of promoting a corporate University life, the tutors being in personal touch with the undergraduates as sympathetic but not too obtrusive guides.

I am also in complete agreement with the opinion of the Commission that education of the girls should receive at least as much attention as that of the boys, and I believe it to be strictly accurate to say that educated women would help to spread education and culture in the future generations and in the general community more rapidly and effectively than twice the number of educated men. In fact I believe that once education has captured the recluse of the Indian ladies no further propaganda work will be needed and the capacity of succeeding generations for all good work will be immensely improved. I do not know of another more potent cause of the degeneration of the country than the customs prevalent in India especially among the M.omedans, by reason of which women have all chances of development in free and natural ways.

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The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

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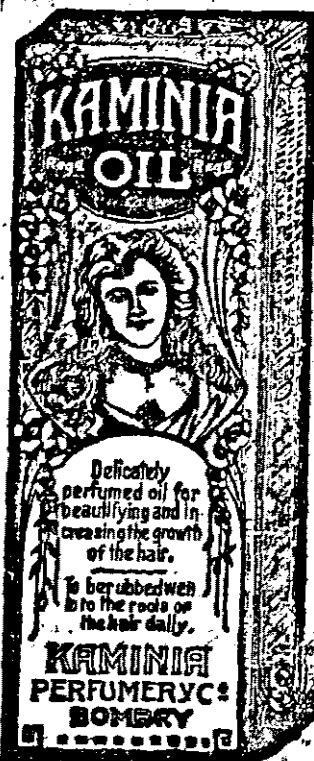
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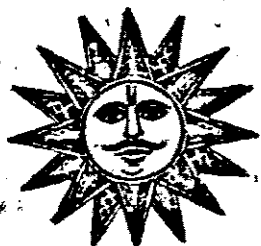
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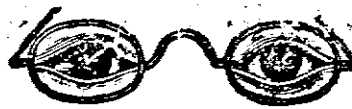
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1919. No. 11.

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A Cruel Dilemma.	

NOTES.

The Russian Situation. The latest messages to which we were able to refer last week in regard to the Russian situation, seemed to show that Yudenitch, Koltchak, and Denikin were gaining ground, or at least that they were in a more favourable position than the Bolsheviki. This week's messages, however, tell a different tale. Yudenitch has been badly beaten at the very gates of Petrograd, Koltchak's forces are retiring on the whole front in Siberia which the Bolsheviki are attempting to invade, and Denikin's predicament is hardly more propitious. More conclusive than all these messages, are Mr. Lloyd George's statements in his Guildhall speech on the 9th instant that, while there was prospect of an early issue a few weeks ago, the outlook now was not pleasant, that he rejoiced that British troops had quitted Russia because Russia was a quicksand, that he predicted in the early days that Bolshevism could not be suppressed by the sword and that, though he wished to see his prediction falsified, it has not been, and that they could not continue a costly intervention in an interminable civil war. All doubts as to the significance of the Prime Minister's speech, has been made impossible by the comments of the *Times* and the rest of the English Jingo press, on the one hand, and Liberal papers like the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian*, on the other. The *Times* denounces the speech as the revival of the Prinkipo policy. The *Daily Mail*, its stable companion, heads its article "Shaking Hands with Murder." The *Daily News* hopes that Mr. Lloyd George, having now seen the right way, will take it. The *Manchester Guardian* thinks the proposal is wise if tardy, and says much will be forgiven the Prime Minister, if he has the courage to carry it out. The French Press, which hoped to get back its vast loans to Russia by British military intervention, is naturally disappointed, and contends that the Premier's policy is tantamount to a capitulation to Bolshevism. We are sure that India will be heartily glad of the policy of non-intervention in Russia. Bolshevism may or may not be the incarnate devil it is said to be, but if the Russians find it more tolerable than Tsarism or Koltchakism, they must know best and, in any case, it is their business, not ours. Mr.

Lloyd George said that the Russian peasantry in their heart of hearts detested Bolshevism. Appearances are altogether against this belief, but they may be deceptive. If it is as Mr. Lloyd George said it was, the less reason for any outsider to interfere. Foreign intervention only unites the Russians together to repel it and Russian movements which depend on it for success. We wish the Prime Minister had acted on his early belief, for then the Empire would have been saved much loss of life and resources, and a good deal of odium in neutral countries. Also, perhaps, the Russians would have established some stable Government by this time. Anarchy is a state of unstable equilibrium, and no body of men are likely to remain long in it, unless kept there by some outside force. The British Empire has done much for France, but France cannot expect it always to be pulling its chestnuts out of the fire.

Japan and the Philippines. We reprint from the pages of the current number of the *Philippine Review*, an interview between Baron Shibusawa, who is one of the industrial magnates of Japan, and Mr. Gregorio Nieva, the editor of our contemporary. Mr. Nieva was on his way back from the United States where he had gone to plead for the independence of his country. In view of that fact, the conversation between the two distinguished men regarding Japan's intentions in the Orient is interesting. Mr. Nieva told the Baron point blank that Japanese ambition was regarded in some American circles as the main objection to the independence of the Philippine Islands. "Allow me, therefore, to ask you," he added, "if Japan would only be a mere copy of Europe in her policies regarding the weaker countries of the Far East; i.e. if Japan is merely going to be the new oppressor of the Orient." The Baron would not be drawn into any general statement regarding European nations. He said, "Japan has no business whatever in the Philippines. We respect the growth and progress of your people, and, if we can, we should only be very happy to render you any assistance for the sake of our brothers of the South. It is, perhaps, necessary for Japan to govern and pacify Korea, Japan has insisted in this. But as to the Philippines, it is a different thing altogether."

The Joint Committee's Recommendations. Reuter has sent a summary of a sketch in the *Times* of the main conclusions of Lord Selborne's draft report on the India Bill. There is nothing said about the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India, which is a main principle, from the Indian point of view, indispensable to make the scheme acceptable in this country. We refer in another context to the statement that the revised Bill makes clearer some of the broad outlines, notably the principle of diarchy in the provinces. The most noteworthy recommendation foreshadowed by the *Times* is that there would be

established a Standing Parliamentary Committee of both Houses which the Secretary of State would be bound to consult in many matters, including the rules and regulations under the Reform Bill. We interpret the rest of the message to mean that the Grand Committee idea has been given up, that it is proposed to give wider range to the Governor-General's ordinance making powers in an emergency, and that if a permanent law is needed and the provincial Legislature rejects a Bill a second time, the matter should be referred to the Secretary of State who would consult the Parliamentary Select Committee. We are inclined to think that this is rather an improvement on the Grand Committee procedure. But it is necessary to defer forming any definite opinion until we have the full scheme of the Joint Committee before us.

Lord Meston. That Sir James Meston was not to resume charge of the Finance portfolio of the Government of India and that Mr. W. M. Hailey was to succeed him in that office, has been known for some time past. What was not known was that Sir James' eyesight required his resignation, and that the honour of a peerage would be conferred on him. As the colleague of Lord Sinha at two Imperial Conferences, he has evidently been selected for the same honour. His presence in the House of Lords will provide diarchy and the separate purse proposal with a convinced supporter and champion. There is a sentence in Reuter's summary of the *Times'* forecast of the Joint Committee's recommendations, which seems to suggest that the separate purse proposal has found a place among them. The revised Bill, it is said, makes clearer some of the broad outlines, notably the principle of diarchy in the provinces. If this means that the separate purse proposal has been adopted, Lord Meston's accession to the House of Lords is probably not unconnected with the need for finding a capable exponent of it in Parliament. As for Mr. Hailey, he is a very capable man and but for his brusque manner he would have been better appreciated by the Indian public. People have forgotten that the "strong" Chief Commissioner of Delhi was Deputy Secretary in the Finance Department for about five years before he was chosen to rule Delhi. From Commissioner of Delhi to Secretary in the Educational Department, and from that to Member in charge of Finance, is a very zig-zag line of promotion for anybody. But the Indian Civil Service is a very versatile body.

The Arms Act. It was announced some time back that all racial discrimination in the administration of the Arms Act will be dispensed with, and that the rules for the issue of arms licences would be the same for all. A certain specified list of personages was to be exempted altogether from the necessity of taking out licenses, certain other classes to be granted licences without previous enquiry, and the rest to be granted licences as at present. This was a much less liberal measure than what had been foreshadowed by the Viceroy, and it has been still further attenuated to a considerable extent by the Bombay Government whose selection of persons entitled to get licenses without previous enquiry has just been published. Among such persons are included all those who were registered under the Ordinance of 1917, which, as the *Bombay Chronicle* points out, means every European and Anglo-Indian in the country. How does this fulfil the promise that the Act will be administered without race discrimination? We cannot help thinking that quibbling of this kind does not add to the prestige, not to speak of the popularity, of Government. The *Hindu* of Madras states that an Indian non-

official member of the Provincial Legislative Council has given notice of a motion at the next meeting for the appointment of a Committee of officials and non-officials to report on the qualifications to be fixed for persons who may be allowed to apply for licenses to possess fire-arms without preliminary enquiry. If some such step had been taken before issuing the orders in this Presidency, the anomaly which we have pointed out would have been obviated.

Nursing Homes. The Government of Bombay have taken a useful step which will be much appreciated, in sanctioning the establishment of Nursing Homes at the Civil Hospitals at Poona and Karachi for the treatment of well-to-do patients by their own medical attendants. The last privilege seems to be curtailed to some extent by the provision that the medical attendants will have to be selected from among a list of physicians and surgeons to be appointed by Government as Honorary Physicians and Surgeons to the Nursing Homes. Patients of the class for which the Homes are intended do not choose a medical attendant when obliged to enter a Nursing Home. Several of them have their family doctors who may or may not be included in the Government list. If they are not free to utilise the services of their usual medical attendants in the Homes, they may feel themselves greatly handicapped in resorting to them. We trust that this condition which is calculated to detract from the utility of this beneficial measure, will be modified so as to allow of any doctor with recognised qualifications to attend on the patients. The charge per day has been fixed at Rs 9 for an European and Rs. 6 for an Indian patient. This fee will cover the rent, the supply of furniture, bedding, food and the services of the ordinary nursing and the menial staff of the Home. In addition to this, a charge will be made of the actual cost of apparatus and drugs, of stimulants and surgical dressings. Fees will be also charged for extra nursing on a fixed scale. The remuneration to medical men is entirely left to private arrangement.

The Amritsar Congress. We publish today the two first bulletins of the Amritsar National Congress Reception Committee. It is very plucky and patriotic of the Punjab, and particularly, of Amritsar, after all that they have gone through, to hold fast to their invitation to the Congress to meet at Amritsar. We see that invitations are being sent to leading men of all parties to attend the Congress this year. We think that it is the duty of every one so invited to respond to the invitation. So far as we can judge, there is absolutely no difference of opinion in the country regarding the occurrences in the Punjab, which will naturally bulk largely in the proceedings of the next Congress, and such differences as there are in other matters, are not of capital importance. The main trouble here is entirely personal, but surely Indian leaders should and could rise superior to personal differences in view of the tremendous national issues involved. In our deliberate view, except the small group of revolutionaries who believe in violence, there is absolutely no important difference to justify the rivalries and recriminations so painfully evident in some places.

Cotton Cloth Control: The Government of India have decided that Cotton Cloth Control should be placed in abeyance for the present. The Cotton Cloth Act will, however, remain in force and its provisions will again be put into operation, should speculation in cloth or any other cause force prices up to such a point as to render this desirable.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1919.

THE FIRST ASIAN CONFERENCE.

We have taken the liberty of changing at the head of this article the name of the first miscalled Oriental Conference held at Poona last week into one which is etymologically more appropriate and, as regards aims, is not less comprehensive. Indians and, indeed, all Asiatics are Orientals to the European but not to themselves. For their own convenience, Europeans have divided Asia into the East and the Far East. To us, their Far East is the East and Persia, Afghanistan and Asia Minor is the West. A Conference having for its object the study of the culture of these countries, is not, therefore, an Oriental Conference. It is high time that we ceased to adopt in a spirit of superstition names which Europeans have invented from their own point of view and for their own convenience. So far as we can judge, the Conference held last week at Poona takes for its province the antiquities and literature of Asiatic countries which have influenced, or have been influenced by, India. It does not deal with Greek and Roman classics, though Greece and Rome had both close cultural and trade relations with India. It does not deal even with Hebrew and Christian antiquities though there are Jewish and Christian communities in India dating almost from the beginning of the Christian era. This, in our opinion, is a serious omission, because the organisation of the early Christian Churches and monastic orders bears a striking resemblance to Buddhist practices. Christian antiquities from the European and Christian point of view have been thoroughly explored and there is no need for us to go over the same ground. But their relations to Asiatic, and especially, Indian culture, have not been seriously studied, and this the Conference can undertake and encourage. Apart from the Christian and Hebrew sphere which, for historical reasons, has become merged in European rather than Asian antiquities, Asia falls into two great spheres of culture. All civilizations have started from peninsulas. Greece and Rome and Asia Minor, were the starting points of the streams which have gone to make European civilization. India and Arabia are the fountain-heads of Asiatic civilization. India through Buddhism and Arabia through Mahomedanism have influenced Asiatic thought, belief and culture. Today, and in India, and nowhere else, have all these currents of civilization met and mingled. The European, Arabian and Indian are all focussed in this ancient land. It is permissible to infer that our country has been providentially selected to be the birthplace of the common culture which shall unite mankind in one great brotherhood.

The Conference at Poona was a striking success. The proceedings began with a modest introduction by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. V. P. Vaidya. In the course of his remarks, Mr.

Vaidya called attention to and appealed for support of the monumental endeavour of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute to bring out a variorum edition of the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay addressed the Conference and conveyed the welcome of the Presidency to the delegates. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was then elected President and, owing to his absence through illness, his address was read by one of the Vice-Presidents who took the chair in his place. A happier or more auspicious selection to the Presidency could not have been made. Sir Ramkrishna is, by common consent, India's most illustrious Sanskrit scholar at present. His influence and his example have done much to resuscitate Sanskrit studies among us. Some sixty years ago, speaking of the state of Sanskrit scholarship in his time, Sir Henry Maine said that in about half a century it would either disappear altogether or, if it survived, it would be kept alive by the labours of European scholars. This prediction overlooked the deep religious and cultural significance of Sanskrit in India, and it did not foresee that the great effect of English education on the Indian mind will be to rouse it to a realisation of the imperative need of a nation to find itself, if it is to attain salvation. We can never underrate the work of European scholars who helped to keep alive the smouldering embers of Sanskrit scholarship in the dark age which preceded the establishment of the Indo-British Empire. But they of themselves could not have done more than just keep the sparks from extinction, if Indian minds and hearts had not caught the spirit from them. There were several such Indians—names always to be held in reverent remembrance. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Isvarachandra Vidyasagar, Rajendralal Mitra in Bengal, and Bhagwandas Indrajai, Bhanu Daji and Bhandarkar in Bombay, are the leading figures of this illustrious galaxy. Sir Ramkrishna alone in still happily with us, and his address shows that age has not dimmed the vigour, the clearness and the accuracy of his great intellect and massive scholarship. Sir Ramkrishna concluded his inspiring address on a valedictory note. "I close the active years of my life," he said, "with an assured belief that sound critical scholarship has grown up among us, and that it will maintain its own against aspersions and attacks." No man has done more, no man has done as much, to promote the growth of this scholarship as the illustrious scholar and reformer.

A CRUSADE AGAINST CASTE.

The course of modern influence in the Madras Presidency, especially, the Southern and Tamil half of it, has been peculiar to itself. English education began early and was received with

avidity by the literary classes. But its progress did not seem for long to make any difference either internally or externally in those that received it. It was not infrequently the case that men who loved and spent much of their time in the study of English literature, carried their caste-marks on their foreheads and the caste-spirit in their hearts unaffectedly as if they had never allowed their studies to range beyond *Manu*. Converts to Christianity from the lower classes, especially, were numerous, but the literate castes studied the Bible and Shakespeare and continued to follow the rules of caste as rigidly as their forefathers. The Brahmo Samaj movement made little impression, nor the Arya Samaj, on the Indian mind in the South. Social Reform, whether of the Shastraic or the rationalistic brand, equally fell flat, though the latter had a little more success than the former. It seemed that nothing could awaken the South from its self-complacency which seemed to have been accentuated by English education. But appearances are deceptive. Though there has been no sign on the surface, all these efforts have been silently leavening the leading minds of the South. And it seems that, at last, we are on the eve of a revolution. The accumulated impact of modern forces seems to be beginning to tell. The shell shows signs of strain, and it may burst at any moment.

The slowness of the South to react to modern ideas, is due to many causes. It has been the leader in the post-Buddhistic Hindu revival. Sankara and Ramanuja were the apostles of modern Hinduism and they were both men of the South. The ascetic ideal of life had been implanted in the South by the example of these illustrious thinkers. It has also to be said that their reforms had done much to purify Hinduism of the corruptions which had crept into it. They had virtually banished Tantric worship from the South. The high-caste Hindu of the South might worship idols, but he was always in closer contact with the philosophic side of his faith, upon which Sankara and Ramanuja had built their cults. Then, again, the literate castes, owing to the conditions of their existence, had perfected a system by which they could safeguard themselves from the influences of their environment. They were thus able, while deriving what material advantage they could from the modern factor in their environment, to prevent its making any permanent dents in their armour of caste and custom. But this can not last for ever. The pressure of modern forces, especially in the form of the non-Brahmin movement, is increasing, and there are signs of distress in the citadel. Men like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya have sounded the note of alarm. And Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer in his recent address has proclaimed that the time for apathy and self-complacency is past, and the alternative now is to frankly embrace modern ideas or to be swept into destruction.

What we most appreciate in Mr. Seshagiri Iyer's address is his frank admission that he has himself been slow in assuring and acting upon the truths which he enunciates. He told his hearers that the revelations which, as President of the Social Service League, have come home to him especially of the lot of the Panchamas, have been the immediate inspiring cause of his conversion. His words are worth quoting :

One word of personal explanation before I sit down. Very few people can excuse me of heterodoxy. I conform more to orthodox observances than any man in a similar station of life. I believe in very many of them, but I do not shut my eyes to what is in and around me. I have been moving slowly, more slowly than I ought to have done. The presidentship of the Madras Social Service League has been a revelation to me. It has opened my eyes to many things; not the least of them is the undug quarry of Panchama life. It is a crime to neglect the bringing out and clearing of the excellent material that lies there. We have thrown heaps of dirt and dust over it. We have kept it from the light of the sun and the sweep of healthy breeze. This material is at least as essential for building the national edifice as the bright metal that is on the surface. No one with a spark of patriotism can afford to neglect to press that substance into service. It would be a folly and a sin to the Motherland to do so.

It is, however, not only the position of the Panchamas that has to be improved. Caste must go. Mr. Seshagiri's remarks on this question took the form of an exhortation and a remonstrance to the apostles of *Varnashrama Dharma*.

I know they are very sincere about the inviolability of caste rules. I am sure they are honestly of opinion that it is possible to move smoothly and to work out the salvation of the masses by adherence to *Varnashrama Dharma*. Their high character, purity of life and intellectual attainments demand respectful consideration for their propaganda. May I ask some questions? Do you seriously think that you are not adding to the misery of your children by proclaiming yourself as belonging to a higher order of beings? Do you think that it is possible to stem the tide of democracy and to set up in India alone the rule of the priest against the wishes of the vast majority of the people? What has been your achievement in the past? Have you taken note of the enormous number of converts to other faiths? Take Malabar where caste has been ruling in exaltation and has been supreme. Have you looked into the census figures as to religion? Go back decade after decade and you will find that every ten years has depleted you and added adherents to other religions. How do you account for this? Your intolerance and your oppressive assumptions of superiority have thrown the oppressed into the arms of others. Take Tinnevely, Tanjore and Trichy. The same thing has happened. The converted Christian or Mohammedan will shake hands with you, whereas the patient non-converted parish has to stand yards off. It is this that you want to perpetuate. You have done injury enough. You are mainly responsible for the bitterness with which political controversy is being carried on in this part of India. In the name of all that you severally desist from further attempts at re-establishing an order of things which is doomed. Let your energies be devoted to atoning for your past exclusiveness, for your unthinking rigidity. We must move on. It may be that we should not run headlong. If that is your counsel I am with you; but if you think you can go back, you are

wholly mistaken, and you will be put down by generations unborn as men who used all the great gifts which education bestowed on them to clog the wheel of progress and to bring about disunion and disharmony and to make their lot in life miserable and unhappy.

Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer who presided has been a consistent Shastraic reformer all his life. He presided on the occasion of his brother Judge's lecture and his concluding remarks were :

All human beings must be given the opportunity to disclose their true casta. All were born sudras, i. e., born for service, those who remained sudras in the lower sense being fit only for bodily service guided by others. This is true Democracy, not the Democracy which thinks that the vote of a foolish or wicked man is equal to that of a wise man. If they would not abolish the present rotten caste system it would abolish them as a nation. He was seriously thinking of giving up the name 'Hindu' if within 5 years from this date, the rigidity of caste and this rigidity of so-called Hindu religion which did not take other nations into its fold should continue.

A CRUEL DILEMMA.

The comments in the *Subodh Patrika* on the use of the Hindu marriage ritual at the marriage of a daughter of the distinguished social and religious reformer of Ahmedabad, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, illustrate once again the cruel dilemma in which the present law places Indians who profess the pure and simple Theistic creed. Mr. Ramanbhai, like his late eminent father before him, is a devoted member and leader of the Prarthana Samaj, and in participating in the orthodox marriage ritual, he was participating in a ceremony parts of which conflict with the formless worship of the Deity which the Samaj enjoins. The *hom* (the oblations in the sacred fire) and the *saptapadi* (seven steps), are the essential core of the Hindu marriage. The Arya Samaj does not regard the *hom* as idolatrous worship, but the Prarthana Samaj does. Thus, of the two leading Theistic movements of modern India, one, the Arya Samaj, does not feel any difficulty in adopting the Vedic parts of the Hindu ritual. The Prarthana Samaj (and the Brahmo Samaj), on the other hand, have not been able to do so, consistently with their view of *hom* which is the central part of all Vedic rites. This places the Prarthana Samajist in a difficult position in regard to the marriage rite. The law provides a civil marriage, but this is coupled with the condition that the parties should declare that they do not profess any of the old-established faiths. Many persons, including Prarthana Samajists, have conscientious scruples against making the declaration. Mr. G. C. Bhatte endeavoured by adding a clause qualifying the declaration to save his scruples, but this has since been declared inadmissible. The Prarthana Samajist in this position has no alternative but to submit to the orthodox rite, if he wishes to contract a marriage which is unquestionably valid according to the law. This has evidently been Mr. Ramanbhai's difficulty. It is absurd to think that he has suddenly given up his life-long convictions in religious matters. Under the circumstances, the *hom* and the *saptapadi* can only be regarded as a

formality, entirely without a religious significance, imposed by the Civil Law on all persons who do not care to declare that they do not profess Hinduism, whether Prarthana Samajists or not. So far as we can see, there are only two other courses open to Mr. Ramanbhai and to others in his position. They may adopt the expurgated version of the Vedic rite prepared by Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, and take the chance of the Courts declining to declare it invalid when the question is raised at some indefinite future date. This has been done by some. Or they may temporarily migrate to Baroda, where there is a simple civil law of marriage, the validity of which beyond the borders of that State is not quite certain. Both these alternatives, however, are involved in uncertainty, and one cannot be blamed for not making a choice of them. What the Prarthana and Brahmo Samajists should do, is either to get a Marriage Act of their own like the Parsis and Christians, or press for a simple Civil Marriage Act on the lines of Mr. Basu's Bill. Mr. Patel's Bill will be of no use to them.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

I.

(BY MR. MANILAL PAREKH.)

Both in the past and in the present a great deal has been or is being written as to what is wrong with Christianity in India, by Christians as well as non-Christians. Ever since the day that saw the beginning of the work of the great missionary William Carey, the methods adopted by the Protestant missionaries have been criticised by such men as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen and many others who nevertheless wanted the spirit of Christ to spread all over India. Even Christian missionaries themselves have often felt that a great deal is wrong with their work and methods, and though most of them either lack the courage or do not care to speak out their minds on a subject of such supreme importance a man here and there raises his voice and even attempts to give some solution of the problem. But of all, it is the high-caste Hindu convert, particularly when he has come with real convictions, who can understand the problem in its entirety, though he may not always be able to say what he feels. Many of these, both in the South and in the North of India, have gone even so far to give a practical solution of the problem by establishing what they called national churches, the last of them being the Kingdom of God, *Devache Darbar*, by the late Mr. Tilak of the Maharashtra, but all in vain. There is something wrong with the Indian Christianity to-day that hampers every free and forward movement, and the missionaries and the principal Indian workers are aware of a deadlock in any real and genuine advance of their work all over India. No more does a Nilkanth Shastri (Father Nehemiah Goreh, the prince of Indian converts), or a Krishna Mohan Banerji, Kalicharan Banerji, Narayan Sheshadri, Pundita Ramabai or a Tilak, come forward to join the Christian fold, as was the case in the past. It is not that the Hindu character has deteriorated during these days, nor is it true that there are not.

among the Hindus a great many disciples of Christ. The fact is that although the caste system has been much more lax than ever before, these people who have great strength of character and many of whom have no caste either for themselves or for their families, prefer to stay outside rather than come into the Christian fold. And why is this?

In reply to this it has been often said that it is because the Church or the Christian people are denationalized that so many people find it difficult to come in. This is indeed true; but it is only half the truth or even much less. The denationalization so often complained of is only the effect. The cause of it is that the Indian Church is to-day almost completely proletarianized, and it is this which is at the bottom of all that is wrong with the Indian Christianity. Whether the missionary is "out for numbers" as has been said again and again by his foes or critics among whom last may be found even Christians, or whether it is because he has come with heaps of money as more than one missionary has had the candour to confess, or whether he builds by "external means" as a well-known missionary once put it, or whether as is most likely all these things have combined to produce the effect, there is not the least doubt that the missionary now-a-days rarely comes across the right type of man, and he gets most of his material almost exclusively from those classes who want to be civilized before they become Christians. In this connection the following words of Ritcher in his great book called "A History of Missions in India" will not be out of place.

"The main body of the Indian Christians converted in more recent times is either from the lower strata of the lowest Sudra castes or from among the outcastes. It is one of the most attractive tasks of the missionary historian to investigate how, now here, now there, one of these groups is laid hold of and gripped by Christian Missions, how to a greater or lesser degree mass movements follow, and how these movements come to a standstill almost as suddenly as they begin.....These masses of people have been mainly attracted to the missionaries for social or mundane reasons.....Should such aid ameliorate their social position, they soon become impertinent and supercilious towards the castes that were formerly above them....It is a fruitful subject for discussion in missionary circles, whether it is wise to proletarianize Indian Christendom too greatly by too large an influx of Pariah congregations, and thereby to render Christianity wholly despicable and unacceptable to the higher classes as the religion of the Pariah."

Whereas the Kingdom of Heaven grows from within without, (I am speaking altogether of the Protestant missionaries in all that I say here, for I have very little personal knowledge of Roman Catholic mission-work) have gone in for this work of civilizing of the submerged portion of the Hindus, confounding it with the Kingdom of Heaven itself. Thus while the doors of the Christian Church are opened wider and wider, they are closed in a corresponding manner for the higher classes or castes of the Hindus. Things have gone so far in this direction that for a high caste Hindu to be a Christian is tantamount to

his submerging among the lower and the lowest classes. It is like asking an American or a European to be submerged among the negroes. Is it then any wonder if the high-caste Hindu has shrunk from such a step when no sane European, whether missionary or not, has ever taken it whether in America or in India which latter has certainly a higher civilization than that of the negroes and contains the people of the same race as the Europeans themselves? There may be individual cases where both men and women have gone in for such submerging through marital union, but these are very rare exceptions, and such cases are to be found among both Europeans and the Hindus. But the broad fact remains that even the missionary, not to speak of the ordinary European, is as much a *Varnashrami* as the ancient Aryan ever was, or the modern Hindu now is. I shall never forget a sharp reply that I once received from a young American missionary, fresh from America and full of enthusiasm for the preaching of the Kingdom of Heaven. He had just started work and was asking for suggestions as to how he should proceed and what new lives he could work on, when I told him that one of the things that might help the cause of Christ in a real way was intermarriage between the European and the Indian, he had the courage to tell me in reply that I did not know all the facts of the matter, and that it was positively wrong to go in for such inter-racial marriages. When I told him that most of our own caste distinctions were originally based on these very colour distinctions, he said "Oh! the race-distinctions might remain even among the Hindus though the caste might go." This young American is not alone in thinking thus: almost all the missionaries have thought so, with regard to themselves, for the last century. So far there has been but one man among them who has had the courage to say that intermarriage is one of the very best means to further the cause of Christianity in India, and has gone in for one such for the sole purpose of advancing the Kingdom of Heaven. Personally I do not blame the missionary or the ordinary European for hesitating to take such a step; but I would certainly blame any one who would have some law for himself and another for others, or who refusing to rise above race-distinctions himself would ignore the same distinction in the case of others, and when these latter find it hard to do so would accuse them of cowardice and weakness as the missionaries have been doing with regard to the high-caste Hindus. Although I am far from being an apologist or upholder of the caste system as it is, I do believe that caste-abolition should not be tantamount to submerging of the higher among the lower castes which unfortunately it comes to in the present Christian fold in India. Therefore, to ask a high-caste man to enter the Christian fold today is to ask him to take up a cross which neither the missionary himself is prepared to take, nor do the majority of his converts take up. It is like asking him to take up in a real vicarious manner the cross of all these besides that of his own. Is it any wonder if he shrinks from doing so? In this

connection the following words of Meredith Townsend, a very shrewd observer, will be worth noticing. He says:—

"There is in India no Christian caste, and there never will be. Not to mention that the idea is in itself opposed to Christianity, there can be no such organization unless the Europeans will admit equality between themselves and the natives, and they will not. Something stronger than themselves forbids it. They may be wrong or right, but their wills are powerless to conquer a feeling they often sorrow for, and the very missionary who dies a martyr to his efforts to convert the Indians, would die unhappy if his daughter married the best convert among them. In presence of that feeling a Christian caste is impossible, for the Hindoo, a true Asiatic, will not admit that with equality in caste inequality in race can co-exist."

In spite of all this, many high-caste Hindus have made most heroic sacrifices to begin with, but they soon get tired of such business and often let the weight of this tremendous cross fall on their Hindu wives which the poor in-spirit Hindu women that they are they bear silently and meekly. Sometimes the poor Hindu woman is forsaken altogether by her husband who, after divorcing her, proceeds to marry an educated and cultured wife, and when that one dies marries another even though the first wife who was left to rot all this while in terrible moral and mental misery, might like to join her husband who will not now receive or simply because she with her uncultured habits does not now suit the refined tastes of such a Christian gentleman who may now be holding a high position among Christians. While the convert is thus preaching and practising his Christianity the poor woman is living a blameless life, and that she does mainly because the spirit of Hinduism prevents her from following any other course which would certainly be wrong. Again if she joins him from the very first which also several do owing to the same Hindoo spirit, she leads a life of inner anguish which is altogether hidden even from her own husband, and much more from others.

This kind of proselytising, besides being unfair to the high caste converts, is most unfair to the whole of the Hindu civilization. It aims at nothing but its complete subversion whether it was its deliberate aim or not, the procedure that has been so far followed if it became successful according to the wishes of the missionary would mean building up of a new India entirely from the bottom upwards, and all this in the name of Christ! The missionary has all these hundred years most systematically depreciated everything that is good and noble in the religious and institutions of the land, and now after proletarianising his own fold as much as possible would like to build a new society, new civilization on this foundation. The missionary cannot believe in any civilization but his own, and instead of being after the manner of St. Paul an Indian to the Indians, a Hindoo to the Hindoos, he wants his flock to be English and Americans. As he is

particular about his colour, so is he about his civilization, he has come to give us a universal religion, but this has been so identified with national forms that he cannot rest satisfied unless we take his national forms, whether of church-life or social-life. There is no wonder if he has succeeded in this too, i. e. in de-nationalizing his flock, because he has his material mostly from the lowest and lower classes. To quote again Meredith Townsend:

"The Missionary never becomes an Indian, or anything which an Indian could mistake for himself; the influence of civilization is too strong for him. He cannot help desiring that his flock should become civilized as well as Christian. He understands no civilization but his own and by unwearied admonition, by governing, by teaching, by setting up all manner of useful industries, he tries to bring them up to his narrow ideal. That is he becomes a pastor on the best English model part preacher, part schoolmaster, part ruler: always doing his best, always more or less successful, but always with an eye to a false end—the Europeanization of the Asiatic.... The result is that the missionary becomes an excellent pastor or an efficient schoolmaster instead of a proselytizer, and that his converts or their children or the thousands of pagan lads he teaches become in exact proportion to his success a hybrid caste, not quite European, not quite Indian."

Free Milk Supply to the Poor:—We print in another column the prospectus issued by the Arya Mahila Samaj of a project for supplying milk free of cost to expectant and nursing mothers and little children. We understand that the first centre will be opened at the Depressed Classes Mission Society's Home at Parel, on Sunday the 16th instant, and that it will be under the control of Mr. and Mrs. Soloni, the Superintendents. We cordially commend the appeal to our readers, and wish all success to this humanitarian endeavour on the part of the Arya Mahila Samaj.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—A special cablegram to the *Leader* of Allahabad states that the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha has been appointed a member of the Army Commission.

INDIAN EDUCATION SOCIETY, DADAR, BOMBAY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly give publicity to the following donations handed over to the Indian Education Society at Dadar: Shrimant Sirdar Babasaheb Ghorpade, Chief of Ichalkaranji 1,000; Shrimant Rajesahab Vikramshah of Jawhar 1,000. You have been doing this sort of favour every now and then and I am hopeful at this time and in future too. Along with the donations you will kindly insert a few remarks in connection with the Society's work.

Last week the Improvement Trust granted our application for a plot of land measuring 14,000 sq. yards. We are going to spend nearly two lacs of Rupees over the High School Buildings. Funds are being collected by the Secretaries. The work of collection is facilitated by the active and enthusiastic efforts of some of the members of the Society, among whom are:—The Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. Mathuradas Vasani Khimji, Hanraj Praggi Thackersey, Velsaji Lakhamay Nappoo, Mr. D. R. Patwardhan and Mr. S. K. Bole.

Yours truly,
M. S. KHOSLA,
Secretary.

THE BOMBAY HIGH COURT AND SATYAGRAHI LAWYERS.

Sir,

May I add a few words to your fine article on the Bombay High Court decision in the case of the Satyagrahi lawyers that so Satyagrahi will feel worried over the decision. With great deference to your opinion, I may say that an appeal to the Privy Council is inadvisable.

On a political issue it is unwise to seek the decision of courts unassisted by juries, when still political feeling is strong. Again the cost of such an appeal would be a needless waste of money over solicitors and counsel in a foreign land for no adequate return. Lastly, the decision directly helps the end the Satyagrahi has in view, far from being a decision against him.

Satyagrahis undertook to disobey the law and the penalty. If the very undertaking brings about the suffering he sought for, it is the most easy, most dignified and most effective form of Satyagraha which the High Court has discovered for him. The one difficulty before Mr. Gandhi was the choice of a law for disobedience that would be most suitable for the conquest of an exclusive enemy that would not give battle, viz., a statute passed with a reservation as to present abeyance. That difficulty would be solved at once if the High Court or the Government decided that the very pledge was a disobedience of the law. If there had been an express section in the Legal Practitioners Act or the charter Act that vakils and pleaders should not undertake civil disobedience, I have no doubt that Mr. Gandhi would have selected this law as eminently suited for disobedience by such members of the bar as decided to enter the struggle. The decision, if brought into effect would be a triumph for Satyagraha and bring out the true beauty and unconquerable strength of the principle.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR.

THE ARYA MAHILA SAMAJ-BOMBAY.

FREE MILK DISTRIBUTION FUND.

In a city like Bombay, so beautiful and so wealthy, one shudders to see the high mortality amongst women and children and when one tries to enter into the causes, one is moved to the core to find that starvation—want of proper nourishing food of the Indian is milk and how little of this the poor unfortunate little mites or their mothers get? Our city is full of rich merchants, philanthropic and generous. Does not the lot of the poor unfortunate creatures move their hearts?

The Arya Mahila Samaj has started a free milk distribution fund with a view to meet at least to a certain extent, this hard pressing want of poor expectant and nursing mothers and little children and has appointed a Sub-committee to look after the management of the fund and the distribution of milk.

The Arya Mahila Samaj appeals to the generous minded public rich and poor who are touched by the hardships or sufferings of the poor to help the Samaj as much as lies in their power. Need it be mentioned that these lives, if taken proper care of, will form an invaluable treasure of our Motherland and thus will repay the kindness shown to them?

Members of the sub-Committee: Lady Laxmibai Chandavakar, Mrs. Laxmibai Parulkar, Mrs. Sundrabai Sirur, Mrs. Durgabai Madgaonkar, Mrs. Sushilabai Jayakar, Mrs. Manjulabai Lad, Mrs. Awantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. Manjulabai Bhandara, Miss Krishnabai Javara, Miss Kashibai Nowrange. Details as regards the Centres to be

opened for free distribution of milk will be published later on. All subscriptions and donations should be kindly forwarded to:—Dr. Miss Kashibai Nowrange, B.A., L.M. & S.,
Atmaram Mansions, }
Girgaum, Bombay. } Secretary,
Free Milk Supply Fund.

JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The *Philippine Review* published the following interview between Baron Shibusawa and its Editor, Mr. Nieva

Editor Nieva.—I came to Tokyo, in the first place, to have the pleasure of meeting you, and then obtain your views on certain sides of present day oriental politics. To begin with, I would like to know what you think about matters in the Orient now that the war is over.

Baron Shibusawa.—I should say, first of all, that we all must work jointly for civilization and universal welfare. I mean by this that if nations would continue, as in the past, to make of their respective programs an exclusive, selfish issue, and should nations in the future fail to improve their methods of policies, and just go ahead as in the past, then conflicts may arise again. We must view things with a broader mind, and hope that nations are all progressing alike. This, of course, requires co-operation, as well as material and spiritual advancement, and a spirit of justice and humanity, as our common slogan and object.

Such is my sincere belief.

I fear, however, that, if each country should seek to develop the resources of the world for its own sake, a second Germany may arise as a result.

Of course, according to old theories, each country must supply its own interests. To my mind, however, this is a mistake today, for I hold that each country should be mindful of others' interests. Otherwise there may be room for disagreements. There are still quite a few who believe that they must develop this or that nation of the Orient, and are actually looking forward for a chance for it. I cannot but fail to agree with this. What I think is that we all should co-operate with each other, and make our region and the people of the Orient prosperous. We all must enjoy prosperity and happiness. We all should make the world our home, and the terms of the old diplomacy should no longer prevail. This is why I said I hope each nation and people should look not only after their own interests alone, but also after those of others'. For if one country is prosperous, its neighbouring countries will also be prosperous. I hope, therefore, that Oriental countries should co-operate with each other, with Europe also co-operating and changing her old policies about the East.

Ed. N.—Do you mean that we should follow the "open door policy" for all and everybody?

B. S.—Yes, Sir I should say so. I would endorse the open door policy as necessary for the development of the Orient, to thus give opportunity to all and everybody.

For instance, China has mines and other resources, but she cannot develop them, because of her lack of means and transportation facilities. And she needs foreign capital to develop them. This is a clear instance of the need of the open door policy. But if capital should ever go to China or elsewhere in utter disregard of the interests of the people or the country concerned, only to take care of the profit it should make, then I am afraid capitalistic domination may ensue. The advance and progress of the Orient require that we should abandon the theory of selfishness, without allowing,

however, any disrespect to the privileges and prerogatives of the nation in interest. It is in this, I think, that co-operation is needed most. To quote an instance, there has been recently a misunderstanding between China and Japan, in that the Chinese people believe that Japan is in China for selfish ends. This is a mistake. In my opinion, Japan must assist China jointly with the U. S., and I hope a thorough understanding will finally follow as to our purposes in China, and that America will eventually realize what Japan's real policy in China is.

My idea of Japan's Chinese policy is not my own alone. Business men and others believe in it. China's door must be open and in this we should co-operate with the U. S. The Chinese people are slandering us. We may have made mistakes, but we would only be very happy to correct them. But China is not entirely correct, and it would seem that the Chinese people are becoming nervous. I believe Japan must do justice to China and other Oriental countries, as well as your own country, and we sincerely pay our respects to our brothers of the South.

Ed. N.—While in the States, I noticed that Japan is the only hindrance or the stumbling block to the successful solution of the Philippine Case, and, in this respect, allow me to express my ideas and propound some questions about Japan. It is everywhere believed that the greatest menace to the existence of a Philippine Republic is Japan, and that your country is only waiting for a chance "to grab mine", using their own words. Allow me, therefore, in this connection, to ask you if Japan would only be a mere copy of Europe in her policies regarding the weaker countries of the Far East; i. e., if Japan is merely going to be the new oppressor of the Orient.

B. S.—I should say that if such suspicions are really the feelings of some Americans, I should not believe that they are liberty-loving Americans. They must be irresponsible Americans who see nothing but aggression in us. Japan has no business whatsoever in the Philippines. We respect the growth and progress of your people, and, if we can, we should only be very happy to render you any assistance for the sake of our brothers of the South.

If Americans say that Japan would grab the Philippines because of Korea, that has no foundation. It is perhaps necessary for Japan to govern and pacify Korea. Japan has insisted in this. But as to the Philippines, it is a different thing altogether. Whether independent or not from America, we will respect the integrity of your people. And so, if America has some iota of respect for the cause of the Japanese people, she should understand what we mean when we say that we pay our respects to your people. And if your independence is recognized by the U. S., I am sure that the civilized Japanese and the leaders of Japan would only be happy to recognize the status of the Philippines. I am not a politician but I think, from the spirit of the Japanese nation, that we should only be happy to respect your integrity, should the U. S. guarantee you independence, as well as to pay our respect and regards to our sister nations, be they the Philippines, China or others.

Ed. N.—And what have you to say about Shantung?

B. S.—As I said, I am not in politics, but whatever Japan has promised she has always fulfilled. And I feel quite sure that whatever promise has been made as to Shantung, we will fulfill it, and restore Shantung to China. But should Americans continue to distrust Japan, there would be no end to it.

I am positive we will honour our pledge, without any necessity for Americans to slander us, as they always do.

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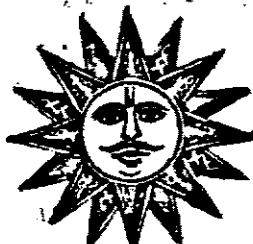
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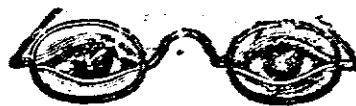
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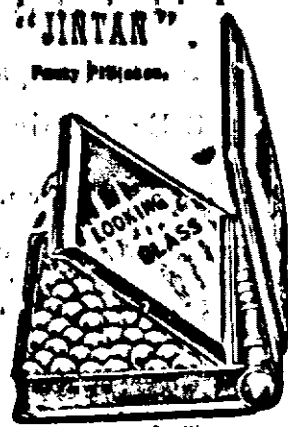
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1919. No. 12.

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

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NOTES.

The International Outlook. The centre of international interest has shifted last week from Russia to the United States. Friday's papers published the message that Yudenitch has resigned his command as he desired to avoid entering his army. The action of the Senate of the United States in regard to the Peace Treaty has been the cause of considerable anxiety. The Republican majority, having closed the debate on the Treaty, have introduced important reservations some of which had been previously declared by President Wilson to be such as would cut the heart out of the Covenant and mean rejection of the Treaty. These reservations include the declining of obligations regarding the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country; withholding the assent of the United States to the Shantung arrangement, also a reservation giving Congress authority to regulate the appointment of the American delegates to the League of Nations and international commissions and a reservation declaring that the United States alone shall interpret the Monroe Doctrine, which is wholly outside the jurisdiction of the League of Nations. It is lucky that President Wilson is reported to have made striking progress towards recovery from his illness. The President, says the latest message, has informed Mr. Hitchcock that he will "pocket" the Peace Treaty if Senator Lodge's reservations which amount in his opinion to nullification of the Treaty are inserted. Meanwhile, it is hoped to defeat the ratification resolution embodying Senator Lodge's reservations upon which the resolution favouring ratification without reservations would be offered. In the event of a deadlock ensuing a compromise would be sought.

The Indian Reform Bill: The Indian Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, was expected to be published last week. It is understood that it will not be published here till Tuesday. Meanwhile Keuter has sent us some further forecasts by the *London Times*. We give them below. The Report of the Joint Committee will recommend to Parliament that the question of

women's enfranchisement be relegated to the re-constituted legislatures in each province. The Joint Committee has not accepted the recommendation of the Crew Committee in favour of the abolition of the India Council, which will be retained under various modifications, among the most important of which is the attachment of each Member of the Council to one or other of the India Office departments. It is understood that the Committee recommends the reference of the question concerning the protection of the interests of the non-Brahmins in Madras to the Madras Government and in the case of the Deccan to the Bombay Government. As regards subjects to be transferred, the Committee generally follow the recommendations in the Feltham Report. While the Governor's heavy responsibility is increased it will be shared more largely than originally contemplated with the members of the executive half of the Government. In promulgating ordinances to replace Bills refused by the legislature, as in some other important matters, the Governor will act with the advice of his official Council. The enlarged Bill amply fulfils the hope expressed by Mr. Montagu on the second reading that it will emerge a more liberal endowment of British India with the beginnings of responsible government. It is understood that the Labour Party, urged by the more extreme elements in the Indian deputations, will move amendments to carry it still further, but it is not expected that either House will disregard the considered judgment of the Committee with regard to the necessary safeguards and reservations.

Social Reform and Government: A very hopeful and cheering feature of the time, is the deep interest which some heads of Governments are evincing in social reform. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay is doing his best to deal with the housing problem, and we trust his endeavour will be crowned with success. A complete scheme has yet to be published. Before it is made final, we should like one point to be cleared. Is it desirable to tolerate any more one-room tenements? Except, perhaps, among the very lowest classes, there is always in the poorest Indian house a partitioned space for the kitchen at least. To build any more one-room tenements would be to add to the difficulties of the next generation. The introduction of legislation to put down betting and gambling is most welcome. It has been undertaken not a day too soon. We are also glad that the Government of Bombay are introducing a Bill dealing with the problem of prostitution in Bombay. The evil has attained dangerous dimensions and we are grateful to Government for their resolve to put it down. Detaining a woman whether minor or not, against her will, with intent that she may have intercourse even with one particular man, is made an offence punishable with fine, imprisonment and whipping.

Lord Sydenham when he attempted to deal with the problem, was told by some "respectable" Indian gentlemen, that concubinage was part of the Indian social system and that any attack upon it would be resented. His Lordship accepted this shameful falsehood and proclaimed it to the world. We are glad that Sir George Lloyd's Government are not to be put off in that way. Even if it were true that in some castes there is a custom of concubinage, it is the duty of a civilized Government to break down that custom. The other important provision of the Bill deals with brothel-keepers. It gives to the Police authorities power to deport brothel-keepers to places outside the city, whereas the present law only allows their removal from one place to another within the city. Brothel-keepers will be everywhere undesirable, and unless they are sent to places where they cannot carry on their profession, this provision may only mean the shifting of the evil from Bombay to some other locality. The suburbs of Bombay which are, at present, not noticeably infected with this social disease, may be injuriously affected. The case of beggars is quite different. We welcome these measures heartily and our suggestions are only meant to indicate the need of carefully framing their provisions so as to make them most effective for the purposes intended.

Special Franchise for the Depressed Classes. We have urged on several occasions the need for making provision for the representation of the backward and depressed classes in the enlarged Legislative Councils. But we cannot agree to the suggestion, made, among others, by the Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat in his note on the subject submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, that a lower property qualification should be fixed for the Depressed classes so as to bring on the electoral roll in roughly the same proportion as the electors of the other communities bear to their adult male population. Apart from the probability that this proportion may vary for each community, which has a special electorate, it is doubtful if anything short of manhood suffrage will suffice to bring 5 per cent of the adult males of the depressed classes on the electoral rolls. The property qualification has either some significance or it has not: if the former, it will be difficult to prove that a depressed classes man with a lower qualification is as good a voter as others with the ordinary qualification. If the latter, it should be done away with in all cases. The really important question relating to the representation not only the depressed and the backward but also the middle classes is, how are we going to have a sufficient number of men who can devote themselves to politics without payment of members? The days of the amateur legislator are past. Unless a member pays close and constant attention to his work, he will be no good in the new Councils.

A Disability Removed. We are glad to learn that as the result of representation of the Committee of Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj, the Government of India has directed the introduction of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856, the Indian Divorce Act of 1869, and the Special Marriage Act of 1872, into the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore. As these Acts were not in force in the station till now, the parties who wished to marry under these acts had to go either to Bombay or Madras. It is understood that widow remarriage will shortly take place in Bangalore, and also other marriages under these Acts are likely to come off soon.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1919.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AS GIRLS' EDUCATION.

The Resolution of the Government of India on the education of girls issued last month, does well in deprecating the general application of the views and conclusions of the Calcutta University Commission on the conditions of the education of women in Bengal, to all parts of the country. Not all the difficulties set forth in the Commission's report as obstructing the education of girls in Bengal, the Government of India rightly observe, are found or at least found in an equal degree in all parts of India in some of which, for instance, the institution of purdah is unknown. Again, as the Commission have themselves pointed out, the paucity of private effort in the matter of post-elementary education of girls, which characterises Bengal, is not discoverable in all parts of the country. "In this respect," to quote the words of the Commission, "Bengal which prides itself upon being educationally the most advanced of the Indian provinces, falls far behind Bombay: in the city of Bombay alone there are ten private High Schools for girls." The Government of India observe that in some parts of the Bombay Presidency private effort has manifested itself in a remarkable manner. It is but just to acknowledge that Bombay owes a debt of gratitude to Parsis for their pioneering the cause of women's education. Their example has roused other communities to a spirit of emulation, and this has been followed and sustained by a genuine appreciation of its value and importance. The signal success which has attended the two women's colleges in Madras, since they were started a few years ago, is another hopeful sign. The old opposition to the education of women has died down in many parts of the country. This is largely the direct result of the spread of education among men, and partly of the efforts of religious and social reformers. The Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj have given a great impetus to women's education, and so also has the Social Reform movement. Some of the main obstacles to the spread of women's education, being faulty social customs, the reform movements which seek to change these customs necessarily favour its rapid expansion. These social difficulties are less in the provinces and among communities where the purdah does not prevail. In those provinces and communities where it does prevail, the growth of an effective sentiment against its continuance will powerfully promote the advancement of women's education.

The greatest obstacle to social reform, however, is the prevailing illiteracy, especially among women. The Calcutta University Commission have done this writer the great honour of placing at the head of their chapter on the subject, some observation which he made at the Bijapur Social Conference last year. It

was to the effect that education was essentially a question of social reform, and in education, the first place should be given to women's education. The education of a single girl meant the uplift of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man. If education is a question of social reform, social reform too is a question of education, especially of women's education. A way has to be found out of this vicious circle. The social and educational obstacles to the spread of women's education, can be ultimately overcome only by the wide dissemination of education among women. From this point of view, we are inclined to regard the Government of India's elaboration of the difficulties in the way of women's education as rather academic and irrelevant. If Government will but provide sufficient funds, most of the difficulties will in course of time disappear. Moralising on the backwardness of the people does not help. If Government will say, "Here is the money; find a solution of the problem," there will be more chances of a solution being found. If we cannot have competent teachers, we must make shift with less competent ones. If the present curriculum is unsuitable, we can devise a better one as we go along. If the examination system is found to dominate unduly our system of education, we can easily readjust the relation of examination to teaching without bringing matters to a deadlock. What we want Government to do is to help forward the cause in the one practical way they can, namely, by providing a generous grant for the special purpose of women's education. The most disappointing part of this resolution is its failure to grapple boldly with this all-important matter of finance. "Since the impending changes in the relations between Imperial and Provincial finance will in all probability involve the complete dissociation of the former from educational expenditure in the provinces," the resolution runs, "the provincial and local agencies will become not merely primarily but exclusively responsible for the future development of the education of girls. It will rest with them to decide how far they will be able to devote public money to furthering this form of education, and it is hoped that the suggestions which have been put forward in the preceding paragraphs will be of assistance in indicating the objects on which such money can most usefully be spent and the directions in which the education of girls can most profitably be guided."

Now let us see what these suggestions are. Local bodies should continue to be the agencies for the diffusion of elementary education among girls as among boys. Advisory committees may be appointed to advise local bodies on educational topics, and ladies may be co-opted on schools committees of such bodies. The latter provision already obtains in this Presidency. We hope some progressive local bodies will bring this into practice at an early date. The Government of India resolution has a good word to say for the scope of the Primary Education Act in this Presidency, which authorises the application of

the compulsory principle to girls, as well as to boys. One Municipality, that of Bandra, has notified its intention to introduce compulsory education for both girls and boys under the Act early next year. We do not understand what the Government of India mean by "safeguarding the interest of lower classes" in education. When compulsory education is introduced, all classes of children have to attend school and a sufficient number of "schools" have to be provided beforehand to accommodate them all. Except compulsory education, we cannot think of any other safeguard of the interests of the lower classes. We do not see any difficulty in boys and girls studying together in primary schools. It is more convenient for young lads to accompany their sisters to school or young lasses to attend the same schools as their elder brothers. It saves the cost of an escort and tiffin arrangements have not to be made in two different schools. We think that elementary girls schools, whether of boys or girls, should be free to admit the younger sisters and brothers of the elder pupils. We agree with the Government that there is not much scope for differentiating between the curricula of elementary boys and girls schools. We are absolutely opposed to the manufacture of special text-books for girls schools. These manufactured text-books, written with a purpose, are one of the principal banes of the present day. As for religious education, tales from the epics and the unintelligent reading and recitation of the Koran, are not religious education in a sound sense, and nominal religious education does more harm than good. We reserve our comments on the rest of the Government resolution to another article.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

II.

(BY MR. MANILAL PAREKH.)

This is how Christianity is denationalized here in India. Mr. G. T. Paul of the Y. M. C. A. in his latest protest against denationalization in England says the very same thing. Neither the missionary, nor his convert, looking to the quality which he has, can help it. Christianity cannot but be denationalized and consequently parasitic and at best Anglo-Indian. This would again explain how Christians have generally a more material outlook than the other people of this country. I shall never forget what a young man, an Indian, belonging to the Salvation Army once told me. He said the moment a man becomes a Christian he materializes. The remark is perfectly true. People become Christians for material ends, and hence the moment they are baptised they forget the duties and the responsibilities as Hindus or as Christians, and become suddenly conscious of their rights and privileges. It is no wonder if the missionary has begun to find fault with the third generation of those whom he baptised two or three generations ago. This materialization is inevitable. The Christian church is filled with men who have sold their birth-right for a mass of pottage, and now that they have come into the

Egyptian bondage of Western civilization, they love the flesh-pots thereof too much to think of having them for the Heavenly Bread which Christ Jesus is.

While such a process of denationalisation is very easy in the case of most of these so-called converts, it becomes a little more difficult in the case of the few high caste converts who stick to the end. The process that is followed in their case is thus wise. The first thing that a missionary began to do with such converts is to Hinduize them as much as possible. The first thing is to make them eat beef and meat, and even drink wine. The next thing that is done is to give such a convert a wife if he has none for it is a law of most missions that a convert in case he has not married cannot remain so for a long time while working in the mission. If he is already married and has children, the thing that is done is to get his wife and children baptised through pressure direct and indirect. In this way, all the bridges are burnt behind him and the poor convert is left helpless in the hands of missionaries. And in addition to these, if the poor man makes a mistake and falls into some sin or other, as in most cases he cannot but do there, being so many temptations in his way from both *kanstam* and *lamini*, woe be to him for ever! However high he be in his caste, and whatever the sacrifices that he may have made, he has to take his place lower than the lowest, not because there are his moral superiors, but because they are more clever and outwardly correct in their behaviour. It requires a man of tremendous conviction and courage of it to withstand all this pressure and process and temptations.

It is in this way that the Christian Church, if it at all can be called so, is altogether proletarianized, denationalized and anglicised and consequently materialized. I do not think that there ever was such a church raised in the whole history of Christendom, whether Eastern or Western. What wonder is there if the Hindus have stood aloof from such Christianity which is no Christianity but which is a most miserable caricature of it? I believe that perhaps this shows more than many things the soundness of the Hindu heart, that while accepting Christ as their very own, they would have nothing to do with the Western Christianity that comes to them in this shape. It would seem that the missionaries are subverting not only the Hindu civilization but the kingdom of heaven as well. Why is this?

A part of the cause of this state of thing is already given when it is said that the missionary is partial to his own labour and civilization. The missionary does not understand India nor its civilization. But what is worse is that he is not socially as politically dead. No man who is not dead in this way has any right to carry universal religion from one land to another. The missionary has as much flesh and blood as his convert or as the so-called heathen has whom he has come to convert, perhaps he has more. A man who is not dead to these, to all social and national ties, is not a Christian, much less a missionary. The Protestant Christianity comes to us wedded to the worst form of aggressive nationalism and imperialism of the West,

and the missionary consciously as unconsciously is confounding and trying to promote both together. It has been just now found that the missionaries were not altogether above promoting his national interests along with those of the Kingdom of Heaven, and they are sent away from India not to return soon. Are the English and the American missionaries so far above the German missionaries in this respect that they have no other interests but those of the Kingdom of Heaven? And if the English people and missionaries cannot trust the German missionaries, can the heathen Hindus trust the English missionaries? Again supposing that they are so far above the German missionaries in this particular respect, i. e., promoting their own national interests at the cost of those of this country, can it be said that they have not taken full advantage of the protection of the British Government in order to proselytise as many as possible in the easiest possible manner? It is this that is the weakest point in the work of the Christian missionary. Proselytising without persecution has no meaning whatsoever. Proselytising with purse and political power is as bad as and even worse than that by force, and in India we have example of only such proselytising. Can there be a Christian church without true martyrdom as suffering? Can it be founded on such most unworthy and mixed motives, and purely secondary considerations as have been moving the majority of the Christian converts? Thus the missionary has failed to understand most grievously the spirit of Indian civilization as well as that of his own religion which can be established only on the Cross.

It would be too much to say that the missionary does not understand his own religion, but nevertheless I would dare to say that he does not. That he has violated the spirit as well as the letter of the religion he has come to give us in more things than one can be proved to demonstration. Here is one example of it in a matter that is most vital and important. Paul wrote to Timothy the following which are of universal application and which have been as completely ignored by the missionaries in India as possible. The words are I Timothy 6-1-5.

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed.

2. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partaken of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.

3. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord from Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness.

4. He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh away, strife, railings, evil surmisings.

5. Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness. From such withdrew thyself.

The missionaries have, expressly and as if it were of set purpose, set aside the command contained in the first

two verses, a command, not merely of St. Paul, but of Christ himself as he says in the third verse, and have tried to do away with all centuries of old distinctions between the Brahmins and the Pariahs, high and low, under the false idea of equality and fraternity from which he would exclude himself and his own people. The result of this has been exactly what St. Paul said it must be Christianity has been blasphemed outside the Church on account of this very thing as the religions of the Pariah. Within the church there have been realized all those conditions that St. Paul speaks of at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th verses. The majority of the missionary's converts have confounded gain with godliness, and demand equality of every sort with the high-caste converts in all things.

In all that I have said here I have spoken of the missionary as the representative, often a victim, of the system of work laid down by Protestant Missions in general. Again there are missions and missions, and no two missions have the same policy. There are some of them which are exceptions, such as e. g. the Oxford Mission in Calcutta. Again no two missionaries are altogether alike or think in the same way. Many of these, both men and women, are excellent people in many ways and make great sacrifices for what they think would promote the cause of Christ in India. Many of them have no ulterior motives of any kind. Many of them know the defects I have pointed out, they know the disease and are earnestly seeking a remedy. If I would blame them for anything, it would be for remaining any longer as instruments for that system, which has now blocked up the way for the further spread of Christ's kingdom in India. They must enter within themselves deeper, and take up their Cross afresh. The demands of the Cross of Christ never become greater, and all those who want to call themselves Christians and do missionary work must be ready to make greater sacrifices always. I would say the same thing to many of the converts too who, I know, are feeling many of these things that I have spoken of here. They have taken it upon themselves to follow Christ at whatever cost. Let them not beheld mid-way as most of them are doing but go forward.

'Withdraw thyself from such' was said by St. Paul to Timothy. The same cry comes to-day in similar conditions to all those missionaries, both men and women, and to true converts who want to find out a proper path. Perhaps it was in obedience to the same cry that Mr. C. F. Andrews withdrew from the Church mission to serve the people in the way he has been doing. All need not follow the same path of service, but withdraw they must, if they want to be true to Christ. May be, a greater path of serving India and Christ will be found soon.

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL.

[The English Public School has been commended by many administrators and others, themselves products of it, as an ideal educational institution, and some Indians have, as usual, echoed the senti-

ment. We give below a criticism of the system from Sir Oliver Lodge's recent book "Christopher."]

So much has been written in description and glorification of Public School influence, in moulding character and determining destiny, that no more words are needed; nor need the multitude of such books be added to, even by a sentence, in order to emphasise the merits which can be taken for granted. Had they not many virtues so many youths would not be sent there.

But in the midst of the praise, a critical voice is heard, and criticism is growing in intensity. Parents are anxious; questions are asked; replies are discordant or are difficult to obtain. Is everything really of the best, is it even as good as it might be? Is the discipline wisely conceived and properly carried out in these originally monastic institutions, or are boys of various ages left too much to their own devices? Do the weakest go to the wall? Are there not excesses, is not the boy-managed discipline too suddenly severe, the contrast with home and preparatory school too complete? Are the bodily exercises or "sports" overdone, giving rise to subsequent heart-strain and other troubles?*

Is the feeding wholesome and adequate, or must it be supplemented from home?

Many such questions are asked, and I do not presume to answer them. They have to be answered differently, it must be supposed, at different schools, and even at different periods in the same school.

All I have to say or suggest, concerning school life is absolutely general; it has no reference to any one school in particular. Special and intimate knowledge would be required for that. But there are certain general characteristics which without controversy can be admitted—characteristics some of which are upheld by high authority as sound and wholesome and beneficent. Let us consider one well-worn argument in their favour.

The discipline and hardship of school are said to prepare a boy for the discipline and hardship of later life. The note struck is preparation. So far, good. Preparation for life is eminently desirable; and the particular preparation afforded by school life appears to be considered a kind of inoculation. For in like manner it may be said that inoculation prepares one to resist the ravages of specific disease when that is encountered in the future.

Inoculation is admittedly never a pleasant process though authority says it is necessary. Let us accept that. But we do not select the most virulent form of microbe for inoculation purposes, we do not apply the disease in its severest form to prepare against milder attacks in the future. Yet, according to the testi-

I only speak feelings of long school runs, in which smaller boys are swished to over-exertion and fainting by bigger ones who are actuated by sheer ignorance and stupidity. At a school in Yorkshire this system of preposterously long competitive runs was in vogue, perhaps still is; and I have had occasion, not in my own person but in my own family, to curse it and its sequel.

mony of many, the hardship and discipline of school during say, the first year, and even during subsequent years for many boys, are harsher and more grievous than anything they can reasonably expect to encounter in later life. In later life if we make mistakes we are punished, it may be by a fine, it may be by seclusion, but we are not flogged, except for brutal crimes; nor are we beaten by a jury of our fellows, or by some individual stronger than ourselves, unless we have injured him in a quite exceptional way, in some way so serious that he is moved to take the law into his own hands. We are not placed helpless in the midst of a community, whose members are of very varying degrees of size and strength, with traditional powers over body and sometimes soul, where tale-bearing is forbidden, and where we are removed from the curbing or protective agency of the police. No one expects to encounter troubles of this kind; and no inoculate against the risk of it seems carrying precaution rather far.

In later life when we run into danger we take other precautions. If we go among savages we carry weapons of precision; if we encounter civilized ruffians we appeal to the arm of the law; we protect ourselves against bodily ill-treatment in various ways, and our souls are our own.

But it will be said that at an earlier stage of life we are retracing an evolutionary period, that we all have to go through the savage phase, and that in this phase the rough discipline of school is salutary and not alien to our disposition. To some, I suppose, it does not seem natural and right; but to those whose savage period is curtailed or galloped through, and who already at an early age have reached a higher stage of civilization; the alien character of the mixed elements of school life becomes painfully apparent.

But it is not alone, it is not even mainly, the mere physical roughness and irresponsibility of seniors that I propose to criticise. These are painful, but some people can conscientiously maintain that they are salutary, that they are good for a small boy, and do not injure the big boy or develop any view of cruelty in his disposition. At any rate they do not seem to frustrate the main purpose for which schools exist. This I conceive to be the development of intellect and of character. Some call it the "formation" of character, and put it first. If formation of character is possible by outside influences, then indeed those influences become supremely important; but character must be to a great extent inborn. It may be unfolded, or it may be withered, its development may be helped or hindered, but surely a school should develop character mainly through the intelligence. Awakening of the mind would seem to be a main necessity in any scholastic scheme. A system of training which depresses the mind and yet sleeps it at mental tasks for several hours a day, until a feeling of nausea or study-nostalgia is created which lasts more or less through life, few would have the hardihood to support; they can only deny that any such state of things exists; and can take refuge in maintaining that assertion of this kind is an accusation and misrepresentation made by some enemy.

THE WAIL OF DISTRESSED PUNJAB.

THE NATION AS A WHOLE SHOULD COME TO THE RESCUE.

The Editor, "The Indian Social Reformer," Bombay.

Sir,

We have made political Punjab lifeless for the next fifty years, we have paralyzed the whole of India by taking stern repressive measures in the Punjab. So they said. For a time Punjab was in a deep swoon but the fit did not last long. A band of true Brahmans came from holy Prayag (Allahabad, The colony of god) from Shantiniketon (the abode of peace) and from the Satyagrah Ashram situated on the banks of purifying Sabarmati and roused it to life again. And then the cry went sound. "We must hold this Session of the Congress at Amritsar. For the sake of those whose indomitable spirit is roaming in the scene of their late activities, we must dare all and invite the whole Nation in this city of the immortal spring of life."

The invitation extended to Amritsar at Delhi was confirmed in the beginning of October last, sometimes was spent in setting at rest the doubts of the authorities and then a Sanyasi who had taken the threefold vows of poverty, humility and world-wide charity, was called upon to lead the band of devoted hosts of the nation.

The work here has begun in right earnest. The Secretaries of the different Sub-committees of the Reception Committee of the 34th Session of the Indian National Congress are being exhorted to do their best, the general secretaries and the Vice-chairmen are asked to put forth their best energies for the task they have undertaken, and as has been published by the Propaganda Secretary, contract for building the Pandit has been given to the Bond Bros. of Allahabad. Applications for Volunteer work are pouring in from far and near and public associations from all parts of the country are ready to co-operate and help. A large number of delegates are expected from outside Punjab. (Certainly not less than thirty hundreds) and Punjab is expected to pour forth its thousands to take part in sympathising with the suffering sons and daughters of their Motherland.

How are we to meet all these expenses? That is the supreme question of the moment. Amritsar has been bled to the last coin during the Martial Law period. It is a pity that these moneyed men who paid thousands in bribe to escape the indignity and dishonour of being insulted and abused by the myrmidons of officialdom do not come forward to speak the truth and thus to save the country (rulers and ruled both) from the further sins. But there is not the least doubt that they have suffered much pecuniarily. Then there are fines to be paid for the follies of the thoughtless and the horrible crimes committed by degraded devilish men. But in spite of all this when an appeal was made on behalf of the Punjab Relief Fund, Amritsar came out with its mite and contributed about sixteen to twenty thousand rupees for that work. And now that an appeal was locally made on behalf of the Reception Committee, Amritsar, has again begun a splendid response. Some 15 thousand has been collected in the city and by putting forth its whole strength another 15 thousands might be collected. But that is all what Amritsar can do at this moment. The rest of the Punjab is hoped to lend a helping hand, but there too some districts have suffered terribly and will be impossible for them to make up the whole deficiency. The wish is there but the power to do their best is wanting.

Daughters and sons of the Motherland: Not less than one lakh of rupees ought to be forthcoming within the next three years, if you wish to make this Anniversary meeting of the National Council worthy of the occasion. The begging bowl of the Sanyasi is at your door. The body of this devoted servant of humanity cannot react you all, but the spirit will roam all over the country; and it is my firm belief that the National Cause will not suffer for want of sufficient funds.

Shraddhananda,
Chairman of the Congress,
Reception Committee.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

BULLETIN NO. 1.

1. As already announced, the thirty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress will be held at Amritsar in the Punjab during Christmas next. The actual dates will be announced as soon as fixed.

2. A suitable site for the Pandal known as the Aitchinson Park has been obtained from the local Municipality, and is not only the best available but also the most convenient being close to the Railway Station, Amritsar (North Western Railway) and the city. Arrangements are in progress to secure adequate house accommodation and camping ground for the delegates from the various Provinces.

3. A Reception Committee has been formed consisting of several hundred members, and Swami Saraddhanand has been elected its Chairman. Every person resident in the Punjab who pays a minimum subscription of Rs. 25/- or Rs. 10/- only in the case of a lady, is eligible for membership and every Punjabee interested in the national cause, is invited to join the Committee. All remittances on account of membership subscription and donations should be sent to the Central Bank of India, Ltd., Amritsar, on account of the Congress Reception Committee, without loss of time, intimation of the same being sent to the Secretary, Finance Board, Congress Reception Committee Office, Amritsar.

4. The Executive Committee of the Reception Committee has decided that invitations be issued through the Chairman to all Indian leaders, irrespective of party, to join the Amritsar Congress, and the President and General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee have also been requested to move in the matter. The Reception Committee earnestly appeals to all patriotic and public-spirited Indians to respond to the invitation of the Committee, and make it a point to attend the Amritsar session.

BULLETIN NO. 2.

1. The fee for membership of the Reception Committee is Rs. 25 and Rs. 10 in the case of ladies.

2. The fee for a delegate, as fixed in the Constitution, is Rs. 10.

3. The rates for visitors' tickets have been fixed as follows:—Distinguished visitors; Rs. 50, special visitors Rs. 25 and 1st class visitors Rs. 10., 2nd. class Rs. 5. Lady visitors will be charged Rs. 5 each.

4. Donors of large sums will be provided with special seats on dais according to the amount of their donation.

BULLETIN NO. 3.

DATE OF THE SESSION.

The Thirty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress will be held in a specially erected pandal in the Aitchinson Park, Amritsar (N. W. Railway), Punjab, on 27th, 29th and 30th December, 1919.

The session will open on the 27th at 2 p. m., some hours after arrival of the Bombay Punjab and Calcutta Punjab Mail trains. The 28th will be devoted exclusively to the Subjects Committee which will meet at 10 a. m. On the 29th the Congress will resume its sitting some what late at 12 noon, owing to celebrations in connection with the birth anniversary of Sri Gurq Govind Singhji which falls on that day. On the 30th the Congress sitting commences at 11 a. m.

MESS TICKETS.

The following rates have been fixed by the Reception Committee for the mess tickets for the delegates:—

I. <i>European Style</i>	Rs. 6 per diem.
II. <i>Indian Style</i>	
Vegetarian	Rs. 1/8
Non-Vegetarian	Rs. 2/8
Morning Tea	As. 4

No afternoon tea or lunch will be provided for those messing in Indian style.

Charges per meal in Indian style will be at half the above rates.

S. S. BHATIA,

Secretary,

Press Sub-Committee.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, BOMBAY.

The Hindu Widows' Home working under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, since 1st August 1916 completed its third year on 31st July 1919 and the Committee of its management beg. to submit report of the working during the third year.

There were seven widows on the roll at the close of the second year. During the year under report, 8 new widows were admitted, 8 were married and one left the Home of her own accord, thus leaving 6 widows on the roll at the end of the third year. Out of the 8 widows married, one belonged to the high caste Maratha community, one to the Konkansath Brahmin, one to the Gujarati Banis, one to the Sarasvat Brahmin, two Daivadnya, one Pathare Prabhu and one Madras Mudliar.

The number 8 of married widows during the year compares favourably with six of the second year, and two of the first year. The usefulness of the institution must not, however, be judged only by the number of widows admitted, or marriages performed under the auspices of the Home. Some parents and guardians of widows from private families seek the assistance and advice of the Superintendent; and in fact, the Home is slowly and steadily growing in publicity and popularity. It will, before long, become the centre of widow re-marriage activities in the Presidency that it is intended to be. Compared to the number of unfortunate widows amongst the different high-caste communities on this side of India, the number of marriages arranged is but a drop in the ocean, but looking to the prejudices and difficulties the institution has to contend with, the steady progress it has been making is distinctly encouraging. It is needless to add that greater efforts are necessary if the evil of enforced widowhood is to disappear from amongst us. Encouraged by this steady progress during the last three years of trial the Council of the Association has decided to continue the Home and it is hoped that the public will help to make it a success by every assistance, pecuniary or otherwise.

Of the six widows at present staying in the Home, one is in English 4th standard, two in English first, one is attending Normal Class, one is in Marathi 4th, and one is learning elementary Marathi. In addition to the literary education, they learn in the Home cooking and other household duties, as well as tailoring in the class conducted by the Social Service League on the premises of the Home.

It is a noteworthy fact that proposals for marriage coming from gentlemen are always for educated widows, and in several cases for widows with some English education. This is but natural. The marriageable age of girls is slowly rising, and among communities where grown up girls are available, even an educated young man or widower is unwilling to face the prevailing prejudices against widow marriage and the displeasure of his relatives, unless he gets an educated widow for his wife.

Dr. M. D. Malvankar continued the generous help to the Institution during the present year by treating the patients from the Home, and giving such advice as was needed, free of any charge. The Committee takes this opportunity to give its best thanks to Dr. Malvankar for his kindness and sympathy with the Home. Dr. S. R. Shirgavkar, M. D., (London) was kind enough to inoculate free of charge the inmates of the Home against Cholera during the terrible Cholera epidemic. Mr. Mangesh Atmaram Sagoon, the manager and proprietor of Mrs. Radhabhai Atmaram Sagoon, Book-seller, was kind enough to present books of about Rs. 15 to the inmate, who was promoted to English 4th Standard in March last. The Committee begs to thank all the persons who were good enough to show their sympathy with the Institution by assisting it in one way or another.

It is a matter of regret that Mr. A. S. Wagh, the Superintendent, as well as Mrs. Wagh, the Lady Superintendent, were in indifferent health during the year under report and had to leave Bombay for about six months for change of climate. During their absence Mr. P. B. Gothoskar with family lived on the premises and looked to the work of supervision. The Committee is much indebted to Mr. Gothoskar for the trouble he had to take in timely taking over the charge of the Institution when that was urgently needed, and in discharging his duties very satisfactorily in the absence of Mr. Wagh. It is unfortunate that Mr. and Mrs. Wagh on account of ill health find it impossible to continue as Superintendents of the Home and have expressed their desire to be relieved of the responsibilities as early as possible. The desire has been communicated to the Council which will make the necessary arrangements in the matter.

Since the above report was written Mrs. Wagh succumbed to the illness she had been suffering from for some time, and the Committee has passed the following resolution in appreciation of her services to the Home.

"The Committee begs to place upon record its deep sense of loss in the death of Mrs. Krishnabai Wagh who had worked at considerable self-sacrifice in promoting the welfare of the Institution and in supervising the management of the Home. The Committee expresses and records its deep sense of sympathy with Mr. Wagh."

The Committee regrets to record the death of Mr. C. M. Seth, who regularly paid a handsome contribution towards the expenses of the Home almost from the commencement, and evinced sincere interest in the cause of Widow Remarriage.

Total expenditure for the maintenance of the Home during the year was:—2464-10-6; (food charges Rs. 1224-6-6

clothes for inmates Rs. 88-11-6, rent Rs. 660-0-0, establishment Rs. 260-8-0, books, fees &c. Rs. 48-5-2, printing, postage and stationery Rs. 62-3-8, miscellaneous Rs. 49-7-6.)

List of Subscriptions and Donations (1918-19).

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas	...	...	...	400
Mr. Bhugwandas Medhaldas	...	...	...	270
Sir N. G. Chaudavarkar	...	...	...	180
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. A. Shah	...	...	...	180
The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh	...	...	...	180
Mr. L. R. Talwar	...	...	...	90
Mrs. Sitam Hazare	...	...	...	51
Mr. U. M. Seth	...	...	...	45
" Waichand Banker	...	...	...	25
The Indian staff of Messrs. John Dickinson & Co.	...	...	...	15
Dr. S. G. Ranadav	...	...	...	12
" T. G. Khandwala	...	...	...	10
Mr. L. N. Kamat	...	...	...	10
" Gopalji Welji	...	...	...	5
" S. W. Kelker	...	...	...	5
" Maganchoand Raoji	...	...	...	1
				Rs. 1,479

WILSON ON RUSSIA.

(From the *New Republic*, September 17th.)

Woodrow Wilson was once an historian. He was not, perhaps, distinguished for assiduous devotion to his muse, but he acknowledged obedience to the rules she had laid down since old times. If it was ever necessary for him to employ a fact, instead of rhetoric, he was at some pains to assure himself that the fact existed. If it was necessary for him to institute a comparison between two historical phenomena, he acknowledged the obligation of illuminating his criticism with the light of attendant circumstance. He recognized himself as an imposing figure in the assemblies of his craft, but he knew that this fact did not make it safe for him to occupy positions out of which the veriest tyro could rout him, to the laughter of the whole confraternity of scholars. But all that has changed now. Woodrow Wilson is no longer the servant of history, but has become her master.

And so he stands up bravely before her and asserts that the Soviet regime in Russia is more cruel than was that of the Tsar. Does any one imagine that Woodrow Wilson ever made the least effort to ascertain the facts of either term of his comparison? Does he know how general was the use of "Stolyin's neckties" in the suppression of the liberal revolution of 1906? Has he any acquaintance with the statistics of Siberian exile, or any knowledge of the conditions under which transportation to Siberia was carried on? Has he examined the relation between Tsaristic officialdom and such affairs as the massacre of Kishinev? No, of course not; he has been too busy. But of course he knows all about the spirit and the practice of the Soviet regime? No; he has been too busy to inform himself. He was too busy to listen to Raymond Robins, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Thacher. He has been too busy to listen to anything but carefully selected words justifying the policy he had already adopted under British and French pressure. He dared not trust his virginal innocence of Russian conditions alone with that bold fellow the truth.

But say that Woodrow Wilson could demonstrate, by historical, not propagandistic methods, that the Soviet regime, conducting a revolution, had caused more suffering in a given time than the Tsaristic regime, conducting the civil

affairs of a peaceful nation--what is the moral? Did the corrupt government of King George the Third occasion a life of the suffering in America that attended the Revolution? Did the government of Louis XVI revel in excesses to be compared with those of the French Revolution? Did Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides effect a painless improvement in British affairs? Was it quite without pain and slaughter that Mexico ejected "the tyrant Huerta?" Whose phrase was that we wonder?

Revolution is a hideous, bloody business, and we can understand though we cannot sympathize with the feelings of those gentlemen who believe there ought never to be revolutions, however increased the tyrannies against which they are directed. Every revolution we have ever heard of has gone too far. It has yielded at times to sheer blood lust. But is that a reason for backing the counter revolution? Suppose that the combined European potentates of 1790--whom Woodrow Wilson would no doubt call tyrants, being safely buried--had succeeded in over-throwing the French Revolution, would the roll of executions have been brief and pleasant reading? If our friends Kolchak and Denikin get into the heart of Russia, does any one doubt that heart will spout blood generously? Revolutions have always been terrible; counter-revolutions more terrible. That is history, but what is history to Woodrow Wilson?

The Soviet rule, says Woodrow Wilson, is the rule of a minority. So it is. There are, he says, only 84 men who share among them the control of the political destinies of Russia. Well, it is not so long since four men were assembled at Paris, hearing and determining on the policies of the world. How many men in America have participated in the formation of the policy of war on Russia, and a blockade more terrible than war? One, unless you count rubber stamps. But by the constitution one man is empowered to act for the whole people in this matter? No, that is just where our constitution is too democratic for Woodrow Wilson. Find, if you can, any clause in it by which American forces can carry on war in Siberia without congressional action.

Still, has not the Soviet government been challenged to convene a constitutional convention based on universal suffrage, to determine whether a majority wishes the Soviet form of government or another form? To be sure. It is a pity that Woodrow Wilson did not live in the seventeenth century, to challenge Oliver Cromwell to convene a constituent assembly. That would have called the doughty Oliver's bluff; for there is not a shadow of doubt that the majority of the British people would slavishly have voted for the restoration of the Stuarts and the execution of Cromwell. Perhaps the British revolutionists would not have bowed their necks obediently to the will of the majority and to the ax, but in that case men like Woodrow Wilson could not have had to idealize such uncouth disturbers. It is a pity that Wilson could not have sent the challenge of a constituent assembly to Washington at Valley Forge. The way Washington would have received it would be interesting to the historian, if any one had lived to report it. Mirabeau and Danton, Marat and Robespierre could have lost nothing by a universally elected assembly but their necks, and those were forfeit any way. But the real work of the revolution, which the historians unite in pronouncing good--how would that have fared?

And while Woodrow Wilson is so bent on denying even provisional legitimacy to any Russian regime that is not based on a constituent assembly except the regime of

Kolchak, Denikin and Co.-- why does he not look about him, like an historian, and discover the basis of other existing government? What is the basis of the government of Japan, Italy, England even? At what point, in the history of those Governments do we find a plebiscite or a constituent assembly? And if we are to challenge the Soviet regime in Russia, on the ground that it is a minority rule, why not also the Japanese regime in Korea, the British regime in India? Or does it sanctify minority rule that it is altogether alien?

Revolutions, so history calmly asserts, are always affairs of the minority. In every society there are always in a minority who are ready to die for their opinions. All, or almost all may feel oppressed, but only a few will take the risk of striking for liberty. And those few who are willing to die, but would rather live, will not immediately surrender to the indifferent and nerveless majority the power of determining whether themselves and the fruits of their labours shall live or perish. If they can, they will hold power until the new state which they have wrought has attained to the character of a normally stable state. So history asserts, but Woodrow Wilson is history's master. We envy him the sense of power he must enjoy as he yanks his former mistress around by the hair. But it occurs to us that he is overlooking one rather important consideration. She will have the last word.

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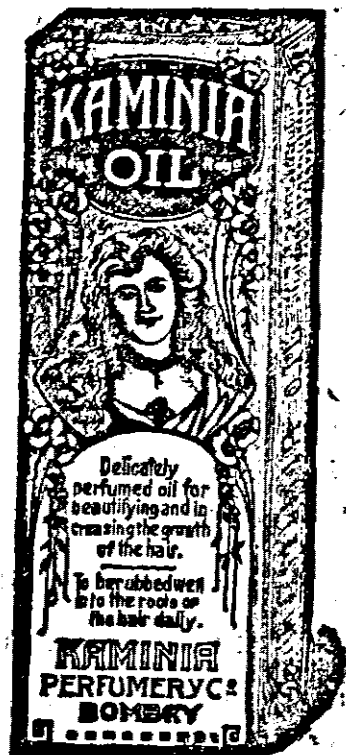
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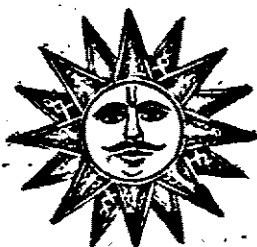
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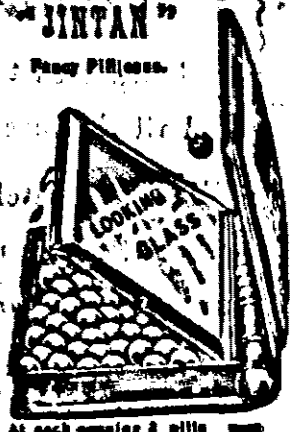
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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
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 Khilafat Question and the Peace Celebrations: Many persons who have a sincere respect for Mr. Gandhi will, we think, be at a loss to follow his line of argument leading to the conclusion that because the question of the Khalifate has not been satisfactorily settled, therefore, it is the duty of Indians, Hindus and Mahomedans, to abstain from taking part in the Peace celebrations next month. If this principle were to be carried to its logical length, public life would become impossible. With characteristic contempt for tactical considerations which play such a great part in politics, Mr. Gandhi rather went out of his way at the Khilafat Conference to declare that the Punjab grievances, sorely trying as they are, are not legitimate grounds for abstention from the Peace celebrations. If we venture to think that the same principle applies to the Khilafat question, and with greater force, we are sure Mr. Gandhi will appreciate our point of view. The only reason which would justify abstention from the Peace celebrations is that the continuance of War is preferable to the conclusion of Peace. We have more than once expressed our sympathy with our Mahomedan countrymen in their concern about the Khalifate, and there is no responsible official in this country from the Viceroy downwards who is not genuinely anxious that the question should be settled early and in a manner which will satisfy the reasonable expectations of the leaders of Islam in this country. Men like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Honourable Ameer Ali, Mr. Jinnah, Syed Hassan Imam, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and others are fully conscious of the position of the British Empire, and do not expect it to achieve the impossible. We say once more that it is a matter of vital importance to meet the reasoned and responsible desire of the Mahomedan leaders. The chances of a satisfactory settlement of this question will be enhanced, and not certainly decreased, by our cheerfully cooperating with the rest of the Empire in the celebration in a fitting manner of the victory which has been vouchsafed to the British Empire, of which we form an integral part, and our Allies, over a Power which had erected brute force into the supreme divinity. We would earnestly impress upon

our countrymen, Mahomedans as well as Hindus, that they should not allow themselves to be led away by mere sentiment, and that they would, while strongly pressing on Government their views regarding the Khalifate, whole-heartedly rejoice with the rest of the Empire that the War is at an end and that the reign of Peace has resumed its sway.

The Viceroy in Madras. His Excellency the Viceroy reached Madras on Monday morning and on the same day received several addresses from representative public bodies. His Excellency replied to them all together in a vein of genial sympathy. The cheerful spirit of the speech in contrast to the embarrassed phantom haunting some of His Excellency's previous utterances, has been noticed by others. We attribute it to a feeling of relief that the Reform Bill has been taken out of the hands of his Government and is well on its way to port. On one part of the reply, we feel we ought to make a few observations. Referring to the fact that certain passages bearing on what His Excellency called 'questions of a controversial nature' were asked to be deleted from some of the addresses before the Viceroy would receive them, Lord Chelmsford declared that it was not his wish to burke such matters, but "it is really only a question of what is appropriate when a Viceroy comes as a guest, anxious to hear in the time at his disposal such representations as relate particularly or mainly to the community or province to which his hosts belong." We respectfully deprecate this view of the people of India as communities and provinces who should either not concern themselves with the grievances of other communities and provinces, or at any rate should keep their feelings to themselves when the King Emperor's supreme representative in this country is in their midst. Nor do we admit that the Viceroy is in the position of a guest, and not in one of authority, in any part of British India. The subjects of His Majesty are entitled to speak to the King's representative in India of whatever subjects, affecting the liberty or prosperity of any portion of them in any part of the country, may happen to be exercising their minds. The proclamation of martial law in the Punjab and the way in which it was administered, the passing of the Rowlatt Act and such other matters, are questions which are at present agitating the Indian mind in every part of the country. It is very little that a Viceroy can usefully contribute to the elucidation of local matters in any part of India. No previous Viceroy, so far as we recollect, has ever pleaded this excuse, not certainly Lord Ripon or Lord Dufferin, Lord Curzon, or Lord Hardinge. His Excellency himself spoke of Fiji and South Africa which are not nearer to Madras than the Punjab. The Viceroy's remark, to our mind, illustrates the danger which we have pointed out more than once of the principle of provincial autonomy being carried to the point of provincial isolation.

Lord Chelmsford on the Reform Scheme. Nothing could have been in better spirit than the brief reference which His Excellency made in his reply to the Madras addresses, to the changes introduced by the Joint Committee of Parliament in the Indian Reform Bill, overruling, be it remembered, on several points the strong recommendations of the Government of India. We heartily endorse His Excellency's exhortation to Indian leaders and, we doubt not, to the English Services as well, to accept and work the reform in a spirit of mutual goodwill and co-operation. Said Lord Chelmsford: "The Reform Bill will now go to Parliament. I feel confident that it will be passed in the near future, and I am therefore already taking all measures possible, so that we may have in India a machinery ready to construct our new constitution. So far as the recommendations of the Joint Committee are concerned each one of us no doubt thinks that he could have put together a better scheme, but here at last, after much controversy and much labour, we see the prospect of a decision. I trust that we shall all in our respective spheres accept that decision and do our best to build up India's future upon it. The foundation will be there, spacious and ample. Let us bring mutual goodwill and co-operation to the task confronting us."

Legislation Against the Social Evil: The action of the Government of Bombay in undertaking legislation to put down brothels in Bombay city, is receiving recognition in other provinces. The *West Coast Spectator*, published at Calicut, in suggesting that other provinces should introduce similar legislation, urges that the scope of the measure should be extended to the districts. It thinks that at least municipal towns should be empowered to control traffic in women and girls. Our contemporary draws a lurid picture of the state of things in Calicut. "In our own town", it writes, "houses of ill-fame can be found in plenty, and if the secret history of some of them ever comes to be made public there would be startling disclosures. Agents roam about rural areas enticing girls, even kidnapping them, and once a girl falls into the hands of these monsters she is damned for ever and condemned to lifelong misery. When a girl has run her course and is of no use for the "fashionable" house of ill-fame, she is quietly turned out, and then her fall is rapid. She gravitates to one of the lowest class brothels and pulls on a miserable existence till death releases her. It was only the other day some kind-hearted men released a small girl from one of the agents who had brought her from the Cochin State under false pretences, and sent her back home." That last remark reminds us that when girls are rescued from the brothel with the help of the law, only half, and that the easier half, of the work has been done. What is to become of them subsequently? In the case mentioned by our contemporary, the parents or guardians of the rescued girl had the good sense and humanity to take her back, but there have been cases where both these qualities were lacking. A Government of India Bill to provide for this contingency came to grief because some orthodox members were afraid that the rescued girls would be converted to Christianity in the Rescue Homes to which they might be committed. We trust that the philanthropic Bombay public will complete the good work begun by Government by establishing non-denominational Rescue Homes for girls redeemed from the degrading bondage of the brothel. Underlying the problem, are important issues bearing on social and economic conditions, which ought seriously to engage the attention of our thinkers and leaders. Prevention here as in other matters is better than cure. India has need of men like the late Mr. Coote of whose

great work Mrs. Hallows of Lucknow writes in another column under the apt heading "A Knight of Chivalry."

Presidentship of the All-India Sanskrit Conference Thus the *Indian Mirror*: "We find it difficult to believe that Mr. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, is to be the President of the All-India Sanskrit Conference which will meet in Calcutta in the middle of December. Instead of attending the Conference Mr. Hornell may as well send his jackboot to occupy the Presidential chair. Is there no Sanskrit scholar among the Bengalees, who is fit to fill that position? Mr. Hornell ought to decline the proffered honour and tell those who want to thrust it upon him that he is so overwhelmed with a sense of his utter unfitness to take the chair at such a Conference, that he must have nothing to do with it. The fittest man for the Presidential chair is the Senior Mahamahopadhyaya of Bengal and failing him, we would suggest the name of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri, C. I. E., a ~~scholar~~ of European reputation. As Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee is the Chairman of the Reception Committee, we look to him to prevent what is nothing short of a scandal. If our Pandits want to retain the respect of the Hindu community, they must first of all show that they are not lacking in self-respect. Shade of Vidyasagar! Upon what degenerate shoulders your mantle has fallen!" In the next issue our contemporary, which is always preaching at its compatriots, prints without a hint of apology, a flat contradiction of the statement that Mr. Hornell is to preside over the Sanskrit Conference. Mr. Hornell is an independent-minded Englishman, and we fancy that the *Indian Mirror* has reason to suspect that he does not sufficiently appreciate its policy nowadays of being more royalist than the King. Hence, perhaps, the invention to serve as an excuse for the invective. We do not think the shade of Vidyasagar would appreciate the present-day *Mirror's* sermon on self-respect. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept.

A Historian as Political Pamphleteer. Dr. Vincent Smith, as historian, has deserved and earned the respect of a large circle of Indians as of others. His descent into the political arena with a pamphlet in which history is sought to be utilised as the handmaid of certain vested interests in opposition to Indian reform, has, therefore, pained and grieved many of them. We are obliged to Mr. Nanjundayya, the much-respected Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, whose sober judgment, high character, and large administrative experience in the great and progressive State of Mysore, invest his observations with special weight and authority, for his able analysis of the several parts of Dr. Vincent Smith's book, the first part of which we print to-day.

A Welcome Movement. Many Indians have long held the opinion that a non-proselytising, purely philanthropic Mission, working among the Indian people, will be of immense service, not the least of which will be the awakening of a truer appreciation in the Indian mind of the humanitarian side of Western civilisation. The International Red Cross League of which Lieutenant A. A. Hunter writes in this issue, is such a movement. It is non-political and non-sectarian, and has solely for its object the promotion of sanitation and health among the nations of the world. We trust the project will meet with warm support from the Government and the people of India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1919.

THE REVISED REFORM BILL.

The result of the work of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Indian Reform Bill may be summed up in one sentence. It has gone as far as it could in the direction of Indian demands without destroying the ground plan of the Bill and without imperilling its passage into law in the present Parliament. The recommendations of the Committee in regard to the Government of India illustrate our meaning. The Montagu-Chelmsford report, the Government of India and his Excellency the Viceroy, and Lord Curzon in his speech in the House of Lords, moving the appointment of a Joint Committee, had all of them been emphatic as to the inadvisability at present of introducing the principle of responsibility in the Central Government. To have provided for transferred subjects and ministers in the Government of India in the face of this consensus of opinion, would have been to ensure the rejection of the Bill. The Joint Committee have not done it, but they have done one or two things which indirectly go to increase the influences calculated to make the Government of India more responsive than at present to Indian opinion. The number of Indian members in the Executive Council of the Government of India has been increased by the Committee to three; the right of voting the budget (excluding the political and defence departments) has been conceded to the Legislative Assembly subject to the veto of the Viceroy; the Council of State has been made a reality by providing for it as well as the Legislative Assembly a system of direct election. These are far-reaching improvements. And though we adhere to our oft-expressed opinion that without radical reforms in the Central Government, reforms in provincial governments, will be not only useless but dangerous, we are bound to say that the changes mentioned above as well as the reforms recommended in the India Council and in respect of a Standing Committee of Parliament on Indian Affairs, are sure to supply to an appreciable extent the element of responsibility which is not directly provided for in the constitution of the Government of India. The Committee has recommended that the Statutory Committee to be appointed at the end of ten years, should include the Government of India in the scope of its enquiry. Having regard to the conditions and limitations of the Joint Committee's operations, this is about as far as it could go if it expected the Bill to pass this session. We cannot blame it for not so shaping the measure as to ensure its rejection by Parliament even if the Cabinet was prepared to father a Bill so drastically recast.

In the scheme of reform as it affects Provincial Governments, the Committee has likewise made noteworthy improvements. To begin with, the grand subterfuge called the Grand Committee to give a popular colour to acts really of Executive mandate,

has been discarded: the Governor whenever he feels that he ought not to accept the verdict of the Legislature on a transferred subject, would overrule it on his own personal responsibility. This is honest and straightforward and these are qualities as much to be appreciated in constitutional as in other matters. The Government and the public know exactly where they stand. No doubt from the theoretical point of view, this is naked autocracy, but that, in our opinion, is not wholly a disadvantage. Very few men would care, like General Dyer and Colonel Johnson, to proclaim, however much they may secretly wish, that they are above all law, human and divine. An administrator who trusts more to this bludgeon than to his powers of persuasion and accommodation, will very soon find that he can be more useful elsewhere. Even otherwise, the new Governors are likely to be men with a future, and are most unlikely to covet the position in public life attained by Lord Sydenham. To adjudge the Joint Committee's work fairly, we should take the revised Bill as a whole and interpret its provisions with reference to the whole and to the traditions of English public life with which Indian administration will henceforth be in close contact through the Standing Parliamentary Committee. The Joint Committee has revived India's trust in the British Parliament as the arbiter of her destinies. The uncompromising repudiation of the Grand Committee is typical of the frame of mind which the Joint Committee brought to bear upon its responsible task. The same directness is discernible in the manner in which it has handled the electorates' and functions' parts of the reform scheme. The Committee has accepted the Southborough recommendations in regard to the former with the suggestion that they might be enlarged and expanded wherever possible. The Committee has set its seal upon the Lucknow compact and declined to disturb it in the direction suggested by the Government of India. On the other hand, it has recommended that the differences between Brahmans and non-Brahmans in Madras and the Deccan might also be settled by the same process of mutual agreement. We do not quite like the relegation of the question of women's franchise to the provincial Legislatures, as if the women of India were not as much citizens of the State as the men. But we recognise that in the face of the attitude of men like Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, and the opposition of the Governments in India, the Selborne Committee had some excuse for adopting this timid course. We are not sure that it is only the new Legislative Councils and not also the present ones that are invested with the discretion to extend the franchise to women. If the present Councils can intervene in the matter, we are sure that the Bombay Legislative Council will be glad to pass a resolution to that effect at the forthcoming December session. As regards the functions to be transferred to popular control, the *Times of India*, we think, is in error in concluding that only education and industries are to be transferred. The wording of the official summary, taken by itself, does admit of such a construction; but taken,

as it should be, in the light of the previous discussions, it is clear to our mind that all the subjects recommended by the Feetham Committee are to be transferred, including education in all its stages, and industries. The specific mention of these two departments is due to there having been strong opposition in official quarters to their transfer to ministers. (Since the above was in type, this has been made clear by a Renter's telegram.) The Joint Committee has rejected the proposal of a divided parse, though the Government of India fought hard for it up to the last moment. It has adopted the Indian contention that Ministers should have the same status and salary as members of the Executive Council.

The changes proposed by the Joint Committee in regard to the India Council and Office, are no less, and in some ways they are more, important. The whole cost of the India Office, including the salaries of the Secretary of State and members of his Council, would be borne by the British exchequer. It is recommended that there should be more Indian members than at present and that they should get in addition to the enhanced pay of £ 1200 allowed to members of Council, a special maintenance allowance of half that amount per annum. A High Commissioner will be appointed to make contracts on behalf of the Government of India, thus relieving the Secretary of State of his present commercial activities. The other important change which will be welcomed in India is the appointment of a Joint Committee of Parliament to look after the affairs of India, and more particularly the working of the new reforms. It will watch over the exercise by the Governor of the veto powers vested in him. The Joint Committee felt itself precluded from recommending that fiscal autonomy should be guaranteed by statute, but it suggests, that it should be assured by the acknowledgement of a convention that the Secretary of State should so far as possible abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. This is vague and not satisfactory. It might have been more definitely put. The matter cannot stand there. But it is something that the Committee has said so much on a question of so much importance and delicacy. Since this was written, the Member for Commerce of the Government of India, who is on a visit to Bombay, said in the course of his speech at the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in reply to a pointed observation by the Chairman, Mr. J. B. Petit, urging that the Government of India should not commit themselves to any fiscal policy till the whole question is carefully sifted by the people and the many public bodies throughout the country :

As I read these words, (of the official summary relating to fiscal autonomy) when the Government of India and the Indian legislature agree, they are practically to have a free

hand so far as fiscal matters are concerned. If I am right in my interpretation, this is a very great step forward, and India will have a great measure of freedom which she has so long desired. I know, sir, from what has been published in the "Bombay Chronicle" that your views are less sanguine but we may join in hoping that my view is right. Before the arrival of this telegram both the Secretary of State and the Government of India had come to the conclusion that by some means or other the views of the public must be obtained on the general principles involved in the subject of Imperial Preference, before any decision was arrived at. Commercial interests will, of course, be consulted and we propose further to ventilate the question. By the appointment of a Committee of this kind on which of course the unofficial members will be fully represented, we should hope to be able to thresh out the question and examine how far India's interests would be likely to be affected beneficially or otherwise and ultimately to arrive at a decision on the question of general policy.

DR. VINCENT SMITH ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. I.

[By MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M. A. M. L., C. I. E.]

If an extensive knowledge of the History of India is a qualification (as no doubt it is to a large extent), there is hardly any one who has a better right to pronounce an authoritative opinion than Dr. Vincent Smith on the subject of Indian constitutional reform. But the other claim that he makes in the preface on account of his official experience of twenty nine years may not be of equal weight, as we believe that he retired long before the recent series of events began to make a most remarkable transformation in the country. The 'historical background' is no doubt a very important factor, but one can, by selecting the particular background required, support or condemn equally well any proposal for reform.

Dr. Vincent Smith concedes that recent events have rendered a change in the method of governing India imperative, and that self-government is an object not only desirable but attainable within certain limits. But it is difficult to understand why he should consider it a mistake to seek the goal of responsible Government at present, when self-government, if it means anything in the sphere of politics, must necessarily lead to responsible government, however distant it may be. How far he has made out a claim to his freedom from hostility to reasonable practical reforms, can be better judged when we come to a consideration of his "constructive suggestions" in the last chapter of his brochure.

The pronouncement of August 1917 means, according to this writer, no more than that the existing Cabinet, if it remains in power, is bound to introduce an India Bill drawn in accordance with the 'general terms' of the answer given on August 20, 1917. The occasion was no doubt an unimpressive one—of an answer to a seemingly casual question by a member of the House. But the exposition of its origin, adopted from Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, shows clearly that it was not an offhand answer of an impulsive Secretary of State given on the spur of the moment, but a statement of deliberate policy made by the responsible

Government of His Majesty. It is true that the statement is not a legislative act. But it was a solemn declaration by His Majesty's Government; and though, of course, free debate on the measure when submitted to Parliament cannot in any way be fettered, it can hardly be imagined that the British Government can now go back upon the promise held out in respect of the affairs of an unrepresented dependency, or seriously reduce the concessions indicated by a generous interpretation of the 'pronouncement'.

Chapter II of Dr. Smith's book styled the Historical Indian Ideal of Government, begins with Vedic folk-motes and ends with 'the golden link of the crown' and details a number of facts which are mainly true. But it is difficult to see why or in what context the Joint Report fails to mention the name of the King-Emperor, or how it is made out that the loyal homage of India to his person has not been duly appreciated. Dr. Vincent Smith is too good a historian to deny that despotic power in Government was not always the ideal of India or that kings were bound by laws. But he qualifies his admissions by saying that a masterful king was always able to free himself from the trammels of the law, and that ordinary men and women of India 'crave for Government by a person to whom they can render loyal homage which easily passes into worship'. Human nature in India is not very different from what it is elsewhere and if such craving existed in India in his time, it is not, we are afraid, quite so apparent in the India of the present day. Traditional ideas are of course important in their place, but where there have been so many and so important changes in traditional modes of life, it is futile to expect that in this sphere alone, 'it is neither safe nor easy to meddle with traditional ideas in India'. We know that the seed of all life, has come down to us from a long and unknown past, but we chiefly sustain life on the fruits of the past two or three years alone. Whatever the ideal of Government may have been in the old times and in small states, it is not possible to set up a personal autocracy in India at the present time. It cannot be imagined that King George can now exercise the despotic powers wielded by Akbar or Shivaji. England will not tolerate it, even if India will submit.

Conflicts of races, castes and religions in the country are relied upon to support the tacit inference that a democratic advance is not possible in India. It is something that the author has conceded that Indians justly pride themselves in the assertion that religious opinion in their land is free and that most indigenous rulers have shown statesmanlike tolerance for all creeds. A profound historian like him could not deny the fact of a certain unity persisting in India in the midst of so much diversity, but he makes a more halting concession of this truth in this polemical pamphlet than he does in his purely historical works. The long course of Mahomedan domination in India and the inroads of so many diverse elements in each other's territories, have taught the people to differentiate between social and religious concerns on the one hand and the political sphere on the other, and to keep them apart. Religious toleration under some of the Mahomedan rulers in

former times was indeed not so much a reasoned policy as a necessity; and even the most bigoted of them could not hope to alter the beliefs and habits of more than an insignificant fraction of his subjects. But even before the advent of the British Government, the different religions and castes of India had learnt to get on together, without allowing these social distinctions to intrude unduly into the sphere of Government functions. It is also well known that in Indian States, there is, if anything, more harmony than in British India between the different elements of the population. It would be strange that over such a vast area and in such a large population, there are not occasionally disturbances due to religious or caste differences. An enumeration of them in a single chapter may look formidable, but the list becomes quite insignificant when the dates and places are taken into account. India is not the only country where such occasional breaches of the peace occur. Much more serious conflicts take place between different classes in European countries in greater number, but they are not considered enough to render the people unfit for constitutional Government. It is the fashion to dub facts intended to be used to support foregone conclusions as mysteries. If the institution of caste is the greatest Indian mystery to foreigners, it is not such a mystery to the Indians themselves as to justify all sorts of alarming consequences to be attributed to it. It is true that it is a very ancient institution, that it has thousands of sub-divisions, and that it cannot be abolished at any rate for centuries more. It is therefore all the more the duty of practical statesmen to devise such methods of political and social reform as are consistent with the existence of caste for an indefinite length of time, if not for ever, rather than to fold their hands in despair, and to assert that the country is for ever destined to be in a state of pupillage under unmitigated alien domination. It is a gross exaggeration to say that there are many caste feuds, and that they are as virulent to-day as they were a thousand years ago. It is a well-known fact that the Indians have all along been noted as a peace loving people and singularly free from fanaticism; and it cannot be true to say that caste has been, even in the past, as much a cause of disruption as is sought now to be made out. But for exploitation by interested persons quite recently, the misunderstanding between Brahmans and non-brahmans would not have attained so much prominence as it has in some parts of the country. The doctrine of equality of all men before the law was not in vogue till quite recently even in more modern countries, and India with its caste was not a greater sinner than others. It would however be a poor commentary on British administration, if it has not learnt the lesson along with other nations after more than a century of the reign of law.

The criticisms contained in the chapter headed "Vain Visions" need not detain us long. The Joint Report does not profess to give a final scheme and provides for a transitory period when the changes proposed will be more or less in an experimental stage. The visions may be more or less the exercise of the imagination of the illustrious authors, but their elimination does not re-

cessarily discredit the proposals themselves. Dr. Vincent Smith from his study of history may not consider them worth anything; but he can hardly deny that there has been a very remarkable change in the country within the past decade or two; and it is inevitable that the position of the Government cannot remain the same in relation to the people of the country that it has been before the present war.

It may be true that some petitions and other demonstrations have been got up, giving expression to fears "that reforms carried out on the lines of the report may result in placing the majority of the people under the heel of a tyrannous Brahmin Oligarchy." This kind of abuse of the Brahmans as a class has become the favorite device of all persons who are opposed equally to the Brahmans and to constitutional reforms. It ought to be a sufficient answer to say that the large majority of electors in any scheme likely to be devised will be others than Brahmans, and with the campaign of vilification carried on in so many directions, and as shown by the results of many recent elections, the fear that they will be the majority is quite groundless; and if any injustice is likely, it will probably be directed against the Brahman. The Brahman has never formed a close oligarchy in India and has not been tyrannous even when he had the chance.

A KNIGHT OF CHIVALRY. (By Mrs. F. S. HALLOWES.)

William Alexander Coote, a philanthropist of European fame, has passed away leaving the world much the poorer. He was a man who recalls the memories of the old days of romance when paladins rode out from King Arthur's court to succour distressed damsels. The annals of chivalry record no such exploits as his; either in ancient, medieval or modern history; for the sum total of his rescues from worse than death, have been many thousands of girls not from one country alone, but from all parts of Europe. This modern Knight devoted himself to a Divine humanity which meant most difficult and repulsive tasks; Nothing less than the attack of a system of organised crime, which has been the despair of governments and the horror and reproach of civilization.

For over thirty years William Alexander Coote was Secretary and then Director of the National Vigilance Association of Great Britain. This is an Association of men and women for the repression of criminal vice and public immorality. From it came the international work for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic. In 1898 the horrors of this traffic in women, as Mr. Coote encountered it in London, and by correspondence with workers on the Continent of Europe, almost overwhelmed him. The utter hopelessness of existing methods to accomplish the overthrow of the traffickers, for they found it quite easy to avoid legal responsibility by the fact that the crime was not wholly committed in one country, but in most cases was commenced in one country, continued in another and consummated in a third or fourth, drove him in bitterness of soul to cry to God for light and leading.

He was answered by a Vision, which told him to visit every capital of Europe and form an International Convention, which could deal effectively with the traffickers. Without money and introductions, knowing no foreign languages he seemed the last person to undertake such a technical Mission—yet so solemnly and vividly impressed was he, that he asked God to give him a sign, by sending £200 for travelling expenses. He told one friend and his secretary. These three alone knew. His friend refused the money; but a fortnight later a letter reached him from a comparative stranger with the exact sum—£200! The sign was given. He went forward upon his remarkable journey, and visited Germany, France, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, Argentine Republic and United States, America. In all these countries National Committees for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic were formed.

The first International Congress was held in London in 1899, one hundred and twenty accredited delegates from these nations attended. An International Bureau was established in London, which kept all the Governments in touch. The second Congress was held in Frankfort in 1902; the third in Paris 1906. Space fails to give the names of the distinguished men and women of Europe, who have supported this work. The organisation of International effort, resulted in a very real progress of the suppression of this terrible traffic. But eternal vigilance is the price of immunity.

Since the great War this work has been sadly disorganised, and Mr. Coote and his Bureau have realized the magnitude of reconstruction. He wrote an epoch-making pamphlet in 1916 called "Commercialized vice. What is it? Can it be abolished?" Out of his wide experience—the widest that any man has ever had, he urged the nations to legislate against Commercialized Vice.

"So long as Governments allow this trade in their cities, so long will the lives of tens of thousands be blighted by a terrible contagion; so long as prostitution is assumed to be for men a physical necessity, and for women a financial need—so long will religious and educational work have no chance in the competition of vice with virtue.

Civilization must come to see that prostitution is a social crime of the worst type, most dangerous to the physical and moral welfare of any nation. Let there be equal penalties enacted upon the man who buys for immoral purpose and upon the woman who sells for that purpose, and prostitution as a trade would cease; and the rising generation be taught the crime of handing on a disease to posterity which is nothing less than race suicide".

Thus has this Knight of Chivalry urged upon Governments their duty to deal with Commercialized Vice; thus he threw upon those who legislate their responsibility of stating for what purpose this trade is to be allowed in the future. He took the deepest interest in India and wrote several times recently encouraging the movement here.

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL.

II.

[The English Public School has been commended by many administrators and others, themselves products of it, as an ideal educational institution, and some Indians have as usual, echoed the sentiment. We give below a criticism of the system from Sir Oliver Lodge's recent book "Christopher."]

Well, such assertions are made and must be faced. I wish to write tentatively, but I ask those who know the real facts, whatever they are, to consider why such accusations have ever been made. So far as I am able to judge of the matter, basing my view on information available to all, and seeking earnestly to avoid exaggeration, I feel bound to say something on the subject of school as it is not invariably but too often is, and with this apology as preface I begin.

To a sensitive boy the period of school is a strange admixture of good and evil, of pleasure and pain. With some the pain predominates over the pleasure, and it is difficult to deny the assertion that with a few the evil predominates over the good. A friend of boarding-school education can hardly contest the statement that it is, or has been characterised by some features which may be called defects. Such are:—

Discouragement of intellectual keenness.

Suppression of natural emotional expression.

Reduction of exuberant individuality to a common type.

Submission to a dull tradition of stupid uniformity, where every action has to be guarded by deference to public opinion, on pain of punishment.

That these are characteristics of public schools, where boys of different ages are left to the tender mercies of each other, to the discipline of prefects, and subject to unwritten laws which are Draconian in their severity, can hardly be denied. That they are merits, few will have the hardihood to assert. And if they are not merits they are faults, out of which it is to be hoped that the wave of reality which has submerged as in the great war will have sufficient residual power to emancipate us before it has subsided.

Joy in rational study, eagerness to receive information—though perhaps not from books—desire to understand something of the nature of our surroundings and of the main interests of life, these are possessions surely natural to most children, though apparently not to all. But this kind of joy and eagerness is often killed in the growing youth: and for this catastrophe I feel bound to accuse, first the unwisdom, indeed the ignorance, of teachers, and next the more or less suffocating room of the school. Desire for knowledge may in exceptional cases return but with little abatement during a college period or in later life, but during the priceless years of boyhood it must be hidden, it must be indulged secretly if at all; an atmosphere of apathy and magisterial cynicism too often succeeds in killing it.

Few teachers seem to cultivate desire for knowledge when it needs cultivation, though of course they are exceptions*; schools may have many merits—doubtless they have—but as a rule intellectual encouragement is not one of them. If that is in any degree true it would be difficult to frame a more serious indictment.

The lumbering crudeness of the average professional school boy hides, and in normal life effectively conceals, a multitude of virtues. His professionally guarded attitude, undemonstrative, reserved, incapable of intelligent expression, and yet with sensitive tentacles shrinking at a touch from his fellows, is like the shell of a crustacean, a protective covering which inevitably hinders free development and which, in more favourable surroundings, ought not to be necessary. This protective crust can hardly be the result of any reasonable discipline, and in so far as it tends to cramp the wholesome exercise of faculties it is noxious. Nor is its cramping influence over the higher faculties limited to the school period. It lasts into Sandhurst and other establishments where men of good physique learn self-government under strict but intermittent discipline, and where warped high spirits are responsible for occasional outbursts of rowdiness or even ill-treatment. The tendency too often is to regard a new-comer as an easy prey. At Winchester, and doubtless in other schools an elder boy is, I believe, told of to help and befriend a new comer for a time, and in many ways authority tries to stem the influence of meaningless tradition; but at some schools a new boy seldom experiences the smallest chivalry or kindly help in his initial difficulties and can easily be rendered miserable, while in the worst cases, the thoughtless power of the stronger develops into an obscene brutality.

Not with such aid would one expect a Commonwealth to be saved. And yet here are our defenders and underneath the crust they are fine fellows all the time. Hence all these troubles are unnecessary. They thwart and spoil the incubation period. They dissipate energy. Many are the evils which come to fruition in times of peace, when the output of energy is greater than the demand for its exertion. Only a call is needed—a summons to danger and responsibility for true manhood to assert itself. Expression then bursts its hard crust, human nature is once more free as in childhood, a hero at the front is once more at liberty, emancipated from the painful protective casing in which his personality was masked and even his family affection partially obscured.

*Much has been said and much needs to be said, about the lack of scientific training in the past, and about methods adopted for teaching Science, in the present. I feel strongly that no person can be considered educated who grows up without some unspecialised information and clear outlook on the universe of matter, both animate and inanimate, of which he is a part. I also consider that it is easy to be too specific and technical in imparting this information to the average unscientific boy with no special aptitude for the subject; and that a course of unprofessional or humanistic science might with advantage be devised. But it is inappropriate to enter upon topics like this in the present book. I wrote an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for August, 1918, on the subject—

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR RELIEF.

(BY LIEUT. ALLAN A. HUNTER.)

We are through with the war. But not with its afflictions. Those afflictions to-day constitute a challenge, for all those who consider themselves servants of the world or servants of India, to draw and work together on an international basis to fight and we trust to conquer "hunger, destitution and disease."

A new organization with such a definite humanitarian object in view is now being developed. It is called the League of Red Cross Societies. Its head is an American, Mr. Henry P. Davison, formerly head of the Red Cross War Council. This is his platform:—

"In former times the Red Cross was an organization for war, to mitigate the horrors of war and to relieve victims of disasters. We now propose to make it the greatest of all peace organizations through an international bond which I hope will eventually take in all of the nations of the globe.

"With no political or governmental or sectarian connections whatever, the League proposes, in this international compact, to work for the betterment of humanity by distributing the knowledge contributed to it and by striving local agencies to keen activity. Knowing, let us say, that a pestilence is about to afflict any part of the world, just as it was known that the Spanish influenza was advancing, the League will warn the threatened territories, offer the best preventive and curative methods, advise the local Red Cross organizations what to do and generally inspire the proper agencies to a correct and efficient handling of the problem."

Being an American and only freshly arrived in India, I cannot judge whether this country would be ready for a project of such dimensions and demands. But I am convinced that those of India who have the cause at heart of making this land "clean, healthy and sound", will do well to study this scheme and try to connect up with it.

The League has nothing to do with politics,—and perhaps that will detract from its popularity, for we human beings revel in politics—but it has much to do with the relief and succour of the nations. The League is in line with the best of India's idealism, an idealism that we westerners are coming to appreciate and admire.

INDIAN POLITICS.

A SUGGESTION FOR FUTURE WORKING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Indian Reform Bill which is now on the threshold of the statute-book of the British Parliament is designed, assuming that it undergoes no severe changes during its final passage through the Houses of Commons and Lords, to give Indians a fair measure of responsible Government and a moiety of Self-Government. When the provisions of the Bill take practical effect in our midst, which we hope ere

long will come to pass, not only will our present ideas of administration be perturbed but also we are likely to meet with accidents along the path of our duty, unaccustomed as we are to the modes of self-government. Bringing the Bill into effect will be opening up a new chapter in the political history of India. Thereafter, politics will no longer be the fashion of capitalists and businessmen nor will it continue to be the pleasurable leisure-passing ambition of the lawyer class as it has been up to now. In other words, the days of amateur politics will have gone for ever. Politics will assume such a characteristic that none but an earnest, industrious and persevering student who pursues it day and night will find it worth his while to indulge in it.

Going through the political history of India of the period intervening between now and the time when for the first time India came into contact with the western political ideas and institutions, we do not find the names of at least half a dozen Indians whose sole vocation in life was politics. We have to confess to a point of shame and regret that excepting that illustrious founder of the Servants of India Society and the first Indian Member of Parliament we cannot choose a third to be included in the category of persons whose be-all and end-all was politics. By this we do not mean even an iota of disparagement to many worthy sons and daughters of India who have in a remarkable degree contributed towards the political regeneration of India. Far from it. Our object is only to bring in to prominence the regrettable fact that in the course of nearly two hundred years of her western connection, India produced only one Gokhale and one Dadabhai Nowroji. Now, to meet the altered condition of administration consequent on the passing of the Bill into a law India requires many Gokhales and Nowrojis. In other words, to successfully stem the tide of future Indian politics, a class of professional politicians is required, and if steps are not taken now, we will not be in a position to justify our claims to further instalments of Self-Government when the Statutory Commission visits India. Therefore, in every province, a class of professional politicians just like the class of Doctors or Engineers or Vakils must come into existence.

At present the whole country is interspersed with a number of political organizations. There is not a village which has not got its own Society to hold a meeting to protest against the Rowlett Act and to pass resolutions and send them on to the Secretary of State. All the materials for the formation of a class of professional politicians are there. What is wanted is only a happy combination of the materials. If each of these numberless political institutions take up the question now, and each of these train up at least one candidate, we have no fear that, before the Statutory Commission referred to in the Bill (Indian Reform) visits India, a class of persons who will be an authority in political matters and on whom the country can depend will have been brought into being. Not till then the country will be in a position to deal with serious politics and to undertake the heavy responsibilities of Self-Government or Home Rule.

N. V. SANWA.

Girgaon, Bombay.

THE HYDERABAD DECCAN BRAHMA SAMAJ.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

By the Grace of God a Brahma Samaj was established here in Hyderabad Deccan, or rather re-established, about

six years ago. Since then Divine Worship has been regularly held from week to week and religious and social work steadily carried on by the Samaj. We have now a congregation of about 30 full (Anushtanic) Members and about 50 Sympathisers. The Samaj has been enabled to do some work of religious and social help and uplift—small work but, we trust, real work—among a large community composed of backward and neglected classes to whom such work has been a God-send.

There is now a general and ardent desire among our congregation to give permanence to our Samaj, by providing it with a building of its own. During the past six years our weekly services, lectures and other meetings have been held either in private houses or in buildings lent to us by the courtesy of other Associations. This state of things cannot, however, be permanent and we have felt led to make a great effort to collect funds for the erection of a Brahma Mandir in the City. It is estimated that the building, including site, will cost Rs. 20,000. Our small congregation, consisting mostly of people with very slender means, has pledged itself at a Conference recently held under the Presidentship of our esteemed brother Mr. G. B. Trivedi, B.A., Secretary of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, to raise among themselves Rs. 4,000 (four thousand) each member being pledged to contribute a month's income. We may expect another Rs. 2,000 to be contributed by the public of this city. This may seem a small contribution for the First Native State in India to make; but our cause is little understood and still less appreciated here and the amount named above is the utmost that in the present state of public feeling can be expected locally, over and above the contribution of the congregation. Thus we must look for the remaining Rs. 14,000 to friends of the Brahma Faith in other parts of the country, particularly in the great centres of Brahma Congregations. We trust that the cause will appeal to the heart of every true Indian Theist and we trust and pray that our Brahma brothers and the friends of Brahmoism everywhere in India may be led to liberally help this effort that a small and struggling Samaj is making. Contributions will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the undersigned.

N. G. WELINKAR.

President,

15th Oct. 1919.

Hyderabad (Deccan) Brahma Samaj.

The Proper Aim of Education The St. Xavier's College, Bombay, celebrated the fiftieth year of its foundation last week, beginning with a foregathering of past and present students under the distinguished presidentship of His Excellency the Governor. The College has had a very successful career and the list of speakers showed that among its old students are men who have distinguished themselves in various walks of life. In proposing a vote of thanks to their Excellencies, the Principal Father Blatter, said that the success of Joint education was due to the fact that the Fathers had a definite purpose in life. "And what was this definite purpose in life? It was not money, it was not honour and glory, it was not politics, it was not the desire to shine before the world. The only motive that determined their actions was their love for human souls. To instruct human souls, to make them fit for this life and happy for the life to come—this was their only purpose in life." To have "a definite purpose in life" is the secret of happiness, though it may not be of success, as success is reckoned by most men. To teach students to have a definite purpose in life, and to have this purpose associated

not with dominance over but with service to one's fellows, is, to use the words of Father Blatter, "to make them fit, for this life and happy for the life to come."

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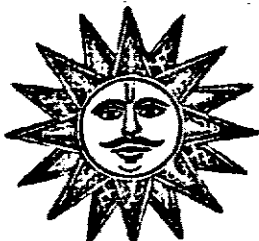
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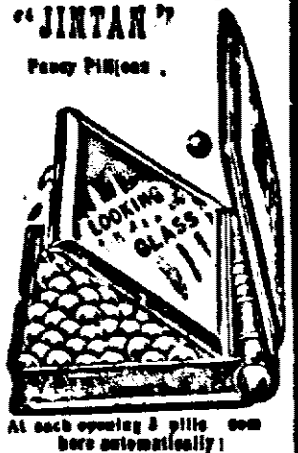
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1919. No. 14.

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

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NOTES.

The Khilafat Question and the Peace Celebrations. At some inconvenience, we have managed to find space for a lengthy letter from a valued correspondent criticising the views expressed in an editorial note last week on the proposed abstention of Hindus and Mahomedans from the Peace celebrations next week. Our correspondent has misunderstood our reference to Mr. Gandhi's contempt for tactical advantages. It was meant in appreciation and not certainly in depreciation. Then, as regards our reference to certain Mahomedan leaders as being fully conscious of the position of the British Empire, and as unlikely, therefore, to expect to achieve the impossible, what was meant, it is clear, is that the pleadings of such men are entitled to the greatest consideration at the hands of the Imperial Government. We have supported, and certainly support, the case which they have made out in all earnestness. His Highness the Aga Khan has publicly stated that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu have pressed the views of Indian Mahomedans as strongly as any Mahomedan representative could have done at the Peace Conference. Mr. Gandhi has also stated that His Excellency the Viceroy is doing his best in the matter. It is the fact that Mr. Lloyd George's most recent reference to the topic was not calculated to conciliate Mahomedan sentiment and called for the protest which it evoked in this country. But statesmen engaged in delicate negotiations have to disarm opposition outside by emphasising partial aspects of their proceedings. Mr. Lloyd George has a Christian public in England to reconcile as well as a Moslem public in India to consider. A statesman in that position has a difficult role, and his words should not be interpreted too literally. In this connection, a significant telegram appeared in the press last week. It is that the King of the Hedjaz, that is, the late Sheriff of Mecca, is participating in a Conference of Moslem Powers to deprecate the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Now, the son and heir of the King of the Hedjaz was quite recently in England, and it is inconceivable that His Majesty's action in this direction has not been the subject of discussion with the British Government. With all respect to Syed Hassan Imam and Mr. Jinnah, and without ignoring the fact that they have recently returned from England, we venture

to deprecate their view that the British Government itself is seeking to bring about the breach rather than the fulfilment of the Prince Minister's pledge. However that may be, we still are of opinion that abstention from the Peace Celebrations is hardly the right way of expressing our disappointment. Our correspondent thinks that War is preferable to Peace, because he expects that the present Peace may not last. In our opinion, that is all the more reason why we should join in celebrating this pacific interlude before the world is plunged into the horrors of war again.

Indian Christians and Constitutional Reform. We are glad to print today an exposition of the Indian Christian view of constitutional reform by Mr. K. T. Paul, the eminent Indian Christian who has made a name for his community and his country by his splendid work as the first Indian General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in India. We have heard English and American colleagues of Mr. Paul's speak in terms of unstinted admiration of his organizing capacity, of his untiring industry, and of his unerring judgment. The present paper is in the form of a letter addressed to the Indian Christian Association at Nagpur. It deals with the bearing of the several issues involved on the Indian Christian Community, but the broad principles which underlie Mr. Paul's conclusions are quite as applicable to the outlook and position of all Indians towards national problems.

The Bullit-Lloyd George Controversy. The *Manchester Guardian* furnishes what it calls the key to an understanding of the Bullit disclosures and their repudiation by and on behalf of Mr. Lloyd George. It writes: "In a venerable civilization, well saturated with statecraft, an unofficial negotiator goes forth like a spy in war. Officially, and for purposes of publication, nothing that he does or says, or that is said to him or done through him, is done or said at all. That is just why he is used. The aim, in employing him, is to initiate overtures which, if they fail, can then be as if they never had been, like a solicitor's letter that has 'without prejudice' written on top of it. So the unofficial negotiator may be invaluable in a company of elderly nations all of whom know exactly what they mean by their little diplomatic fictions and verbal devices. But into this accomplished company there may suddenly plunge a boisterous new-born Soviet Government which impolitely puts the text of some unofficial, non-committal document upon its wireless and sends it out like heaven's cherubim in 'Macbeth'."

Horned on the sightless couriers of the air

To blow the horrid deed in every eye.

or "some young American" of Henry James' undertakes an official Mission without suspecting that he must prepare to be denied thrice daily before cock-crow. Then there is indignation and recrimination and shouts of "liar". But really we do not think there is any liar in the business—we mean.

any complete liar; merely a want of precise adjustment between various theories of the demands of veracity in public life." Even so, Lord Curzon who is Foreign Secretary today because, no doubt, he well knows the various theories of the demands of veracity in European diplomacy, professes to be shocked by the prevalence of similar theories in the much older civilization of Asia, playing the Bullit to Li Hung Chang's Lloyd George. In his "Problems of the Far East," he writes: "the dominant note of Asian individuality is, in character, a general indifference to truth and respect for successful wile." Just what Mr. Bullit says of European diplomacy.

The Bengal Eton: About a year or two ago, some wealthy persons in Bengal started an institution in Calcutta on the lines of the English Public School. This institution known as the Hastings High School or the Eton of Bengal, does not seem to be doing well. The school is languishing owing to financial stringency. According to the Associated Press, the British Indian Association has made certain suggestions with a view to induce more boarders to join the school. It has suggested that so far as possible special facilities should be provided for orthodox Hindu and Mahomedan boys so that they may be given the same kind of food as they are accustomed to at home. It is expected that this will attract a larger number of boarders. At present the messing arrangements practically debar a considerable number of Hindu boys whose parents and guardians want them to adhere to their orthodox style of living. Evidently, the organisers of the Bengal Eton thought that sound education cannot be imparted or imbibed on Bengalee food, and that English table manners are a *sine qua non* of the sound mind in a sound body! This is of a piece with the whole scheme which is inspired purely by a spirit of imitation and not by a discriminating appreciation of the English system. We printed in the last two issues Sir Oliver Lodge's criticism of the English public school. Why can we not think out our Indian problems from their root premises, instead of starting with ready-made solutions from foreign countries? No doubt the latter course is much the easier, but the broad and easy way often leads to perdition. Why should educationists ape politicians in their mania for the line of least resistance?

Who is a Sikh. Mr. Jodh Singh M. A., writes as follows to the *Khalsa Advocate*, Amritsar, on the proposal to define Sikhs as Keshadharis: "I have read with interest the definition of a Sikh proposed by the Chief Khalsa Dewan. Leaving the part that concerns itself with mere profession, it amounts to this—the man who wears Keshas will be deemed a Sikh. At least this will be the practical application of that definition. Not long ago, at the time of the Anand Marriage Act, the Dewan divided the Sikhs into Sahjdharis and Keshadharis. The word Sahjdharis being used in opposition to Keshadharis, it meant those who did not wear Keshas. On this understanding many Sahjdharis took to Gurmuryada. It will be for the Dewan to imagine in what enviable position they will find themselves by this new definition of Dewan. Can the Dewan give any proof from Sikh history that all the Sikhs before the time of Guru Gobind Singh wore Keshas? I believe that the Guru had Keshas but I want a proof whether the community at large took to this."

Social Reform in British India. The *Deccan Ryot* concludes a well-informed and closely-reasoned article on Hindu social organisation and the need of reforms in it, with the following true observations: "The net result therefore is that though we are now living in the twentieth century and in a changeful world, the Anglo-Indian courts have

thrown us back on an obsolete jurisprudence of pre-historic times. Custom is the only agency whereby that time-worn system can be modified. But custom as defined by our Courts is impossible of formation now. Then the only alternative for reform, reconstruction or reorganisation of society is the Legislature. But here too the prospects are dark. The very fact that the Government is responsible for the governance of the country, makes reform impossible. The main look out of the rulers in India is to leave the people to themselves. That is no doubt a wise policy in a limited sense. But where the question is to facilitate social progress by removing social anomalies, this idea of government is the greatest obstacle in the path of progress. This is where we stand to-day." This is recognised in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and we believe that it is intended that the new Legislatures should have a free hand in social legislation. We want a party which, recognising that politics is not a mere game played for the personal aggrandisement or notoriety of individuals, will take full advantage of the new conditions to ameliorate the social and economic features of Indian life.

Legislation Against Commercialized Vice: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the National Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of India, meeting in Lucknow, November 6-12, 1919. "That the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Member for the United Provinces upon the Imperial Legislative Council, be requested to prepare a bill, and introduce it to the Imperial Council, praying for additional legislation, which shall be deterrent to Commercialised Vice, wherever practical among all races in India; this being the source of a very wide-spread and devastating disease, which saps the public health and wastes child life. And that the following provisions be incorporated in this bill. First, that the trade of Prostitution be made illegal, equally to the man who buys a woman, either for money or kind, for immoral purpose, and to the woman who sells herself for that purpose. Second, that the man or woman who trades in women or keeps a disorderly house or has vested interests in such brothels shall be penalised." We are glad to learn that Dr. Sapru has consented to draft a Bill and to submit it to the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Referendum. His Highness the Aga Khan broke new ground in his memorandum on Indian constitutional reform submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee when he insisted on the referendum as especially suited to Indian conditions. As much is not known about this form of legislation outside some of the States forming the United States, we give here a description of it. The referendum vests the final power to pass or reject a legislative measure on the people. According to the usual form of it, the people of a State, by procuring the signature of a certain percentage of the qualified voters, may compel the submission to a vote of the people of any recently passed Bill. In a few States it is possible for the people themselves to take the initiative and, by securing the signatures of a certain number of voters, petition and compel the legislature to pass a proposed Bill, and then submit it to a vote of the people. In the formulative, initiative, referendum, the people themselves have a Bill formulated which when signed by the requisite member of voters, is filed with the Secretary of State, who has the Bill published and gives notice of an election. If the requisite number of voters endorse the Bill, it becomes the law of the State without the aid of the Legislature. By this means the State of Oregon secured in 1904 a law compelling direct primary nominations and a local option liquor law.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 7, 1919.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE MODERATES.

It was announced in the first bulletin issued by the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress to be held in Christmas week at Amritsar, that invitations would be issued to political workers irrespective of party to attend and participate in the proceedings of the forthcoming Congress session. We availed ourselves of the opportunity offered by the announcement to express our earnest wish and hope that the invitation would be cordially responded to in view of the recent events in the Punjab, which have saddened the country from one end to the other. Since then Swami Shraddhananda, the chairman of the Reception Committee, has issued a feeling appeal to all Indians to cooperate to make the Amritsar session of the Congress an unprecedented success. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President-elect, has followed up Swami Shraddhananda's appeal by a personal letter from himself emphasising the Swamiji's exhortation. "It is needless to say," he writes, "that your temporary absence from the Congress has been as great a source of pain and distress to those who have continued to work in the Congress without you as it must have been to you. The Punjab has now built up a common platform of its own dire distress and invites us to meet on it. I venture to think that much can be achieved by mutual and earnest endeavour in the way of coming to a common understanding as regard most of our difference. But should we continue to differ, the Congress will give all a patient and respectful hearing." This appeal is addressed to members of the Liberal or Moderate party. The Pandit enforces his assurance of a patient and respectful hearing by reference to the reception given last year to the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's speech by the Congress. In view of this reference, it is interesting to read the announcement in the last issue of the *Servant of India* that Mr. Sastri sailed for India on the 28th November and that "it is unnecessary to add, in view of the fact he joined the Congress last year, that he and the Servants of India Society generally are strongly in favour of attendance" at the Amritsar Congress. Mr. Sastry is at least as deeply committed to the Reform scheme as any other member of the Liberal or Moderate party and his resolve and that of his Society to attend the next session of that body, will be welcomed by our Punjab friends.

The publication since our last writing on the subject of the main features of the Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Committee, has introduced

a new factor in the situation. The Liberals have welcomed it as a striking and acceptable improvement in several respects on the original draft, while the Radicals who control the Congress have varied in their views in regard to it from acquiescence under protest to repudiation without reserve. Our own view coincides with that of the Liberals, and if joining the Congress means repudiation of the Bill, it is obvious that those who welcome the Bill can have no place in it. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani is reported to have said that his answer to the question whether or not he should attend the Congress, would depend on the attitude of the Congress to the Reform Bill. The attitude of the Congress to the Reform Bill cannot be known till that body meets and considers the Bill. Mr. Bonar Law told the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government was anxious to have the Reform Bill placed on the statute-book before Christmas and before the big meeting (evidently, the Congress) to be held in India. If this happens, as it may, the attitude of the Congress will not matter one way or the other so far as the contents of the present measure are concerned. There will be no question, Mr. Tilak has said, of accepting or rejecting the law. The difference then between the Liberals and Radicals will, we suppose, be that while the former will concentrate on working the new constitutional arrangements and making them a success with a view to justify the grant of further responsibilities ten years hence, the Radicals will continue the agitation in India and in England to have the Act expanded so as to admit of the grant of fuller autonomy at once in the Government of the provinces and of the country. The Radical course, we fancy, will be to win as many seats as possible at the first elections, to refuse to take office as Ministers, and to reduce Liberal or Moderate Ministers who may take office to impotence by opposition and obstructive strategy. If the Amritsar session of the National Congress is to be called upon to endorse such a course in view or in anticipation of the passing of Reform Bill, the Liberals can not be a party to it. It is all well to say that they will have a patient and courteous hearing, but unless a minority can, consistently with its convictions, abide by the decision of the majority, it puts itself in a false position by professing to take counsel with the majority. So far as we can judge, the more moderate and, if we may say so, responsible members of the Radical party do not intend to boycott the new constitutional arrangements. But it is not certain how far they control the conduct of their followers, and it is perfectly intelligible that those who hold that the reforms constitute a decisive advance on the existing state of things, should be anxious

not to place themselves in a position which may greatly embarrass their future course under the reforms. An authoritative declaration on the part of the recognised Radical leaders as to what their course of action will be when the Bill becomes law, will, perhaps, facilitate an early decision on the part of such Liberals as have not already made up their minds that they shall, under no circumstances, join the National Congress.

For ourselves, politics as politics has few attractions. As we have repeatedly said, we should much like a party with a constructive programme of social reform, including education, public health, and temperance and social purity. Neither the Liberals nor the Radicals are ready with such a programme. Neither of the parties has as yet even seriously thought of it. Judging from their past records, there are more members in the Liberal party who are likely to favour such a programme than among the Radicals. We say this notwithstanding the attitude of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry towards Women's suffrage, which can only be characterised as reactionary. The Liberal party has no leader who, like Mr. Tilak, rose to prominence by attacking social reform and reformers. On the other hand, it numbers among its leaders, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who has been as stout a champion of the removal of social wrong and injustice as Mr. Tilak has been of the orthodoxy which would perpetuate them. Speaking with special reference to Bombay, we may safely say that the Liberal party stands for the education and elevation of women, the abolition of caste, the co-operation between all sects and communities, elimination of race prejudice, and the promotion of cordial relations between East and West by means of increased intellectual, commercial and social intercourse. Although it has no definite social programme at present, it is the natural agency through which social reformers can best hope to frame and give effect to such a programme. No one who knows anything of the history of social reform in this presidency during the last quarter of a century, can be surprised at the social reform party not placing implicit trust in a political organization inspired by Mr. Tilak. Holding as we do that the country has grievously suffered during the last thirty or forty years owing to the imperialistic pre-occupations of our rulers absorbing them to the almost total exclusion of a constructive policy of raising the Indian people in the scale of nations, we are most anxious that the greater freedom and facilities of legislation promised by the reforms should be immediately and fully utilised to make up for lost time. If, as is quite possible, it is found that these reforms do not furnish us all the power and initiative needed to carry forward such a programme, that will be the most impressive ground for demanding

that more power and initiative should be opened for Indian Ministers. The establishment of the German Empire was an encouragement and incentive to the propagation of the imperialistic venom in other European countries. The destruction of that Empire, we doubt not, will eventually lead to the final and hopeless discrediting of imperialistic ideas. That is why we hail the end of the war in the victory of the Allies as a good cause for rejoicing in spite of the fact that some of the Allies are themselves deeply infected by the poison which has wrought the ruin of Kaiserdom.

DR. VINCENT SMITH ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. II.

(By MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M. A. M. L., C. I. E.)

Various suggestions from other sources are noticed briefly with running comments. It is urged that a statutory obligation that any particular office should be held by an Indian is equivalent to a discrimination against Europeans, and is opposed to the Charter Act of 1833. This is no doubt a plausible view, and the proposed limitation has, on that account, been avoided in the Bill now before Parliament. But it is curious that such an argument should be employed in this connection, when it is notorious that a provision to have a minimum of Indian members in the Executive Councils has been suggested mainly as a safeguard against their continued exclusion from such responsible positions on the score (real though not avowed) of their birth.

Dr. Vincent Smith enters into a more minute criticism of the principles underlying the proposals, but as apparently there is no chance of the fundamental principles being altered, as the Bill is mainly based on them, there is not much use in examining these views. His caution that there should be no sudden and abrupt breach with the past, must be admitted to be quite sound; but notwithstanding the manner in which the new departures are emphasised in the Report (owing to its having from the beginning assumed mainly a political aspect) it may be questioned whether there is any such abrupt breach, except in two or three instances in which new and untried methods are experimentally introduced. The distinction drawn by him between self-government and responsible government is ingenious, but it may be questioned whether the kind of self-government which is absolutely independent of the internal form of the Government of India, and could be granted if every member of that Government was an Englishman and if the power of the Government were autocratic in the strictest sense, would be worth anything as a gift in the eyes of anybody in India. He is quite right in assuming that the self-government which would be valued in this country implies the Government of India by Indians, so far as may be, and we may add government primarily in the interest of India, and also as the author elsewhere observes, for the good of both countries.

There is a good deal of truth in the remarks about the difficulty of carrying on Government in this coun-

try on the Parliamentary system of two parties. But the scheme indicated in the Joint Report and since embodied in the Bill is a tentative one, and at any rate at present, does not require all that Parliamentary Government involves. It may, in course of time, lead to something more suited to the condition of India as a self-governing unit included in the British Commonwealth. Surely there must be some other ways of making a Government responsible to the people than the mode in vogue in England. That some such system should be evolved in the near future is inevitable, as it is too much to expect that the demands can now be silenced for long with the sort of responsible government which in the author's opinion India really needs and deserves, 'as connoting a government sensitive to public opinion expressed through elective assemblies and other channels.' The assertion that the Government of India is likely to feel its responsibility to Indian public opinion too much rather than too little at the present time, has not been exemplified in certain recent instances in which that opinion was strongly expressed.

The appointment of periodical Commissions is disapproved, as they will tend to weaken and harass the executive and encourage factious agitation and intrigue. But it is difficult to see how the parliamentary supervision which admittedly is not well carried out, at present, can be better secured, especially when more autonomy is granted to the Indian Governments. The author says that increase of autonomy is held to be necessary by all parties, but he forgets that Indian opinion is decidedly opposed to reducing the parliamentary control over the Indian and Provincial Governments, except in proportion to the increase of the responsibility of the latter to popular Indian control. He is opposed to the creation of a Council of State, which he considers to be a cumbrous Indian device. In this he seems to be in agreement with the prevailing Indian opinion. His somewhat too sure conclusion that Home Rule in the sense of Government by a pure majority, which in India would mean a pure Hindu rule, cannot be, is deduced from what he fancies the conduct of such a majority would be in two selected instances. On the question of economy *versus* progress, he thinks that the prevailing policy will be for the former to the detriment of the latter; and on the question of cow-killing, that the Hindus would all combine to prohibit it and would provoke the fierce and violent resistance of the powerful Mussalman minority. Yet he might have seen from the way these matters are managed in the more advanced of the Indian States, that they will not be afraid of spending money where efficiency and progress are considered necessary, and that difficulties about such questions as cow-killing rarely occur there. The same persons who are very loud in their cry for economy when they are out of office and void of responsibility often become advocates of 'efficiency' and expenditure when in office themselves, and will invariably require to be kept in check by hostile critics.

The author, not satisfied with the 'futile' task of mere analytical or destructive criticism has supplemented it with his own 'constructive suggestions of a practicable character.' Of the suggestions by other people

that he has noticed, he has warmly expounded the proposal of a Royal Viceroy at the head of the Government, and suggests in an indefinite way that the positions of the Viceroy and the Governor-General, which involve distinct duties should receive formal and public recognition and be regarded as forming an essential element in the revised construction. It is difficult to see that either of these proposals will be attended with any important consequences either good or bad in the efficiency of Government or constitutional progress. A Royal Viceroy may perhaps be able to exert more personal influence than an official one on the rulers of Indian States and important persons in British India who are aspiring to titles and honours, but that doubtful advantage is also likely to disappear in course of time.

Every one will agree that the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation but it is very much like bathos to suggest that this legitimate sentiment will be satisfied by designing a separate flag or exhibiting an empty throne. The time is long past when Indians could be satisfied by being given such ornamental adjuncts without a more substantial share of real power.

One of the least satisfactory features of the Joint Report is the manner in which the interests of the people of Indian States is ignored almost completely. In one of the subsequent despatches, the Government of India has laid down that the subjects of Indian States are practically foreigners in British India. Though the author does not devote much attention to the subject, he makes some sound and sensible remarks. Although no scheme of constitutional reform for British India can be directly applied to the States, nevertheless, as he says, it concerns them in its operation; and in his opinion, the time has come when the affairs of the Protected States should no longer be considered as those of foreign territory. Though the idea of a great South Asiatic Federation, as put forward by His Highness the Aga Khan, may be visionary, (and we do not see much gain to India by its realisation), a closer federation of British Indian Provinces and the Indian States is very desirable and indeed inevitable.

The questions concerning the Civil Service of India are given a far more prominent share of attention than matters touching the interests of the Indian people more directly, showing that the author has not cast off the (perhaps natural) bias contracted during his active service in this country. We have already noticed the curious way in which he invokes the aid of the Charter of 1833, as if the Parliament were incapable of altering a statutory provision made with the intention of removing undue discrimination against born Indians, when long experience has proved that a mere negative provision like that is quite insufficient to achieve the object. The question of the separation of judicial from executive functions is discussed in an inconclusive manner, mainly in relation to its effect on this much belauded body of public servants, and the author can see no solution of what he takes to be an impasse except in a thorough investigation by yet another authoritative Committee in England. He suggests, following Mr.

Archer, that a special College, something like the Old Haileybury, should be established for training the Civil servants, but as he anticipates, the idea is not one that would find any enthusiastic support in the present day.

Certain suggestions for the creation of new offices, such as an additional Secretary for the affairs of Indian States, may perhaps improve despatch of business. The only suggestions that are likely to serve the purpose of giving a larger share of power and responsibility to the people of the country and are therefore likely to interest Indian public opinion are that the Legislative Council should be enlarged and should consist mainly of elected members, that the official majority should be abandoned, and that official members should not vote at all. The author goes further and advocates that the differences between the Executive Council and the Assembly should be referred to the Secretary of State or to a Board of Arbitration in England, and that a Council of State or Senate is not wanted. These are important concessions and go much farther than one would expect from the general trend of the author's opinion; but they are apparently meant to be modified by his reservation that the Government of India must retain extensive autocratic powers.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN VIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

(By Mr. K. T. PAUL, B. A.)

The Indian Christian Association of Madras cabled me and Lord Selborne asking that I give evidence on their behalf before the Parliamentary Committee. The All-India Christian Association cabled me and Mr. Montagu about the same time for the same purpose. Instructions were sent by mail and arrived after my evidence was called for, but brief indications had been included in the cables and were very helpful. In the main, however, I was thrown on my own resources; which meant considerable responsibility, seeing that there are so many schools of thought in our community differing with the Provinces, and sometimes in the same Province.

A further complication had happened. Mr. Chowryappa had already given evidence in the name of our community and had traversed the whole ground of the Bill and the Joint Scheme. Dr. Bhabha, the President of the Indian Christian Association of Britain, had offered to give evidence, and, as he had not been in India for forty years and for other reasons, it was impossible to join up with him. It was important to avoid, as far as possible, the false impression that there are any rival camps among us, and yet one could not do otherwise than state his convictions. I therefore selected just a few live issues bearing specially on our community and stating my views on them to the Parliamentary Committee and re-inforcing the views by further elucidation privately to three of the members of that Committee.

In the first place, I dealt with the general question of Communal Representation. My line was determined fortunately by the preamble to the Memo-

randum presented by our All-India Council on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As Christians and as children of India, drawn from all classes and communities, from all languages and provinces, we stand for Unity; our working aim is one United India, our privilege and opportunity are to stand between clashing communities, to act as mutual interpreters, to serve them all alike, alike, and we trust to take our share in leading them all to the common goal of us all—the advancement of our common country. While this is true, it is undeniable, and, in fact, well-known to the whole world even as clearly as noontide Sun, that India is sharply divided into clashing communities and that those of them who are in possession of power and influence are not above exploiting their vantage to the profit of their own group. The point before the Parliamentary Committee, however, was whether this communal rivalry amounted to such a serious evil as to make it unsafe to confer a substantial measure of Responsible Government on India. There were those on the Committee and in influence outside who were watching for any and every evidence to reinforce their opposition to the Declaration of August 20th and to whittle down the Bill. This was very clear to my mind. My own personal experience in the District Board and the Municipality of Salem, and generally in South India, thoroughly warranted my stating that communal rivalry, while real and acute during a stage of social evolution, does not amount to a democratic disability. I cited facts from my own experience with names and narratives such as are known to the public and can be verified by enquiry.

I certainly appealed for Communal Representation as an interim measure, for there is no practical alternative. But in the method of arranging for it, our high principle of eventual unity rules out compartmental voting, and therefore I asked without hesitation for the method of reserving seats for our community in all 'plural constituencies.'

The actual numbers indicated in the cables I urged for, and followed up the request in conference and correspondence.

Female suffrage was another live issue among our circles in London. A deputation had waited on the Secretary of State. Several witnesses had stated their views strongly on the subject. The Committee was clearly undecided either way, and I understood was seeking further light. The attitude of our community could be only one way. Our ladies stand first in literacy, are doing a real National service in Education, and are rapidly coming to hold a social position equal to men. I pointed out that in India the family is the unit, and that when the legal head of the family is a lady she could not be denied the vote; and that wherever income or education is the qualification it will be unjust to refuse the franchise to woman, for then it will be merely on the score of sex.

The question of the transfer of Education was another subject dealt with. The Madras Association evidently wants to reserve Elementary Education. Madras Missionaries want to reserve Higher Edu-

cation. Neither the All-India Council nor the National Missionary Council had spoken. On this all-important subject I conferred with Dr. Miller, Mr. Oldham, and certain other Missionary leaders. The conviction with which I went from India were strongly confirmed by all that I heard for and against the subject. My only course was to present my personal views, making it explicitly clear that I was not committing our community either way.

Education is the most centrally formative factor in National progress. Our progress, as I conceive it, should be normal, that is, relating to the past and reaching on to the future, freely assimilating the best that the West can contribute. This line cannot be taken in an effective way until the guidance of Education is under Indians who are subjected to the public opinion of their countrymen. Moreover, the problem of Education in British India is what pertains to some 300 million people. The very numbers imply that it cannot begin to be really accomplished until the responsibility is directly related to the conscience of the people themselves. All that I had studied and observed among the Negroes of the United States of America emphasised this point to my mind. I was, and am, most clear in the conviction that the responsibility for Education should be saddled on us from the very day that any responsibility is transferred and any constructive policy drafted by our leaders involving finances and man-power. Educational responsibility will, I am sure, prove to be the most educative of our responsibilities.

The fear of the Madras Association is communal injustice. I admit its existence and possibility of continuance. But it arises not from those who guide the general policy of Education but from and because of some of its administrators. Whoever comes to hold the helm, the administrative personnel will be unaffected. I do not then see that the reserving of Education will improve the present situation or its transfer make it worse. The real remedy lies in publicity. Whenever an injustice is done, whether in detail or in a general measure, the facts should be immediately and fully brought before the authorities and what is much more effective, before the public. It will be quickly realised in the future that the crushing enemy of darkness is light.

The fear of the Madras Missionaries evidently is that Higher Education may suffer in standard. I am not convinced that Higher Education has had the best standard always under the present arrangement. I admit the existence of the particular factor which may call for a lowering of standards. The remedy however, is not in reserving the subject under the present regime. It is 'departmentalism' that persists in rendering Education wooden every time something happens to put life into it. No matter who holds the helm, the same thing is bound to happen.

I have therefore advocated that Education be transferred in its entirety so far as administration goes, but that the shaping of its content and colour be left under the effective control of a Board on which there should be both experts competent to speak with

actual experience, and representatives of the general public opinion in the country. I don't mind indicating that such a procedure, if adopted, would really be the beginning of the transfer of an Imperial Portfolio, that on Education.

That terminates my evidence and its 'apologia'. I may be permitted to make one or two suggestions of possible use to our community. The time has fully come for us to dismiss from our minds the idea of a special protection from the Government. Whatever justification there was for such a feeling in the past, it is no longer tenable in practical politics. The whole country is entering on a career of democracy. Our place is right in the midst of it. Our destinies are within, and not in any sense, without.

We have always gone on the assumption that true democracy is of the Spirit of our Lord. In the judgement of posterity it will stand as a perplexing question why then the only Indian community which was open to the direct dominance of the Spirit of Christ made practically no contribution to the arrival in India of a form of democratic polity. The hour of retrieval is, however, not yet past. The form of democratic polity is not democracy. In fact, it is doubtful if Christian democracy has yet found full development in any part of the world. Our responsibility then is to take a direct share in the growth of true democracy and on as extensive a scale as we possibly can.

Our greatest contribution will probably be at the District and the Municipal end rather than at the Provincial. It is simply imperative that our men all over the country enter the arena and face its temptations and trials. For a long while Leadership may in most cases be in other hands. But no leadership is worthy which has not been disciplined in loyalty. In fact, our rightful place is ever service and not rule. Let us take our places just what they might be and it is as certain as a physical law that welcome and recognition awaits us in the ratio of the quality of our service.

High purpose is, however, not enough for recognition or for successful work. Hard study is the first necessity. Political work was hitherto on the plane, so to say, of the platform. It could not have been much more when there was not real responsibility to shoulder. The situation is now changed. The sphere is changed from the ideal to the actual. The date of every local situation should be studied with care, actual results of schemes in other areas in India and elsewhere scrutinised, resources of finance and man-power cast up in a business-like fashion, before conclusions can be drawn such as will be acceptable to the public to whom we are responsible.

High principle is not enough, but without it there is nothing enough for Christian democracy. In fact, the distinctive challenge to us is just there. All can study, and plan, and carry constituencies and councils. All cannot stand uncompromisingly to high principle. All cannot keep it to the end. All do not, even in the so called Christian countries. Here in our land we shall, to that extent, have contributed

really toward the construction of true democracy as we shall have stood without compromise in the stress of failure and in the strain of success.

Further particulars and details this is not the occasion to suggest. The point I wish to urge is that henceforth no educated Indian Christian should avoid the responsibility of citizenship except for really adequate reasons satisfactory to conscience. There cannot have been a more interesting or more important ten years in the history of India than what is before us in the second decade of this Century. Our opportunity therein is a glorious responsibility. I am confident that there is that quality of faith and patriotism in our men and women which will yet bring us out to a worthy response.

THE KHALIFAT QUESTION AND THE PEACE CELEBRATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your editorial note on the above subject, in your issue of November 30th, you suggest that the anti-Peace Celebrationists led by Mr. Gandhi have allowed themselves "to be led away by mere sentiments" and arrive at the conclusion that "our countrymen" should participate in the forthcoming Peace Celebrations, while strongly pressing their views regarding the Khalifat on the Government. If only the premises, on which you have based your conclusion, correctly represent the factors of the Khalifat problem, I think everyone would agree that there can be no fairer and reasonable course than that which you indicate. But unfortunately, the situation is not as easy as you would have it. And in attempting to set before you the situation as I understand it and as those do, who consider it a duty to abstain from the Peace Celebrations, in connection with the Khalifat question, I shall not burke facing the facts. For, I believe, that our politics owe their present degenerate features, into the details of which I need not here enter, to our having enshrined "tactics" so-called at the cost of Truth. The less our "leaders" allow themselves to be awayed by "tactical considerations" the sooner India will be able to have a clean, healthy and national political life, wherein personalities do not loom large, as they now do and the public weal is the only motive of action. I need hardly, therefore, say that I do not think there is much room for regret that Mr. Gandhi has said that the Panjab grievances are not legitimate grounds for abstention from the Peace Celebrations, as it is after all a domestic and not an Imperial question, and if Indians are not able to get justice done to the suffering Panjab, it will be their own fault and within their own hands to set matters right.

But such is not the case with the Khalifat question. It is an Imperial question, directly arising out of the peace operations and from the standpoint, of Indian Moslems, they would much rather prefer "the continuance of the war" to a dishonourable settlement of the Turkish question. If it were a sacred duty to have shed human blood like water to assert the sanctity of the "scrap of paper" containing the treaty of Germany with Belgium, why should it not be equally incumbent on Great Britain to redeem her pledged word to the Indian Mussalmans, through the Premier and the Viceroy of India. If you would therefore force the issue to its logical conclusion I would say, that unless you prove that the Khalifat question as propounded by the Moslems in India is fundamentally wrong and contrary to dictaten

of Right and Justice, war is preferable to an ignoble peace. And let them say what they would, certainly another world war is bound to be the culmination of the policy of mutual exploitation which is still swaying the counsels of the "mighty" Empires that have come out successful in the war. Is there any peace in any of the allied countries and would "the man in the street" in any of the allied nations acknowledge that Peace has really come? Leaving these generalisations, I put it to you, Sir, as to what is the duty of British statesmen from the Premier downwards towards the Indian Moslems, to whom they held out hopes of the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Is it not their duty to honestly strive to fulfil their pledge to the *Indian Moslems*, their compatriots in theory at least, and who took no little part in the conquest of the German territory?

Great Britain is one of the big four at the Peace Conference and when Italy was prepared to go to the extent of refusing to sign the Peace Treaty with Germany because her demands as regards Fiume have not been met, does not Great Britain owe as much to the Indian Moslems? Even granting that owing to need of expediency in international politics, Great Britain does not want to go to such an extent herself, as India is an original member of the League of Nations, will the Government of India and the Secretary of State whom you describe as being "genuinely" anxious to bring about a satisfactory solution of the Turkish question, hold out a promise to the citizens of India with whom they are in agreement over the Khalifat question, that in the event of a non-satisfactory solution of the Turkish question being forced at the Peace conference, they will instruct the Indian delegates at the Peace Conference not to sign the Peace Treaty with Turkey, as a protest? I wait for an answer and I suppose, it will be in vain.

In more or less unambiguous language, I put it that the necessity for Indians to abstain from the Peace Celebrations as a protest against the proposed dismemberment of Turkey arises from the fact that the time has passed when it would have been sufficient only to press our views on the Government. I also put it that the British statesmen are themselves planning to break their solemn pledge about the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. I fervently wish I am mistaken and shall feel highly relieved to be flatly contradicted. And such a contradiction has become absolutely necessary. I am out and out an optimist and therefore pessimism is not the cause of my painting the dark side of the situation confronting the Indian Moslems in regard to the Khalifat question. I tremble to think of what would be the unprecedented nature of the Khalifat agitation when the ever-dreaded dismemberment of Turkey does take place. Statesmanship seems to be bankrupt not only in Great Britain but in Europe also and as I remember the intensely passionate religious side of the average Mussalman, I cannot without misgivings comprehend fully the far-reaching effects a mishandling of the Turkish question is bound to have.

The cat was let out of the bag when a speaker at the Khalifat Conference at Delhi said that men who recently returned from England said the English people told them that the Indian Moslem should show by action, his intense regard for the Khalifat than by mere speeches. Action is the crucial test the British people apply and action has become necessary.

And even taking the narrowest view of the matter, no one can say, as some interested Anglo-Indian critics are saying, that the anti-Peace Celebration movement is either anti-Governmental or disloyal. Friendship and sincerity are

tested in times of adversity and at a time when the circumstances were adverse in the war-fronts and the clarion call for India's help in the war came, as Englishmen with whom I have talked over the matter would put it, "India played the game" and she neither talked of charter or guarantees of Britain's good faith. And certainly if at the time of plenty and prosperity which Peace may be bringing England, India feels unable to participate and rejoice it cannot certainly be called either ungrateful or stultifying herself. Nor can it be said that India is not grateful that the war, rather the killing part of it, is at an end, for all-India joined splendidly in the celebration of the Armistice day.

Before concluding I would draw attention to the following statement in your editorial note which I have ventured to dispute in so many words. It runs: "Men like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Hon'ble Ameer Ali, Mr. Jinnah, Syed Hassan Imam, Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy and others are fully conscious of the position of the British Empire and do not expect it to achieve the impossible." By this, you would have us infer that these leaders of Islamic thought recognise and acknowledge the sincere efforts of Great Britain to redeem her pledged word to the Moslems. Of the leaders you mention, only Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Syed Hassan Imam and Sir Fazul Currimbhoy are in India, who can be conveniently got into touch with and asked for an expression of their opinion and the confirmation or contradiction of your statement. Of the above three gentlemen, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Syed Hassan Imam have expressed their views on the question publicly. This is what Mr. Jinnah said to a press representative so late as the 16th November: "Speaking of the Khalifat question, Mr. Jinnah said he was afraid the fate of Turkey was almost sealed. In spite of the solemn pledge given by the Premier in January 1918 about the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, the British policy was persistently directed towards the breach of that pledge rather than its fulfilment. Indian Mussalmans had shed their blood no less readily than any other community and this policy towards the Mussalman races was bound to end in very great disaster unless changed. He did not believe," said Mr. Jinnah, "in the anxiety of England and her allies to apply the principle of self-determination and independence to the Arabs." Mr. Jinnah is a typical politician in that he is not averse to being a "tactician" which, in modern political phraseology is termed as "diplomacy" and if a diplomatic politician as Mr. Jinnah says as much and follows it with a support of the anti-Peace Celebration movement, I think it is a sign to the authorities, how much they are estranging Indian opinion. Mr. Syed Hassan Imam in a statement to a press representative as late as 27th November said:—

"The value of these reforms (Indian Reforms) may be underestimated at the present moment by reason of the existing unsympathetic rule as evidenced by the Punjab incident and the unjust policy of exploitation of non-Christian people as evidenced by the attitude of Great Britain towards the Islamic countries. There is no doubt that our faith in the honesty of the British Cabinet has been greatly shaken by the first Minister of the Crown having belied by his present conduct and attitude all his previous professions of goodwill towards Turkey and the question of the Khalifat. The feeling of mistrust that is growing in India is due to many circumstances and not the least among the contributory causes is the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towards the Ottoman Empire, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe may afford to the fanatics of Europe the satisfaction that the Moslem is no more on the European soil. But I have no

doubt if such an event takes place the Moslem population living within the British Empire will retain in bitter memory this British act of injustice."

Both these gentlemen on whom you relied and whose latest utterances I have taken the liberty of quoting are, I believe, the latest arrivals of Moslem leaders from England and their statements are therefore more firsthand than those of others. Even now it is not too late for the authorities to win back the confidence of the Indian people who are by nature a trusting people by renewing their solemn pledges on the subject and by consenting to postpone the Peace Celebrations to a later date till the Turkish question is satisfactorily solved. What I object to and what I warn the Government against is following a dubious policy of saying one thing and doing another under cover of diplomacy. It is secret diplomacy that has been greatly responsible for the world devastating war and it is that which still prevents any prospects of a real peace. If the Imperial Government do want to assist at the dismemberment of Turkey there is nothing like facing the fact and telling the Indian Moslems so, directly, without any manoeuvre. It will then be more possible than ever to allay the surely inevitable discontent consequent upon such a policy. But an honest and open policy is ever better especially in dealing with Indians and all I urge for is a candid and honest policy on the part of the Government. If the Government really wish to redeem their plighted word let them show it by some tangible action of any kind. As you remark elsewhere "an ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept" and this certainly applies to Government as it does to the people.

I have allowed many an ill-informed and venomous criticisms on this subject go unchallenged. My motive in replying to your certainly well-intentioned criticism at this length is that I hold you in sincere respect as one of the few independent and sturdy journalists India has the honour to possess, with whom conscience and principles are the chief guiding factor. So I am anxious that you should reconsider your attitude of the question in light of the facts adduced and once again formulate your views on the subject.

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Baroda..

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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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 sale 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 CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Subscribed Capital... ..Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital „ 49,59,900

Reserved liability of

Shareholders „ 25,00,000

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25-2-17

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12-17.

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Reserve Fund „ 15,00,000

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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

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"I will be as bareh 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 Reforms and the Radicals. In the leading article last week, while stating that no definite announcement has been made of what the Radicals would do with the Reforms, we suggested the possibility of their working to bring about a deadlock. In an address at Madras on Sunday last, Mr. Satyamurti who recently returned from England and who represents the extreme left wing of the Radicals, used language which seems to confirm that suggestion. He said: "Our chairman has rightly said that there is no question of boycotting the reforms. That time may come when we shall boycott the offices of Government and the Councils. Time has not come. When it does come, it will not find Nationalists wanting. In the meantime we may assure our Moderate friends we are not going to make a present of the seats in the Council to them; we mean contesting every seat and we mean—so please God—to keep out every Moderate from these Legislative Councils (Hear, Hear.)" We take the extract from the report in the *Hindu*. On the other hand, it is only fair to note that the Bombay Presidency Association and the Bombay Branch of the National Home Rule League, both Radical organisations, the one by capture, the other by original constitution, have welcomed the Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Committee. The probability seems to be that the Amritsar Congress will take a more moderate view of the Reforms than that represented by Mr. Satyamurti's observations. The significance of the unanimous vote of the House of Commons on the third reading of the Bill, will not be lost upon such shrewd men as the Radical leaders. Moreover, the Punjab is evidently disgusted with Radical-Moderate bickerings, and is determined to do what she can to end them. And at Amritsar, and in sight of Jallianwalla Bagh, even Mr. Satyamurti will not have the heart to resist the exhortation of the martyr province of India.

Indian Liberals and the National Congress. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association has issued the following statement:—

It having been brought to the notice of the Council of the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay, that some members of this Association have received letters from Swami Shradhdhanandaji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and from the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, President-elect of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, appealing to the said members to attend the session, the Council feel it right to publish the following statement of what, in their view, is the right attitude for the Liberals to adopt on the subject of the said appeal:—As regards the Punjab troubles (on which stress is laid in both the letters of the appeal) the Council have from the outset represented to the authorities, both here and in England, in unmistakable terms, their view of the policy pursued by Government in reference to martial law administration and other main aspects of the Punjab situation from time to time. The Moderates' Conference, which is to meet this month, will give further expression to the views of the Moderates on those questions and such expression will be more effective than if the Moderates joined the Congress under the present circumstances of the political situation, with special reference to the Reform Bill. This Council, therefore, while strongly sympathising with the people of the Punjab, are of opinion that the Moderates, as a party, should not attend the Amritsar Congress.

The Moderates' Conference will be held at Calcutta probably on the 22nd instant, and Sir Sivaswami Iyer is expected to preside. We referred last week to the *Servant of India's* announcement that the Hon. Mr. Sastri and the other members of the Servants of India Society are in favour of attending the Amritsar Congress. Some Bengalee Moderates are reported to be of the same opinion. The fact that the Reform Bill has passed the third reading in the House of Commons by a unanimous vote, practically ensuring its passage through the Lords, is likely to have a disintegrating effect on the Moderate party, if it has no programme beyond the supporting of the Reform Scheme.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's Manifesto: Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, President of the All-India Moderate Conference, 1918, in the course of a manifesto regarding the forthcoming Conference of the Moderate Party, says:—The Reform Bill and the Punjab disturbances will form the chief topics of consideration. It is of the first importance that all professing moderate views should muster strong at the conference and participate in its deliberations. It is necessary to give a lead to the country in order to determine the programme of action to be pursued on the passing of the Reform Bill with a view to ensure its successful working, nor is it of less importance that the representatives of moderate opinion should meet in a conference and devise means to prevent a repetition of the deplorable events in the Punjab which have filled the public mind with horror and indignation.

A Poona Concordat: The Non-Brahmins and Moderates of Poona recently found a common platform in opposition to the attempt of the friends and admirers of Mr. Tilak to present him with an address in the name of the citizens of Poona, and, incidentally, a programme was outlined for adoption by the Progressive Party under which name the two groups seem likely to coalesce. The *Deccan Ryot* of Poona writes:

The Moderates and the Non-Brahmins publicly protested against this disgraceful attempt of the Tilakites to impose on the public. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpe presided at the meeting which passed three important resolutions. The first recounted the anti-national activities of Mr. Tilak, his opposition to social reform, his antagonism to the elevation of the Non-Brahmins and the untouchables, his attempt to wreck the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, his capture of the Congress organ in England which is sure to lead to its speedy extinction and several others—and protested against the attempt of his followers to give him an address in the name of all the citizens of this city. The second resolution comprised the basic principles of the Progressive Party which are, (1) the diffusion of education among the depressed classes and their elevation; (2) giving of the necessary educational facilities to the backward classes and their social uplift; (3) social and socio-religious legislation on liberal lines; (4) economic and moral elevation of all classes and (5) removal of all the political disabilities of Indians by all constitutional methods. The third resolution authorised a Committee of five persons to intimate to the organizers of the Tilak-Address meeting that unless they presented the address only on behalf of Mr. Tilak's admirers, they would be compelled to protest against it by resorting to all constitutional methods which the Committee may deem proper.

The Poona concordat indicates the basis on which a constructive programme can be built up to justify the continuance after the Reform Bill is passed, of a progressive party which favours a temperate pace in politics in order to consolidate political gains by adequate and suitable re-adjustments in the social and religious life and thought of the people. The Poona programme is necessarily an emergency one which should be amplified both in depth and width before it can become the full programme of Indian Progressives.

The Khilafat Question: The replies given by Mr. Montagu to questions in Parliament last week show that there is no foundation for the allegation that His Majesty's Government are not intent on supporting the Prime Minister's declaration regarding the future of Turkish Turkey. We quote Reuter's telegrams: "In the House of Commons, Colonel Aubrey Herbert asked whether the Greek landing at Smyrna had occasioned any anti-British feeling in India. Mr. Montagu replied that the Greek occupation of Smyrna had certainly led to grave apprehensions lest the Entente contemplated a division or partition of Turkish Turkey, but this policy, Indians both Mussulman and Hindu, and the Government of India, and those who represented them in Paris, always opposed. Replying to another question by Colonel Aubrey Herbert, Mr. Montagu emphasised that he had continually urged upon the Peace Conference the importance to India of a peace with Turkey consistent with the policy contained in Mr. Lloyd George's speech of January 5th, 1918. The Government of India and the representatives of India at the Peace Conference had always opposed the partition of Turkish Turkey. In the House of Commons at question-time, Mr. Cecil Harmsworth stated that the Government had pressed that the

Peace Negotiations with Turkey should be taken up with the least possible delay and the Allies were now discussing the question of the resumption of negotiations in Paris." We are glad to note in this connection that the probability of a breach with Germany, owing to the delay in the ratification of the Peace Treaty, which seemed imminent some days ago, appears to have been warded off, thanks chiefly to the moderating influence of the British Government. In the House of Commons, replying to Sir Donald Maclean on the 8th instant, Mr. Bonar Law stated that there was little reason to doubt that the communications which were now being held between the Allies and the German Government with a view to the immediate ratification of the peace would result satisfactorily.

The Church of England and Parliament: The device of a standing Joint Committee of Parliament, introduced in the Indian Reform Bill, as a means of shortening the passage of a Bill through Parliament, has also been introduced in the so-called Enabling Bill to facilitate reforms in the Church of England. In the original Bill as it passed the House of Lords, it was provided that a Bill emanating from a new statutory body to be called the National Assembly of the Church, on being passed by the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Privy Council, shall become law by a resolution of Parliament, instead of having to pass the usual stages of legislation. Lord Haldane took the lead in opposing this provision as annulling the jurisdiction of Parliament. The House of Commons has substituted a Joint Parliamentary Committee as a compromise. The following excerpt from the leading article in the *Challenge* received last week explains the position: "This Bill deals with Parliamentary procedure only. It provides that when a measure has passed the Church Assembly, constituted in the way set forth in the Address of the Convocations to the Crown, it shall be examined by a Committee of experts on behalf of the State; if the Report of this Committee is favourable, the measure can be carried into law if each House of Parliament carries a resolution directing that it shall do so. In effect the Bill substitutes one resolution in each House for the five stages mentioned above, and provides a reviewing Committee so as to secure that Parliament does not act in the dark."

Sir Ratan Tata: A public meeting was held on Tuesday to record a resolution in appreciation of the public services of the late Sir Ratan Tata. His Excellency the Governor presided and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar moved the principal resolution which ran as follows: That this meeting desires to place on record its deep sense of the loss the country has sustained by the untimely death of Sir Ratan Tata, who was greatly esteemed for his catholic charities, and for unostentatious aid to the relief of suffering humanity and for other deeds of philanthropy, having for their object the physical and social welfare of his countrymen, (b) That the chairman be authorised to communicate the resolution to the bereaved widow Lady Tata, and to Sir Dorab Tata.

The Viceroy's Madras Speeches. The *Indian Mirror* thinks that Lord Chelmsford's speeches in Madras read very much like the valedictory utterances of a parting pro-consul. Our impression of them is quite the contrary: they rather show that His Excellency is at last feeling his feet on solid ground. In any case, a parting pro-consul does not create a separate portfolio for the reform scheme and take it into his own hands as the Viceroy is reported to have done.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 14, 1919.

THE ANGLO-ARABIAN ENTENTE.

We referred last week, in a paragraph on the Khalifat question and the proposal to take no part in the Peace Celebrations, to the telegram published in the previous week to the effect that His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz is sending delegates to a Conference of Moslem powers to deprecate the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. It is as well here to give the words of this message which has passed without comment in the Indian press. It was dated the 20th November from Constantinople, and was published in the dailies on the 4th instant. It ran as follows: "It is reported that deputations from the King of the Hedjaz and Azerbaidjan have arrived at Sivas, whither an Afghan deputation is stated to be coming to attend a Congress which will appeal to the Supreme Council in Paris to respect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. An appeal will also be addressed to Indian Moslems. There is a report, which is not confirmed but is thought to be not improbable, that Mostapha Kemal is endeavouring to exploit pan-Islamism." Sivas is the capital of the province of that name in Asiatic Turkey. The Hedjaz is the part of Arabia between Mecca and the southern end of the Dead Sea. Azerbaidjan is the northernmost province of Persia, and had been under Russian occupation till recently. We are not aware that the King of the Hedjaz has also been granted sovereignty over Azerbaidjan. Probably what is meant is that delegates from Azerbaidjan have also arrived. Azerbaidjan has a large Christian population, but the bulk of the Moslem population is of Mongol Turkoman descent, and speaks a form of Turkish. On the withdrawal of Russia, Persia has not been able to enforce law and order in the province which has nominally relapsed to her. The adhesion of Azerbaidjan does not, therefore, mean the participation in the Sivas Congress of Persia, the Shah of which was quite recently an honoured guest in England and who recently entered into a treaty continuing and confirming the traditional friendship between the British and the Persian Empires. The statement that the King of the Hedjaz has sent delegates to the Congress at Sivas to appeal to the Peace Conference to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is, on the face of it, inexplicable. The constitution of the Hedjaz into an independent Kingdom was itself a violation of that integrity, and it is improbable that His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz prefers once again to subside into his old role of Shereef of Mecca. What is meant by the message probably is that the Powers should preserve the integrity of Turkish Turkey, to use Mr. Montagu's precise phrase. This is exactly what the British Government and the people of India also wish to be done, and in joining a Congress to promote this object the King of the Hedjaz is in no wise departing from his policy of Arabian independence. Not much importance need be attached to the unconfirmed report about Mostapha Kemal's attempt to

exploit pan-Islamism. Some people have pan-Islamism on their brain and nothing can dispel their obsession. For our part, we do not see why it should be regarded a greater danger to seek to unite all the Moslem nations than to seek to unite all the Christian or European nations.

An interesting account of the revolt of Arabia and the principal personalities involved therein, is published in *Asia*, the Journal of the American-Asiatic Association, published in New York. Mr. Lowell Thomas, an Associate Editor of our contemporary, was a member of the staff of Emir Feisal, Commander-in-Chief of the Arabian army, and in that capacity, he saw the inside of the brilliant campaign by which the Turks were successfully ousted from the Arabian peninsula. As regards the genesis of the Arab revolt, Mr. Lowell Thomas says that the Arabs thought they saw in the young Turk movement the dawn of a new era of freedom and liberty. In fact, they played an important part in the revolution which resulted in the overthrow of Abdul Hamid. But they soon discovered that the Young Turk leaders were more tyrannical oppressors than the old Sultan himself. Shereef Hussein and other patriotic Arabs despaired of seeing a happier day for their country, when suddenly the world war pulled Turkey into the maelstrom with Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy pitted against her. "It was the hour of opportunity for Arabia. The Arabian nationalist leaders immediately took advantage of it. With all the pent-up fury and hatred of five hundred years of slavery and dishonour, they leaped at the throats of their villainous masters. From all parts of the desert came the swarthy, leau, picturesque sons of Ishmael to avenge and free themselves at last." Shereef Hussain and his four sons had worked out a plan for the revolution. On the 13th July, 1918, the Shereef gave the signal to all the tribes of holy Arabia, who had been previously warned to be ready to rise at a moment's notice. Simultaneous attacks were launched against the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Shereef himself led the attack on Mecca. The revolutionaries failed in Medina. In Mecca they succeeded. Mr. Lowell Thomas says that the Ottoman troops could have held out for many months longer, but for their incredible fatuity in bombarding the mosque of the holy Kaaba, the shrine built over the famous black stone and sanctified by the veneration of generations of pious Mahomedans. One shell, we are told, actually struck the rock, burning a hole in the holy carpet and killing nine persons who were kneeling in prayer. This infuriated the Arabs who swarmed over the walls of the great fort, and were soon in undisputed possession of Mecca. But this effort exhausted them. All their ammunition had been expended. A long pause ensued. Shereef Hussein appealed to the Allies. And with the hour came the man.

Thomas Lawrence, a young Oxford graduate, had heard the call of the East, and was excavating Hittite ruins in the valley of the Euphrates, when the war

broke out. Before he finished his University career, he had proceeded to Syria and, adopting native costume, had tramped barefoot over hundreds of miles of desert country, living with the various Bedouin tribes through whose villages he passed. He returned to England merely to finish his archaeological studies, but this done, he went back to his ancient ruins, to toil over undeciphered inscriptions that unlocked the secrets of by-gone civilizations. When the war broke out he was called to Cairo as an expert in the topography and languages of the Near East, and was given a commission as second Lieutenant in the map department. He was twenty-six years old at the time. He had already spent seven years wandering through Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia, and acquired a more intimate knowledge of the peoples of those parts than any other European. When the Arabs appealed to the Allies for help, the British were the first to respond. They not only sent supplies to them, but gave, writes Mr. Lowell Thomas, more important military encouragement: they sent a number of their young military officers to cooperate with the Arabs and offer them advice. Prominent among those sent was Thomas Lawrence. His services in organising the Sheresian army and in leading it to victory, were so highly appreciated and he won the confidence of the King of the Hedjaz to such an extent, that he was permitted to sign the King's name to state papers. Out of gratitude for his services to their country, the Arab leaders made him an emir and prince of Mecca, an honour unparalleled in Arabian history. King Hussain himself presented his British commander with the curved gold sword, worn only by the descendants of the Prophet. Here is Mr. Thomas Lowell's pen-portrait of this great Anglo-Arabian: "The five-foot three Englishman standing before me in his brown camel's hair gown, over which hang his kuffieh or head-dress of heavy white brocaded silk covered with gold embroidery, underneath a snowwhite robe tied with a gold embroidered belt in which he carried the curved sword of a prince of Mecca, all set off regally by the agal, the head-band of heavy cords wrapped with silver and gold threads that held the kuffieh in place—was the real ruler of Arabia." Lawrence always wore the Bedouin dress in Arabia even to the bare-feet, and never put himself forward, always preferring to act through Arabian hands and minds. If Lawrence had been of the type of the "strong men" so adored of Anglo-India, the freedom-loving Arabs would never have taken him to their hearts as they have done.

Divorce Among Sikhs. The *Khalsa Advocate* learns from a correspondent that the Sikh brotherhood of Kahuta District, Rawalpindi, has introduced the system of Talaq Nama (Divorce) among themselves, "Would any responsible body of that place throw more light on the matter?" comments our contemporary. "It is a serious step and we want a corroboration of the allegation before commenting on the propriety or otherwise of the step taken by the Kahuta society."

THE REFORM BILL IN PARLIAMENT.

After a three days' discussion, the Reform Bill passed the third reading by agreement in the House of Commons on the 5th instant. Several amendments were moved but none was adopted. One of these related to the inclusion of Burma in the scheme. It was moved by Mr. Spoor, the Labour member who sat on the Joint Committee, but withdrawn on Mr. Montagu's assurance that Burma would get without delay one of two things. It will either become a Governor's province under the Indian Reform Bill or if it was desired to give Burma a different constitution from the rest of India, then new legislation would be introduced at the next session. Mr. Montagu himself thought that Burma would prefer a special Act of Parliament. The *Times* in a leading article strongly disagrees with this view and hopes that the question will be carefully considered in the House of Lords. It points out that Burma is an integral part of India and that the declaration of August 1917, constituted as much a pledge to Burma as to every other province of India. The Burmese are as much entitled and qualified to share responsible government as other peoples under British control in the Indian Empire. It declares that at present Burma's communications with the outside world are worse than any region in tropical Asia. Rangoon and Mandalay ought to have been linked up with Calcutta by rail long ago. If the present purpose is carried out Burma will be sandwiched between India and the federated Malay States. These are cogent arguments. An equally strong reason for including Burma in the scheme of the Bill, is that unless this is done, the continuance of Burma under the Government of India with Burmese representatives sitting in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, will be an anomaly. Sooner or later it must mean a clean cut, and neither the people of India nor those of Burma wish to have it brought about. The future of Burma lies with India, and to separate Burma from India, apart from its administrative inconvenience, is shortsighted policy. Whatever may be the immediate outcome, the Burmese, like the Ceylonese, will ere long look to the Indian mainland for guidance and inspiration in national movements.

The other amendments fall under two heads: the reactionary and the progressive: those intended to make the Bill less liberal, and those intended to make it more generous. The former came exclusively from the small number of Unionists, the latter from Labour and Liberal members. The restrictive amendments covered familiar ground and their only, or chief, interest was that it drew some noteworthy observations from Mr. Montagu and the Labour and Liberal benches. The most important of them moved by Colonel Yate, to do away with Ministers, and appoint members of the Executive Council from among the elected members of Legislative Councils, was negatived without a division. Even Sir Henry Craik, a fellow-Unionist, declined to support

Colonel Yate's amendment. Sir Henry Craik's amendment providing that Governors must have served ten years in India under the Crown prior to their appointment, met the same fate, but it drew from Mr. Montagu a warm compliment to Sir George Lloyd who would be ineligible under Sir Henry Craik's amendment. It would not be right to say that there have been no good Governors who were Indian civilians, but it is true nevertheless that these have been exceptions, just as the narrow bureaucratic administrator has been the exception among Governors recruited from English public life. Indian opinion has long been unanimous in its decided preference for direct recruits from England, and it is an opinion resting on a broad basis of experience. The Labour amendments showed more breadth and vision than the Unionist ones. It is not easy to follow the telegraphic summary of the debates as obviously the provincial and the central governments are not sufficiently distinguished. For instance, Colonel Wedgwood is said to have contended that public health and sanitation would be much better looked after by Indian Ministers. The Feetbam Committee recommended these for transfer, and we do not think they have been omitted in the revised list placed before and accepted by the Joint Committee. Colonel Wedgwood's remark is intelligible only on the assumption that it refers to the Government of India. The discussion on the amendment drew from Mr. Montagu the remark that it would be possible to extend the list of transferred subjects before the Statutory Commission sat. Mr. Montagu declined to accept an amendment for preferential treatment to Bombay on the ground of its greater progress than the other provinces. An amendment leaving the Central Government to raise its own revenues, led to Mr. Montagu announcing that Lord Meston was coming to India to preside over a Committee which would decide impartially between the provinces and Central Government and arrive at a solution.

The only other amendment of importance was one moved by Mr. Spoor rednoing the probationary term to within ten years. Mr. Montagu explained in the course of his speech deprecating the amendment that the Bill laid down that a commission must be appointed, but that it did not mean that investigation was impossible earlier, and that if there was remarkable and unforeseen development in Indian conditions within ten years, a commission could always be appointed in the interval. Colonel Wedgwood speaking in support of the amendment said that the amendment was moved because the Labour Party (to which both Mr. Spoor and himself belonged) might be in power in four years, and they wished to make it clear that, if so, they would not be tied down by the terms of this provision. Mr. Bonar Law told a Glasgow meeting on the same day as the passing of the third reading, that there would be no general election for at least three years. He had no doubt good reasons for his statement, but the conciliatory and even deferential tone adopted by Mr. Montagu to the Labour party in the debates and in his conclud-

ing speech shows that he at any rate was not going to minimise the importance of the intervention of the Labour representatives on the progressive side in the course of the debate. On the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Montagu received what can be fairly described as an ovation. The Labour and Liberal leaders blessed the Bill, and prophesied an early extension of its provisions. Sir Donald Maclean joined Colonel Wedgwood in paying a hearty tribute to Mr. Montagu's high qualities, but Mr. Montagu himself perhaps appreciated most Sir Henry Craik's observation that, after doubts, he had learned to place much confidence in Mr. Montagu's statesmanship. Mr. Montagu acknowledged these congratulations in a fine speech in which he declared that that was the proudest moment of his life. There were several remarkable statements in his speech. He declared that his only conception of Imperialism had always been that there could be no pride or pleasure in a Crown Colony in domination or subordination, in flying the British flag for the benefit of British trade, but the only Imperialism worth having was a trusteeship intended to develop the country under the British flag into a partnership in the Commonwealth. He went on to observe that the constitution provided in the Bill would be of little use unless it was carried out by those responsible for the Government of India on behalf of Parliament, namely, the Secretary of State and the Government of India, in the letter and in the spirit. The powers reserved to the Government must be exercised, as though they were applicable to a country of growing national consciousness on the road to self-Government and not as if we were administering a great estate. If we remember, the Government of India in one of their despatches had said that they conceived their position to be that of one administering a great estate for the benefit of a minor who was to come of age at some indefinite future date. Speaking on one of the amendments in the early stage of the second reading, Mr. Montagu gave the following timetable for the inauguration of the reforms. He said that he had had correspondence with the Viceroy and the Government of India with regard to what would happen if, as was hoped, the Bill received the Royal assent before Christmas. They hoped that the rules under the Bill after being published in India and after receiving the opinions of all concerned, including the local Governments, would be brought home in time to hold new elections in November, 1920, and that the new Legislative Assembly would sit in India in January, 1921. That was what the Government of India and the India office were aiming at.

The Taraka Lipi. Mr. N. M. Rama Ayyar, tutor in the National College of Commerce, Madras, sends us a copy of his pamphlet entitled "the Taraka Lipi, the ideal alphabet for India." He does not think that the Roman script will be a satisfactory substitute for the several scripts at present in use. The Taraka Lipi is an attempt to find a script which can be used by the Dravidian as well as the Sanskritic languages. The Malayalam alphabet provides for the sounds peculiar to the Dravidian as well as Sanskrit languages, and Mr. Rama Ayyar has worked out his system on the basis of that alphabet. He claims for his Taraka script that the writing is easy, the script may be learnt in half an hour, it considerably reduces the number of types in printing, and that it is admirably suited to the typewriter as the letters are few and of equal size. It involves only one style quite unlike the Roman which has three distinct styles, the cursive style, the book alphabet, and the capitals. The pamphlet is priced four annas and can be obtained from the author, 23, High Road, Egmore.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

What concessions Capital is willing to make to labour in the United States is indicated in a platform of principles enunciated by the group representing Capital in the Industrial Conference called at Washington in October to find a solution for the national industrial unrest. The principles are as follows:

PRODUCTION—There should be no intentional restriction of productive effort or output by either the employer or employee to create an artificial scarcity of the product or of labour in order to increase prices or wages.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AS A PRODUCTIVE UNIT—The establishment rather than the industry as a whole or any branch of it should, as far as practicable, be considered as the unit of production and of mutual interest on the part of employer and employee. Each establishment should develop contact and full opportunity for interchange of view between management and men, through individual or collective dealing or a combination of both.

CONDITIONS OF WORK—It is the duty of management to make certain that the conditions under which work is carried on are as safe and as satisfactory to the workers as the nature of the business reasonably permits. Every effort should be made to maintain steady employment of the workers both on their account and to increase efficiency.

WAGES—The worker should receive a wage sufficient to maintain him and his family at a standard of living that should be satisfactory to a right-minded man in view of the prevailing cost of living. Women doing work equal with that of men under the same conditions should receive the same rates of pay and be accorded the same opportunities for training and advancement.

HOURS OF WORK—The standard of the work schedule should be the week, varying as the peculiar requirements of individual industries may demand. Overtime should, as far as possible, be avoided, and one day of rest in seven should be provided.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES—Each establishment should provide adequate means for the discussion of all questions and the just and prompt settlement of all disputes, but there should be no improper limitation or impairment of the exercise by management of its essential function of judgment and direction.

RIGHT TO ASSOCIATE—The association of men, whether of employers, employees or others, for collective action or dealing, confers no authority and involves no right or compulsion over those who do not desire to act or deal with them, as an association. Arbitrary use of such collective power to coerce or control others without their consent is an infringement of personal liberty and a menace to the institutions of a free people.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ASSOCIATION—Every association, whether of employers or employees, must be equally subject to public authority and legally answerable for its own conduct or that of its agents.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT—With the right to associate recognized, the fundamental principle of individual freedom demands that every person must be free to engage in any lawful occupation or enter into any lawful contract as an employer or an employee, and be secure in the continuity and rewards of his effort.

THE OPEN SHOP—The principles of individual liberty and freedom of contract upon which our institutions are fundamentally based require that there should be no interference with the "open shop." While fair argument and persuasion are permissible, coercive methods aimed at turning the "open shop" into a "closed union" or "closed non-union shop" should not be tolerated. No employer should be required to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees or chosen by and from among them.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE OR LOCK OUT—In the statement of the principle that should govern as to the right to strike or lock out, a sharp distinction should be drawn between the employment relations in the field (a) of the private industry, (b) of the public utility service and (c) of government employment, federal, state or municipal.

In private industry the strike or the lock-out is to be deplored, but the right to strike or lock out should not be denied as an ultimate resort after all possible means of adjustment have been exhausted. Both employers and employees should recognize the seriousness of such action and should be held to a high responsibility for the same. The sympathetic strike is indefensible, anti-social and immoral. The same may be said of the blacklist, the boycott and also of the sympathetic lock-out.

In public utility service the public interest and welfare must be the paramount and controlling consideration. The strike should, therefore, impose such regulations as will assure continuous operation, at the same time providing adequate means for the prompt hearing and adjustment of complaints and disputes.

A strike of government employees is an attempt to prevent the operation of government until the demands of such employees are granted, and cannot be tolerated. The right of government employees to be heard and to secure just redress should be amply safeguarded.

TRAINING—Practical plans should be inaugurated in industry and outside of it for the training and upgrading of industrial workers, their proper placement in industry, the adoption and adaptation of apprenticeship system, the extension of vocational educational and such other adjustments of our educational system to the needs of industry as

will prepare the worker for more effective and profitable service to society and to himself.

TRADES UNION'S PRINCIPLES: The Trades Union representing almost five million workers, has declared, through its representatives at the Industrial Conference, these principles:

Right of wage earners to organize.

Right of collective bargaining.

Right of wage earners to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations with employers.

Freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage.

Right of employers to organize and bargain collectively.

Minimum eight-hour day, with one day of rest in each week, and with a half holiday on Saturday encouraged, and over-time discouraged.

Payment of a living wage.

Women to receive the same pay as men for equal work.

Prohibition of labour for children under 16 years of age.

"To secure a greater share of consideration and co-operation to the workers in all matters affecting the industry in which they are engaged," a National Conference Board was proposed to provide for the systematic review of industrial relations and conditions, the Board to consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, having due regard to the various sections of industry and classes of workmen. Formation of these Boards would be encouraged by the Department of Labour.

Prohibition of all immigration for at least two years after the declaration of Peace and at such times thereafter as there may be an abnormal condition of unemployment, was favoured in the declaration. At no time would immigration be permitted to exceed the nation's ability to Americanize the incoming foreigners.

P.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read your periodical with considerable regularity for twenty years and what I have admired most is your habit of courtesy to those with whom you differ and of fairness to those who oppose you. It has been seldom that you have seemed to me to vary from this rule. Hence my surprise is the greater that you should publish the article that appears in your issue of November 23rd called "The Problem of Christianity in India."

The writer makes this extraordinary statement: "The first thing (that a Missionary does with his converts) is to make them eat beef and meat and even drink wine." The only possible reply to such a statement is that it is an unrelieved and unconvincing

falsehood. The writer either knows nothing of Indian Christians and their ways or Missionaries and their methods or he does know and twists his facts. In either case, he is incompetent to write on the subject he has chosen. But, you, Sir, do know. Hence my surprise at your giving hospitality to such gauche abuse. Many missionaries are vegetarians from personal preference and practically all are abstainers and never in any circumstances whatsoever would any one of us dream of forcing any convert to eat meat. Many Indian Christians are vegetarians.

The origin of the hoary lie which your contributor foists on your readers is this. In the early days of missionary enterprise, say eighty to hundred years ago, the converts were few and of good position. They were invariably outcasted and as a consequence they had to come into the compounds and frequently into the homes of the Missionary. At that time, the drinking of spirits was a universal custom among Europeans. There was no conscience against it. That has risen in the last fifty years or so. Hence quite naturally the convert learnt the customs of his Padre. Hence also unfortunately in the popular mind in parts of India, becoming Christian became associated with eating meat and drinking alcohol. But that was generations ago. It is inconceivable that any missionary would in these days use influence in the way alleged.

Yours etc.,

J. T. M.

[We sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Manilal Parekh, the writer of the article in which the statement occurred, and we print his reply below. Mr. Manilal does not attempt to prove the specific statement regarding beef to which objection is taken by our correspondent. In the circumstances, we can only express our regret for having published the particular statement. At the same time, we cannot but admit the force of Mr. Manilal's complaint that, on the strength of this single statement, his competence to deal with the subject should have been questioned. Mr. Manilal, we may add, is a Gujarati Brahmin, a graduate of the Bombay University and a quite recent convert to Christianity, and we have no reason to think that he has any animus against Christian Missionaries. The danger, which he fears is, however, disapproved by such expressions of the Indian Christian attitude to national problems, as that exemplified by Mr. Paul's paper on constitutional reforms, which we printed last week. The fact is that there are deeper forces at work which both Mr. Manilal and the average Missionary ignore.—Ed. I. S. R.]

II

MR. MANILAL'S REPLY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

You will kindly allow me to make the following reply to your correspondent.

He pays you a handsome compliment for "your habit of courtesy to those with whom you differ and of fairness to those who oppose you," and then in the very next sentence shows his surprise that you should have published my article. Is that his idea of fairness?

Further on he says that I am incompetent to write on the subject I have chosen. May I ask him the reason why? What main conclusions of mine does he object to? What has he to say against so many things I have said, things which are vital to the matter? Leaving all my chief propositions and

conclusions entirely aside, he has chosen only one sentence of mine to find fault with, and thereupon to hang his charge of incompetence on my part and want of wisdom on your part for publishing my article. It is more than unfair, though of a piece with that missionary intolerance which would brook no difference of opinion whatsoever. The missionary would condemn whole systems of religion but must needs be infallible himself.

Your correspondent objects to my statement that the converts are made to eat beef and meat and even drink wine as the first step in that process of de-Hinduising (this 'de' in 'de-Hinduise' was lost through the printers' neglect along with other mistakes that had crept in this second part of my article, a matter of which I wrote to you last week) for which the missionary is mainly responsible. Your correspondent says in reply that there are many missionaries as well as Indian Christians who are vegetarians. I know that and I said at the end of that very paragraph that there are some converts who withstand this process of de-Hinduising. But these are exceptions. Will the gentleman assure me that out of every hundred vegetarian Hindu converts, even five remain so to the end? It would be a very small proportion, but I am afraid even that would not be found to be true.

Further, your correspondent says that wine-drinking was common in former times when the missionaries harboured their high-caste converts of respectable families. Now no such converts come forward and so the missionaries have closed their doors against all comers. I was told recently by an Indian Christian of note from Madras that he had seen Brahmin boys made to lodge by missionaries with grooms and men of that class. I have myself seen such converts as come now-a-days, though they be Brahmins, boarding and lodging in a way not much better than in the grooms' quarters. Converts' Homes are coming into fashion now, and they are part of the mission-compound-system. The process of de-Hinduising in the manner I spoke of is in full swing today, perhaps more than ever, now that the converts of old type do not come. The missionary may abstain from drink, but his converts or their children know better how to enjoy the sweets of western civilization when they can afford them. I have seen such converts in a most flourishing business of this kind, students of theology, indulging in drink on the first day of the month when they get their pay. From the missionary's home to the mission 'compound or converts' Home is no progress: rather otherwise.

It is not at all a question of forcing the converts to eat meat and drink wine. It is not the missionary who does it, now at least. The system does it, and the missionary, as a class, is mainly responsible for it. I said in my article that some missionaries are victims of the system, and your correspondent perhaps may be one such. My main contention is that the present method of evangelisation has resulted in the creation of a Christian community which is entirely proletarianised, denationalised, anglicised and materialised: that inasmuch as the missionaries have kept their caste or *varna* pure it is unjust to the higher castes of the Hindus: that inasmuch as this community would have separate political privileges it would end in organising in India what is nothing less than an anti-Hindu counter-State which would be ruinous to the best interests of both the Indian civilization and the Kingdom of Heaven: and that all this is absolutely contrary to the command of St. Paul and of the Lord Jesus Christ as set forth in I Timothy 6-1-5. Your

correspondent has said nothing whatsoever with regard to this. I wonder if he has ever thought of the problem in the way I have put it, or if he has understood my meaning fully. In case he has, and has nothing to say in reply to this main contention, his is indeed a case of one who would swallow camels and yet strain at a gnat.

Yours truly,
MARILAL C. PAREKH.

ALL-INDIA HINDU WIDOW REMARRIAGE CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

It was in December 1914 when the Punjab Vidhya Vivaha Sabaik Sabha, Lahore came into existence by the good nature, broad-mindedness and charitable disposition of a donor, who does not wish to disclose his name in public. In the beginning, he gave a building, yielding a monthly rent of Rs. 100 or so, which was collected by the Hony. Secretary of the Sabha for spending in the cause. Over and above this, he contributed more money, whenever required unstintedly. In the first year 12 and in the second year 13 widow marriages could be arranged under the auspices of the Sabha by its workers. In the third year the donor allowed the Hony. Secretary to make his budget upto Rs. 200 P. M. During this period (1917), the Sabha succeeded in celebrating 81 marriages. In 1918, 40 widow marriages took place and the annual expenditure in the year came to Rs. 2835. During the current year viz. 1919, it may give pleasure to the well-wishers of the cause to learn that till the writing of this letter 81 marriages have been arranged so far, and it is hoped there will be some more still in the remaining 1½ months of the year. The donor has now been pleased to set apart for the expenses of the Sabha two new decent buildings, fetching a monthly rental of Rs. 705. Thus we started work with a monthly income of about Rs. 100 and now we have got Rs. 705 P. M. at our disposal through the kindness of the donor. In the end of December 1919, the Sabha will complete its fifth year. Now to encourage and to enlarge the scope of this noble cause as well as to take advantage of the experience of others in various provinces of India, it has been resolved by the Committee held on the 18th November 1919 that we should make it an All-India Movement if it could be at all possible. Hence in order to gauge the situation, it has been decided to hold an "All India Hindu Widow Remarriage Conference" during the Christmas week at Amritsar for a few hours, where prominent social reformers and other important workers interested, in the movement should be invited.

As this is a heavy responsibility, I request the sympathisers to co-operate with the Sabha on this occasion. For this, all persons and officials of the societies working for social reforms in various parts of India including the Punjab without any distinction of caste among the Hindus, are requested to address the undersigned on the following points:—

1. Probable proposals for consideration at the time of the Conference.
2. Names of gentlemen to whom special invitations should be sent in India including the Punjab.
3. Names of the gentlemen who may be requested to send papers.

Those who wish to know the cause we espouse, can address the office for literature, prepared by the Sabha in English,

Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi, which will be supplied free of any cost. Enquiries will be promptly attended to. Sympathisers are requested to co-operate and support the movement. In the end, I have a sanguine hope that my this appeal will receive an earliest response and not go in vain. The Hindu editors and other journalists devoted to the social reform are requested to please make comments on it, so that this appeal may attract public attention.

Any help from whatever direction and quarter, in any form, will be thankfully received and utilized.

Yours Faithfully,
LALPAT RAI SAHNI,
Hony. Secretary,
The Punjab Vidya Vivaha Sahaik Sabha,
Lahore.

**GURU GOBIND SINGH'S BIRTHDAY
ANNIVERSARY
AND
THE NATIONAL WEEK.**

The *Tribune* of Lahore has been requested to publish the following letter:—

DEAR BROTHERS,—Guru Gobind Singh's Birth Day Anniversary falls this year in the Xmas week. In those days prominent men from all parts of India shall gather at Amritsar, the sacred city of the Sikhs. It is proposed to entertain Hindu, Muhammadan, Christian and other leaders, gathered on the occasion, at a dinner or Tea Party in commemoration of the great Guru's work in the direction of national unity. The Dinner or Party will be given on the birthday of the Guru on behalf of the Sikhs. It will be purely a social function. Prominent Sikhs from Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Lyallpur etc., have already expressed their willingness to join and take an active part. It is desired that about 1000 non-sikhs be invited on the occasion. Expenses for the Tea Party will be about Rs. 1500 and for Dinner Rs. 5,000. Those interested will kindly communicate with the undersigned,

SARDUL SINGH CAFFESSIEUG,

Nazir House,
Gwalmandi, Lahore.

THE TITLE "HON'BLE".

The Editor *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Now that the Reforms Bill is sure to be passed, may I just draw the attention of the powers-that-be to the suggestion in the Reforms Report that the title "Hon'ble" for Council members should be dropped. It was a very wise suggestion and we have no idea whether they are going to drop it as proposed or whether are likely to retain it. If I may say so, it is not very desirable or healthy from the political standpoint, to let loose 1000 or 1500 Hon'bles before a bewildered country—not to speak of the other thousands, among the would-be and prospective aspirants to the title. Joke apart, it is also a point to be considered whether the dropping of the "Hon'ble" will not help to a considerable extent in the purity of electioneering campaign and politics and in the coming to the front of men with real desire to work for the public welfare but not for the sake of the glory or title behind such memberships in the Council. In addition to the passing of the Corrupt Practices Act, the Government might well take this step also to purify Indian politics and its parties. The appellation "Hon'ble" can be dropped to all except for Executive Council Members and Ministers, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Councils.

But, in the Councils and Assemblies, the members must adopt the practice of the House of Commons and address one another as the Hon'ble member so and so or the Hon'ble member for Bombay or Poona or Madras or Tanjore.

X.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LIMITED.

The Bank of Taiwan, Limited, have received mail advice from their Tokyo Office that the Directors have decided to double their present capital making it Yen 60,000,000 and have added Yen 500,000 to the Reserve Fund making it Yen 7,030,000 and the Paid up Capital now stands at Yen 87,500,000.

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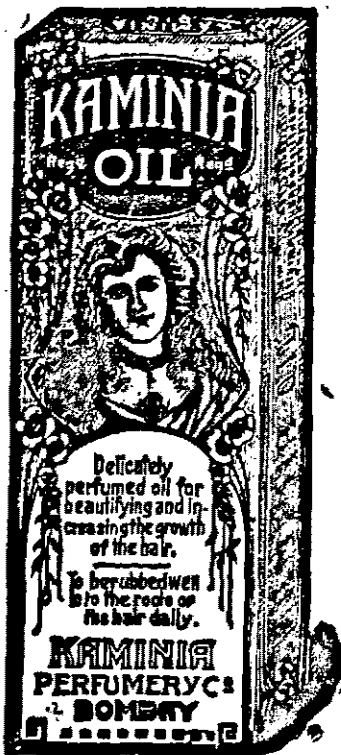
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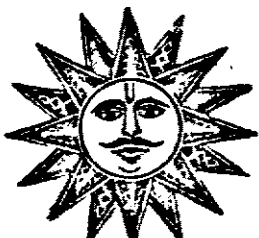
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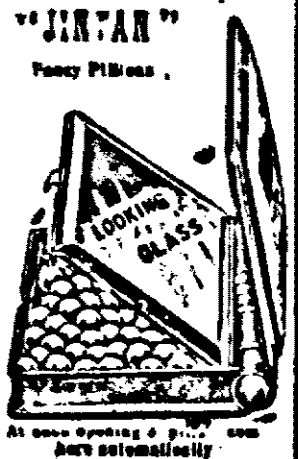
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Rev. D. Mackichan: The impending retirement from the Principalship of the Wilson College and early departure to his native land of the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, will cause a gap in the educational and civic life of Bombay. His great gifts of mind and character, his towering personality, have left their impress on higher education in this Presidency. Several times Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and always during well-nigh half-a-century a most influential member of its Senate, Dr. Mackichan's share in shaping the course and policy of its educational system has been necessarily very striking. That, during recent years, the natural caution of his Scottish ancestry, has been rather strongly reinforced by the equally natural reluctance of advancing years, to move with the times or even to recognise that the times are moving, goes without saying. But in all that he has advocated or opposed, he has been actuated by the sole object of making the education imparted by the Bombay University the very best in India, and by a transparently sincere love for the Bombay student and the earnest desire to advance his interests. In fact, during several years of association in the Senate, one does not remember ever hearing Dr. Mackichan speak of Indian students except as "our students," "our young men," showing how intimately inwoven in his deepest consciousness the well-being of the Indian student had become. His great and commanding talents, had they been applied to any other walk of life, would have brought him to the front rank. They were devoted in the spirit of his religion—which he, if we may be forgiven for making the observation, rather interpreted in a certain spirit of Imperialism which became the dominating principle of English and European politics during the last quarter of the last century—to the cause of Indian education. Even before the destruction of the German Empire with which the spirit of dominant Imperialism originated, thoughtful Christians had begun to perceive that their religion had departed from and should be brought back to its pristine ideal of service to, not the mastery of, mankind. We are inclined to think that Dr. Mackichan did not feel himself quite in sympathy with this changed angle

of vision. However that may be, we shall miss the impressive presence, the genial spirit and the ripe experience of the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, and our kindest thoughts and wishes are with him and Mrs. Mackichan in, we trust, the many years of helpfulness to mankind and to India which await them in their native land.

The English Press on Martial Law Excesses. Reuter has sent some excerpts from the comments in the English press on the revelations before Lord Hunter's Committee. Though non-official witnesses on the peoples' side, acting on the advice of the Congress Committee, have refrained from tendering evidence before the Committee on account of the Indian leaders undergoing sentences of imprisonment not being allowed to attend the enquiry, the admissions of the officials responsible for the administration of Martial Law in Amritsar and Lahore, constitute a damning indictment of the spirit and the policy of the measures adopted by military and other officers. Jallianwala Bagh, where five hundred people were shot down in cold blood, was the climax, though the bombing at Gujranwala ran it close. General Dyer who personally directed what the *London Times* and *Manchester Guardian* do not hesitate to call the Jhallianwala massacres, produced a telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor approving of his action. The Viceroy, it will be remembered, took upon himself the responsibility for giving Sir Michael O'Dwyer a free hand, in his speech at the last meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla. The Government of India introduced and passed an Indemnity Act to cover the measures which are so severely commented upon in the English press. The *Manchester Guardian* is an independent, well-balanced, Liberal daily, and it describes the shooting at Amritsar "as though a madman had been let loose to massacre at large." The *Daily News* regards the concealment of the whole affair for eight months as one of its most shocking features. The Indian press was muzzled. Pleaders were not allowed to enter the province. The Anglo-Indian press so far as it had knowledge of these happenings, and yet preserved rigid silence, or rated the Indian press for its criticisms, cannot be acquitted of complicity in the whole affair. He who allows oppression shares the crime. The best of the Anglo-Indian papers in this matter have been no better than the worst. Lord Acton has left behind him some hints to the historian as to the proper discharge of his duties. The journalist is the historian of contemporary events and Acton's last injunction applies to him as much as to the historian of events that are past. "Crimes by constituted authorities worse than the crimes by Madame Tussaud's malefactors. Murder may be done by legal means, by plausible and profitable war, as well as by dose or dagger." We trust that the British public, now that it knows some of the facts, will take adequate measures to mark its sense of these "crimes by constituted authorities in the Punjab."

We say "some of the facts", for the burden of letters from the Punjab has been that the full truth of what the province has had to go through is yet to be known.

The Reform Bill in the House of Lords: The second reading of the Reform Bill was passed unanimously by the House of Lords on the 12th instant. Lord Sinha is reported to have read so rapidly his speech in proposing the motion, that he could hardly be heard in parts of it in the gallery. The unique privilege and responsibility which devolved on him, might well have weighed heavily on even a forensic veteran like the Indian Under Secretary. The death of his daughter-in-law, married only two months ago, which occurred two days previously in London, no doubt, added to his trepidation. When allowance is made for these considerations, one cannot still help feeling that Lord Sinha's speech was far more apologetic than it need and should have been. Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons argued on the whole that the Bill did not give too little, while his lieutenant in the House of Lords largely based his plea on the ground that it did not give too much. It is not necessary to go in detail over Lord Sinha's grounds. An Indian in that position could certainly have exhibited a more robust faith in his country and his countrymen, and we are not sure that even the Lords were not surprised at the extreme moderation of Lord Sinha's pleading for the cause of his country. Moderation, after all, is good only as a leaven—it is not meat and drink to man or beast. Lord Sinha had, no doubt, a great purpose in keeping such a tight hold on his natural emotions. The Lords passed the second reading unanimously. In spite of Lord Selborne's great prestige, this result is unlikely to have been achieved without considerable preliminary negotiation, not excluding perhaps the exercise of the very highest influence in the Empire. Reuter cabled that Mr. Montagu had the honour of being received in audience by His Majesty on the 10th instant.

The Gandhi-Candler Correspondence. The letters which have been exchanged between Mr. Candler, Editor of the *Haq*, the Punjab official newspaper, and Mr. Gandhi, regarding certain animadversions in the *Haq* on Mr. Gandhi's efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, illustrate the dangers of official journalism controlled by an Editor who, on his own confession, is ignorant not only of Indian etiquette but the amenities of public controversy. Mr. Candler seems to have thought that he was putting a poser to Mr. Gandhi by asking in his journal whether he (Mr. Gandhi) was prepared to get his daughter married to a Mahomedan, in proof of his sincerity regarding Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Candler professes that he was unaware that this was offensive until he was told by a Hindu friend that the question might appear to be deliberately offensive and in bad taste, in view of Indian etiquette and tradition. We do not think that there is anything intrinsically offensive in such a question if asked in the right spirit; but we may take the liberty of telling Mr. Candler that, Indian etiquette and tradition apart, a question such as this, put in the course of a political controversy, would be regarded as violating the decencies of public controversy in every part of the world where gutter journalism does not bask in the sunshine of official patronage. We are sure that Mr. Candler would never have dreamt of asking whether Earl Curzon will give his daughter in marriage to Mr. Lloyd George's son or whether Mr. Lloyd George would care for such a matrimonial alliance, as a proof of the sincerity of the Coalition of the parties in England. The Punjab

Government has enough on hand to vindicate without the addition of the irrelevant vulgarities of such essays in official journalism. The sooner it closes down the *Haq* and sets Mr. Candler to the kind of work for which, as his article which we print today shows, he is eminently qualified, the better will it be for itself and the province.

An Unseemly Controversy. We regret the unseemly controversy that has ensued on the presentation of an address in the name of the Poona people to Mr. Tilak on his return from his legal and political mission to England. We had occasion recently to allude to the opposition to social reform which has so conspicuously marked his career as a political leader, and to point out why social reformers should hesitate to enroll themselves in a political party which derives its inspiration from him. His opposition to social reform has been all the more inexplicable on the ground of conviction, owing to the fact that in his own circle he has in some notable respects given effect to the principles of social reform. His voyage to England was itself an act of practical social reform, even though Mr. Tilak may in deference to orthodoxy undergo *prayaschit* for having done so. But, apart from these differences, we think that all shades of opinion might well have joined in welcoming home a veteran of his great intellectual ability, his scholarship, and unblemished private life. It was a plucky act on Mr. Tilak's part, at his age, to have undertaken the long sea voyage and the discomforts of a prolonged stay in England, during a large part of which he engaged himself in public work on behalf of his country. It is to us a matter of much satisfaction that his influence in England was steadily exerted on the side of moderation. Serious as our differences with Mr. Tilak have been in the past, and hesitate as we must to forecast the course of his politics in the future, we cannot but recognise that in his own way he has filled an important (and, who can say, unnecessary?) role in our public life, and that he may yet prove a potent constructive force, if he brings his great powers, hitherto chiefly employed in pulling down, to the task of building up an Indian nation in the new opportunities that are opening out to Indian workers.

Indians in East Africa. Mr. Gandhi has received the following cablegram from Mr. Andrews, who is at present in East Africa at Nairobi:—"East African situation now most critically dangerous because united attempt being made by European Associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated to be that through Indian contact depravity is the result but advance under Christian western civilisation. Government economic commission report recently published takes same attitude mentioning specifically Indian moral depravity and approving South African exclusion policy. Intense indignation expressed here by local Indian Congress gathering which was remarkable for its weight and numbers. I have decided on urgent request to stay till January here. Congress Committee decided on my suggestion to abandon claim for preferential treatment in German East Africa while demanding complete continuance of all existing rights. Circulate and explain situation." Knowing as we do that Mr. Andrews has the same aversion to superlatives as we have, we regard this message as of alarming significance. We trust that the Government of India will promptly intervene with all its resources of remonstrance and protest. Surely, we are not so helpless as to suffer this kind of thing to happen.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 21, 1919.

THE NEW NATIONAL PLATFORM. I.

We are glad to see that the urgent need of drawing up a programme based on the social and national needs of the country, and of making a concerted effort to give effect to it, is coming to be generally recognised. The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye outlined such a programme on a limited scale recently in Poona. Professor Kale in a letter to the press last week urges the same view. The *Leader* of Allahabad has enlarged on the idea and the *Sanj Vartman* of Bombay has pressed it forcibly on its readers in a recent number. We have been working at the idea for a considerable time now. The time is now come to indicate briefly our conclusions which, we need hardly say, are of a tentative character. Such a programme can be finally drawn up by a number of trained and experienced men sitting down together and applying their minds to it free from the distractions of party strife.

The first thing that strikes one in trying to visualise the Indian national problem is the division of the population by a number of religions. It is futile to hope that any one of these religions will ever establish itself as the sole religion of the Indian people even nominally. The problem of relieving the country of the dangers of sectarian rivalries should be solved in a different way. Religion should become a personal matter—a thing between a man and his Maker. It should make no rift in social or family life if one member is a Christian, another is a Mahomedan, a third is a Hindu and so on. In other words, Indian nationalists should cultivate and encourage the spirit of active religious toleration, in place of the passive one which has prevailed in India from time immemorial. In doing so, they will set an example to many other nations besides our own. The idea of religious toleration was born in India centuries before it was recognised and adopted in Europe. Let India have the glory of giving a new and more fruitful interpretation to this ancient heritage of ours, in view of the present needs of the country. On the forefront of the new programme we place the promotion of this active religious toleration. We realise that it will be the one which can be most easily utilised to create prejudice and opposition against the programme. But it is, in our view, the most important in our scheme, and prejudice and opposition must be faced and satisfied.

The question of caste is one affecting the Hindu population alone. It is curious that while Hindus will admit the potentiality of other religions to raise their votaries in the spiritual scale, they do not think that their own religion can do

an equal service to persons of all castes within its fold. Because of this, our new programme must declare in emphatic terms that all men have absolutely equal spiritual, moral and intellectual potentialities, and it should be the aim of the Indian statesman and reformer to convert by every means these potentialities to actualities. And this applies to women also. Women and Sudras were specially marked out by the ancient lawgivers, for reasons the merits of which we need not discuss, for repressive treatment, and it should be the object of the new programme to remedy this ancient wrong. Not only justice but expediency and national necessity dictate this policy. Women and Sudras are, after all, the foundations on which society rests. It is they who do the daily drudgery, the divine drudgery, which keeps the wheels of the social machine going. It is by enabling them to rise to the full height of their stature, that the Indian nation can be helped to make its full contribution to the service of humanity.

There is a great danger which we must take immediate steps to guard against. Our social drawbacks and defects are many, but in one respect we enjoy an advantage over western nations. We refer to the sentiment against strong drink inculcated by all our religions and ingrained in our Indian nature. This sentiment has been somewhat disturbed by the impact of western example and, we regret to have to say, by the attitude of Government. This is no time for recrimination. The department of drink will be soon under the control of Indian Ministers and Indian electorates. Total Prohibition, should be the motto of all Indian statesmanship. No Indian Minister should have any truck with this evil. Firmly, unhesitatingly, resolutely, the policy of Total Prohibition should be proclaimed at the first opportunity on the opening of the new Councils, and we should never rest till this terrible racial poison is placed totally beyond the reach of our men, women and children. This has been done in the United States in spite of the absence of a national tradition, such as we have, against the use of liquor, and it could and should have been done in India long ago. But there is no excuse any longer for us to hang back.

If we have to keep liquor out of reach of our people, we should bring education within the reach of all. The ultimate goal should be to make the educational highway from the primary to the post-graduate stage free to all, to men as well as women. No child should be debarred by penury to make the utmost of its God-given talents by suitable education. Much more shall have to be done to redeem the childhood of India from the criminal neglect and consequent wastage which is its lot at present. A recent writer has said that the rate of infant mortality in a country is the crucial test

of the efficiency of its administration and of the soundness of its civilisation. All credit is due to Lady Chelmsford for taking up the work of child-welfare and pushing it to public notice. The tendency of thought now reveals the essential unity of the spiritual and the political. The final verdict of history on Indian statesmanship will turn on what it does for India's little ones. Inasmuch as he does his utmost for them, the Indian administrator will ensure for himself salvation here and hereafter.

The education of women should take a specially prominent place in the national education programme. Indian education has fallen short of expectations, because women have been practically left out of it. It cannot be too often repeated that the education of a single girl is of more social value than the education of a single boy. For this reason. The mothers of a race make the tradition of a race and conserve it more than men. Slowly the Bible of each race is writ, and the pen that writes it is in the hands of the mother and wife. If we had attended to women's education as much as to men's, the notion that education is a means of money-making would have gained far less ground than it has unfortunately done. Our programme must give women's education its rightful place. This will be useless, unless the social customs which abbreviate a girl's schooling, be dealt with. Infant marriage must be legally prohibited and the marriage of a girl below the age of secondary education, discouraged. The age of consent should be raised. The franchise should be conferred on women at the first opportunity, to mark the acceptance in our national movement of women on a footing of absolute equality with men.

From every side, come complaints regarding the alarming growth of prostitution. There has evidently been a break-down of the social system, due chiefly, we think, to the high rates of mortality since the beginning of this century from famine, plague and other epidemics. The subject has to be carefully investigated by a commission and legislation undertaken on its recommendations. The subject has been studied carefully by devoted men and women in England and America, and the results of their experience should be utilised. Empirical action inspired by the desire to get the evil out of sight, will do more harm than good. The roots of the evil must be exposed, and the remedy applied at the roots. Above all, it should not be forgotten that the woman is more often than not the victim and not the criminal. She is more sinned against than sinning. There should be one standard of purity for men and women, and no law which, expressly or impliedly, recognises a difference in this respect, is likely to do good. The women of India should make their voice heard on this point, and our new platform should furnish them with ample opportunities for doing so.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

(By "KOTGARH.")

I.

Mr. Manilal Parekh's two articles upon this subject are intensely interesting. With the facts of denationalization, lack of colour, of life, of spirituality in large sections of the Christian community, the present writer agrees. Even with Mr. Parekh's conclusion as to the only remedy he feels impelled to agree also, if "come ye out and be ye separate" means for those who are true lovers of India and of the Lord Christ, that they should break for God's glory and India's good from the shackles of that great foreign system of thoughts and discipline which arrogates to itself the name of "The Indian Church."

Possibly the writer misapprehends Mr. Parekh's position upon one point, if so he craves indulgence in advance for his error. Does Mr. Parekh mean that it is a defect in the Christian community that caste differences are not recognised, or does he mean that difference of position is ignored and that complete equality of social status is taught, resulting in a highly unpleasant attitude of self-assertion upon the part of converts from the lower classes towards those who are their social superiors by right of generations of education, culture, and self-respect? If the latter is his meaning one can appreciate it, and even sympathize—especially as regards the astonishing lack of perception displayed by so many missionaries and other Europeans in this respect, together with the evils and complications resulting.

If, however, he would wish to perpetuate differences upon a basis of caste, rather than upon that of culture, refinement and education, one is inclined to trust that he will not carry the more thoughtful section either of Christians or Hindus with him. Surely the only basis upon which a family or individual can be considered to be upon a higher plane than another will be in the possession of finer traits of character, a nicer sense of honour, a higher intellectual and spiritual life, and a wider and deeper culture. Any other basis of differentiation—whether of caste or wealth or official position—is artificial, and as we grow towards the light, should be less and less able to win our allegiance and support.

One agrees with Mr. Parekh that the indiscriminate baptism of multitudes of ignorant outcastes, has operated against Hindus of a higher social order accepting the Christian religion. But is it merely because they are outcastes? It is not true to the spirit of the noblest and truest in Hinduism. Valmiki, Tiruvalluvar, Ram Das, Kabir and a host of other saints and sages, are not the less revered because they were of low-caste. It is

even held their glory, and it is the glory of India that this is so.

Had the multitude of outcastes whom the missionaries have swept into the Christian fold, come to the Lord Christ with the simple devotion exhibited by Sudama Bhagat when he went to Dwarkapuri, and subsequently evinced that indifference to worldly advantage displayed by him, can those who know even a little of the heart of India doubt for a moment that the impression made upon spiritually-minded Indians would have been tremendous?

It would seem rather that the repelling feature of the transaction lay not so much in the fact that the converts were outcastes, as in the knowledge that these people had changed their religion without undergoing any spiritual experience which would justify such a step, and that their object in deserting the gods of their fathers, was material and worldly rather than spiritual.

Obviously they were not to blame; their ignorance and degradation are sufficient justification for their action. If they came "for the loaves and fishes" who will fail to sympathize with them in their desire to improve their condition? At the same time it cannot but repel a thoughtful man to feel that a large portion of the community with which he will have to cast in his lot if he feels impelled to accept a great spiritual truth, are themselves quite unconscious of that truth, and look upon the path which he has come to consider the way of salvation, as a way of gain and worldly aggrandizement. In this way, the reckless proletarianising of the Indian Christian body undoubtedly must repel those who feel the call of Christ and must hinder many from following Him.

This is but one of a number of factors at present operating to make it difficult for a self-respecting man to become a Christian in India.

And yet in considering Mr. Parekh's article it must be born in mind that long before "proletarianising" began to take place, Hindus were disinclined to accept the religion of Christ as brought to them from the West. Indeed it might almost be said that the attempt to bring about the so-called "mass-movement" among the outcastes was "a council of desperation" upon the part of the missionaries—the outcome of their lack of success in converting the higher types of Indian manhood to their doctrine and system.

The above would seem to indicate that the causes of the failure of Christianity to win a place in the heart of India, as enumerated by Mr. Parekh, are more or less subsidiary and that if we are to get at the real difficulty we must go deeper.

About this deeper ultimate cause, the writer of this article ventures a suggestion. In order to do so he must perforce touch upon his own personal

experience since arriving in India nearly sixteen years ago, and in doing so wishes to beg the indulgence of his readers, and to ask them to remember that he is a Christian, and is writing as one.

He came to teach not only Christ, but Christianity in the garb in which he had received it from his fathers. He considered it axiomatic that the message he brought was the perfection of all truth—that anything beyond it was superfluous, that any truth taught by any other religion was better taught by his own, and that India in order to achieve her salvation had nothing to do beyond accepting that truth with regard to the Lord Christ which the West had worked out for her under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

In the course of time he began to study the propagandist literature of missions, and soon came to the conclusion that if Christianity had been presented to him in such a manner he would himself have been unable to accept it.

As a consequence he decided to study the greater Upanishads, the Darśanas and Vedānt Sūtras, and also to steep himself in the atmosphere of the later Puranic literature which so largely influences the minds of the masses, with the object of being able to demonstrate to Indians how untrue to all experience and unworthy of consideration the whole Hindu attitude towards life was.

As regards his purpose for beginning this study, the result was distinctly unsatisfactory. Of course he found much that was intellectually unacceptable, much that was demonstrably fallacious, as he would have found in the scripture of his own or any other religious system. On the other hand, it began to dawn upon him "before many months had elapsed that these works contained the intellectual efforts of those who were seeking to grapple in the boldest and noblest manner with the deep problems of life, its meaning and its purpose.

Before long he discovered to his astonishment that in attempting to solve some of these problems the ancient thinkers of India had often shown a finer spirit and a human intellectual perception than the great minds of the early Church during the centuries when it was taking shape and evolving its creeds.

The writer made another, to him, most interesting discovery. He found that there were vast and important areas of thought and speculation upon the meaning of life with which the Church had never dealt, or with which it had dealt most unsatisfactorily. Upon turning to the Hindu scriptures he found—not so much in the actual solutions arrived at as in the general tendency of thought and method of approach—the key to much that the Christian Religion as evolved in the West, has never attempted to explain, or about which its teachings have been frankly agnostic.

II

As these new vistas opened out it was a shock to discover how highly disconnected and fragmentary the religion taught by the West as Christianity really was even at its best. As ordinarily taught in this land it was worse than that—it was puerile. The Lord Christ has taught that if we desire to enter the Kingdom of Heaven we must become "as little children," but this does not mean that we are to become *childish*, and a man would have to be that to accept much of what is taught here in the name of Christ.

However, and admitting the above, the greatest defects of Christianity as taught here at present appear to be negative rather than positive. It consists in an array of mighty life-giving truths, each of them developed one-sidedly, laying vast stress upon certain aspects of life and entirely oblivious to others equally important.

While the above view-point was taking possession of the writer, he found that it in no sense diminished his faith in Christ; on the contrary, the Lord shone with a new and higher glory in the light of a clearer understanding of the significance of much that hitherto had lain hidden. The light from the Hindu scriptures had come to fill the gaps in Christianity as he had known it, and to make of it a connected whole.

This has been your correspondent's own experience. He came to teach and staid to learn. He has found the idea at the back of the whole Hindu religious development of intense spiritual significance to his own spiritual progress, and has been deeply influenced by it. Yet he is not less Christian—only more Hindu in his concept, and he humbly believes that in being more Hindu in his outlook upon life he is more Christian than he could otherwise have been.

You may ask the relation of all these to the Problem of Christianity in India. The answer is that individual experience lies very close to the solution of any spiritual or religious problem. In this case it has been, and is, most difficult to express, and your correspondent has re-written this paper four times in his attempts to do so. Even now he feels far from satisfied that it makes clear the truth he wishes to convey.

His conviction is this:—The missionaries came strong in the belief that they had everything to teach and nothing to learn. They came to make India Christian, and by *Christian* they meant that she should accept whole and entire the Christian system of the West, developed as the truth of Christ had reacted upon the Western temperament. Their conception was that Christianity should *replace* the age-long religious development of India. This was their purpose, but unless the writer greatly errs, the Divine purpose was very different. It was the will of God that the truth of the Lord Christ should be brought to India to be

completed and rounded out and made a perfect whole—a soul-satisfying and intellect-satisfying philosophy of life, its meaning and its purpose—by conjunction with what it lacked and the ancient treasure-house of Indian thought and spiritual experience contained. His conviction is further that, though in a great variety of points the Indian spiritual ideal at its best has been both nobler and intellectually sounder than that of Christianity as developed in the West, it nevertheless needs Christ within it in order to realise the goal of its aspirations and the object of all its spiritual labours. All else—all ecclesiastical systems of discipline, all Western modes of thought, may go, but the future faith of mankind, whether it be called Hinduism or Christianity, must settle its relation to that stupendous Personality and the message He brings to the heart of man.

For India's sake and for Christ's sake—aye, and for the world's sake—the poor emasculated parody of what Indian Christianity might be, must go. In East or West, as Mr. Parekh says, there never was such a thing before. Whether it will simply die out, or, waking to a higher ideal, break its bonds, and freed from outside money and outside control be born anew in self-respect and spirituality, no one can say.

One thing seems certain to the writer: When Christian Indians learn to be true to Christ by being true themselves to India, when the voice of the ancient saints of this land, and all the true wisdom of her sages, have their rightful place in their devotions, when it dawns upon their consciousness that all these came before the Lord—partakers in His purpose and preparing man's soul for His advent, and that their teachings are a priceless spiritual heritage—the Old Testament of Indian Christianity, when the Indian followers of Christ turn to the deepest and best in the spiritual life and thought of Hinduism to find the wherewithal to bridge the gaps in their faith we brought them from the West, and thereby learn to fashion it into a coherent and satisfying whole, *then* and *then only* will Christ find His true place in this land. Then only will the Indian Christian community cease to be denationalised and at the beck and call of foreigners, and its members will see that the Lord came not to destroy Hinduism but to fulfil it.

Christianity and Hinduism need each other. The best in each is incomplete without the other. The truths of each remain but half truths without the light which each can shed upon the other. As men have learned to see with eyes unblinded by the age-old prejudices and preconceptions that shackle them to-day, they will come to understand that when the divine synthesis has been effected a true Christian will be able to call himself a Hindu, and a true and perfect Hindu will be able to say, "I also am a Christian."

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LATE MR. VIRESALINGAM PANTULU.

(By Mr. R. VENKATA SIVUDU.)

My recollections of the late Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu date from 1882, the year of my removal from my native village to Rajahmundry for my study, though my intimate acquaintance with him began later on, in the year 1889, when I became his pupil in the College at that place. During those seven years I shared with my boy-comrades of Rajahmundry several of the wild and exaggerated notions current in that town about the reformer. We used to think of him as a hard-headed and even hard-hearted man, who was bent on forcing down the throat of an unwilling society those terrible, nauseous things, the "reforms"! We would therefore shrink from such a one whenever we chanced to meet him in the streets. Some of us even thought that he was entrusted by the powers that be with the function of a General Censor over the conduct of men, and that whatever emanated from his lips was gospel truth to the Government. At times I heard in some public meeting his voice, quavering as much from enthusiasm as from a stubborn asthma, though what he spoke was beyond my comprehension or immediate interest. People, we surmised, naturally dreaded this man who was concerned in ushering in hostile reforms, and who, moreover, did not hesitate to holding up for punishment bribery and other malpractices.

But this was only one side, the sterner side of the man. In those days, the farces of Mr. Viresalingam were a dainty alike to young and old. The weekly *Vivaha Varthani* might have been a source of dread to those concerned. But to us younger folk, mighty was the interest provided in its lighter, literary side. The sarcastic humour of the leader, the fun and frolic of story and comment—these unreservedly commended themselves to the reader.

Later on when I became his student, I saw things more closely and clearly. Mr. Viresalingam was a power in the College. Not even the good Principal Metcalfe who, like the poet's village preacher, "Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change his place," had dedicated the full term of his educational service in India to the prosperity of the Rajahmundry College, wielded half the influence which Mr. Viresalingam exercised over the students. I do not refer merely to his popularity. And it must be said once for all in justice to the deceased that if ever there breathed a man who set a defiant face against the vile art of courting popularity, it was most emphatically Mr. Viresalingam. He was never a hunter after popularity; and yet on many a critical occasion, he was surrounded by scores of loyal students who were most ready to do anything for him. He was most popular and most influential, not because he catered to the whims and fancies of his pupils, nor chose to be guided by them, but because he convinced them of the truthfulness of the cause he advocated and took the reins of guidance entirely into his own hands. Often would Mr. Viresalingam engage himself in earnest and spirited conversation with his pupils on the burning questions of the day. He appeared to us in the class-room, like Socrates before the marketplace of Athens, with an ever-ready and unassailable dialectic. He opened his bosom to us and freely spoke to us of things great and small, without reserve or ceremony. Thus he sought to foster in his students a spirit of bold and independent thinking, especially on the subject of social reform which was dearest to his heart.

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM, IN THE PUNJAB I. (By Mr. EDMUND CANDLER.)

It is only during the last twenty years that we have learnt wisdom in the treatment of the young criminal. Our grandfathers used to hang him; our fathers used to thrash him; we of to-day are very well satisfied if we can make a decent citizen of him. The old notion was that the youthful offender was naturally depraved, an ineradicable sprout of Satan. The treatment prescribed was to whip "the offending Adam" out of him, as a dreadful example, a pariah to be shunned by respectable society. We, of a more merciful generation, have substituted surgery for execution. The jail has become a kind of moral hospital, very much in the manner predicted by Samuel Butler in his "Erewhon."

From fifteen to twenty-one is the plastic age in which character is formed. Statistics compiled after enquires from convicts as to the age in which they commenced a career of crime, show that some sixty per cent practise dishonesty before the age of fifteen, and the remainder, all save a small fraction, before they are twenty-one. Gradually it came to be recognised that the reformation and training of the young offender were the business of the State, and that those who were left to go their own way were as much sinned against as sinning. Such was the primary dictation of humanity and mercy. Apart from the ethical, there was the economic argument,—the salvage of waste, material which might serve a useful purpose in the social system.

The reformatory for juvenile offenders has been a recognised institution since the Reformatory Act was passed in 1854. But it is only in the present century that the "juvenile adult" class of criminal has been provided for in a similar way. The first House of Detention was established at the village of Borstal near Rochester in Kent, from which the Borstal Jail in Lahore and similar institutions derive their name.

The aim of the Borstal institutions is the formation of character by hard work, discipline, drill, combined with individual attention, religious and moral training, and the teaching of some trade,—that is to say, the application in the treatment of adult lads, of the ideals aimed at in the Reformatory. But the peculiar and special feature of the Borstal system is the conditional release of the young prisoner to an approved society, or individual, and a period of one year's probation after the completion of the sentence. How great a stimulus this is to effort, and how admirably it lends itself to the design of the institution, will be gathered from every page of the second and third sections of Mr. Cowan's report. But a visit to the jail itself, better than any abstract exposition, will show what kind of salvage work is being done. Here one will see how the system is calculated to put new heart into a lad, to bring out his personality, and to encourage in him a sense of responsibility and self-respect.

WHAT BOMBAY IS IN MOST NEED OF.

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

Bombay is now passing through an Industrial boom the like of which was never witnessed before. It is the earnest hope of all that it is only an industrial boom of a very healthy kind. There have been several industrial booms in all Western Countries, but, on each occasion, many companies of a questionable nature sprang up, which ultimately came to grief and which even affected the sound concerns. Also, there is the danger of too great an imitation or rivalry in one single line of business. One hopes that the present company promoters instead of adopting the get-rich-quick method, will look to the interests of the companies and of the country and will apply themselves honestly and enthusiastically to the successful management of their concerns. It is most gratifying that, after all, Bombay has awakened herself to the necessity and advantages of having Fire Insurance Companies of her own and that she has also launched on other industries like Woollen Mills, Chemical works, etc. She may also venture, if possible, on Ship-building, Steam Navigation Companies and Machinery and Mill stores manufacture and other key and minor industries for which we now depend on other countries.

But, with all her industrial greatness, there is one thing, Bombay is in most need of and the lack of which has been, more or less, a handicap to her interests. And that is the absence of a weekly Journal, commercial and financial. In England and in America, the number of commercial and financial Journals are legion. Each industry or trade has its own Journal, mostly weeklies; and each industrial or trading centre can boast of several Journals. Whereas, it is most surprising, and it is most lamentable too, that Bombay has not got a powerful commercial weekly to safeguard her various interests. Bengal has in its two Journals, the *Capital* and the *Commerces* not to speak of the other journals like *Railways*, *Engineering* and *Planter's Gazette* etc., two powerful commercial weeklies most vigorously and zealously guarding and supporting the interests of jute, coal, tea and other industries. In the whole world, Bombay is the only manufacturing centre, including of course Ahmedabad, that has gone on all these years without a Journal of such a kind and it is wonderful the need for it is not felt even now. Perhaps, the idea is there and it has not been given shape or fulfilled owing to inertia. It is also surprising that no English journalist has thought of starting a financial weekly there. But there is one aspect to be clearly borne in mind in this city of predominantly Indian interests that any journal of the usual Anglo-Indian type or sympathies has not much chances of success. It should be started under Indian auspices with possibly an Indian Board of Directors and it must be an organ to safeguard the several manufacturing and trading interests of Bombay. An English Editor with great Indian Financial experience might be appointed as Editor and there is really no harm in appointing an Englishman as Editor notwithstanding the possible ridicule as against Swadeshi precept and example.

I am quite sure a weekly would be a real success and would pay its way. Why! if there had been a journal started last January, it would have received considerable sums by publishing the prospectuses of the innumerable companies that were floated. Even now, it is not too late. In addition to company prospectuses, it should publish the reports and meetings of all companies with above one or two lakhs of capital. It should have the share and stock market

list not only of Bombay but also of other cities; it should have correspondents in all cities and countries where Bombay has business connection as for example, China, Japan, Persian Gulf Region, East Africa etc.; and it should give separate pages for Banks, Insurance Companies, Railways, Mills, Import and Export trade and other trades and industries. In a word, it should be like the *Economist* or *Statist* of London or even like the *Commerces* of Calcutta. I hope the leading Indian merchants will soon start a Journal of this nature.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of financial people to one point, though not quite relevant to my theme. To all appearances, it is quite clear Bombay is bursting with money. Also, by our greater exports than imports, exchange is affected and considerable balance is due to India. Will it not be advisable to buy all Indian Securities which are now held in London? The Government, themselves, might encourage this policy of Indians holding the sterling securities which are now held in London. In that way, Bombay will find employments for its surplus funds and also, the balance in favour of India will be decreased. The Government securities held in England run to many millions and then, there are the shares of Railway and other companies. There is no reason why these should not be bought at their market price by Indians. At present, we don't find quotations for these in Indian papers. The proposed weekly should publish the market quotations of all Indian securities and shares held in England.

K.

RURAL CREDIT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. Mack Cretcher, Assistant Director of Agriculture, contributes an interesting article to the current number of the "*Philippine Review*" on the remarkable progress of rural credit in those islands during the last three years. He observes: "It may be noted, that the first rural credit society in the Philippine Islands, under Act No. 2508, was organized at Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, October, 19, 1916, practically three years ago. By October, 1917, one year from this date, there were about one hundred rural credit associations in operation representing a combined capital stock of over P. 800,000, of which over P. 80,000 had been paid in and was being loaned-out in sums ranging from P. 30 to 100 to members of the association, small farmers who were using the money thus obtained or strictly agricultural purposes, the total membership of the associations at that time being estimated at 20,000 farmers.

At present writing (September, 1919) there are 372 incorporated associations and over one hundred more in various stages of incorporation. The combined capital stock approximates P. 2,500,000 of which more than P. 500,000 has been actually paid in. The total membership of these associations is now more than 40,000, and small loans which aggregate over P. 450,000 have been made to more than 8,000 members. In addition to the above financial activities, the legislature designated the rural credit associations as agents to loan the fund of one million pesos to responsible farmers, to aid them in planting uncultivated areas to rice and corn. The Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources finally passes on all applications for loans from this fund received through the associations. Applications for loans to the amount of P. 700,000 through some 200 associations have already been received and favourably acted upon by Secretary Apacible. From this it can readily be seen that a fund of more than P. 1,150,000 has been made available to small farmers through rural credit, where three years ago these same farmers received nothing at all from this source and were forced to accept small loans usurers at ruinous rates in order to carry on their small farming ventures.

"CULTURE, THE UNDERLYING PURPOSE OF THE NATION".

This is the key-note struck by the October-November issue of the *Vivekachintamani* the organ of the Children's Educational Movement which begins with the culture of women as "wife in India illustrating the triumph of soul over environment" by the thrilling story of a great woman with the child-heart (Mrs. Henry Fawcett) who like "Victoria the Good," though born in the west, has lived to fulfil in her own life and person, the ancient ideal of noble "women" as wife in the land of Aryavarta, the land of noble ideals. Thus doth it call attention to the "Central purpose" of the ancient Indian civilisation. "Underlying every civilisation is a spiritual purpose"—for which the nations have fought valiantly while they live, bequeathing it as an heirloom to a child,—to the young world of the future. This culture, the dearly "cherished treasure" of the nation, is the outcome of their leading thought, which in turn, is their manner of looking at life,—a thing which must be realised as the nation's religion, using that word in its broadest sense. Thus is the "Artha-Narisvara" the highest embodiment of the religious ideal which permeates the "culture"—the "central purpose" of the nation's existence in India and its activities in life. The Indian is the greatest Home-lover in the face of the world, and there is not a soul among them, be he the saint or sinner, hero or walking, who in his heart of hearts does not reverence the noble divine form of women as "shakti" the embodiment of soul-power, at whose feet he will lay down his very life, if need be subordinating all other purposes of life to the "central purpose" of the nation the "casket" so to speak, in which the best traditions of the ancient spiritual civilisation of India is preserved. A man will easily renounce the world, the world of passions, of poll, power and position, in the ecstasy of his devotion to God; but even, such a man like the great Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Deva, cannot bear to see a womanly woman (i.e. the ideal woman) in tears. "All his devotion to God will take wings and fly" as the great Saint said if he sees her in tears. No simply "cannot afford it." All honour to the Sadler Commission that they have been able to catch a glimpse of this "central purpose" round which revolves the great spiritual civilisation of national India.

The Presidency Women's Sports and Games Tournament: We have been asked to state that a meeting will be held in Vanita Vishram Hall, Sandhurst Road, opposite the Servants of India Society's Home, to explain the objects and scope of the Bombay Presidency Women's Sports and Games Tournament, on Monday the 22nd instant at 5 P. M. Lady Tata has kindly consented to preside.

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NEW YORK AGENTS: THE GUARANTY TRUST COY. OF NEW YORK.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL... Rs. 12,00,00,000.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL..... „ 7,56,00,225.

PAID UP CAPITAL..... „ 1,50,99,225.

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Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. O. I. E.

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Current Accounts opened and interest allowed on daily credit balances from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1,00,000/- at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. If the balance to the credit of any account does not fall below Rs. 25,000/- at any time between 1st January and 30th June, interest will be allowed during that period at $2\frac{1}{2}$ % per annum. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 8/- Half-yearly.

Fixed Deposits. Interest allowed on Deposits fixed for one or two years and for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

Savings Bank. Interest allowed on Savings Bank Accounts at 4 per cent per annum. Rules may be obtained on application.

Loans and Cash Credits are granted on approved securities.

Purchases and sales of Securities and shares effected.

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14-4-18. L. D. L. BUCKLEY, General Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)
Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 48,000,000.

Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

Head Office:—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies at Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Changchun, Chi-Nan, Dairen, Fengtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kaiyuan, Kobe, London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoseki, Singapore, Soerabaya, Sydney, Tientsin, Tokio, Tsingtao.

Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and Interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

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Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17,

Post Box No. 406, Clive street, Calcutta

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Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 1897

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Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari, Mehsana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed... ..Rs. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up " 30,00,000.

Reserve Fund " 12,50,000.

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Sir Yithaldas Demodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Ganajiroo R. Nimbalker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vibaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld. Baroda.

R. R. Shirsogkar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 500 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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

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15-4-12.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Subscribed Capital... .. Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital „ 49,59,900

Reserved liability of

Shareholders „ 25,00,000

Reserve Fund „ 6,00,000

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Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharla, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ld.

Current Accounts— 3% allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
 $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ allowed on Daily Balances from July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5% per annum.

Long and Short period Deposits received at rates to be ascertained on Application.

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For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.

Manager.

25-2-17

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
 Paid-up CapitalYen. 87,500,000
 Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
FOOCHOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINCHIKU	KEELUNG
TAIPEH	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. 1,00,00,000

Capital Called up ,, 50,00,000

Reserve Fund ,, 15,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

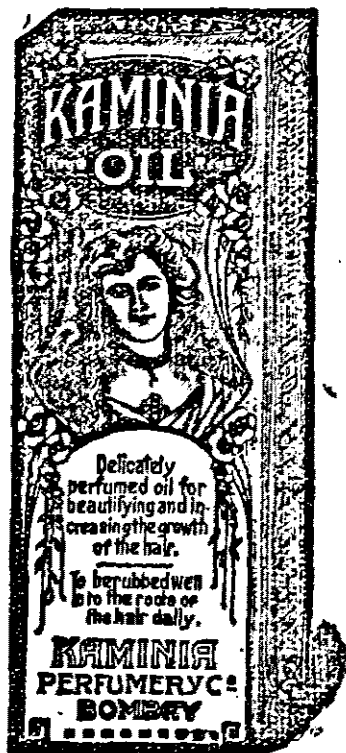
The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

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5-1-11.

Manager.

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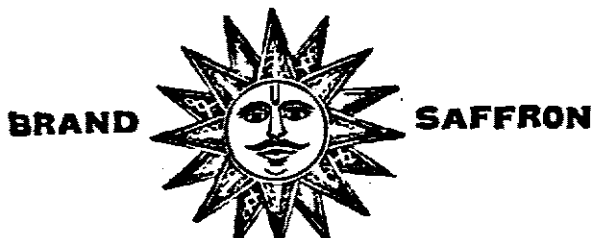
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22-8-19.

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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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1 Deposits fixed for one year and shorter or longer period, 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."

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 Wholesome
 Intelligent
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 IS A GREAT STEP

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SOCIAL REFORM.

When deciding on a

*PLACE OF AMUSEMENT TWO
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Should at once leap to the mind.

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BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE

AND

THE EMPIRE

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and are run by the

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experience, FREE OF CHARGE, you cannot do better
than GO TO

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Manufacturing Opticians and suppliers of the
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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. Bachelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. H. G.
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O., So. Brigade, Lieut. Col. G. H. Bull, M. D., I. M. S.,
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PAYABLE AT AGE 60 OR AT DEATH, IF PREVIOUS, WITH PROFIT.

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- Policy holders can appoint their own Directors.
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15	11	0	16	0	20	0	30	0	50	0	87	0
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52	25	0	35	0	60	0	87	0	155	0	300	0

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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—

NORIHURO 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.
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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.

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To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price—Small Packet Rs. 0-1-0. Middle Packet, with Tin case, Rs. 0-4-0. Large Packet with fancy case, Rs. 1-0-0

Prepared by Messrs. MORISHITA Co., OSAKA, JAPAN.

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 AND ACHES
 SPRAINS ETC.
 USE:—

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The magical pain balm extant. Cures all aches & pains. Costs 8 As. Sold everywhere.

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Extractions Painless;
 Terms Very Moderate;
 Gold Crown, Bar and Bridge Work a Speciality (teeth without plate);
 Latest Successful Treatment for Pyorrhoea (pus in gums).
SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.
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20-4-19.

INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1919. No. 17.

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

CONTENTS.

Jesus the Man.	Peace and Plenty.
The Moderates' Reply to the Congress Leaders' Appeal.	The Borstal System in the Punjab.
The Indemnity Bill and the Hunter Committee's Enquiry.	The Problem of Christianity in India.
The Royal Proclamation.	The Bombay Presidency Association.
Jesus the Man.	Towards Religious Reconstruction.

NOTES.

Jesus the Man. The current number of the *Pravardhana Bharata*, the monthly journal of the Ramakrishna Mission, published at Mayavati, prints a remarkable paper on "Jesus the Man" read at the Belur Math, the headquarters of the Mission near Calcutta, by Brahmachari Gurudasa. The paper begins as follows: "This being the day on which all Christians celebrate the greatest of their religious festivals, the day of the birth of Jesus the Christ, it is but fit that we Hindus who pride ourselves on the fact that we revere all Incarnations and that we do an worship in all temples, should pay special homage to Him who, for nearly twenty centuries, has been a solace to millions of human hearts." The Brahmachari concludes a singularly sympathetic and reverent appreciation of the incidents in the life of the great Teacher, with these words: "And now let us remember that Jesus' voice was the voice of the Spirit that spoke through all the Avatars, the voice of the great Physicians that came to save us from the world-disease, the disease of birth and death. "Seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you," that is the secret of religion. "And ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make ye free." We print today the concluding passages from the Brahmachari's paper and commend his loving appreciation of Jesus' life to Christians and non-Christians alike, for its deep insight into and sympathy with the Christ-ideal. That a Hindu revival movement so nationalistic in aim as the Ramakrishna movement, made famous by Swami Vivekananda, should find place within it for the Brahmachari Gurudasa's view of the illustrious founder of the Christian Church, is a conclusive rebuttal of all allegations about the prevalence of an anti-Christian spirit in this country.

The Moderates' Reply to the Congress Leaders' Appeal: We deprecate the hasty and angry comments in the Radical papers on the reply which has been published over the names of prominent Moderate leaders, to the appeal of Swami Shraddhanand and the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru for their co-operation in the Amritsar Congress. We advisedly

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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.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 28, 1919.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

His Majesty the King's proclamation which heralds the Royal assent to the Reforms Bill conveys a message of conciliation and hope and alludes to the Prince of Wales's projected visit to India next winter. "Another epoch has been reached in the annals of India," begins the proclamation, "I have given my Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this realm for the better Government of India and for the greater contentment of the people." The growth of popular influence can be seen but dimly through the course of legislation referred to here. Reforms in the Indian Administration have hitherto been largely determined by other considerations, but the present measure does give "hopes of the future," and the proclamation will be welcomed by the country for the gracious invitation to join in these hopes as also for the other important matters with which it deals. His Majesty has expressed his "earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated"; and to that end H. E. the Viceroy is directed to exercise clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. The details of the announcement to be made in pursuance of these instructions are no doubt already definitely settled and may be published any moment. Whether they are arranged genuinely in the spirit of His Majesty's desire and in the measure to suit the occasion remains to be seen. These may be expected to include, among others, the political leaders and others of the Punjab. All will appreciate His Majesty's clemency in these cases; but it must be obvious that the one subject over which the whole of India has been more sore than over any other is the Martial law administration in that Province. Amnesty in this case goes only half the way. For the other half we must wait for the results of the inquiries—both official and non-official—now in progress. These are developments which need not have remained unforeseen; and the declining even of temporary relief, becomes all the more regrettable in the light of events. As the British people are now aware of the need for their attention to the question, it may be hoped that on the completion of the inquiries, the claims of justice will receive the fullest consideration without loss of time so that painful memories may have time to be effaced long before the arrival of the Prince of Wales. For then will he, in the words of the proclamation, find "mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the

future service of the country." It is somewhat of an irony that the Reforms should have to be ushered in in the existing state of the country's mind; but as the people's representatives are in session in more than one body the moment has been well chosen, and the balm of His Majesty's words must prove valuable and soothing.

THE FULL TEXT.

George V, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States and to all My subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed, Greeting:

1. Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given My Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better Government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1883 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the Administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundation of public life which exists in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible Government hereafter. If as I confidently hope the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join Me in My hopes of the future.

2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects; and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903 My dear father King Edward VII announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again in His Proclamation of 1906 He renewed the assurances which had been given fifty years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On My accession to the Throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to

of the highest interest and concern. In the following year I visited India with the Queen Empress and testified My sympathy for her people and My desire for their well being.

3. While, these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and My Predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the People of this Realm and My Officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one left which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated; the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of My Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred up to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety and victories. In truth the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian People. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of My people in India. I am confident that these high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the

wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries; and, while retaining the confidence of the Legislatures, to co-operate with My Officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely upon My Officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to My people.

6. It is My earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between My people and those who are responsible for My Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those, who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among My people and My Officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct My Viceroy to exercise in My name and on My behalf My Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all My subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to force the laws for such offences hereafter.

7. Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India, I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities.

8. It is My intention to send My dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next Winter to inaugurate on My behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May He find mutual good-will and confidence prevailing among

those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration.

And with all My people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and, under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

JESUS THE MAN.

A HINDU APPRECIATION.

We reprint below from the full text of the paper read by Brahmachari Gurudasa at the Belur Math, which is published in the current number of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, the following concluding passages:

The Bible contains many touching incidents in the life of Jesus. Once a thoughtful young man of great wealth and high position, suddenly seized with the conviction that Jesus would be able to explain to him the true meaning of life, came running, breathless and eager; and prostrating himself at the feet of Jesus, exclaimed: "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit life?" "Keep the commandments," was Jesus' reply. "Master," replied the young man, "all these I have observed from my youth."

And Jesus seeing his sincerity, looking on him,—loved him. And then he gave him one short, crucial test of his real condition. "One thing," Jesus said, "thou lackest. Go, sell all thou hast and give it to the poor and come and follow me." It was too much! The young man went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions. He did not realise that Jesus, the Lord of all, is beyond both good and evil, that he did not care for his good deeds. Jesus wanted him not as a virtuous youth, but stripped of possessions and stripped of self,—naked and poor and humble,—to make him his own, his child, that he would carry to the bosom of his Father.

The youth preferred the comforts of life to the treasures of the Spirit; he would not purchase the things eternal by abandoning those of time. And instead of making the great renunciation of the saints, he made the refusal of the worldly. And so he vanishes from the Gospel history. But we may hope that light dawned afterwards on that sincere but weak soul, for Jesus as he looked on him, loved him.

The failure of the youth to meet the test saddened Jesus. And looking round at his disciples, he said: "how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of Heaven. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Few are they who can possess their wealth and remain unattached to it, "Not by wealth, but by renunciation alone the goal is reached," says the Hindu saint, "we cannot serve God and mammon," said Jesus.

But where Jesus had his disappointments, he also had his moments of quiet joy and satisfaction. It must have been a great relief to him after days of travel and preaching and satisfying large crowds, to

take rest in the quiet village homes of his friends. Perhaps the house of Lazarus was to him what the little convent of Saint Clara was to St. Francis of Assisi. Nowhere perhaps did Jesus pass more happy restful hours than with that little family at Bethany. The family consisted of Martha, Mary and their brother Lazarus. Their holy and happy home was always at his disposal for they loved and revered Jesus.

A touching incident once took place at this home. Martha has invited Jesus, and the busy hostess hurried to and fro to prepare for his proper entertainment. Her sister Mary knowing that Martha was only too happy to do all that could be done for Jesus' material comfort and also anxious to receive him fittingly, sat at his feet in deep humility, listening to his words. Perhaps Martha was in need of help, perhaps she was slightly jealous of her sister, anyhow she showed vexation at Mary's attitude and she asked Jesus, "would he not tell Mary to assist her in her work." But Jesus seeing her over-anxious in her hospitality said to her: "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things. But one thing is needful. And Mary has chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." Are we not reminded here of another saying of Jesus, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by the Spirit which is of God."

Jesus' love for the sisters and their brother must have been deep, for we read that Jesus wept when he received the tidings of Lazarus' death. And how could it be otherwise, considering the absolute trust and faith they had in him. They knew that Jesus was all-powerful and that he could have prevented Lazarus' death even had he chosen to do so. And when Jesus before raising Lazarus from dead asked Martha whether she believed in him, Martha without the least hesitation answers, "Yes Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the son of God, which should come into the world."

How sweet these words of faith must have sounded in Jesus' ears?

But now the scene changes. Dark, threatening clouds are gathered on the horizon of Jesus' life on earth. The priests offended with him, conspired against him that they might take his life.

Jesus had spoken many harsh words and these words fell on evil soil. And then,—there was a traitor in the camp,—Judas, one of the twelve disciples. What induced this unfortunate man to betray his master we cannot say. We do not know whether Judas' final act of selling his Lord was a sudden impulse or a long pre-meditated act. It is better to remain silent on the subject. We do not know what was his hidden motive. Judas repented and threw down the silver pieces. But his repentance only led him to self-destruction.

Jesus knew the plan that was brooding against him. "What thou art doing, do more quickly," he said to Judas at the last feast. And Judas left the room and it was night. And Jesus opened his heart to the little band that loved him. And then he made to his little children (as he affectionately calls his disciples) the blessed promise. "Whither I go thou

canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me afterwards."

And then he told them that in spite of all the anguish which the coming separation would bring, it was better for them that this personal presence should be withdrawn in order that his spiritual presence might be felt yet nearer to them than it had been before. For he who was now with them, was even part of them in his spiritual form. And he had told them on another occasion that the kingdom of God is not 'Lo here and lo there,' but within them.

A few days more and Jesus, God incarnate, was nailed to the Cross. There was one cry of agony "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" And then peace descended on Jesus' soul. He realised again that he was God himself, one with the Father. "Father," he said, "unto thy hands I recommend my Spirit."

This final act of submission was the end. "It is finished," were his last words.

Faithfully he had carried his message; his task was done. And Jesus entered into the source from which he had proceeded. For all eternity he is united with the fountainhead of all Existence.

Jesus' message was not a new message; it was but an echo of that eternal Truth that first found expression in the forest recesses of the Himalayas, in this our beloved India. Jesus revealed once more to forgetful humanity that One Eternal Truth. Many a time that message has come to man. But we forget. And then the Lord takes human birth again to save his own, to rescue drowning humanity. For though heaven and earth will pass away, God's truth remains for ever.

Long, long ago, on the battlefield of Kurukshetra, Arjuna, heard the sweet message from the lips of Lord Krishna: "Give thy heart to me, be to me devoted, worship me, and unto me thou shalt attain, truly do I promise this to thee" And that promise vibrates through all the ages. And now and then a son of God is born to catch the sound of that ancient promise, to embody it and to give it new strength and volume. And wondering humanity halts and listens.

And so that promise vibrated over the hills of Galilee and Jesus caught the sound and understood. And the echo came back from his hallowed lips: "I have come to save that which was lost. He that cometh unto me I shall no wise cast out."

And then, not long ago, came one who gathered up within himself all that had gone before. In the Temple garden of Dakshineswar a voice was heard, sweet and gentle, a voice that caught up the dying cord. And once more the world listened to that ancient but ever new refrain: "Come unto me, I have prepared the food, come all ye that hunger and eat of the bread of life."

And there was rejoicing in the highest spheres. And they that had been the Saviours of man came to do him homage. And there was one who had given his life to save the world. One glance of

recognition, one intimate embrace and the form of Jesus the Christ melted away unto the very being of him who spoke

And then came the Swami Vivekananda who gathered up his Master's message, and in trumpet voice proclaimed it before the world. And East and West rejoiced at the glad tidings.

And now let us remember that Jesus voice was the voice of the Spirit that spoke through all the Avatars, the voice of the great Physicians that come to save us from the world-disease, the disease of birth and death. "Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you," that is the secret of religion.

"And ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

PEACE AND PLENTY.

(BY MR. M. C. BENSON)

Nearly five years ago the national sins of the world had reached a climax. It needed purification; and in God's great plan there could be no better and more suitable means to bring about this end than the great national and international upheaval and confusion that He caused throughout the length and breadth of the world. The Arts and Sciences of modern civilization were considered to be 'Towers of Babylon' whereby the people could save themselves from the Divine wrath. National crimes are always punished with national calamities. German 'militarism' and German 'kultur' were two great national crimes which reduced Germany to her present low and degenerate state. God punished her and took from her His gifts of Peace and Plenty which she had enjoyed for many decades past.

The Allied nations of England, France, Belgium, America and others are not without the terrible effects of this sinister War. They have suffered economically and sustained heavy losses in men and material which it will take at least a century to make good. How many millions of the best youths have run their course of life! How many thousands have been rendered totally unfit to do any kind of work! Wives are weeping for their deported husbands; mothers are lamenting over their sons who are never to be seen by their mortal eyes; sisters are shedding their tears for their brothers who have passed through the shadow of the valley of death. Friends are mourning over their friends who have gone 'beyond'. How terrible to think of this! It is proposed in Germany that every man and woman who has lost some dear one in the War will lay a stone in a certain place as a memorial of War. Should the Allies follow this scheme, there is no doubt a fairly big mountain would be raised to remind them of their heroic martyrs.

But the storm is over and the atmosphere is clearing. There is, in almost every part of the

world that was once dark and clouded, bright silver lining to be seen. The eyes that once shed tears of grief are now bringing forth tears of joy. There is a smile on every face. The people are now forgetting all their past sorrows at the promise of a permanent Peace and Plenty. The whole world was looking forward to the day of Peace and it has come. But Peace has been secured by the shedding of the most precious blood of millions of men. It is easier to secure Peace than to maintain it; for, in the words of one of England's greatest statesmen, 'the real war will begin when the Peace Treaty is signed'. It has taken nearly five years to secure Peace but it might take fifty long years of patience and perseverance to maintain it. It means the suppression of man's greatest enemy—Self, both from a personal and national point of view. Peace is Struggle, therefore. When the firing of guns and the clashing of arms have finished, a great inward moral struggle begins. The physical conflict is over and now begins the spiritual conflict. It is the conflict between friendship and enmity, humility and pride. If we show true generosity to our enemies and are sincerely humble in our ways, we shall be a great help towards the maintenance of Peace. Love to man is love to God, and unless we love God we cannot be truly humble and God exalts those who are humble.

How long the Peace will last, no one can foretell; but it is certain that it will last just so long as we honour it, value it, and love it. If we do not do so, it will last just so long as the piece of paper on which the Treaty has been signed. Unless there is peace in our own personal lives, in our families, in our societies and in our country, there is no possibility of a permanent Peace and Plenty. If there is no such thing, the present World-Peace is but a delusion. Let us, therefore, as peace-loving members of a peaceful Empire sink all our differences of caste and creed, race and religion, and strive on towards the establishment of real and perfect 'peace that passeth all understanding.'

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM IN THE PUNJAB.

(BY MR. EDMUND CANDLER.)

II.

The Borstal system for juvenile adults was adopted in India within a few months of its adoption in England, but the underlying principle of it had been recognised in the Punjab some years earlier. The system of transferring adolescent prisoners from the other jails in the provinces and segregating them in the Lahore Central District Jail had long been in force. In this way the youthful offenders were saved from the contamination of hardened jail birds and were given special disciplinary and educative training.

The Punjab offers a finer field for Borstal work than any other Province. Indeed, it is doubtful if there is such good material for reclamation to be found elsewhere. The Borstal Jail at Lahore has the moulding of many young men who, though eligible for transportation or the gallows, are not really criminals at all. Homicides and cattle thieves, there is nothing inherently vicious in them. They are true to their primitive code. And after all it is not so much by the nature of the code that they should be judged, as by their fidelity to it and their readiness to make sacrifices for their ideal, such as it is. It is often the duty of a young Pathan to kill or loot. Honour demands it. A departure from the tradition, to neglect for instance to prosecute a blood feud to a finish, would bring as much shame to a young Pathan among his own people as the refusal to accept a challenge would have brought to a British ensign when duelling was in vogue. The regimental officer knows this, and if he has any particularly sad story to tell about the men in his battalion, it will generally be of some high spirited lad arraigned by our code for a crime sanctioned by his own. The great distinction between the Borstal in Lahore and that in Kent, from which it derives its name, lies in the material that is brought to the mould. In the Lahore jail more than half the lads imprisoned are of the agricultural class, the stock from which our sepoy are drawn, the real backbone of the country, many of them with land to inherit and an honest livelihood to look forward to on their release. The stunted thieving class, that fill the jails in England, the scum of the cities, constitute a very small minority.

One marks the difference of the material, and the turn the Borstal treatment has given it directly one enters the jail yard. One can spend an evening there, and, except in the penal cells, never feel the depression that hangs over the inmates of ordinary jails like a blanket. Nothing, of course, can obliterate the adobe drabness, the caked mud and dust of a jail compound in the Punjab; but in the human atmosphere there is no taint of prison. One misses the slouching gait and sullen hang-dog look of the habitual jail bird. From the noise and laughter you would think you were on a college play ground. There is cricket in one corner, football in another, and a young Pathan on a ten years' sentence is drilling his company in a third. The company is formed in squads. It is physical drill, army system, to the accompaniment of the jail band. The time is quite up to regimental form, and the pipers march in front with something of the pride, in the eye and the step, of the Highland drum major. The first piper and the commandant of the company are both "Star Special" men, — two of the dozen most privileged youths in the jail. The young Pathan was a budding dacoit captured

in the rounding up of a frontier gang out Tochi way six years ago. He has still four years to put in. But owing to the remissions he has earned, he is to be released in a few days on probation. The "Star Special" men earn six days remission of sentence in the month. It is this system of graded privilege and conditional release that gives the moral stimulus to the Borstal.

There is a long stair to climb, with Tartarus at the bottom for the impenitent and something remotely approaching elysium at the top—a state, indeed, which must carry the young detenu very near it if happiness is really only a manner of contrast. The "Star Special" man is a monitor of sorts. He is dressed like a Havildar in the Indian army, wears a smart belt, and is very well set up. He is drill-sergeant on parade, assistant overseer in the workshops, in charge of a block of 250 prisoners, and responsible for barrack discipline. He is not eligible for the grade until he can drill a battalion. Drill is an essential test for promotion. There are three classes of companies, and failure to pass from A to B, or from B to C, within a prescribed time means the forfeiture of some remission. The Borstal aims at the regimental spirit; the penal side of the life is paraded as little as possible. The Superintendent (Major Findlayson, I.M.S.), under whom the institution has grown, is attempting to create something of the House feeling of our Public Schools, a spirit of emulation between companies and barracks, and thus insensibly to evolve *esprit de corps*. The graded system lends itself admirably to this.

There are four grades. The Penal, the Ordinary, the Special and the Star Special. The bulk of the lads fall into the Ordinary grade; the special comprises some seventy—these wear a distinctive badge; the Star Special form a picked dozen. When we had watched the Punjabi games, the Jailer Sardar Sahib Hukm Singh, who after the Superintendent, is the "ma-bap" among the young offenders took me to the Penal cells. Here I was shown the impenitents at the bottom of the scale. Theirs was hard work, the plainest diet, solitary confinement. They wear sack-cloth, press oil, pound fibre and grind corn. Outside each cell lay the inmate's upper millstone, like a symbol or a badge. These are detached from the neiter stones and removed in the evening lest the inmate grind his head between the two in a fit of despair. There were 16 prisoners in the penal grade at the time of my visit, two or three of them reconvicted lads for whom the hard hand is necessary; otherwise they will drift back to the Borstal after release as to their home. Others had shown themselves impenitent, sulky, slow to work, defiant of authority. But none are defiant after a day or two. Many of them made gestures of remorse and supplication to us as we passed, standing rigid and raising their closed palms to their ears. The Jailer

spoke kindly to them. "We have to break them in," he explained, "like young horses." The difficulty, of course, in the Borstal is to strike the happy mean between the life of the college student and the convict. This is not easy in spite of grades. There must be no softness, or easing off of discipline, and there must be a great deal of hard work. In the early phases particularly the punitive side of the treatment must be emphasized. The whole success of the Borstal hangs on the personality and tact of the Superintendent and the Jailer. In the Lahore Jail there is no instance of a conditionally released inmate who has failed to make good his probation. From this it would appear that the staff have the admirable knack of the middle way.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I thank you for the withdrawal, in your issue of December 14, of the charge that missionaries insist on their converts eating meat and even drinking wine. Your correspondent has unintentionally done the Christian community a service by giving wide publicity to the fact that becoming Christian has no necessary connection with either of these.

Still, you think that there is force in Mr. Manilal's complaint that "on the strength of this single statement, his competency to deal with the subject should be questioned." I bow to your ruling, but I suggest that a writer who makes a statement which casts a slur on the good name of thousands of devoted men, both Indian and European, and who when called upon to substantiate, has not a thread of evidence to produce, puts himself out of court as a controversialist. There was nothing in the letter referred to—I missed the first and so cannot speak of that—to indicate that the writer was a Christian. That fact, of course, increases his competency in the matter.

He asks a reply to his main contentions. Unfortunately I have not kept the paper and cannot trust my memory sufficiently to do so in detail, but his recent letter takes, I presume, the main points.

As regards the question of meat eating, given as an example of the denationalising effect of missionary teaching, apart from the charge of compulsion which is withdrawn, it seems to me that your correspondent is mixing different things. Is there anything essentially un-Indian in meat eating? If so, the Mohammedans are not Indians, and the great mass of the farming population (I speak of the South India which only I claim to know) all the outcastes are all non-Indian. This is, of course, absurd. I dare say he may be right in saying that out of one hundred vegetarian converts not five per cent remain non-meat eaters ultimately. But what of that? Are they thereby denationalised? Not in the least. The whole matter becomes one of personal preference. The religious conception that is at the root of Indian vegetarianism—the oneness of all life, no longer holds. The right or wrong must be decided by the convert on other grounds and Christian freedom on all such matters is absolute. However, this is giving prominence to what is after all a very secondary matter.

The brunt of the other charges is on two counts: First that the Christian community is "entirely proletarianised"

denationalised, anglicised and materialised" and that missionaries are responsible. I think mere quotation is refutation. Does Mr. Manilal reflect before he uses such a word as "entirely"? Can't he recall many among his acquaintances about whom the statement sounds absolutely unjust? I know very many.

And what does it indicate? "Proletariat" means, according to my dictionary, "belonging to the labouring class". If your correspondent means that missionaries have "proletarianised" their converts, reduced them to the status of labourers that is *peles asunder* from fact. Every mission is embarrassed with just the opposite tendency. If he means that converts are drawn mainly from the proletariat, I admit. But in defence I remind him of a little word that means much "The common people heard Him gladly". It always has been so.

The charge of materialism is more difficult to meet, because it is so indefinite. I suppose the Christian community can be blamed with it, but who can not? To say that Christians are more so than others would be exceedingly hard to prove and could at best be only an opinion. My opinion would be on the other side.

The charge of being anglicised has obviously no meaning as regards the great bulk of Christians who are simple village folk, but it has relevancy in regard to educated town-Christians. Personally I regret this and very many, probably most missionaries do so, but it has to be said that this tendency has been by no means confined to Christians and it is among them as elsewhere, I believe decreasing, with the growth of national self-respect.

But probably Mr. Manilal has mainly in mind the political future of Christians as a body and his fear lest they become what he calls an "anti-Hindu counter state"—surely not a happy or an accurate phrase. I know that there is among the younger educated Christians a strong feeling that Christians have not taken the place in political matters as they should have done. So far as this is true it is a pity, but I do not think it amounts to much more than saying that they have been on the Moderate wing in politics. The reason is patent. It is exactly that which causes the non-Brahman movement. They know that, in the South at least, that extremists' activity is largely of Brahmin origin and they know from experience, all too keen, the attenuated connection that exists between platform perorations and daily practice. They fear Brahman domination and believe the British Government is the only protector against that. Mr. K. T. Paul has publicly repudiated this fear and every weight must be given to his opinion, but it is not the general opinion amongst the Christians. Of that I am sure. The only way to solve this problem is Social Reform—democracy in the true sense—not the tinselly stuff that is so prominent at present. A saying lingers in my memory, by whom I cannot recollect, but it is full of meaning. "True democracy does not say 'I am as good a man as you.' It says, 'You are as good a man as I', and therein lies a world of difference.

I fear I have not taken all your correspondent's points. But your space has limits. As regards the quotation from St. Paul, I do not agree with Mr. Manilal's interpretation, but that cannot be discussed here. If he cares to correspond with me, I shall be glad.

Your sincerely

J. T. M.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

In the *Reformer* of the 14th instant writing under the heading "the Reformers and the Radicals," you say "on the other hand it is only fair to note that the Bombay Presidency Association and the Bombay branch of the National Home Rule League, both Radical organisations, the one by capture, the other by original constitution have welcomed the Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Committee." As the above statement contains some weighty inaccuracies so far as the Bombay Presidency Association is concerned, I shall be much obliged if you would kindly allow me—one who can speak with authority on the point—to explain them through the columns of your *Reformer*.

Firstly, the Bombay Presidency Association, as it is, is not a Radical organisation if you accept the current meaning of the term 'Radical' as applied to Indian politics. If it were so, it would never have welcomed the Reform Bill. From the composition of its members, it will be found that the Association is far from being Radical. It has on its roll members belonging to various shades of political thought—ranging from ultra-moderate to ultra-extremist. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Bombay Presidency Association is the only political institution in India which is non-sectarian and which has a representative character and it is no small credit to Bombay that, in spite of personal and party differences, it has a representative institution which provides a common platform for political discussions.

Secondly, the implication that Radicals have captured the Bombay Presidency Association can be successfully challenged to be incorrect by facts and figures. The management of the Association is in the hands of a Council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Members and Secretaries. A glance through the names of persons forming the Council will show that Radicals are in a minority. As a matter of fact, working at the present constitution of the Council, it will not be far from truth to call the Association a Moderate organisation. Being so, it is very unfair to the prestige and past record of the Association to say that it has become a Radical organisation and that Radicals have captured it when the facts are quite the reverse. I may also mention that, at no stage of the evolution of the Reform Bill, the Association has expressed any radical attitude towards the same. In conclusion I request that you will be good enough to publish this letter lest the Indian public should be under a mistaken idea as to the political view of the Association.

Tripuray, Valapad, }
19th December 1919. }

N. V. SARMA.

TOWARDS RELIGIOUS RE-CONSTRUCTION.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

In connection with the Peace Celebrations in Bandikui three religious services were held under the auspices of the Local Arrangements Committee. On Sunday morning, the 14th December, there was a parade of the I. D. F. in church, and in the evening two united meetings took place. More than once during the war the Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians of Bandikui had met and offered prayers together. On this occasion an endeavour was made, not to say separate prayers in one place, but to join in common worship.

One of these united services was held in the European Institute, which was beautifully decorated with palms and chrysanthemums. There was a large and representative attendance. The hymns chosen were of a truly catholic

nature. These included the 100th psalm ("All people that on earth do dwell") and the children's hymn—"All things bright and beautiful." The prayers likewise were such that all could take part in them sincerely from beginning to end. One was of a composite nature, consisting chiefly of sentences from the Hindu scriptures, the Coran and the New Testament.

An interesting feature of the service was the reading of passages from or representing various sacred books. A Hindu gentleman read something from one of the *Upanishads* and a few verses from one of the *Bhakti* school of religious poets. An Englishman, a member of the Church of England, read from Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* an incident illustrating the teaching of Buddhism. A Mohammedan gentleman read part of one of the chapters of the Coran. A Presbyterian Scotsman read the passage from the Jewish scriptures which sums up the essence of religion in the memorable words—"Do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." Lastly, a young Indian Christian read from the Gospel of Luke the parable of the good Samaritan. All these readings were, like the rest of this service, in English, but it was pointed out that all were translations, as every one of the great religious books of the world had its origin in Asia.

In a short address some hopeful features of the present universal unrest were touched upon. The emphasis, however, was laid on the urgent duty of re-building our shattered civilisation on a more unselfish basis, with special reference to the need of religious re-construction on less exclusive and more catholic lines. At the close of the address the whole congregation was asked to join, in spirit if not audibly, in the beautiful hymn known to many as the 30th paraphrase.

"Come, let us to the Lord our God
with contrite hearts return,
Our God is gracious, nor will leave
the desolate to mourn," etc.

After the benediction the organist struck up the National Anthem, two verses of which were heartily sung. Later in the evening, the other gathering referred to was held in the Indian Institute, where Mr. O. S. M. Jacob, the well-known baker of the place, who is devout and broad-minded Mussalman, read what he called "a religious and scriptural thanksgiving drama." This was partly in the vernacular and partly in English, and was, with religious songs interspersed, an earnest thanksgiving for victory and peace on the one hand, and on the other a call to men of all religions to abandon sectarianism and with charity towards one another worship and serve the one God who is the Creator and Protector of us all. Here also various faiths and Churches were re-presented, and an effort made in the right spirit towards the re-construction of religion.

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The charge of materialism is more difficult to meet, because it is so indefinite. I suppose the Christian community can be blamed with it, but who can not? To say that Christians are more so than others would be exceedingly hard to prove and could at best be only an opinion. My opinion would be on the other side.

The charge of being anglicised has obviously no meaning as regards the great bulk of Christians who are simple village folk, but it has relevancy in regard to educated town-Christians. Personally I regret this and very many, probably most missionaries do so, but it has to be said that this tendency has been by no means confined to Christians and it is among them as elsewhere, I believe decreasing, with the growth of national self-respect.

But probably Mr. Manilal has mainly in mind the political future of Christians as a body and his fear lest they become what he calls an "anti-Hindu counter state"—surely not a happy or an accurate phrase. I know that there is among the younger educated Christians a strong feeling that Christians have not taken the place in political matters as they should have done. So far as this is true it is a pity, but I do not think it amounts to much more than saying that they have been on the Moderate wing in politics. The reason is patent. It is exactly that which causes the non-Brahman movement. They know that, in the South at least, that extremists' activity is largely of Brahmin origin and they know from experience, all too keen, the attenuated connection that exists between platform perorations and daily practice. They fear Brahman domination and believe the British Government is the only protector against that. Mr. K. T. Paul has publicly repudiated this fear and every weight must be given to his opinion, but it is not the general opinion amongst the Christians. Of that I am sure. The only way to solve this problem is Social Reform—democracy in the true sense—not the tinselly stuff that is so prominent at present. A saying lingers in my memory, by whom I cannot recollect, but it is full of meaning. "True democracy does not say 'I am as good a man as you.' It says, 'You are as good a man as I', and therein lies a world of difference.

I fear I have not taken all your correspondent's points. But your space has limits. As regards the quotation from St. Paul, I do not agree with Mr. Manilal's interpretation, but that cannot be discussed here. If he cares to correspond with me, I shall be glad.

Your sincerely

J. T. M.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

In the *Reformer* of the 14th instant writing under the heading "the Reform and the Radicals," you say "on the other hand it is only fair to note that the Bombay Presidency Association and the Bombay branch of the National Home Rule League, both Radical organisations, the one by capture, the other by original constitution have welcomed the Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Committee." As the above statement contains some weighty inaccuracies so far as the Bombay Presidency Association is concerned, I shall be much obliged if you would kindly allow me—one who can speak with authority on the point—to explain them through the columns of your *Reformer*.

Firstly, the Bombay Presidency Association, as it is, is not a Radical organisation if you accept the current meaning of the term 'Radical' as applied to Indian politics. If it were so, it would never have welcomed the Reform Bill. From the composition of its members, it will be found that the Association is far from being Radical. It has on its roll members belonging to various shades of political thought—ranging from ultra-moderate to ultra-extremist. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Bombay Presidency Association is the only political institution in India which is non-sectarian and which has a representative character and it is no small credit to Bombay that, in spite of personal and party differences, it has a representative institution which provides a common platform for political discussions.

Secondly, the implication that Radicals have captured the Bombay Presidency Association can be successfully challenged to be incorrect by facts and figures. The management of the Association is in the hands of a Council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Members and Secretaries. A glance through the names of persons forming the Council will show that Radicals are in a minority. As a matter of fact, working at the present constitution of the Council, it will not be far from truth to call the Association a Moderate organisation. Being so, it is very unfair to the prestige and past record of the Association to say that it has become a Radical organisation and that Radicals have captured it when the facts are quite the reverse. I may also mention that, at no stage of the evolution of the Reform Bill, the Association has expressed any radical attitude towards the same. In conclusion I request that you will be good enough to publish this letter lest the Indian public should be under a mistaken idea as to the political view of the Association.

Tripuray, Velapad, }
19th December 1919. }

N. V. SARMA.

TOWARDS RELIGIOUS RE-CONSTRUCTION.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

In connection with the Peace Celebrations in Bandikui three religious services were held under the auspices of the Local Arrangements Committee. On Sunday morning, the 14th December, there was a parade of the I. D. F. in church, and in the evening two united meetings took place. More than once during the war the Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians of Bandikui had met and offered prayers together. On this occasion an endeavour was made, not to say separate prayers in one place, but to join in common worship.

One of these united services was held in the European Institute, which was beautifully decorated with palms and chrysantheums. There was a large and representative attendance. The hymns chosen were of a truly catholic

nature. These included the 100th psalm ("All people that on earth do dwell") and the children's hymn—"All things bright and beautiful." The prayers likewise were such that all could take part in them sincerely from beginning to end. One was of a composite nature, consisting chiefly of sentences from the Hindu scriptures, the Coran and the New Testament.

An interesting feature of the service was the reading of passages from or representing various sacred books. A Hindu gentleman read something from one of the *Upanishads* and a few verses from one of the *Bhakti* school of religious poets. An Englishman, a member of the Church of England, read from Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* an incident illustrating the teaching of Buddhism. A Mohammedan gentleman read part of one of the chapters of the Coran. A Presbyterian Scotsman read the passage from the Jewish scriptures which sums up the essence of religion in the memorable words—"Do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." Lastly, a young Indian Christian read from the Gospel of Luke the parable of the good Samaritan. All these readings were, like the rest of this service, in English, but it was pointed out that all were translations, as every one of the great religious books of the world had its origin in Asia.

In a short address some hopeful features of the present universal unrest were touched upon. The emphasis, however, was laid on the urgent duty of re-building our shattered civilisation on a more unselfish basis, with special reference to the need of religious re-construction on less exclusive and more catholic lines. At the close of the address the whole congregation was asked to join, in spirit if not audibly, in the beautiful hymn known to many as the 30th paraphrase.

"Come, let us to the Lord our God
with contrite hearts return,
Our God is gracious, nor will leave
the desolate to mourn," etc.

After the benediction the organist struck up the National Anthem, two verses of which were heartily sung. Later in the evening, the other gathering referred to was held in the Indian Institute, where Mr. O. S. M. Jacob, the well-known baker of the place, who is devout and broad-minded Mussalman, read what he called "a religious and scriptural thanksgiving drama." This was partly in the vernacular and partly in English, and was, with religious songs interspersed, an earnest thanksgiving for victory and peace on the one hand, and on the other a call to men of all religions to abandon sectarianism and with charity towards one another worship and serve the one God who is the Creator and Protector of us all. Here also various faiths and Churches were re-presented, and an effort made in the right spirit towards the re-construction of religion.

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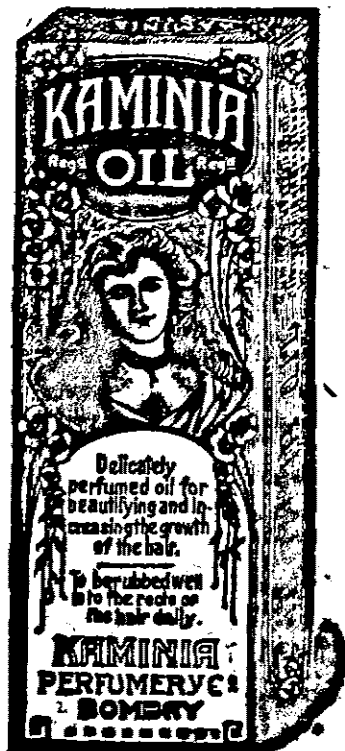
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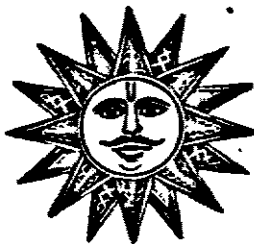
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Non-Brahmins in Conference: The Non-Brahmin movement in Madras inaugurated by the late Dr. T. M. Nair is, we are glad to see, turning its attention to social and religious reform. A non-Brahmin Social Workers' Conference was held last week along with the political Conference. The resolution advocating the installation and daily worship of a Hindu idol by educationally qualified Hindus not necessarily belonging to hereditarily priestly communities, is not the kind of religious reform which will advance Brahmins or non-Brahmins. Still, it is satisfactory to note that the fact that religion is at the root of reform, is being recognised. Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chetti moved the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Conference, the time has come when the Non-Brahmins of Southern India should give up altogether the Brahminical customs of infant marriage and enforced widowhood and the Brahminical habit of treating several classes as untouchable." With the general purport of this resolution, we are wholly in sympathy. But surely infant marriage was not originally a Brahminical custom. The late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dewan Bahadur Raghoonath Rao, and scholars have maintained that the remarriage of widows was permitted in ancient times. We do not know if the institution of "untouchables" is of Brahminical origin, but the fact remains that it prevails most widely in Southern India where non-Brahmin influence has been paramount. It was the practice some years ago to ascribe all our bad social customs to Mahomedan influence, but a better acquaintance with history has led to this convenient theory being largely given up. Surely social reform need not be made the plaything of caste rivalries.

The Scope of Social Reform: We print today Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's important message to the Amritsar National Social Conference recommending the enlargement of the scope of the movement to subjects which in the West are comprised in the term social reform. In this connection, the following timely observations by the *Modern Review* are worth noting: "It will not do for us merely to

play to the gallery by sneering at either the "Moderates" or the "Extremists." Among the ranks of both, in varying proportions in different places, we find men who are wise enough to appreciate the great need for social reform if political reform is to make much progress. And we should remember that with us social reform must not concern itself only with such comparatively easy matters (from the point of view of moral courage and facing unpopularity) as the housing of the poor, the shortening of the hours of labour, the throwing open of places of innocent amusement on Sundays, and the like. In India, it has to concern itself with much more vital and fundamental problems which have been long solved in the advanced countries of the West. Our hoary traditions, our hidebound customs, our rooted superstitions, our slavish and blind submission to religious authority, our immemorial social usages, make the task a tremendously up-hill one. The whole outlook, the entire spirit, must be transformed in order to bring social life in conformity with our political aspirations." Care will no doubt be taken that the Social Conference does not, in its widened scope, lose sight of the deeper things mentioned by our contemporary.

The Karnatak Education Society. A correspondent writes:—"The Karnatak Education Society has come forward with a timely proposal to open a second grade Arts College at Dharwar. All preparations for the opening of the College seem to have been made and the Government referred to in the matter of granting affiliation. The demand for higher education in the Karnatak seems to be fast growing and the Government will do well to liberally help the society to meet the increased need of provision in the first two years classes, and immediately raise their own college to its full status. The large saving so secured, can profitably be directed towards founding technical and other institutions for professional education in the Karnatak, where approved private enterprise in these directions is not readily available. Moreover, we learn that the Karnatak students, resorting to Poona or Bombay for their collegiate education, suffer considerable difficulties with regard to hostel and other arrangements and that their health is exposed to great risk. Dharwar is the central city of the Karnatak and is known for its bracing climate. Under these circumstances, we feel no justification possible in compelling even a few Karnatak students to go to these mofussil cities when a recognised local body has voluntarily come forward to make the necessary provision."

Sir Sankaran Nair in the India Council: The Secretary of State for India has appointed Sir Sankaran Nair a member of the India Council. The appointment is made under the terms of the new Act.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 4, 1920.

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the element's rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be the rest!—*Prospice, Browning.*

The outstanding impression left by Amritsar on one's mind is of a great, a vast popular upheaval. The Reception Committee of the National Congress, under the able guidance of Swami Shraddhanand, had done its best in circumstances of unprecedented difficulty. But the people of Amritsar had taken the matter in their own hands, and the most marked feature of Amritsar's welcome to her guests was its gracious spontaneity. When the downpour of rain had laid the Congress grounds under water, and made the tents provided for the delegates uninhabitable, scores of householders moved into the houses of friends and relatives, and placed their own homes at the disposal of the men who came in their hundreds by every train. The streets, the approaches to the railway station, the railway station itself, were a mass of humanity. Heaps of bright yellow flowers are everywhere: girls and women wait on the wayside with garlands of them in their hands to welcome the leaders. The stranger finds himself courteously stopped in the street with kind enquiries as to his name and province, and welcomed with a glad *namaskar* from gray-bearded, great-turbaned men. Amritsar, it is clear, is delighted to have her guests from far and near within her gates. They have come to mourn with her—the badge of the Congress delegate is a plain black rosette—but the Punjab will not let her hospitality be clouded by her sorrows. It would be rash to generalise about a whole province. But the people who crowded the streets of Amritsar during Congress week, were not a calculating lot: they were a generous, impulsive, emotional people who took you to their hearts at first sight, and gave you all their confidence, and took infinite pains to make you feel that you were one of themselves, and not a stranger and a guest. The Punjab has won the hearts of all those who were at Amritsar. Always the martyr province of India, receiving the first shock of invasions and invaders, she is now in a special sense endeared and sanctified in the heart of India. One figure stands prominent in one's impression of the Amritsar week—Swami Shraddhanand who, like Savonarola, took upon himself secular duties at the dire hour of his people's need. The tall figure, clad in the

immemorial *Kashaya* of India's world-renouncers, with striking features beaming with power and benignity, was here, there and everywhere, attending to the humblest visitor and to the minutest detail of a tremendous organisation. One railway authority estimated that twenty-thousand persons had arrived at Amritsar.

JALLIANWALA.

One of the first things on arrival at Amritsar is a visit to Jallianwala Bagh. The place has been described so often that it is needless to do it again. A narrow bottle-neck between brick-structures leads to a large open space overlooked on all sides by houses. At the far end to the right is a sort of narrow doorway—the only exit. Towards the middle, also slightly to the right, stands a small temple, also of brick. Half-way in the middle to the left is a well without any protecting walls. At the end and at the sides towards it, are walls, mostly of mud, in attempting to clamber over which many men appear to have been shot down. Half the space at present is now dug up for foundations, for a market, it was said. The other half, it had been proposed to buy up as the site for a monument to those who fell there on the disastrous *Vaishak* day. Streams of men and women are constantly to be seen walking all over the place, examining the bullet marks on the walls, securing souvenirs of blood-sodden earth which seems to be especially frequent round about the small temple. Another much visited locality is called, as far as one can make out, Kaurianwala's Khu. This is a narrow paved lane between high buildings, and it was here that the crawling order was enforced indiscriminately on all, because a few ruffians committed the brutal and cowardly assault on the missionary lady, Miss Sherwood. Jallianwala Bagh and Kaurianwala's Khu form the back-ground against which one pictures Amritsar during Congress week. The Town Hall, the National Bank, and the Prayer Hall stand, in their dismantled state, humiliating reminders of the destructive fury of the mob. It is the Indian view—not only politicians, but retired Government servants and prosperous merchants who never took part in politics, say the same thing—that the mob was exasperated by being fired upon while peacefully on its way to make a representation to the chief civil authority regarding the sudden deportation of two local leaders.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

In order to do justice to the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru's presidential address to the Congress, it is necessary to remember that he has been in the Punjab for weeks, foregoing his lucrative legal practice in Allahabad, investigating the occurrences of April last. He knows a good deal more of the inner truth of these things than any one else, with the exception only of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Gandhi. From what we have

heard independently from absolutely reliable sources, we are able to say that the presidential address, so far as the Punjab trouble is concerned, errs, if at all, on the side of moderation. We do not know what the report of the Congress Sub-Committee of Enquiry, of which Mr. Motilal was till recently chairman, will contain. But we have heard, we repeat from unimpeachable sources, enough to convince us that the view that the Punjab trouble was mainly the result of gross maladministration is thoroughly sound. These matters, it is said, are *sub-judice* and Mr. Motilal should not have referred to them. But it is Government, by passing the Indemnity Act, that has made such abstinence impossible. The announcement that there is to be an enquiry was made some time in June or July. The enquiry actually began in November. Meanwhile, in September, Government had introduced and carried through the Legislative Council a measure relieving of legal consequences every officer whose actions are certified by the Secretary to Government as having been done in good faith for the preservation of order. We do not think that Government had at the time a full knowledge of all the actions that were to be covered by the Indemnity Act. They were, for instance, not aware of the extent of the execution done under General Dyer's orders at Jallianwala Bagh. We are not inclined to exempt the Secretary of State from responsibility for the untimeliness of the Indemnity Act. After having promised an enquiry, he should have insisted on such a measure being postponed until after the completion of the enquiry, protecting the officers concerned from any action at law in the interval by means, if necessary, of a suspensory Act. We ought to say, in passing, that Sir Dinshah Wacha's hasty and ill-judged support of the Indemnity Act in the Legislative Council, has been taken to heart in the Punjab. One heard it said again and again that that went a great way to estrange the Punjab from the Moderates few of whom, as a matter of fact, approve of Sir Dinshah's action in this regard.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU ON THE REFORM ACT.

While we appreciate the restraint and moderation of the presidential address in so far as it relates to the Punjab trouble, we think that Mr. Motilal fell far short of justice, both to himself and to his subject, in his comments on the Reform Act. The scheme of the Act is admittedly a compromise, and any one can point out weak points in a compromise. But a publicist of Mr. Motilal's standing and experience, was expected to take the scheme as a whole and to judge of its parts, not as isolated pieces, but in relation to the entire scheme. It is clear that he has not studied the subject with as much care as he has devoted to the Punjab troubles. His criticisms are ac-

ademic and even his information is incorrect. He errs much in the same way—though in the contrary direction—as the Government of India's final despatch on the scheme. If we wish to be trusted, we do not do well to begin by intensely distrusting those whom we want to trust us. It is wise to be generous even in politics. The President's criticisms are conceived in a carping, petulant spirit. He has not in this matter risen to the occasion. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Motilal was not quite true to himself in this part of the address: that he was more concerned with keeping up with a party than with doing justice to a great experiment. Perhaps, if the King's Proclamation had come a week earlier, the President would have had time to readjust his angle of vision. It took him unawares. A more practised and resourceful leader would have flung the printed address aside, and dealt with the Reform scheme in the spirit of His Majesty's Proclamation. The President's peroration, however, makes up for any defects:

We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunities of development; where women have ceased to be in bondage, and the rigours of the caste system have disappeared; where there are no privileged classes or communities; where education is free and open to all; where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the labourer and the ryot; where labour is respected and wellpaid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is a thing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this country, it will be inspired by joy and hope, and the terrible misery we see around us will become a bad dream which has faded away from our memory, on our awakening to welcome the morning sun. But that day is yet distant. We have still a difficult path, full of obstacles and pitfalls, before us. Let us march ahead with truth for our guide and courage our watchword and before long we shall reach the promised land.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS.

The National Congress conveyed its loyal acknowledgments to His Majesty for his gracious Proclamation and recorded a resolution welcoming the announcement of the intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Of the other resolutions, interest naturally centres on those relating to Punjab affairs and the Reform Act. It was a foregone conclusion that the Congress resolutions on the Punjab occurrences should give adequate expression to the public feeling in the province. The resolutions dealing with the official acts and policy, were appropriately preceded by a resolution of emphatic condemnation of the excesses and violence of the mob, moved by Mr. Gandhi and supported by Swami Shradhdhanand, the two great moral influences at the last Congress. Mr. Gandhi maintained that there was no greater resolution before the assembly than this, "the whole key to success in the future lies in your hearty acceptance of this resolution—the hearty recognition of the truth underlying this resolution and acting up to it to the extent that we feel in recognising the eternal

truth that underlies this resolution." Swami Shradhanand said that in condemning their own people for their misdeeds, they were merely cutting off a diseased limb for the good of the body. Opinions may differ as to the expediency at the present stage of passing the resolutions urging the relieving of General Dyer of his command, the removing of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from the Army Commission, and the recall of the Viceroy. The Congress, in our view, would have done better to have contented itself with condemning measures leaving the men concerned to be dealt with by the proper authorities. But local feeling regarding the first two officers demanded recognition, and the fact that the resolutions were moved by Mrs. Besant and Professor Ruchi Bam—an educationist and social and religious reformer for the first time appearing on a political platform—conveys its own significance. The resolution urging the recall of Lord Chelmsford is without precedent in the annals of the Congress. The Bombay Presidency Association, we think, once passed a resolution demanding the recall of Lord Curzon. But the Congress had not followed the Association. We ourselves suggested on a recent occasion that a change of Viceroyalty would appreciably assist the restoration of public confidence in the Government of India. Nobody can question the right of the Congress to suggest the recall of a Viceroy who has proved a failure, as Lord Chelmsford has done, but the greater the restraint it shows in regard to personal topics the more weight is it likely to carry with the public here and in England. The Viceroy, when all is said, has been confronted by unprecedented difficulties, and this fact should not be omitted in any responsible judgment of his career in this country.

THE CONGRESS AND THE REFORM ACT.

But it is in regard to its resolution on the Reform Act that the Congress, we are sorry to say, utterly discredited itself as the mouthpiece of responsible opinion in the country. And it did this at the instigation of Mr. Tilak and against the earnest appeals of Mr. Gandhi and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The curious part of the matter is that Mr. Tilak had not many days ago expressed himself in regard to the reforms in a sense quite the contrary of the line he took in the Congress. He had cabled to the Secretary of State promising co-operation, when the King's Proclamation was published. Mr. Gandhi used very strong language in denouncing the tergiversation of Mr. Tilak. But Mr. Tilak has ever been, for all his great personal talents, a very slippery politician, and he cannot afford at this stage of his career to let Mr. C. R. Dass or Mr. Satyamurti outdo him as expounders of the creed of irreconcilable extremism. He is one of the men who are interested in widening and perpetuating the breach between Moderates and

Radicals, as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is to heal the differences and to close the division. We are grieved that the Congress allowed itself to follow the guidance of Mr. Tilak and to turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of men vastly his superiors in wisdom and political insight. The resolution which it has passed does not reflect the opinion of any informed person in this country, and, as we said, Mr. Tilak himself had accepted the reforms. No honest thinker can deny that the Reform Act is vastly superior to the Reform Bill as it was introduced in Parliament. The King's Proclamation has emphasised and, in the opinion of competent judges, enlarged the hopes held out by the Act. A great opportunity has been lost of bringing the Congress once more into line with the considered judgment of the country. We had hoped that, after his utterances in England, Mr. Tilak would turn over a new leaf and utilise the new opportunities to build up instead of pulling down. That hope has been destroyed. But it is a mistake to assume that the Tilak policy is in the ascendant. On the contrary, there are unmistakable signs that the country is getting tired of his barren tactics, and the Congress resolution marks really the climax of his egotistic and unprincipled opportunism.

THE MODERATE CONFERENCE.

The all-India Moderate Conference met at Calcutta on Tuesday with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, late member of the Madras Executive Council, for President. The presidential address was, as might have been expected, an able, impartial and thoughtful pronouncement, and it touched on almost all the important questions of the hour. As a contribution to our political literature, it is above the level of the Congress presidential address. Sir Sivaswami Iyer's estimate of the merits and potentialities of the Reform Act, is much nearer the right one than Pandit Motilal's. On one point, however, we do not agree with Sir Sivaswami. He was evidently referring to the demand for a declaration of rights when he said "while stoutly opposing all improper measures of repressive legislation, we shall not seek to fetter the powers of the Indian Legislature." This demand was preferred long before the Punjab occurrences. It was, if we remember, first put forward shortly after Mrs. Besant's internment. There is, therefore, no point in the criticism that a declaration of rights will not prevent the declaration of martial law. Nobody said that it would. But it will prevent the suppression of public meetings and of the freedom of the press, and it will prevent the passing of Rowlatt Acts. The example of the United States is probably a safer one for us to follow than that of Great Britain in matters of his kind, as our conditions more approximate to those of the United States than that of the latter country. There is still less point in the objection

that there will be more Indian members in the Government. We all know that an Indian member can be as much an obstinate bureaucrat as an English member of Council, and three such Indians—not by any means an impossibility—would not add to the security of the subject. It will be even worse if the Indians differ among themselves.

Sir Sivaswami's analysis of the Punjab situation was acute, penetrating and, in some respects, more damning, because of its very detachment, than Pandit Motilal's. Take, for instance, the following comment on the happenings at Amritsar under Martial law :

It is a strange feature of the mental constitution of those military officers that they should have imagined that the steps they took were a remedy for the sullenness of the people and a means for promoting the popularity of the Government. We are naively told by General Sir William Benyon that instead of being unduly severe, the administration erred on the side of leniency and that he and Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of General Dyer's exploit. It is inconceivable that such things can ever happen under the name of martial law in England or even in Ireland. That they could have happened in India shows the ineptitude of the present system of government. It is obvious that the Government of India must have regarded the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill as a direct challenge of their authority and as a trial of strength between the people and the government and that, having given their promise of support to the local authorities, they were prevented by panic and love of prestige from listening to the representations of Indian leaders, or making any attempt to see things for themselves. It is no wonder that the hearts of our people have been stirred by these doings to their inmost depths. The indecent haste with which the Indemnity Bill was rushed through the Imperial Council is now intelligible. It will also be clear how well-founded the objection of the people was to the provisions of the Rowlatt Bill which entrust the liberty of the subject to the mercy of the Executive.

The main defect of Sir Sivaswami's address is that it gives no evidence, contains no hint, that its author has a perception that there are aspects of the national problem which are neither administrative nor, in the narrow sense of the term, political. Pandit Motilal in his peroration showed that he could look beyond politics. Sir Sivaswami has no word about the position of women in the national life, or, of caste though he comes from a province where caste is now the prominent factor in politics.

On the whole, while we are inclined to agree that there is room for a Moderate Conference (by whatever name it may be called), we do not think that it is as a distinct party, but as a second chamber, a revising, delaying device, of our unofficial Parliament. The Congress has become impossible for purposes of deliberation. It is more and more becoming an institution for imparting knowledge of and interest in politics to the masses. The increasing use of the vernaculars has broken the partition between the English-educated classes and the masses, and the result is a sense of strength and power in both which was hitherto inappreciable. The Congress is thus a dynamic force which needs a guiding and restraining in-

fluence. On the other hand, according to Sir Sivaswami Iyer's own statement, the Moderate Conference's part is to co-operate with officials and non-officials in advancing public welfare. An individual or institution with co-operation as its distinctive feature and method, is as a rule not likely to be abounding in initiative. A person who is ready to cooperate with all, has seldom any end or aim of his own. The programme laid down at Calcutta for the Moderates, is too cautious and calculating to evoke enthusiasm. We want a combination of intellect and enthusiasm to push forward national progress—the former to take charge of the steering gear, the latter to supply the driving power. The Moderate Conference may supply the steering skill but the Congress must provide the driving-power.

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The National Social Conference was held in the Congress pandal on Sunday evening, the 28th December, and was attended by about 8,000 persons, of whom over 1,000 were women. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, a staunch and munificent supporter of the widow re-marriage movement, welcomed the delegates in a forceful Urdu speech in which he emphasised the need of widow re-marriage reform in Hindu society. Lala Hansraj, retired Principal and Founder of the D. A. V. School and leader of the Arya Samaj movement, was elected President and he delivered a comprehensive and eloquent speech on the social reform movement. Then Mr. Devdhar read the following message from Sir Narayan Chandavarkar the General Secretary :

"It is a matter to me of the deepest regret and disappointment that owing to illness in my family I am unable to attend the session of the Indian National Social Conference at Amritsar, which, in kind response to so many, you and other ardent social reformers of the Punjab, have at such short notice and in the midst of Punjab's sufferings, organized. For that prompt and patriotic action you all deserve the warmest acknowledgements of all earnest lovers and servants of the Motherland. You deserve them all the more because the Social Conference at Amritsar this year will be held at an epoch-making period in the history of this ancient and living land of ours. A new era, throbbing with the aspirations of a higher life of union and achievement, is dawning upon us or has already dawned. Of the many signs of that new life none is more marked than the spirit of patriotism and nationality, and of service to the Motherland and sacrifice in her cause which have more or less diffused themselves among all classes and communities. If it is easy to exaggerate the extent and character of that diffusion, it is just as easy to ignore and underestimate them. Whatever the extent or character, there is an awakened conscience and there is an awakened consciousness of higher life

in the country. It is true that that conscience and that consciousness have during the last few years, when they have made their voice heard before the world more forcibly than ever before, been almost wholly political in their outlook and activity so much so as to give one the impression that we have in India thrust back social reform and deified instead the political. But the social reform movements and agitations during the last 100 years in India will show that with the growth of years and under the stress of a variety of circumstances both kinds of reform, have been thinning the partition wall which divided them, and seeking to coalesce and absorb each other. Not to go further back than the last five years, witness how Indian politics of these years have caught the social reformers' views and pleaded for women's emancipation and the untouchable's elevation. The fact is after nearly a century of political and social work, begun by our first political and social reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, after varied experiences, diverse struggles, painful controversies and some sufferings, we have arrived at that stage in the line of our progress when we are able to perceive most clearly than ever that social reform is the whole of which the political, the industrial, the educational etc., are but parts and that these parts are interactive and interdependent. In Europe and America when they speak of social reconstruction now, they mean all the categories of national life. The time has come for us, social reformers and workers to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and outlook to such questions as the education of the masses, the sanitation of the country, the housing of the poor, the care of the sick and the feeble, the employment of labour on rational lines, the provision of healthy recreation and amusements for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of confining social reform as we have hitherto confined it to female education, widow remarriage removal of caste restrictions and such other items.

By so enlarging this Conference and the scope of social reform, we shall not be trenching upon the sphere of political bodies or purely industrial and economic organisation or sanitary institutions, provided we adhere faithfully to and keep prominently before our minds' eye the distinguishing aim of this Conference, which is to touch, purify, elevate, and invigorate the political, industrial and municipal life of the country by developing its domestic and social forces, which are the feeders and makers of that life. It is said we live in times of democracy, when the age calls for equality of opportunity for all, high and low, rich and poor. Democracy is more a social, than a political force and must find, to be healthy, its life, first in our home life and social life to make our political and industrial life wholesome. That is the call of the times to us from the spirit of the Age and may the Social Conference meeting under your blessed auspices help the spirit by a hearty response for the inauguration of the New Era.

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM IN THE PUNJAB,

(BY MR. EDMUND CANDLER.)

III.

To perfect the Borstal system and to secure its aims legislation is necessary. In the first place, the short period of detention must be abolished; the full period is necessary for an adequate training. The next important point is the provision for conditional release for all classes confined in the jail, not merely for the limited classes dealt with in the English system. Mr. Cowan is very strong on these points. In conclusion he canvasses the sympathetic interest and assistance of the educated classes. Unofficial support is essential. One way in which the public can show their interest in the work, is by forming societies for the care of conditionally released inmates during their period of conditional release, and if necessary, after their release.

"The direct responsibilities of Government" Mr. Cowan points out, "end with providing a really sound training for the lads in the institution and the necessary machinery, also perhaps of a Central Committee, itself partly unofficial, to keep in touch with local philanthropic societies and individuals and supply them with suitable lads. After that, Government can help in, but cannot and should not undertake, the after care of all the lads. The ultimate success of the movement depends on unofficial interest of a practical kind, combined with sympathy. For, as Sir Ruggles-Brise has so well said—"Of all the human factors making for reformation (of the juvenile offender) the greatest is the personal interest of good and manly men."

Mr. Cowan concludes with some practical suggestions which we quote in full. "Large landlords can take some lads trained in agriculture; industrial concerns can take those trained to trades; philanthropic societies connected with particular religions can take boys of that religion and arrange for their employment while themselves supervising their conduct. There is also no reason why Co-operative Societies which already take an interest in education should not also take an interest in the reformation of local young criminals. The doors of the services may even be opened as they have been in many cases for members of criminal tribes. One or two have actually been enlisted as jail warders and have done well. The Salvation Army has for some years had a settlement at Dandpur, Lahore, for conditionally released lads, and indeed it was General Booth Tucker who initiated the movement for conditional release. An enterprising European landlord in the Lower Bari Doab colony has made a very good offer for agriculturists and the management of the New Egerton Mills at Dhariwal is taking a great interest in the movement. Lahore Municipality has also taken one or two lads as carpenters on conditional release; these lads live just outside the jail under the supervision of the Jailor."

"In short, the possibilities are very great indeed, if real public interest and sympathy can be created. Representative societies of all the great religions of the province have come forward to help in the reclamation of the criminal tribes and this is a hopeful sign for the future of the Borstal system, once Indian interest in it is created."

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

RESOLUTIONS.

WIDENING MEANING OF "SOCIAL REFORM."

That this Social Conference recognizing the fresh life opened out to the country by the new era upon which it is entering and the urgent call that fresh life makes for the social reconstruction of India's national life, is of opinion that the term Social Reform should be widened so as to comprehend besides the items of reform hitherto advocated by the Conference those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the industrial, economic, sanitary, and educational interests of the Indian people in rural and urban areas, and towards that end the Conference resolves that an All-India Council of the Social Conference, consisting of about 100 willing workers all over the country, be formed and the General Secretary in Bombay and other Secretaries of the National Social Conference with the help of Provincial Secretaries newly appointed be empowered to move in that matter to concert measures for the propagandist and practical work all over the country and in that behalf to collect the necessary funds and take such steps as may be deemed useful in furtherance of the specific object.

THE ELEVATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

That in the opinion of this Conference the position of the depressed classes in the Hindu Community is very distressing and the main difficulty in the way of their elevation and social improvement is untouchability. This conference therefore while appreciating the measures taken so far by Government and a number of Religious Bodies and Social Reform Associations for their uplift is still of opinion that the action taken is quite inadequate to meet the serious needs of the problem affecting a large portion of the Hindu population. This Conference therefore urges upon Government, Social Reform Associations, Religious Reform Associations and Philanthropic bodies, the need for providing greater facilities for their education, economic and sanitary improvement and thus make it easy for the question of untouchability to be solved and to enforce equality of treatment in all public institutions so as to remove the prejudices and disabilities of untouchableness attaching to them.

ABOLITION OF CASTE AND INTER CASTE MARRIAGES.

That in the opinion of this Conference the system of caste, as it prevails in the Hindu Society, constitutes a serious obstacle to the growth of a social, industrial and national life on sound lines. The Conference therefore urges upon Social Reform Associations all over the country as well as other public bodies and workers the necessity of sustained endeavours for the abolition of caste by measures such as inter-dining inter-marriages, etc., etc.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

That while expressing satisfaction at the progress of education among women in this country though slow and small, this Conference strongly urges upon the attention of Government and the people the great and urgent need for much larger and speedier expansion of the elementary and higher education among women and specially calls upon Government to make more liberal grants of funds and provide ample suitable facilities such as girls schools in rural areas, Girls' high Schools in urban areas and Arts, Training and Medical Colleges for women. Copies of this resolution be sent to the Imperial and all Provincial Governments in the country.

WOMEN FRANCHISE.

That this Conference accords its hearty support to the demand for the enfranchisement of Indian women. While ex-

pressing its regret and disappointment at the fact that this claim has not been conceded in the new Government of India Act, it trusts that no time will be lost in affording the necessary facilities to Indian womanhood in exercising the ordinary rights of citizenship for which the Conference notices with great satisfaction a genuine desire on the part of women themselves. This resolution should be submitted to the proper authorities.

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF WIDOWS.

That in order to ameliorate the condition of widows and to enable them to utilise their talents and services for the benefit of the society on the basis of a self-reliant and self-respecting life this Conference recommends very strongly the establishment of institutions for their education and training to achieve that purpose and expresses its high appreciation of the existing institution-like the widows' home at Poona, Madras, Mysore, Indore and Cawnpore and commends the efforts that are being made in this direction by Poona Seva Sadan, Bombay Seva Sadan, and the Vanita Vishram of Bombay and Surat and Ahmedabad. It further highly appreciates the recent endowment of Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram C. I. E. M. V. O. to promote the widows' cause as announced by Sir Edward E. Maclagan in his recent convocation address.

THE REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS.

That this Conference welcomes the growing support to the widow remarriage movement in the country and appreciates the work of the Punjab Vidvya Vivaha Sabaik Sabha, and further urges upon the other social reform associations throughout the country to follow its example and to co-operate with it in extending its sphere of activities in other Provinces so as to carry on more active propaganda on the subject of widow remarriage and to enlist the practical sympathies of the people to the cause of improving the lot of poor widows by the advocacy of remarriage.

TEMPERANCE WITH A VIEW TO TOTAL PROHIBITION.

In the opinion of this Conference the evil of drink increasing in the country needs to be attacked vigorously with a view to securing its total prohibition, and therefore urges upon the Government and public bodies to carry on a vigorous propaganda to check the evil and to strive for securing its total abolition by legislative measures at an early date.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA'S ADDRESS.

The following is a summary of the address delivered by Swami Shraddhanand in Hindi as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar on the afternoon of the 27th of December.

Swami Shradhanand as Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee delivered an address of welcome in Hindi beginning with a short prayer. In the course of his address he dwelt chiefly on the occurrences in the Punjab and Delhi and on the Hindu Moslem unity and national awakening that have followed in their wake and declared that the incidents of April last had accelerated the political advance of the Punjab by fifty years.

On the Reform question Swami Shradhanand said he would ask the Congress to accept the reforms, recognise their liberal features and Mr. Montagu's services and constitutionally agitate for more. Swami Shradhanand accorded the delegates a cordial welcome. The leaders who had invited the Congress to their city had commenced the educative work of making the people of the Punjab realise the significance and importance of holding the Congress soon after returning

from Delhi and had achieved the first important step in bringing about Hindu-Moslem unity on the last Ramnavami day. Swami Shradhanand then dwelt on the incidents of the 10th April at length and said that people who went to see the Deputy Commissioner as their ruler were needlessly fired upon and in this connection strongly condemned in scathing terms the excesses committed by the mob which the Swami characterized as the black deeds of evil elements in the mob which constituted an indelible stain on the fair name of India. Continuing the Swami said that while Martial Law cost the lives of many men, women, and children, old and young, it also ended in a triumph for the people by cementing all the communities, creeds and castes into one homogenous whole. The Swami then paid a tribute to the services rendered to the Punjab by Pandits Malavia and Motilal Nehru who had infused the people of Amritsar with energy and determination to hold the Congress in Amritsar. That day saw the realisation of their resolve and they were able to welcome the sons and daughters of India from all parts of the country. The Swami then dwelt on the need for unity and said he himself would not have accepted the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee but for the united voice of the leaders in jail and of the Amritsar Public.

He appealed to all political parties to make sacrifices so that they might be united and in unity achieve strength. In addition the way to a common platform was smooth and did not present insurmountable difficulties. All parties were striving towards the common goal of freeing the Motherland from political subordination and securing for India an equal and real partnership within the Empire and an honoured place amongst the nations of the world. Mr. Montagu's Reform Act was said to be the apple of discord but in reality there did not appear to be great divergence of views between the Moderates or the Liberals and the Radicals. The Moderates were for accepting the scheme but so were the Radicals. For instance, had not Mr. Tilak declared the country should accept and work the reforms and continue constitutional agitation for more? He would say that the Congress was the greater body, being a representative national assembly though some of the Liberals might have a monopoly of wisdom.

Continuing the Swami said the country should recognise Mr. Montagu's services to India and ought to feel thankful to Mr. Montagu. He said he had made history. There were some who said that Mr. Montagu had done nothing more than his duty. He asked how many had done their duty by the six and a half crores of their unfortunate brethren, the so-called untouchables? They must not lose count of what they had gained while agitating for more. The Swami then dwelling on the incidents in Delhi in March and April last said that while they reminded them of the despotic days of old they also demonstrated that their heroism was not dead but only lay dormant. The blood of the citizens spilt in Delhi had cemented hearts which had been cleft for long. The Swami then paid a tribute to Mr. Gandhi and the passive resistance movement strongly criticising the prohibition order on Mr. Gandhi's entering Delhi or the Punjab and recounting at length the excesses inflicted on the people during the Martial Law regime. He said it was an official reign of lawlessness in which no value was attached to human life and all men, women and children lived in jeopardy of life, limb and honour, every moment. He then referred to the Jallianwala Bagh incident and to General Dyer's evidence before the Hunter Commission and said that though the crowd might have been dispersed without firing he fired as the crowd would have come back and laughed at him,

Proceeding the Chairman said: My purpose in reminding you again of all these events is not to raise hatred in your hearts against the British nation which has given us a Ripon, a Bright, a Bradlaugh, a Wedderburn, a Hume, and a Cotton and a Hardinge, a Montagu, a Besant and an Andrews and they should remember that O'Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson and O'Brien belong to the same race. They must cast off root and branch anger and ill-will towards the authors of the incidents of April last and learn to conquer anger with peace, evil with good, and untruth with truth. Summing up the effect of the trouble through which the Punjab had passed the Swami said they were Hindu-Moslem unity which it was the foremost duty of the nation to sustain. The second result was the power of endurance and lastly they had learned the value of agitation. Proceeding he said he was not a politician at all and he would not interfere with a political programme but he would however, set before them a few proposals. The first need of the nation was the formation of character, which was the solid foundation on which nations should stand and which was an all-embracing term. In securing for every child, boy and girl national education parents ought to lead in this field. Self-sacrificing patriots like Subramania Iyer, Rabindranath Tagore and Sankaran Nair were a handful and their spirit had to be imbued if the country was to advance. The Congress had so long been doing political work and it was solely political in character but the time had come for it to accept for its motto that Politics is Religion and a rise to the summit of religion. The time for the policy of expediency and compromise in principles had gone and it was time they fearlessly and unflinchingly adhered to the truth. His second proposal was that they should resolve to reclaim the untouchables and recognise that they were also their brethren and resolve then and there that they would allow them to enter their hearts and homes. This formed the second dream of his which he wanted to be fulfilled, Hindu-Moslem unity having already been achieved. The Swami after appealing to the generous feelings of the delegates to overlook any inadequate arrangements wound up with a prayer invoking benedictions on the assembly.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S BIRTHDAY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The fifty-eighth Birthday Anniversary of the Swami Vivekananda will be celebrated by his disciples, friends and admirers at the above address on the 18th January, 1920.

The Seva of the poor will be an important item in the programme of the celebration.

We shall look forward to the pleasure of the company and co-operation of yourself and of your friends on the occasion.

With our blessings and best wishes,

we have the honour to be

Dear Sir,

The Math, Belur, Howrah. } Always Yours in the Lord,
15th December, 1919. } BRAHMANANDA.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

The Government of Bombay have issued the following press communique: Government understand that a recent question in Council has given rise to exaggerated rumours about the export of cows from Gujarat and Kathiawar in particular. From enquiries made it appears that the total exports of cattle during the last calendar year from Bombay have been little over 1,500. The exact figures reported are given below:—

To Brazil	...	...	1,178
To Belgium	...	...	110
To France	...	...	100
To Zanzibar	...	...	155

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

A HINDU WIDOW REMARRIAGE.

Under the auspices of the Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay, the remarriage of Shrimati Anasuyabai of the Gowd Saraswat community with Mr. Manilal Muljibhai Modi belonging to Khaidata Bania community was celebrated on 20th December 1913 at the premises of the Hindu Widows' Home. The ceremony was performed by Mr. A. S. Wagh, the Superintendent of the Home. A large number of ladies and gentlemen was present to witness the marriage. Among those present were the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. Balkrishna Sharma, Mr. A. V. Chitre, Mr. and Mrs. S. G. Devrudhar, Mrs. Ramabai Gothoskar and Mrs. Adibai Vallabhdas. The marriage is registered under the Civil Marriage Act.

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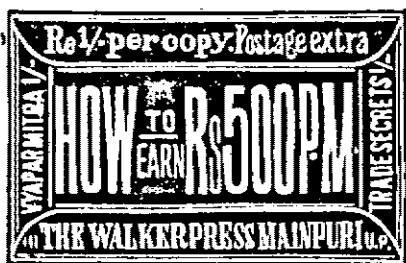
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Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharis,
Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and
Midland Bank, Ltd.

Current Accounts :—3 % allowed on Daily
Balances from Jan-
uary to June
2½ % allowed on Daily
Balances from
July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5 % per annum.

Long and Short period Deposits received at rates
to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted.

For further particulars please apply to the
Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA

Manager.

25-2-17

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 87,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
FOOHOOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINOHUKU	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. 1,00,00,000

Capital Called up " 50,00,000

Reserve Fund " 15,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. 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.

*Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

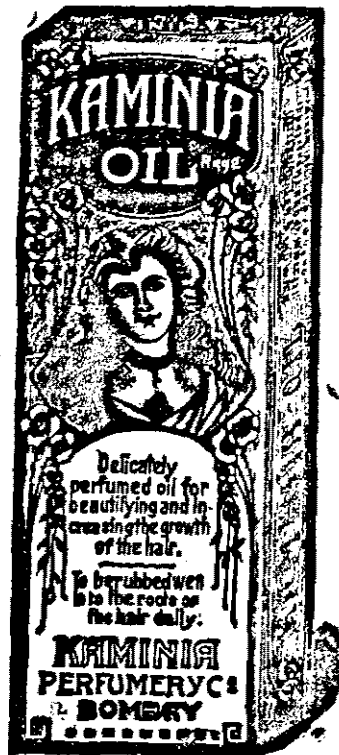
The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

15-1-11.

Manager.

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Heated head cooled, aching disappears and dandruff becomes a thing of the past. Added to all these it possesses a beautiful fragrant smell.

For superiority, awarded a **Gold Medal** at the Mysore Exhibition, and in **great demand** all over the country.

If you have not yet used **KAMINIA OIL**, you

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Even the labourers demand heavy wages being dearer. Even the users have increased yet the *Atank Nigrah Pills* are being sold at before war price i. e. 1 Rupee.

Valdyia Shastri

Manishanker Govindji,

Atank Nigrah Pharmacy,

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Branch:—Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

A. K. JOSHI & Co.

Kalbadevi Road, BOMBAY.

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Large Importers of Finest Printing Inks and Colours.
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ROYAL TONIC PILLS.

Powerful Nutritious and Strength Restorer. Price Rs. 1-4 per box of 30 Pills.

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Wholesale and Retail Druggists and Commission Agents.
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are the safest and surest remedies for indigestion, constipation, loss of appetite, memory, mental, physical and nervous debility and all sorts of urinary disorders, improve impoverished blood.

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Both Purchased at a time Rs. 11/4--

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Strictly Vegetarian

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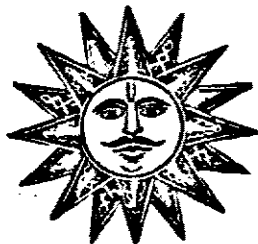
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"FOOD," BOMBAY. } 2789.

22-6-19.

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If you wish to buy genuinely pure and best Saffron it is
SUN

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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 genuineness.

17-2-18

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REVOLUTION IN SHORTHAND.

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National Standard Portable Typewriter No. 3 (10 lbs.) Rs. 190
Oliver No. 5 (American Rebuilt) B.S. & Tab. Rs. 175; No. 7 " 200
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Call what you will—

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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.
Batlivala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.
Batlivala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.
Batlivala's Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth
Batlivala's Ringworm ointment for Ringworm Dhobi Itch etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or from
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No. 17, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:—"Doctor Batlivala Dadar"

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HEAD OFFICE Apollo Street, St., Bombay.

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy (Chairman), Sir Vitthaldas D. Thackersey, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Sir Stanley Reed, the Hon. Mr. G. V. Mehta, the Chief of Ichalkaranji, G. K. Devadhar, Esq., the Hon. Sir P. D. Pattani, the Raja Sabab of Malagaon.

Share Capital (full 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 Register, 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.

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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,

THE EXCELSIOR
BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE
AND

THE EMPIRE
BOMBAY'S MOST PALATIAL
PICTURE THEATRE

Where Film Plays of Distinction are shown
Every Week.

A
Great Cinema Masterpiece
is shown,

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
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OF

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ELECTRIC UNDERGROUND CABLES,
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All our wires are made in accordance with the standard of the British Cable Makers' Association and are tested and approved by leading firms in India.

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Best Portland Cement.

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It is absolutely uniform and most finely ground, which means economy in use and strength in constructional work.

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11-8-17.



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The leading firm of Oculists, Eyesight Specialists, Manufacturing Opticians and suppliers of the patented

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(Invisible one-piece bifocal lens.)

Toric, and all kinds of lenses,—Cylindrical, Spherical, 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. Jendavarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Beaman, the Hon'ble Sir S. L. Batchelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. H. G. Vell, M. V. O., Col. R. H. Forman, R. A. M. C., P. M. O. Co. 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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Opposite the Government Telegraph Office,
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INTENDING ASSUREES ARE INVITED TO COMPARE THE RATES AND CONDITIONS OF

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WITH THOSE OF ANY OTHER COMPANY.

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SEE REPORT AND OPINIONS OF THE PRESS AS TO THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS MADE BY THE COMPANY.

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If, at any time, the assured under this plan shows a tendency 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 80, if he ceases to pay after 5 years, would be entitled to a Free paid-up Policy for Rs. 500 free of future payments.

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- * 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.
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The sum assured is PAYABLE IN FULL should death occur even immediately after payment of the first premium.

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AT AGE 35, Rs. 10-18-0.

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22-11-10.

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whom it does concern that we are foremost in supplying the best

COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES

available 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.

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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—
NORIHITO MIWA, M.D., Professor of the Imperial Medical Academy,
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 and testified as to its efficacy by
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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 masks 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

Billiousness, Headache, Vertigo, Nausea, Indigestion, Diarrhoea, and Dysentery, etc., etc.

To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price—Small Packet Rs. 0-1-0. Middle Packet, with Tin case., Rs. 0-4-0. Large Packet 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 here automatically

FOR PAINS
AND ACHES
SPRAINS ETC.
USE:—

AMRUTANJAN.

The magical pain balm extant. Cures all aches & pains. Costs 8 As. Sold everywhere.



By Appointment to H. E. the Governor
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HARIDAS VALJI,

(KING OF INDIAN CONFECTIONERS),

Highest Confectioner, Caterer and Grand
Military Contractor.

Proprietor—**RATINATH,**
Chitra Bazar & Grant Road,

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DENTISTRY.

Extractions Painless;
Terms Very Moderate;
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Bridge Work a Speciality
(teeth without plate);
Latest Successful Treatment
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Vol XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 1920 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.

A New Year's Message: A Reuter's telegram was published on the 3rd instant announcing that a New Year's message from the Premiers of the British Commonwealth of Nations was issued over the signatures of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Hughes, General Botha, Mr. Massey and Mr. Squires of Newfoundland. The message, which is addressed to "Fellow-citizens of the British Empire," emphasises that, in recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Divine Purpose for the world, Christianity will be discovered the ultimate foundation for the reconstruction of ordered, harmonious life for all men. As that recognition could only come as an act of free consent on the part of individual men everywhere, the message appeals to men of good-will to consider the eternal validity and truth of those spiritual forces which are the one hope for the permanent foundation of world peace. On the 6th instant a correction was published inserting the words "which is central to the message of" before Christianity in the first version of the message. The difference between the original and amended message is important. The original message was virtually an invitation to the whole Empire to accept Christianity as the ultimate foundation for the reconstruction of ordered, harmonious life for all men. The amended message lays the stress on the recognition of Fatherhood of God and the Divine Purpose. That such a recognition is central to the message of Christianity, does not prevent its being central to the message of other great religions as well. The amended message is less inappropriate as coming from the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth, the vast majority of whose subjects are Hindus and Mahomedans. Even so, the message, we think, was uncalled for. Nobody expects six gentlemen because they have climbed the tortuous stairs of politics, to be competent to give the lead to the world in matters of religion. In the case of some of them at any rate, the exhortation ill consorts with the policies adopted and enforced by them in their respective territories. With what consistency does General Botha (should it not be General

Smuts?), to take the most glaring instance, proclaim the eternal truth of the Fatherhood of God, while he is engaged in carrying out measures to deprive the Indian children of God, domiciled in the Transvaal, of their means of livelihood by prohibiting their holding of land and taking out trading licenses? Honestly, we regard this as nothing less than blasphemous. God is not to be mocked like this. A message like this, proceeding from the heads of the great religions professed by the people of the British Empire, would have carried greater weight with thinking men. If the six gentlemen had addressed the message in their private capacity, there would be no cause for criticism, but their issuing it in their official capacity is as unprecedented as it is, we think, unconstitutional. The British Empire stands on the firm foundation of religious freedom and never was it more inopportune for the Prime Ministers to appear as missionaries of one particular religion.

Lord Sinha: We offer a cordial welcome to Lord Sinha on his return to India. It has been his lot to be tried in positions not before held by Indians and it is to his great credit that he has on each occasion emerged from the ordeal not only with distinction to himself but with, we believe, material enhancement of the reputation of his countrymen for capacity and character. As Advocate-General of Bengal, as member of the Government of India, as India's representative at the Colonial and War Conferences, as Under-Secretary of State for India, and as the official responsible for piloting the Indian Reform Bill in the fastidiously critical atmosphere of the House of Lords, he has borne himself with an ability and dignity, which has earned the high praise of such English statesmen as Lord Selborne. Ill-health and cruel domestic affliction notwithstanding, Lord Sinha has unflinchingly stood at his post of immense and, for an Indian, unprecedented responsibility, and the successful emergence of the Reform Act, with its provisions greatly liberalised, is largely due, next to Mr. Montagu's statesmanship, to the high talents and deep devotion which Lord Sinha brought to bear upon the measure which will ever stand out as a landmark in our national evolution. Lord Sinha may justly claim in the memorable words of Burke that he has not been rocked and dandled into a legislator. He has had to produce his credentials at every gate and portal, where there was no admission for him. He has had to overcome, besides, a deep-rooted race-prejudice, and he has done so in a way which few Indians have yet been able to do.

The South African Commission. The same day as the corrected New Year's message from the Prime Ministers was published, was also published the following official announcement from Delhi. "Information has been received that the South African Commission will commence its sittings by the end

of next month or early in March and it is understood that Sir Benjamin Robertson will leave India by the 20th instant. The Commission will enquire into the question of trades and trading licenses to Indians and holding lands by Indians in the four colonies of the Union. Sir Benjamin, on completion of his duties in South Africa, will return to India after visiting East Africa, where the Indian question has taken an acute turn and, also Uganda, where economic questions may arise. Sir Benjamin will be accompanied by Mr. Corbett, Deputy Secretary of the Government of India, Commerce and Industry Department." The silence of the communication regarding an Indian representative who was to have been included in the deputation, demands attention. Has the Government of South Africa refused to receive an Indian or has it proposed terms on which no self-respecting Indian would care to go to South Africa? The public are entitled to an explanation of this sudden omission. We trust that the Government of India will lose no time in explaining the circumstances in which the Indian people are not to be represented by a representative of their own race.

Europeans and the Reform Scheme. At a meeting of the European Association at Calcutta last week there was some interesting talk as to the need of the Europeans to ally themselves with an Indian political party. Mr. Arden Wood observed: "Naturally, they would wish to act with the party which called itself the Moderate party, but they had some doubts as to what the real policy of that party was. After referring to the opposite opinions of a Calcutta newspaper on a recent Moderate Conference, he said that the Moderate party was in a very difficult position. No doubt some of the resolutions passed at the recent Moderate Conference supported the view that their expressed opinions were the watered down opinion of the Extremist party. If they stop there, they missed a point of real cardinal importance, namely, that the Moderates were sincerely desirous of acting with the general body of Europeans, official and non-official, to carry out in the best interest of India the provisions of the new Bill for the improvement of the Government of India. He believed that the Moderates were prepared to take the stand on the platform of co-operation with the European community. If that was so, it was of the greatest importance to this Association and to Europeans generally that they should at least meet the Moderates half way." With all respect, we would say that this is not the way to approach the question. No party in this country will be willing to co-operate with the European Association except on terms of absolute equality. The first question, then, is, are the Europeans frankly and freely willing to accept this position? We do not refer to social intercourse which, in our opinion, will follow, and cannot be forced to precede, the growth of mutual appreciation through co-operation in public work. The Europeans should frankly regard themselves as His Majesty's subjects in India in no way superior to or to be distinguished from their Indian fellow-subjects. If this psychological feat—for to most it will be no easy feat—is accomplished, then the rest is easy. They will join the political party, just as in England, to which they are attracted by temperament, personal sympathy, and unity of aim and ideal. Then, it will come naturally to them—more naturally than to Indians because of their longer political training—to have foremost before their minds not what they can get out of, but what they can give of themselves, to India. This is but a particular application of the great universal rule: "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things will be added unto you."

The Moderate Reply to Swami Shradhdhananda's Appeal: The *Leader* of Allahabad writes: "The *Indian Social Reformer* referring to the reply sent by a number of Moderate leaders to the appeal of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President-elect of the Congress urging the Moderates to join the Amritsar session, expresses a doubt 'if every one of those whose names are invoked put their signatures to the document, or approved of it in the form in which it is issued.' The paper has no warrant for implying as it does that the reply did not accurately represent the views of the signatories or their previous approval had not been taken to the form in which the document was issued. It is over-anxious to prove to the world that some at least of those who signed are not in favour of separation. It may 'confidently expect an early and final end to the split', but knowing the facts as we do, we may inform it that there is a considerable body of influential and prominent Moderates which is not yet prepared to merge itself with the Extremists." We do not wish to prolong this controversy, but we are bound in justice to ourselves to say that we had excellent warrant for the statements referred to. Is it not rather that the *Leader* is over-anxious to see the split prolonged and perpetuated?

Nefarious Journalism. We call attention to a contribution headed "From the Indian stand point, by N", in the *Advocate of India* of the 3rd instant. A more contemptible and bare-faced attempt to create illwill between Hindus and Mahomedans, it is hardly possible to imagine. Taking Pandit Motilal Nehru's address to the Amritsar Congress as his pretext, the writer "is tempted to say something concerning the caste to which the prosperous Pandit belongs especially in connection with the historic relations of that caste with Islam." But before proceeding further he stops to make a preliminary observation. Then he proceeds to remind the Pandit and "his two accomplished daughters"—what on earth have they to do with the question?—of two episodes. He, however, mentions only one though and that relates to Malabar of which Kashmir is not likely to have memories. The writer quotes a proclamation attributed to Tippu Sultan "which" he adds, "possibly is an infamous fiction but which, I fear, I must believe until persuaded to the contrary". He concludes by bidding his fellow Indians to remember that whatever the authors and agents of martial law inflicted on the Punjab they held the honour of their women sacred, is a curious state of mind which asks Indians to condone Jalliaiwala in consideration of their women not having been violated! We believe there is a law which makes it an offence to foment ill-feeling between communities of His Majesty's Indian subjects. That, however, is a question for Government. We have thought it our duty to call public attention to this cowardly and contemptible effusion in the interests of journalistic decency.

Sir Rash Behari Ghose's Gift to the Calcutta University: Sir Rash Behari Ghose has made a further gift of Rs. eleven lakhs and forty-three thousand in Government securities to the Calcutta University. The proceeds are to be employed in developing the departments of applied Chemistry and Botany in connection with the Science College which his previous benefaction of ten lakhs, conjointly with Sir Saraknath's gift, brought into existence. How wisely, says the *Indian Messenger*, did Rammohun look forward to the day when his countrymen would be instructed in the knowledge of modern science. His dream is coming to be realised and Sir Rash Behari is one of the very few who are helping that realisation. No small measure of the endless gratitude of the unborn generations will be his due.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 11, 1920.

I am neither a Moderate nor an Extremist :

ADAPTED FROM GURU NANAK.

A PLEA FOR UNITY.

That the people of India are divided and subdivided into numerous castes and sects, is a fact. Equally is it the fact that this division comes to a greater or less degree in the way of national progress. Any one who proposes to add to these existing divisions another founded on political considerations, has the onus on him to show that the new division is essential and cannot be dispensed with without great injury to the country's lasting interests. We have more than once recently expressed in these columns the opinion that there is no longer good reason for the division between Moderates and Radicals or rather, Immoderates, in Indian politics. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry seems to have expressed a similar opinion to a representative of *New India*. The present Moderates and Extremists did not in his opinion represent genuine divisions in ideals or programmes with reference to future work. The basis of the present differentiation, he added, has lost whatever meaning it had. The present differentiation has come to centre round persons. Referring to the hope he had expressed at Calcutta that the Congress at Amritsar would pass a resolution about the reforms on substantially the same lines as the Moderate Conference, Mr. Sastry confessed that he was disappointed. Nevertheless, he added, he adhered to his opinion that, if the Punjab occurrences had not complicated the situation, the Congress, as a whole, would have abandoned the impossible position adopted at the Delhi Congress. We entirely agree. Even with the complication of the Punjab occurrences, we believe that the Amritsar Congress would have resiled from the Delhi position, had members of the Moderate party gone there in larger numbers and strengthened the hands of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Swami Shradhdhananda, Mr. Gandhi, and other local leaders. Mrs. Annie Besant writing in *New India* says that if Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had stood firmly by their first amendment, they would have carried it, for, she says, Mr. Tilak had told his followers to yield at the last moment. We do not know what the source of Mrs. Besant's information is, as regards Mr. Tilak's instruction to his followers. Whether her information is right or not, we have no doubt that the Pandit and Mr. Gandhi would have carried the Congress with them had they stood firm, and we are almost sure that they would have stood firm had there been a large force of Moderates to back them up. We yet think that if the Moderate leaders rouse themselves up and resolve not to make a present of the national movement to an arrogant opportunist like Mr. Tilak, they will succeed. But the country must know that they are determined to succeed and are not merely willing to accept success if somebody would place it on their laps. Their present attitude

strikes us as being that of a man who having by his labours created a vast storehouse of power, hands it over to untrained, inexperienced hands, merely because he does not care to stand the noise and dust of the effort which is needed to resist their clamour.

Let us examine whether there are such fundamental differences between the principles and the policy of the Congress even as they appear from the Amritsar resolutions and those of the Moderates, as to make re-union out of the question. The editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad is one of the two General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation, the name which the Moderates have adopted at their last session. He is also, what for our present purpose is an advantage, a determined advocate of the continuance of the schism between the two parties. In the *Leader* of the 5th instant, the leading article is devoted to proving at some length why the two parties should not work together and must continue to remain separate. Our contemporary begins by pointing out that when in the year 1918 it was decided by a majority of the Congress leaders that they should abstain from the special session held at Bombay, the main difference between the two parties in Indian politics related to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. That difference, it affirms, still exists. This statement is in diametric opposition to that of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry which we have quoted above. Mr. Sastry is interested in the success of the reforms as much as any other Indian publicist, and he tells us that the basis of the present differentiation has lost whatever meaning it had. But Mr. Sastry attended the Amritsar Congress and might have been unconsciously biased by that fact against the continuance of the present differentiation. The onlooker, moreover, often sees more of a game than the player. What did the *Times of India*, a perfectly impartial commentator with marked sympathy for the Moderate point of view, say about the Congress resolution on the reforms? "The main and important fact is," it said, "that the Congress pledged itself openly to do, namely, to co-operate in the Reforms so that this work will be the avenue to the establishment of full responsible institutions. Halting as the final resolution was in many respects, in comparison with the resolute motion which Mrs. Besant and her friends put before the Congress, nevertheless it was in the right direction." Thus, we think, is the statesmanlike view to take of the resolutions of a huge and unmanageable public gathering like the Congress as it has come to be at present. The attitude of the Congress and the Moderates to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is one thing and their attitude to the Act of Parliament is quite another. Lord Chelmsford himself changed his attitude towards many parts of the Joint Report which he, with Mr. Montagu, had drawn up of the main features of the reform scheme. The scheme of the Act is neither that of the Joint Report, nor of Mr. Montagu, nor of Lord Chelmsford. It is the scheme of the Joint Committee of Parliament, different in many essentials from that of the Joint report and that of the Government of India, sanctioned by Parliament and binding upon all subjects in India.

But, contends the *Leader*, since the decision to abstain was taken in August, 1918, the divergence between the two parties has widened. It mentions as fresh causes of offence on the part of the Radicals 'the mendacious and discreditable campaign of calumny against the Moderate members of the Viceroy's Council in connection with the Rowlatt Act', the Satyagraha demonstrations, the Congress sub-Committee's boycott of the Hunter Committee, the Congress resolution to build a memorial in Jallianwala Bagh, the resolution demanding the recall of Lord Chelmsford. Our contemporary says that it can point to several other resolutions, but these are sufficiently testing. Of these, the first, namely, the reference to the campaign against the Moderate members of the Viceroy's Council, cannot be a valid ground for a separate party. If it were, there should be as many parties as there are newspapers which prefer adjectives to facts. The Satyagraha demonstrations were not organised by the Congress but by Mr. Gandhi. So far as we know, several Congressmen were against it, though their reasons might not have coincided with those of our contemporary. Certainly, the movement did not take root in the Punjab. It is relevant in this connection to note that the original point of differentiation being the attitude towards the reform scheme, the justice of imputing to the anti-schemers a movement started by a supporter of the scheme, Mr. Gandhi, is not quite apparent. Then, as regards the boycott of the Hunter Committee, what are the facts? Public opinion in this country demanded a Royal Commission to enquire into the Punjab trouble and was profoundly dissatisfied with the constitution of the Hunter Committee. Mr. Gandhi, almost alone among Indian publicists, advocated the acceptance of the Hunter Committee as a sufficiently competent tribunal. He went to the Punjab to collect evidence which was intended, we are sure, to be placed before the Committee. The *Leader* is wrong in thinking that the Moderates as a whole and everywhere disapproved of the boycott of the Hunter Committee. The released leaders have proved their *bona fides* by offering to appear and give evidence before the Committee now that they are free. But the Committee has refused their offer. We shall await with interest our contemporary's comments on the grounds of the refusal. For the rest, the use of the word boycott is by no means altogether unfamiliar to Congress ears. There was no Moderate split at Benares in 1906, though the idea and the thing 'boycott' was very much in evidence and though the then Viceroy was compared to Aurangzeb in the presidential address.

The reference to the resolution about the memorial at Jhallianwala only shows the eagerness of the writer to establish his case. So far as we know, the Cawnpore memorial has not ceased to be maintained out of deference to our contemporary's very creditable susceptibilities, and those who know and understand Mr. Gandhi, may rest assured that nothing in the least calculated to affront the feelings of any community or sect will be countenanced by him or those whom he accepts as

fellow-workers. The last point on our contemporary's indictment, is the resolution of the Amritsar Congress for the recall of the Viceroy. It is impossible to justify—indeed, we are frankly ashamed of—some of the speeches made on the resolution and we think that the President would have been well-advised if he had enjoined on the speakers self-restraint and dignity. But, surely, there is nothing wrong in passing a resolution of the kind. As we said last week, the Bombay Presidency Association, under the inspiration of Sir Pherozesha Mehta, urged the recall of Lord Curzon who was certainly a far less unsuccessful Viceroy than Lord Chelmsford. Lord Chelmsford has openly avowed his responsibility for giving the Punjab Government a free hand, but that does not, as the *Leader* makes out, stand alone. In the teeth of the solid opposition of the non-official members of his Council and of the country, he forced the Rowlatt Act through by using his official majority. He left the Indian member of his Government no alternative but to throw up his office by his attitude towards him. Does the *Leader* believe Sir Sankaran Nair would have resigned out of pique on some particular issue? And what of the Indemnity Act? We have repeatedly recognised in these columns Lord Chelmsford's high personal qualities, but the Viceroyalty of India in these times has been too big a burden for him.

We have dealt at some length with our contemporary's reasons for continuing the schism, and we think we have shown that there is not much substance in them. Immediately following the article from which we have drawn so largely, is another enlarging in the luminous style of *Leader* on Mr. Lloyd George's appeal for national unity at the Manchester Reform Club. We venture to suggest to our contemporary that the need of national unity is not less in this country today than in Great Britain. In that country, the idea of nationality, of national unity, is well-established by centuries of political development. In our country, on the other hand, it is only now beginning to be understood and appreciated as the result of English education and British rule. The existence of political parties in England does not affect national unity, but in India where national unity is a tender shoot, surrounded by numerous destructive growths in the shape of caste and sectarian divisions, the premature institution of political parties may work irreparable ruin. Young India may be impatient, hasty, easily excitable, but it is sound at the core. It has a higher sense of self-respect, a quicker feeling for the things which really count, a keener conscience for truth and purity than many of us who are its elders and ought to be its betters. We have the fullest faith in young India and we can but regard it as a gross dereliction of their duty on the part of elderly experienced leaders to withhold from it for any reason whatsoever their seasoned guidance. We beg the *Leader* to spare some of its charity for the Congress leaders. In a moving elegy dedicated to his father, Matthew Arnold has described two types of leaders. The first, in their ardour, allow their comrades and companions to fall by the

wayside and press forward to their goal, 'the lonely inn 'mid the rocks,'

Where the gaunt and taciturn host
Stands on the threshold, the wind
Shaking his thin white hairs,
Holds his lantern to scan
Our storm-beat figures, and asks:
Whom in our party we bring?
Whom we have left in the snow?
Sadly we answer: we bring
Only ourselves.

But the poet's father was of not of that type. He would not alone be saved, alone conquer and come to his goal, leaving the rest in the wild. This is the type of leader that uplifts nations and ennobles humanity. Moses and Mahomed, Buddha and Sir Krishna, Ram Mohan Roy and Ranade, were of this gracious type. They would not be saved alone either. They realised that their people needed their guidance and that it was their duty on no account to desert their people. Opposition and calumny could not deter them from carrying out their God-appointed task. They realised in their hearts the meaning of the pathetic words of Mathew Arnold's elegy:

See! In the sands of the world
Marches the host of mankind,
A feeble, wavering line.
Where are they tending?—A God
Marshall'd them, gave them their goal.
Ah, but the way is so long!
Years they have been in the waste!
Sore thirst plagues them; the sands,
Spreading all round, overawe;
Factions divide them, their host,
Threatens to break, to dissolve.
Ah, keep, keep them scummed,
Else, of the myriads who fill,
That army, not one shall arrive,
Sole they shall stray, in the sands,
Flounder for ever in vain,
Die one by one in the waste.

And in sunshine and storm, they stood at their post, and posterity holds them, therefore, in honoured memory.

The Congress Declaration of Rights. The Amritsar Congress passed a resolution praying for a declaration of rights by statute to guarantee the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects, embodying the following provisions:—(1) British India is one and indivisible and all political power is inherent in the people thereof to the same extent as in any other people or nation of the British empire. (2) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature. (3) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or in respect of free speech or writing or of right of association except by a sentence by an ordinary Court of justice and as a result of lawful and open trial. (4) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence as in Great Britain and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of justice. (5) That the Press shall be free and that no license or security shall be demanded on the registration of a Press or newspaper. (6) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any subject of His Majesty except under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects. (7) That all laws, ordinances and regulation now or hereafter in existence that are any wise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever.

THE AMRITSAR SESSION OF THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The session of the Moslem League held at Amritsar was in many ways a notable one. The Reception Committee had as its chairman, Dr. Kitchlew, who was released just in time to welcome the delegates on its behalf. The President of the session was Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi. In his address, he dealt with the Martial law administration in the Punjab very much on the lines of the Congress Presidential address, but was rather more appreciative of the Reform scheme than Pandit Motilal Nehru. The question of Turkey and the Khilafat naturally received a good deal of attention in the Hakim Sahib's address. The President of the Moslem League urged that the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George on January 5, 1918, must be strictly adhered to in the treaty of Peace. Mr. Lloyd George's words were explicit. They were: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." That these words have lost none of their force by what has happened since they were uttered, is clear from Mr. Montagu's statement on a recent occasion in the House of Commons that he had continually urged upon the Peace Conference the importance to India of a peace with Turkey consistent with the policy in the Prime Minister's declaration. The rumoured establishment of a Joint Allied administration in Constantinople and the removal of the seat of the Ottoman Government to some other place, even if the Sultan is, as foreshadowed in a later message, is allowed to reside at Constantinople, will not be in accord with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge. Apart from that fact, the deprivation of the Ottoman Empire of its historic capital, while there has been no thought of depriving Germany or Austria of their capitals, cannot but raise disquieting apprehensions of religious prejudice in non-Christian minds. Turkey after all was a minor belligerent—a mere tool—as compared with Germany and Austria, and if the arch-offenders are to retain their capitals, it is unjust to deprive a mere accessory of his. We trust that the Government of India will represent the Indian view of any such contemplated arrangement in time to His Majesty's Government. We are much reassured to learn from a Renter's message that Mr. Montagu will accompany the Prime Minister to Paris this week, specially with a view to assist in the final stages of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

The Hakim Sahib suggested in his address that, as a means of cementing the Hindu Moslem entente, the Mahomedans of India should initiate the practice of sacrificing animals other than the cow at their principal religious festival. A resolution embodying this suggestion was passed by the League. As a beginning, the President suggested that the principle should be adopted by the Mussulman residents of Kashi, Ayodhya, Muttra, and Brindaban, four sacred places of the Hindus, and the effort should be simultaneously made to spread the idea all over the country. The Hakim Sahib confessed that this was a question which, concern-

ing as it did, a vast, heterogeneous population of seven crore Mahomedans scattered all over India, would take time to bear fruit, but he urged that that consideration should not discourage them from making an immediate beginning. For our own part, we would rejoice to see the day when, like all other great religions, Islam too renounces animal sacrifices altogether. Sir Abbas Ali Baig in a recent public speech declared that Islam does not demand such sacrifices. If that is so, why should not the enlightened leaders of Indian Mahomedanism, the inheritors equally with the Hindus of the glorious humanitarian tradition of Gautama Buddha, immediately initiate a movement to do away with blood sacrifices? One of the greatest Indians of the day, a man of ripe experience and wisdom, told us not long ago that, to his mind, the greatest achievement of Hinduism was the discovery of the doctrine of *Ahimsa* and the bringing about its acceptance in practice by the renunciation of flesh-food by the vast masses of the Indian people. We learnt a curious fact in the Panjab. The practice of vegetarianism in that province is far from strict so far as the men are concerned, but the women of the principal Hindu castes rigidly abstain from meat. We trust that our Mahomedan countrymen will, now that they have begun with the renunciation of cow sacrifice, soon go further and renounce all animal sacrifice. That will, indeed, be a blessed result of the Hindu-Mahomedan brotherhood. After all, it is far easier to kill a goat or a sheep at the altar of the Supreme than our own lusts and passions. Meanwhile, we welcome the resolution in regard to cow sacrifice as a first step to this great and humane end.

Another significant occurrence at the Amritsar session of the Moslem League is worth being noted. A resolution was proposed urging upon Government that definite provisions for the protection of Mahomedan interests in the Public Services and as regards the use of the Urdu language and Persian character, should be inserted in the scheme of constitutional reform. One of the delegates present opposed it on the ground that these matters ought to be settled by private conference with the Hindus instead of appealing to Government. The resolution was eventually negatived and in its place a motion was unanimously adopted requesting the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a Committee at an early date to confer with the Committee of the Council of the League in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reforms Act any the demand for complete self-government. The League warmly thanked His Majesty for the Proclamation and the amnesty to political prisoners, and recorded a resolution welcoming the announcement of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It repeated the Congress resolutions regarding General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and His Excellency the Viceroy. Let it be said to the League's credit that there were no unseemly speeches such as disgraced the proceedings of the Congress. On the subject of reforms, the League's resolution, while conceived in the same spirit as the Congress resolution, is free

from equivocation. It calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-Government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in the Reforms recently enacted, which it frankly recognises to be a definite step towards the goal of full self-Government. The Congress resolution, as amended, does not exclude the alternative of endeavouring to get full self-Government by obstructing the working of the present instalment of it. We cannot help thinking that the resolution expressing adherence to the principle of separate representation for the Moslem community and strongly urging upon the Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not been applied, sounds rather incongruous in the midst of the other resolutions of the League. We are among those who hope that the day is not distant when communal electorates and representation will cease to exist in this country. Nobody wants to upset existing arrangements till there is a united demand that they need not be continued, but, surely, it is time that we did not think of extending the principle. This also is a question which can be settled by the sort of Conference the League has accepted for the solution of the problem of the proportion of Mahomedans in the Public Services.

The Great Strike. A strike has been in progress in Bombay for the last few days. It promises to become general and has already reached such dimensions that it inaugurates a new era in the industrial life of the country. In the beginning it was only confined to the mill hands of the Dadar district. It gradually spread to the other mill districts and has become a general strike of the mill hands of Bombay. In a circular issued on Monday last, the strikers embodied their demands the chief of which are shorter hours of labour and increase in wages. Considering the rise in prices of the articles of food and clothing and the monotony of mill work, the demands cannot but be said to have a legitimate basis. So far as the strikers keep within their legitimate rights, they will have the sympathy and support of the public, including many reasonable-minded employers. There are signs of a sympathetic extension of the strike to others besides the mill-industry.

Dangers of a Flesh Diet: Mr. Labshankar Laxmidas of Junagad whose humanitarian propaganda is animated by a lofty idealism, has issued a striking tract pointing out the dangers of a flesh diet. An American doctor declared that, in his practice of forty years, he has never succeeded in curing cancer and consumption unless his patients stopped flesh-eating and lived on vegetable food. Another medical man, apparently French, states that there is clear evidence in medical practice of the part played by meat in causing dyspepsia, enteritis, and appendicitis; in favouring the outbreak of typhoid and dysentery; in forming the rallying-ground for the germs of tuberculosis and cancer. Those who are not moved by the cruelty and the loathsomeness of flesh-eating, may perhaps be deterred from it by considerations of their own safety from some of the worst diseases. We wish Mr. Labshankar success in his noble endeavours to spread humane ideas in respect of this and other subjects.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA I.

(By Mr. MANILAL PAREKH.)

One can only be thankful after reading the article of "Kotgarh" containing his account as to how he came to teach and stayed to learn, and ultimately attained to a standpoint where he can call himself a Hindu as well as a Christian. I perfectly agree with him in this as well as in what he says about the vital need of India and even of the world for the divine synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity, particularly as I have been a follower of Keshub Chunder Sen, the Apostle of the Harmony of Religions, while going on the path he had elected especially in his last years. I came to differ more and more from his other followers on the question of Christo-centre which he wanted his Church of the New Dispensation to have, and I even thought of starting a Hindu Church of Christ some years ago. Later on, on learning that the Christian Indians were evolving a national Church, I joined the Christian Church, but only to find what I have already described in my first article in this paper. Suffice it to say, however, in this connection, that I am in perfect agreement with "Kotgarh" in thinking that a divine synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity such as he speaks of, and such as was spoken of by Keshub Chunder Sen, is the only solution of the problem.

If I differ from him at all in anything, it is in some of the details concerning practical life, and whatever I may say I say with a view to compare notes and even to learn from such persons as have like him thought over these problems very seriously.

He misapprehends my position with regard to caste, and in this he is not alone. Before making my position clear, however, I would say one or two things more concerning myself. I am a Jain by birth, and as such am "freer," to however small an extent it be, from caste prejudices than other Hindus. Then again I joined the Brahmo Samaj nearly fifteen years ago and identified myself with it to such an extent as to be even ordained as a missionary thereof, a thing which would have been impossible if I had any misgivings whatsoever on the subject. I have written during these years some of the strongest things against caste, and all my Brahmo friends all over India will testify that I never kept it in any form whatsoever, though remaining a vegetarian all the while. I may say further that I had not even so much as a doubt that there was anything wrong in our denunciation or practiced abolition of it. This, I believe, was largely due to that communal consciousness which the Brahmo Samaj and especially the Church of the New Dispensation were cultivating and realising, and which more than supplied the place of the same in the caste-system. But when I joined the Christian Church, instead of finding a greater sense of community among so-called Christians, either among Indian Christians themselves or between them and the Europeans, I found a veritable wilderness of individualism or

bolshivism (barring its military features), and I said to myself that if caste-abolition came to this in the Christian fold, the caste-system is to be preferred indeed.

Let me be clearer still. I found whole communities from the lowest classes of Hindus coming in, not for any spiritual gain, but because they had found a way whereby their material condition would be improved from every point of view. Another thing that I found from personal observation and talks with converts of even forty years standing, was that these people were exceedingly jealous of all high-caste converts, and wanted all to come down to their level. In course of time they receive education and become civilized. They understand their rights better and come to think that they are the only true Christians since they have no caste-feeling, and naturally begin to look down upon high-caste converts for their harbouring the least little bit of caste-feeling. Very often the missionary takes their side and things are made as hot as possible for the high-caste converts both by the missionaries and these other Christians. That I am not drawing from my own imagination I shall show by quoting a great mission-historian. He says with regard to the results of this policy of the missions concerning caste:—

"What have been the practical results of this decisive and consistent policy? In the first place, it has here and there led without doubt to arbitrary proceedings and hard dealing, to hypocrisy and dishonesty, for Christians of long-standing and higher castes conformed only outwardly to the clearly-expressed will of those placed in authority—it would have needed more character than the average Hindu possesses to withstand this temptation. And the lower caste Christians of Pariah descent commended themselves to their superiors by punctiliously observing the external signs of a complete break with caste in order to place themselves in as favourable a light as possible to ensure their own advancement and obtain a higher salary, or any other advantages."

He says again:

"The relations between Sudras and Pariahs in the evangelical churches have in the course of the century turned more and more to the disadvantage of the former and at the present time the Pariahs tend in ever-increasing proportions to form an overwhelming majority. The change in caste policy whilst not the only one, has yet been a very powerful factor in bringing about this condition of affairs."

If this is so with Sudras, how much more so it is with convert of the highest castes, who are very few comparatively? They live in constant dread of submerging and there is nothing to keep them from it long, unless they make themselves free from that system of bondage which makes such things possible.

Now let us see what should happen next. The progressive Christianization of India is inevitable. The defects of the Hindu social system on one side, and the advantages that follow on becoming Christians for many communities and classes of people on the other side, make this absolutely certain. Nobody

from outside can understand fully what possibilities there are of this, with the heaps of money at the command of Missions, and the powers of organisation and devoted earnestness of so many missionaries both men and women. Besides the Christian community is fairly on the way to respectability of a particular kind. In literacy they stand the highest. Their number is already large. Hence whatsoever converts come and however large their number be, they must find their place among these and be necessarily submerged. Thus, since the Christian community is altogether proletarianised and progressive Christianisation of India is inevitable, to build a new Christian India which is the aim of all missionaries would mean nothing less than building it from the bottom upwards, a process which would turn topsy-turvy the entire foundation of the Hindu Society and civilization. This dawned upon me very soon after I joined the Christian Church, and when I discussed it with one or two missionaries who were candid enough to discuss the matters over with me, I found that they too had the same misgivings.

THE ANNUAL MAHOTSAB OF THE DEV SAMAJ.

(FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY, DEV SAMAJ, LAHORE.)

The Annual *Mahotsab* of the Dev Samaj, held in commemoration of the 69th birthday anniversary of its most worshipful founder, Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, was celebrated at Lahore from the 6th to 10th December, 1919 in the spacious and most beautifully decorated hall of Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan Memorial Ashram, with intense enthusiasm and remarkable success. More than 750 persons flocked from about 100 far and near stations of the Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces, Dalhi, Sind, Baluchistan, Bombay and Bengal. There were besides hundreds from amongst the public who joined the various meetings and lectures.

There were in all sixteen engagements including three public lectures and one ladies' gathering. The most important feature of the entire occasion was the meeting held on the 8th instant, the special day of the *Mahotsab* being the birthday of our master. As Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan had been continually ailing for nearly past two months, it was simply impossible for him to deliver an ex-tempore address but even in that delicate state of health, he to avoid disappointing his followers had written out a most illuminating address which was read out by the secretary in his presence. The address is a most valuable document showing the scientific psychology of the origin of fictions and fictitious beliefs in religion, as due to the incomplete soul-organism of man, as also dealing on the need and blessedness of the manifestation of *Dev Atma*, who owing to His having evolved complete soul-organism was able to develop that unique psychic light and power which while revealing the Nature and organism of soul-life and the immutable cosmic laws of its growth, decay and death liberates man from the grip of lower and destructive courses of soul-life and develops in it higher and altruistic powers. In conclusion, the master announced that during the last year two of his followers had presented to him nearly Rs 50,000 in cash and Rs. 15,000 in landed property which he dedicates in its entirety to the purpose of unique cause, and a third venerable old *Sevak* had promised two squares of land worth Rs. 30,000 for the permanent fund of the Dev Samaj High School, *Maga*.

After this, in response to an appeal made by the Assistant Secretary, Dev Samaj Finance Department, upwards of Rs. 23,000 was subscribed on the spot in cash besides promises by the members and sympathisers.

In another meeting the election of the Dev Samaj *Prati Nidhi Sabha* (Representative Assembly) consisting of thirty-two members took place and this assembly in its turn elected the members of the Executive Council of the Dev Samaj.

The annual report of the Dev Samaj for the last year read in a separate meeting showed that during the year under report 80 new persons were accepted as lowest grade members and 181 persons enrolled as associates and sympathisers. There were besides 750 persons weaned from various sins and evils such as drinking, opium-taking, tobacco smoking, dishonest dealings, theft, adultery, gambling, infanticide etc. There were in all twenty-four educational institutions including two high schools for boys, one for girls, two middle schools for girls, and one for boys, and also four schools for the Depressed Classes.

RAO BAHADUR K. VIRESALINGAM

PANTULU GARU,

AN APPEAL.

The activities of the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj have considerably increased in recent years. In addition to its work of spreading liberal religious ideas among the people, the Samaj has been helping the cause of social reform. It has also undertaken educational work and is maintaining a girls' school in the C. & M. Station. It is now proposed to extend the activities of the Samaj further in keeping with the progress of the times. Steps are being taken to improve the organisation and increase the establishment of the Samaj, but the difficulty with regard to accommodation seems to stand in the way of all social and educational activities. At present there is only one building, and as it is consecrated for religious purpose, only divine service could be held there. There is no accommodation for holding social gatherings, Sunday schools, night classes, etc. Immediate building requirements of the Samaj are:—(1) a hall for a free reading room, (2) a hall for social gatherings and educational work, (3) residence for missionaries, (4) out-houses and quarters for watchmen, etc. It is estimated that to erect these buildings at least Rs. 10,000/- will be required. This sum could only be obtained by donations from the public, as the income from subscriptions from membership at present is hardly sufficient to meet the expenses for the maintenance of the Samaj. In view of the useful work the Brahma Samaj is doing for the religious, social and moral well-being of the people, and as its work is not confined to any particular caste or community, and the buildings will be to perpetuate the memory of the late Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu Garu, the great pioneer of Social Reform in Southern India, the Committee of the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj hope that a generous response will be made to this appeal. The donations may be sent to the Secretary or to Mr. M. Kothandaram, Hon. Treasurer, Brahma Samaj, 9, Cavalry Road Bangalore. The Secretary will acknowledge receipt of them in the Brahma Samaj organs and other newspapers. Donors of Rs. 250/- and over will have their names inscribed on a slab which will be fixed at a prominent place in the building.

V. Balasundaram,

Hon. Secretary.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

The profit of the Bank of India Limited, for the year ended 31st December 1919, including sum of Rs. 42,692-11-11 brought forward, amounts to Rs. 11,61,471-6-0. Provision for Income Tax and Super Tax for the current year will absorb Rs. 89,981 and the payment of an advertisement dividend at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, made on the 30th June 1919, absorbed a further sum of Rs. 2,00,000. The balance now available for distribution is Rs. 7,71,490-6-0.

The Directors propose:—To pay a final dividend, for the half year ended 31st December 1919, at the rate of Twelve per cent per annum, on the paid up capital of Rs. 50 lacs, and to give Bonus to the shareholders of One Rs. per share, equal to a further Two per cent per annum, making Fourteen per cent for the year,—these payments will be free from Income Tax and will absorb Rs. 4 lacs—to place Rs. 1 lac to the Reserve Fund; to write down the value of Bank's holding in the British War Loan, owing to the rise in Sterling exchange by Rs. 1 lac; and to carry forward to the next account the balance Rs. 1,71,490-6-0, subject to a donation to the Bank's provident Fund and the payment of a Bonus to the staff of the Bank.

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The New Capital will rank for dividend from the 1st January 1920. The audited Balance Sheet, which will be published shortly, will disclose a strong and satisfactory financial position, the Cash in hand and with Bankers amounting to Rs. 181 lacs, and the Bank's Investment in Treasury Bills and other Government Securities to over Rs. 145 lacs.

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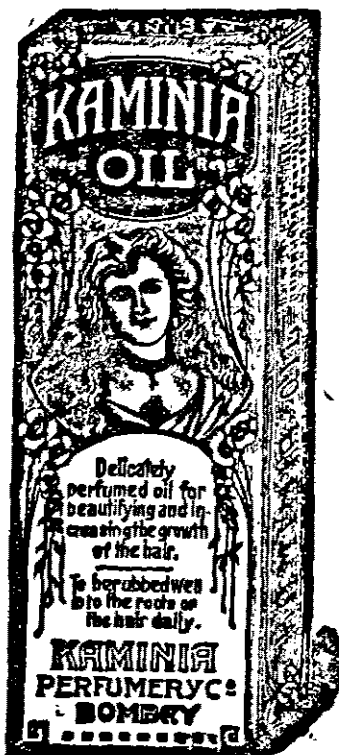
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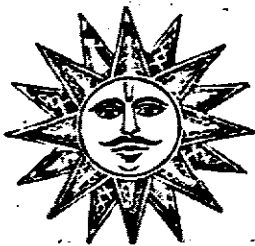
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Congress and the Moderates:—The *Commonwealth*, li' ourselves, takes the view that it was the duty of the Moderates to have attended the Congress in larger numbers. "It is not to be denied, however," writes our contemporary, "that the Moderate party were very ill-advised in abstaining from attending the Congress session. Such abstention gives rise to an impression that the Moderates are afraid of facing a majority hostile to their views, and that they only regard the Congress as a National body in so far as it submits to their guidance and advice. Indeed, from the British standpoint, the refusal to join issue in the open cannot but be regarded as a most unfortunate weakness, involving a timidity hardly suggesting vigorous leadership, or programme. All the more must we congratulate the Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri on his patriotism and on his recognition of the undoubted fact that the Congress is the Congress, even though in any particular year it may fail—as this year it has failed—to reflect the National outlook. Mr. Sastri has shown himself able to rise superior to mere party outlook, and we are more than glad that his sense of statesmanship dominated those personal friendships and political comradeships which he must to some extent have tried."

Mr. Sastri on the Congress: We are not sure, judging from some of his observations after his return to Madras from Amritsar via Calcutta, that Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is now likely to appreciate the congratulations and compliments of our contemporary. His criticisms comprise almost every fault which may be imputed to a public movement. Curiously enough, Mr. G. B. Trivedi, a leading Prarthana, Samajist, preaching on Sunday before last at the Mandir at Girgaum, is reported in the *Sudh Patrika* to have drawn from the proceedings of the Amritsar Congress the comforting conclusion that spiritual ideals were permeating Indian politics. Certainly he was right in saying that never before has a Congress heard an address like that of Swami Shradhanand or passed a resolution such as the penitential resolution re-

garding the excesses of the mobs in April last. If both Mr. Sastri and Mr. Trivedi be right, we shall be confronted with the paradox of the Amritsar Congress being at the same time lacking in moral authority and abounding in spirituality. The fact, however, is that, while to the devout Mr. Trivedi, the Congress seemed all Shradhanand, to a political virtuoso like Mr. Sastry, it probably seemed to be charged with Satyamurti's from the flag which floated on the top to the wet and slush at the bottom. The truth in this as in most other cases lies between the two extremes. The Congress was neither a congregation of saints nor a gang of sinners. The only particular in respect of which the average of the Congress probably differed materially from that of the Moderate Conference was perhaps the age of the individual members. There were probably proportionately more men above 45 at the Moderate Conference than at the National Congress. In that single fact may be found a sufficient clue to the character and tendencies of the two national assemblies.

The Challenge on Indian Constitutional Reform: The organ of democratic Christianity to which we have often occasion to refer, the *Challenge*, published in London, has the following suggestive editorial of the Government of India Act: "By the passing of the Government of India Act," writes our contemporary, "a great step forward has been taken in the course marked out by successive Royal Proclamations. To train up a nation in self-government is always difficult. The difficulty is greater rather than less in connection with a people of ancient civilisation. The existence of caste will prove a great source of trouble. But it is possible that the greatest difficulty may come from the British side. We have heard it said that if the Indians are to be partners with us in the administration of their country, the best men will no longer enter the Indian Civil Service. We hope that is not true: for if it is true, it means that the splendid qualities of our administration of India have been, after all, rooted in Paganism. To a great extent it is true that our Public Schools train men in the pagan virtues—honour, courage, self-control, justice, all rooted in pride. The test comes now; shall we find enough men who have honour, courage, self-control and justice, all rooted in humility? Have we a sufficient stock of Christian virtue for the task, to which we have set our hand?"

The Virtue of Law: In the course of a thoughtful and suggestive article in a recent number of *Everyman* on the League of Nations, the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock insists that what is needed above all is the clear and lively sense of honour, justice and fair dealing, as due in equal measure to all members in the Commonwealth of Nations; to the weaker not more than to the stronger, but not less. "Many years ago," he writes,

"I heard a speech at Calcutta which assumed from beginning to end, quite innocently, that the purpose of the British empire in India was to enable Scottish merchants to make their fortunes in the jute trade. We are not all tradesmen, neither are all tradesmen narrow-minded, but we all have our jute somewhere trying to warp our sense of justice. Let us beware of it, and remember that the virtue of law is to do justice truly, that is, for the common good, and indifferently, that is, rendering even to the unjust no less than their due, and giving no more to ourselves and our friends."

Pandit Motilal Nehru. The President of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Motilal, says the *United India and Indian States*, is a great social reformer, but unlike many so-called reformers he has had the courage to practise whatever he preaches to others. In his very early boyhood, we are told, he defied the orthodoxy of his parents by openly dining with Principal Harrison, and he was the first man in the community of Kashmir Pandits to break the institution of Purdah. He gave a further blow to orthodoxy when in 1899, on his return from England, he refused to undergo the customary ordeal of *Prayashchit*, or purification ceremony. He is an ardent champion of equal rights for women, and opposed Pandit Malaviya, his friend, when the latter opposed female franchise in the National Congress held at Bombay. The Pandit Motilal presided at the Provincial Social Conference held at Allahabad and the All-India Patel Marriage Bill Conference at Delhi.

A Progressive Dewan: The *West Coast Spectator* (Calicut) writes as follows of the Dewan of Cochin, Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghav Charya: "The Dewan of Cochin has recently been saying some very good things in regard to the depressed classes and female education. In one of his speeches he said that he would strongly put down any attempt on the part of the so-called higher castes to hold down the untouchables and the unapproachables. We are also told that a second grade college for women would soon be an accomplished fact. Cochin has advanced far in female education, and it is only in the fitness of things that the Darbar should provide more facilities, and a second grade college is a badly felt want."

The Punjab High Court: There seems to be a strong consensus of opinion in Lahore that the vacancy in the office of Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court should be filled by the appointment of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal. This gentleman seems to have all the qualifications, statutory and other, for the post, and his colour, in these days, cannot be a bar to the office. It is high time that the practice of not appointing Indians, however qualified, to the post of Chief Justice in our High Courts, were done away with. There is every reason why such a desirable innovation should be started in the Punjab at the present time. Some time ago there was a talk of an Indian Chief Justice being appointed to some other High Courts, and the appointment of an Indian as governor is no longer regarded as beyond the realm of probabilities.

If commenting on an address delivered by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the Reform Act at Allahabad, the *Leader* observes: "If the hon. Pandit had himself proceeded to England and observed the situation with his own eyes, we venture to think that he would have formed a quite different judgment." The other day, a friend remarked: "If the editor of the *Leader* had been at Amritsar during Congress week, I think his views would have undergone

considerable modification." Since neither of these things have happened, is it too much to hope that the two gentlemen would pool their experiences and formulate an opinion which gives due weight to the situation in England and to the situation created by Jallianwala? Everybody, after all, cannot see everything with his own eyes.

Protesting too Much: We have expressed our opinion of some of the speeches made at the Amritsar Congress on the resolution urging the recall of the Viceroy. But when Mr. Simpson told the Viceroy at the meeting of the Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta that he was sure that every Britisher, apart altogether from the ordinary feelings of loyalty, would always rally round the Governor of the province or the Viceroy, surely he forgot the treatment meted out to the late Lord Ripon, and the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press, of Calcutta to Lord Hardinge, after the transfer of the capital to Delhi.

Hindu Appreciation of Christ: The *Standard* a Roman Catholic weekly, published in Madras, comments on our paragraph in a recent issue inviting attention to Brahmachari Gurudasa's address on Christ, delivered at the Ramkrishna Math, of which we reprinted a large part in a recent issue. It observes: "The *Indian Social Reformer* of a recent date called the attention of its Christian readers to the eulogy pronounced on Christ by a Hindu preacher who was willing to recognise Christ as one of the avatars of the Deity. And it adduces this as an example of the tolerance of Hindus and the Hindu Religion, and to rebut the charge that there is any anti-Christian spirit in the country. We are quite willing to recognise that Hindus are tolerant to Christ and have no difficulty in looking upon Him as an avatar. But the trouble with us Christians is that we look upon Christ as *the* avatar of God. And so the benignant attitude of Hindus to Christ leaves us unmoved. Especially when we know that much smaller personages than Christ have been given this title of avatar." We are obliged to our contemporary for making it clear that "the trouble" is with Christians who will not recognize any *avatar* except Christ, and not with the Hindus who recognize that Christ is an *avatar* of God. The talk of an anti-Christian spirit among Hindus is thus absurd on the face of it. What is fact is the anti-every-other-religion spirit of Christianity as understood by our contemporary and several other professors of it.

Spiritual Forces and Secular Duties. A Christian Missionary journal cites the following as an illustration of the efficacy of spiritual forces in connection with secular duties. "A brigade had been on a raid but had failed and had suffered considerable casualties. Consequently a second attempt had to be made, and the most careful precautions were taken in order to ensure success. One of the officers happened to remark that not one thing had been overlooked. "I beg your pardon," said the chaplain, "the most important thing of all has been overlooked." The Colonel looked up and said: "What is that, padri?" "The spiritual, Sir. We have had no service though we are going over the top to night." "You are quite right, padri. Is it too late? May we not even yet have one?" That evening a service was held under a tree, both chaplains taking equal part. Those present felt the nearness of spiritual forces. The raid was a success, they gained their objective, they captured prisoners and their casualties were slight. Surely it was the moral superiority of the Allies, both as regard rightness of cause and of methods that turned the scale in the final issue of this momentous conflict."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 18, 1920.

THE BOMBAY MILLS STRIKE.

On the 2nd instant several of the Bombay cotton mills had to cease work—owing to a strike of their operatives. The movement spread to other mills. Some societies which have been working for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, held meetings of the operatives with a view to ascertaining their grievance and getting them redressed. About ten days ago the Social Service League of Bombay entered the field and the other agencies agreed to the formation of a joint organisation to bring about a settlement of the strike. This organisation assumed the name of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was elected its president and among its members were men from all the different societies interested in promoting a speedy and satisfactory settlement. The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee set before itself a two-fold object: first, to ascertain the demands of the mill labourers, and, secondly, to represent their case as to those demands to the Mill-Owners' Association and to take the necessary steps to end the strike and prevent its recurrence. With the object of ascertaining the demands of the workers, the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee arranged for public meetings of the work people in ten important centres. Sir Narayan himself presided at the first of these meetings and explained in the vernacular, Marathi, the objects for which the meeting was called and invited the representatives of the workers to state their grievances. A similar procedure was followed at all the meetings. In addition to formulating their grievances, the workers were asked to elect their own representatives to join the Committee. A list of 15 grievances was drawn up by this enlarged Committee which authorised Sir Narayan to submit them to the Mill-Owners' Association with the request that that Association would meet and confer with the Committee with a view to a prompt settlement of the strike. The President's letter requesting a Conference was sent on Wednesday and on the next day the Mill-Owners' Association replied declining to enter into any conference with the representatives of the mill workers until the workers resume work.

The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee selected 4 of the 15 grievances as demanding immediate consideration. These relate to the wages of the workers, their hours of work, the question of bonus, and wages for the days on which the men were on strike. The men want a permanent increase of 15 per cent. and a temporary increase of 35 per cent. for the duration of the present high prices. A table appended to Sir Narayan's letter shows that between the prices of certain staple commodities now and six years ago there is a difference on an average of 181 per cent. As the result of the strike this time last year, the men obtained an increase of 35 per cent. As regards the hours of labour in the mills, Sir Narayan points out that the mill workers

feel that the present system of 12 hours for men is oppressive, weakens vitality, ruins health, depresses and demoralises home life, and altogether grinds the men and women working in the mills as machines with no opportunities to enjoy the domesticities of life. The annual bonus is demanded because it is felt that the profits of the mills are as much due to labour as to capital, and that the workmen are equitably entitled to a substantial share in the bonus from the profits. As regards the payment of wages during the strike period, Sir Narayan, while admitting that the men were wrong in going on strike without notice to their employers, observes:

As against these two considerations on the other hand it may be urged that if the mill workers have some solid grievances, arising from the hard conditions of life due to high prices and the long and oppressive hours of labour making life miserable, and, if, on account of their ignorance and inability to act according to the methods of organised and regular agitation such as mill agents and other educated people are accustomed to take for the purpose of the redress of their grievances, it is Society, as a whole, which by doing nothing to lead them aright has left them to the sole alternative of the action of going on strike without either regular previous notice to the employers or without an organised and responsible representation of their grievances. One outstanding fact of the strike is the general complaint of the aloofness of the mill agents—the want of human touch on the part of the employers. The mill workers in Bombay feel that they have no responsible guidance and that somehow their employers hold aloof instead of cultivating sympathy, mutual understanding and harmony of interest by means of their human touch.

We regret that the Mill-Owners' Association have rejected a proposal conceived in the best of goodwill to themselves as to their workers. The curt refusal to enter into a conference with a view to a settlement has produced a painful impression on the public mind. The Mill-Owners seem to be under the impression that the strike is due to wire-pullers. The readiness with which all have co-operated with the Social Service League, shows that so far the wire-pullers have had no chance with the workers. The surest means of keeping wire-pullers out altogether is to redress the real grievances of the workers promptly and cheerfully. That the workers have real grievances can not be doubted. We have been assured on high authority that there is a consensus of opinion among the Mill-Owners—and has been for at least ten months—that twelve hours is too much and that with a 10 hour day the industry would do quite as well as, if not better than, with the present 12 hour day. Why not declare a ten hours' day at once? If it is a right thing to do, the fact of the operatives having struck without notice can not make it wrong. Then as regards wages, surely some increase is absolutely essential in view of the high range of prices. Whether it should be 50 per cent. as the workers ask, or any lower percentage is a question for consideration. A right settlement can be arrived at only by calculating and comparing the real wages prior to and since the war. No one can deny at this time of day that the workmen are entitled to

a share of the enormous profits which the mills have been making. The question of strike pay, in our opinion, should be settled on the basis of a compromise. The workmen should lose something for their abrupt behaviour, but the mill owners also are to blame for making the men feel that unless they "down tools" there was no chance of their employers or the public interesting themselves in their affairs. The refusal of the mill-owners to accede to a pre-eminently reasonable request coming from a gentleman of Sir Narayan's standing and character, creates a situation which no one will have more cause to regret in the long run than the mill-owners themselves. Since the above was written, the representatives of the mill operatives, consulted by the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee, have declared that the workmen did not wish to resume work until settlement of their demands is effected. In view of this, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has requested the Mill-Owners' Association to reconsider their decision.

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN.

We are indebted to the *Express* of Bankipore for the report of a very interesting gathering held on the 8th instant at the Patna College Hall to celebrate the thirty-sixth anniversary of the great religious and social reformer, Keshab Chandra Sen. As the Hon. Sachchidananda Sinha observed in proposing to the chair His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa, it is much to be desired that the cooperation between officials and non-officials of which one hears so much, should not be confined to the narrow field of politics, but should be extended to the wider fields of education and social life. Syed Hasan Imam was one of the speakers on the occasion, and he remarked that, in the year 1884 when Keshab Chandra Sen died, he was a student in the Patna Collegiate School and he remembered the remark then made that Keshab Chandra Sen by his preachings had stemmed the tide of Christianity in India; but when afterwards the speaker had gone to England and had come in contact with master minds of other religions, he realized that never a greater calumny was heaped upon the head of Keshab Chandra Sen. He was a cosmopolitan in religion; he did not hate Christianity. To him all people of whatever faith or religion were alike.

Sir Edward Gait's presidential remarks were scholarly, thoughtful and sympathetic. Speaking of Keshab's work as a religious reformer, His Honour said the doctrines of the unity of the God-head, of salvation through faith, and of passionate devotion to God, which were the main features of Keshab Chandra Sen's religious beliefs, had been preached by many previous Indian reformers, including Ramanuja, the South India Brahman, Kabir, the Punjab weaver, and Chaitanya the revivalist of Vaishnavism in Bengal, but they were propounded by Keshab with a vigour and eloquence which procured for them a far wider acceptance than they had ever previously

attained. His Honour went on to observe: "The motto of Ram Mohan Roy the distinguished founder of the Brahmo Samaj, seems to have been "back to the Upanishads." On the other hand, the outstanding feature of Keshab Chandra Sen's creed was its eclecticism. He assimilated whatever seemed good to him, whether in Buddhism, Muhammadanism or Christianity. He was, I venture to think, especially indebted to Christianity, and his lecture on the "Great Mystery" as he calls it, "of the Trinity" shows the fuller appreciation of this fundamental doctrine of Christianity than any non-Christian, before or since his time, has ever given expression to."

The most interesting part of His Honour's speech was that which related to Keshab's influence in the direction of social reform. Sir Edward was inclined to think that the success which attended Keshab's efforts against the trammels of caste, the seclusion of woman, infant marriage and other social evils, was so great that it overshadowed his work as a religious reformer. He observed: "There are now very many men belonging to the higher castes in Bengal who, while benefiting by the social reforms introduced by Keshab Chandra Sen and sharing to a large measure his religious beliefs, still call themselves Hindus, and the 5504 persons who returned themselves as members of the Brahmo Samaj at the Census of 1911 constitute only a very small fraction of those who in their hearts are followers of Keshab Chandra Sen. This circumstance may be distressing to me as a former Census Commissioner who would like to plume himself on the accuracy of his statistics, but it is perhaps the best possible proof of the effectiveness of Keshab Chandra Sen's efforts as a social reformer."

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

(By the Hon. Mr. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER.)

In the lecture delivered by me at Madras, I pointed out that the nation as a whole should be organised for social work. I am glad, therefore, that the veterans of the Social Reform movement have resolved to enlarge their sphere of work. True, the expansion has become possible only because of the energetic spade-work done by Social Reformers in the past and of the ideas which they have sown broadcast having taken root. Without in any way belittling the value of that work, I may respectfully say that their work in the main has hitherto been directed towards the advancement of classes, of communities and of units in those classes and communities. What the country now stands in need of is the bringing about of social regeneration among all classes and communities and among all creeds. The old outlook to a great extent was to develop the sense of innate justice in the educated male population and to direct their attention to their blundering treatment of their women and to the necessity of re-adjusting their own social conditions. It is true that, in recent years, endeavours for the elevation of the depressed classes have gained some attention. If I am not mistaken, the active propaganda in this direction was generally left to be under-

taken by special organisations. What we want now is the preaching of social equality for all classes and creeds and educating the submerged classes to a sense of their civic rights and responsibilities. The outlook must be to build up a nation, self-respecting, and dominated by a sense of justice towards all persons without distinction of colour or creed.

The new political rights which have been conferred upon the Indian nation will not fructify unless the work of Social Reconstruction is taken in hand even before the new Legislative Assemblies sit in the various provincial centres. So long as the educated Indian makes no attempt to carry with him the vast majority of the population, sunk in ignorance and leading unhealthy and unwholesome lives, no permanent success on the political side is possible. We, who take pride as belonging to the higher castes, have been censured as having purposely kept down the lower classes. There is an intense feeling of soreness on this question. I must say that there is considerable justification for this bitterness. So long as this feeling of hatred and of distrust prevails, the body politic cannot move on. The first and the foremost step in the programme of reconstruction must be to equalise opportunities for all classes and communities. Places of worship, institutions intended to give education, partially at least at the expense of the Government, public buildings, reservoirs built at the expense of the Government which ought to be the common property of everyone, have been regarded as the special property of particular classes and communities. The slightest vestige of such a complaint must disappear at once.

There are at least three reasons why this matter should engage the early attention of the educated classes. The first is that the lower classes who are slowly awakening to the sense of their rights, are making capital of these inequalities and are suggesting that political rights should be withheld because of the proved incapacity of the higher classes to treat the lower classes justly and humanely. Secondly, there is no precept of Hindu religion which justifies any one community arrogating to itself the privilege of worship to the exclusion of others. Thirdly, in schools and colleges, the exclusion of the untouchables would perpetually bring home to the children of the higher classes the idea that they are superior to others. It would strike at the root of the sound education to implant in our children this unjustifiable belief. It would influence badly their after-career in a way which will not conduce to harmonious co-operation with the other communities. I am, therefore, of opinion that these matters should receive the earliest possible attention from social workers.

One thing must be made clear to the people amongst whom we have to work. They should understand that we are in no way interfering with religion in its best sense. These caste distinctions are no part of the true religion of this land. People have very vague ideas on this subject. A vigorous programme of work should be undertaken to educate the people regarding the true line of demarcation between religion

and social life. If this work progresses, we will find less opposition in dealing with the amelioration of the lower classes.

I am also of opinion that the new Social organisation should invite members belonging to other religions to co-operate with them. No religion is more fitted than the Hindu religion to preach the gospel of Universal Brotherhood. In the *Gita*, Sri Krishna states that honour and obeisance done in all lands and by all nations are accepted by Him, although the name and description of the Deity may be different. We must live up to this teaching fully. In no other religion, so far as I am aware, is there such a bold and humane statement of the oneness of religion. If this precept is properly practised the work of social reconstruction will have for its councillors men of all castes and creeds; and the problem would take within its fold the depressed classes in every community inhabiting this land.

Upon this matter it may be said that I am indulging in visionary ideas, but I am sure that, whether it takes root to-day or not, this principle of universality of religions will gain its recognition some day. Shall we prepare the way? The root of this great principle is to be found in our teachings and in my opinion the time has come for its active propagation.

If you examine the religious philosophies of India, you will find that every religious faith found acceptance among the Hindus. The idol worshipper, the Charvaka and the Atheists, who deny the existence of God, the dualist and the Adwaiter, have all been accepted as belonging to the Hindu creed. I may at some future time develop this idea. I think I have said enough to induce earnest workers to move on the lines of religious co-operation. The Hindu is peculiarly fitted to preach the universality of religions. It ought to be one of the planks in the platform of social reconstruction, because, in this land which consists of so many classes and communities, the uplift of the lower classes will not be easy, if our vision is circumscribed by notions of religious exclusiveness. I have endeavoured in what I said to draw pointed attention to some of the most pressing problems of social reconstruction. I am sure that the movement which has for its sponsors Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. Devdhar, yourself and a number of other self-sacrificing men, will not suffer by including in the agenda these somewhat immature ideas of probably the newest recruit to the cause.

The Ramakrishna Students' Home, Madras - The Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Swami Vivekananda, is doing much quiet work of a most useful character in many parts of the country. One such institution is the Ramakrishna Students' Home, Madras, where poor and talented young men are maintained evidently free of cost. From the tables appended to the report for 1919, of which we have received a copy, it appears that the inmates came from all parts of the Presidency and were drawn from all castes. The Raja of Pithapuram in his remarks during a recent visit, expressed the hope that it will be found possible to admit students of the Depressed Classes. In this hope, we cordially concur. The institution was started fifteen years ago with 10 boarders. It has now 40, of whom 20 are college students. The average monthly cost per head has risen from Rs. 3-11-6 to Rs. 12-9-6. The Home is under the management and supervision of Swami Sharvanandaji of the Ramakrishna Mission. From the list of subscriptions, it is evident that the Ramakrishna Students' Home has won its way to the hearts of rich and poor, as an exceedingly useful institution carried on by the Mission.

THE BOMBAY COMMERCIAL CONGRESS.

In the issue of the *Reformer* of Dec. 21st last year, I wrote a letter on "What Bombay is in most need of" suggesting therein the starting of a commercial and financial weekly to safeguard the interests of Bombay trade and industry just as there are innumerable trade and industry weeklies and journals in England and U. S. A. Since then, I find that Bombay is going to hold a combined Commercial and Industrial Conference or Congress thus reviving Sir Fazulbhoj Carrimbhoj's Commercial Congress. This step of holding a Congress almost exclusively of merchants, financiers and industrialists is likely to yield far better results than the old method of holding the Industrial Conference as an appendage to the National Congress, when all and sundry took part in the discussion and very little of good or progress came thereby. May I just take the opportunity of suggesting through the columns of your valuable paper a few points for the consideration of the Congress?

(1) First, I shall reiterate the suggestion of a commercial weekly representing the Mill-Owners' Association and Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

(2) There is the long-standing and vexed question of Railway Nationalisation on which Bombay is so strong and almost unanimous and the Congress must declare in emphatic terms its views. We have had a serious set-back by the curious somersault of Sir D. E. Wacha. Also, there is the question of the increased Railway Fares and Freight. While benefiting nobody and while doing much harm to the Indian people, the increase of fares and freights has simply put more money into the pockets of the shareholders of our Railways. Curiously enough, and let all take note of the fact, that while the Railways all over the world in these years of war have paid less to the shareholders and are even losing, Indian Railways have paid more dividends than before the war. As a consequence of the war, the dividend in many cases in Indian Railways has increased, even to the extent of double its previous dividend. All due to the fiat of a benign and solicitous Government increasing the fares, thus causing hardship to the people and rejoicing to the stock-holders! Will not Railway Nationalization lead to the increase of the financial resources of the Government?

(3) Imperial Preference: While we owe a duty to Britain in giving preference, there is a danger of our being asked to sacrifice too much or it may be an eye-wash. Imperial Preference, while keeping out foreigners, England may monopolise Indian raw materials, thus depriving India of the benefit of rivalry and competition. This was laid stress on by Mr. Bomanji, though on a totally different occasion.

(4) The transfer of Industries to Ministers, the re-constitution of the Munitions Board into a new Department of Industries and the coming in of Sir Thomas Holland: To take the last first, it is well-known, all the Indians who have followed the career and the opinions of Sir Thomas Holland have not much con-

fidence in him. There is not the slightest expectation that Sir T. Holland would look on Indian interests with more than step-motherly affection. His whole record, Headship of the Geological Department, Presidentship of the Industrial Commission, Chairmanship of the Munitions Board, his evidence before the Joint Committee, all show what a bad choice they have made to work a newly-created Department which would require an officer with real sympathy and enthusiasm for India. It is a mystery why Sir M. Visvesvaraya's talents are not availed of in the newly-born interest for Industries on the part of the Government of India. Besides, Sir T. Holland, in the brief period of Executive Council Membership, made quips at leaders like the Honble. Mr. Sarma, signed a reactionary despatch. And what a pity that in the period of midsummer madness of last summer, there were not Sir George Barnes, Sir William Meyer and Sir Claude Hill also, perhaps, to preach conciliation and moderation! The Congress will have to consider the results of the Munitions Board from the Indian point of view, the activities of the New Department and the powers of Ministers.

(5) The Japanese inundation, the place of Indians in the Import and Export trade and the position of Indian Merchants in Africa, Persian Gulf, China, Japan etc. Bombay must closely study the domination of Indian markets by foreigners, especially Japanese. It is regrettable Bombay Merchants don't extend their activities very much either in India or abroad.

(6) It is gratifying that in the present Industrial boom, more Cotton Mills, Woollen Mills, Fire Insurance Companies, Chemical works, etc., have been started. For the present, the number of Fire Insurance Companies is enough and they should start Branches. As for Cotton Mills, there is need for starting Mills on the lines suggested by Mr. Narottam Morarjee on his return from England. But it is surprising that one fails to find companies being started for manufacturing articles of such universal consumption, as Paper, Matches, Umbrellas, Porcelain and Pottery Glass, etc. Japanese silk cloth is driving out even the Swadeshi Hand-loom silk saris.

(7) Buying up the Indian securities held in London. The Government themselves can buy and sell them here, thus making a profit.

I hope these few points will attract the attention of the organisers of the Congress. In this connection, I want to make a small complaint. That is, the several Indian Chambers of Commerce are not as vigilant, tenacious, clamorous and expert-like as the European Chambers of Commerce. And Bombay should lead the way in the matter of providing the country with financial and commercial experts. What a pity that amongst our so-called political leaders, except three or four, all others are financial ignoramuses! That ought not to be. Bombay should create leaders who are good financial and commercial experts. There should be a bureau of commercial and industrial information.

K.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, II.

(By MR. MANILAL PAREKH.)

That this is not an imaginary evil may be seen from other testimony also. Almost exactly a century back, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, just when the missionaries were beginning their operations in Bengal, expressed a fear that the higher classes of Hindus through increasing poverty, might become Christians. That was one of his greatest fears, and even the very starting of the Brahma Samaj had not a little to do with it. But in spite of all that, the country has become poorer and poorer during these hundred years, and Heaven alone knows how many of the middle and higher classes, orphans, widows, women, men and whole families, have taken their place among the lower and lowest classes and all this not for the sake of the glory of Christ but for money. But to this is added now another motive and perhaps it may prove more powerful in the end. The standard of education is very high among women in the Christian community, sometimes even higher than among men, and often there are no suitable husbands for them. On the other hand, in many communities among the Hindus, very often brides are lacking and at times it is very hard to get a wife at all. Therefore many young men are tempted to become Christians for this reason. I know Brahmans, Baniyas, Marathas etc., came even to me for this very purpose, and though I may ask them not to become Christians for such a purpose, they have no-where else to go and there are others among Christian Indians who are ready to welcome them. Thus money and women, *Kanaka* and *Kamini*, come to be associated with the holy name of Christ, the purest of prophets and sweetest of saints, as the main means of recruitment to the Christian Community from the middle and higher classes of the Hindus. And all those who came in this way together, with those very few who come purely for the sake of Christ and who are some of the noblest sons of India, must take their place among those who form the majority of the Christian fold. And this inevitable submerging of the higher among the lower to such an extent that if allowed to go on progressing in the same way, would be a serious menace to the whole of the Hindu Social fabric and might even subvert it altogether. It is this that I call a wilderness of individualism or bolshevism (minus militarism of course), and I ask in all seriousness if the caste-system with all its evils is not better if our choice lay between these two? The situation that has been thus created is the most critical one, and along with many other causes the present caste-policy of the missions is largely responsible for it. Apart from the fact that the Protestant Missions had no justification for such a policy whether from the point of view of principle or the practice of the missionaries themselves, who would not move a step out of their own colour-line, the very results show that it has been a most disastrous failure if the success of Christian Missions is to be judged not by

their carrying on so many flourishing Depressed Classes Missions but by the promotion of the Kingdom of Heaven which is essentially Godliness and very little else. As the Roman Catholics have done long since, and as many of the Indian Religions such as Jainism, Vaishnavism etc., which aspired to be universal, have done ages since, I would separate the question of caste from the Religion of Christ which is essentially a way of salvation, and treat it on its own merits. It has been said again and again that it is the intolerance of the caste-system that has made this problem I am speaking of possible, but to say so is to add insult to injury of the gravest kind, for let me say with all the force at my command that it is the Caste-system that is the aggrieved party, and the Protestant Missions and Missionaries began their work with a wanton attack against the institutions and even the religions of this land without even caring to understand them, and they did all these against the very spirit of true Christianity. In spite of all this the Hindus who are the most tolerant of all people as every great people cannot but be, have revered Christ as their own, and many of their greatest leaders such as Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Vivekananda, Swami Ram Tirtha etc. have gone to the length of worshipping Him as an Incarnation of God. Christian Saints have been honoured like the Hindu Saints, and Christian literature has been read almost universally. Converts like Nilkanth Shastri, N. Tilak, Krishna Mohun Mukerji, Kali Charan Banerji, Brahma Bandhan Upadhyaya, Sadhu Sandersingh and a host of others have been respected and honoured by all who knew them, and this was done perhaps more by the orthodox section of the Hindus than the reformed one. It is not therefore the fault of the Caste-system if it became intolerant. The fault lies entirely with the Protestant proselytising Christianity.

Pratap Chunder Moozumdar in his famous biography of Keshub Chunder Sen describes those early days when Mission-work began as follows: "The Christian missionaries, the state officials, the youthful journalists, the unfledged reformers all united to raise a warcry against caste, and the entire population of our colleges and schools joined the crusade. It meant the introduction of the European luxuries of food and drink, the free and easy ways of the West, the abolition of social discipline, of the exactions of Brahmin priests, and in impecunious relatives. Excessive indulgence in the use of alcoholic liquors characterised the educated community." He says again after describing such corruption: "And what is worse, neither the missionaries nor their converts showed any inclination to protest against the tide of corrupt civilised self-indulgence which upset the character of the rising generation. One of the newspapers of the time characterised Dr. Duff's pupils, as well as other free-and-easy youngmen of the time as "cutting their way through ham and beef, and wading their way to liberalism through tumblers of beer." The prince of Hindu converts, the late Dr. K. M. Banerji, a little before he was baptised, got with his friends into serious difficulty through some of these habits. In the face of all this let no one say that the aggressive intolerance began with the caste-system.

CHARACTER AND MARRIAGE.

(By SRI PRAKASA, B. A., LL. B. (CANTAB.), BAR-AT-LAW.)

It is a matter of infinite pain to all well-wishers of the country that both individual and national character in India is not, at the present moment, high enough to enable us to push on with works for individual betterment and national uplift with any reasonable hope of success. Character, for the purposes of my thesis, I should describe not as denoting its ethical aspects of goodness, humility, honesty, charity, harmlessness, etc.—of this we have plenty, of a sort; not even denoting its physical aspect of sexual purity—of this too we have at least as much if not more than what any other people can lay claim to; but character, to me, means the earnestness, the steadfastness in our respective works, the grim determination to carry our tasks through to a definite conclusion; the passion that attaches us to our work irrespective of what people say or are supposed to say or do. We are, as a rule, deterred in our undertakings by the first hostile breath; we swerve from our purpose at the first ridicule or discouragement; we desist at the approach of the first failure. That is the reason why, I maintain, our public and private institutions do not prosper. We lack initiative; and, even more than that, we lack courage.

Now it is not enough to say that it is so. But few will deny it. The actual conditions of our society are evidence of its truth. The problem before us is to propose ways and means that may improve our tone and give some pertinacity to our nature. Thinking over all these and other allied problems, my deliberate conclusion is that the fault lies with our home life; and home being the pivot on which the whole of the social, economic and political life of a nation moves, we must begin by reforming the root itself. Hence is the resultant of the institution of marriage; and I intend to dwell, in the course of this article, on the subject of marriage; for a reform—and that too of a drastic nature—is absolutely essential for the improvement of our character—as I understand and have tried to explain the word—and thereby ensure the general well-being of the people and the prosperity of all our private and public undertakings.

The main aspects of the Indian marriage may be summed up as follows: (1) The choice of the parties rests with the parents and not with themselves; (2) The marriage takes place at a fairly early age; (3) The newly married pair comes to the parents' house and does not set up its own home. These three customs are interwoven. The choice can rest with the parents only when there is early marriage. A grown-up man or woman would not, as a rule, allow others to choose for him or her. And when there is early marriage *i. e.*, before the husband can make his own living and the wife can look after herself and her separate establishment, they must come under the roof of their elders; they cannot set up a fresh home for themselves. So either all these customs in connection with our marriages must remain or all must go. We cannot tinker here. We cannot find a *via media* without doing violence to human nature and giving rise to endless difficulties and reactions. And I submit that all these customs must go; the parties must choose themselves; they must be sufficiently advanced in years to be able to look after themselves and after marriage they must set up their own households. I am not blind to the immense possibilities of evil; I am fully sensible of the dangers in this course; I know that this is not a counsel of perfection, that it does not necessarily ensure more happiness than exists at the present time. Granting all this, I advocate the change and that for a single reason.

I feel assured that the change will bring about a change in the character of the race; make it more self-reliant and more fit for adventures, more capable of determination; more self-willed and pertinacious, if you will; more free and courageous. The change, I honestly feel, will give us a number of qualifications that we lack; and though it may give rise to certain evils, I believe that the good to the individual and the race that will follow, will counterbalance the evil greatly and effectively.

Kipling has a good story in which an English officer of a regiment, Major or Colonel, confesses that he has not the same daring and recklessness after marriage and children that

he had before. In this statement we had the greatest condemnation of early marriage. If a military officer who is no novice, who had been in the din and roar of battle many a time, could suddenly feel his heart failing after he had passed from bachelorhood to the married state, we can easily imagine how soul-tamping and heart-barrowing efforts marriage would have on one who, being young, has probably never seen any danger, and who has never been in a situation where courage and pertinacity were required, and who finds himself on the very threshold of life, already wedded and thus already a slave and, already flying from the very first dangers that face him. All his potential courage has been sapped. His wife, and probably a child too, are there swimming in his mental horizon beckoning him to take care of himself and fly at the first breath of danger. This is the first great cause why our people cannot have any high ambitions, cannot aspire to great and noble ends, and have eternally to be satisfied with whatever little they get because that little at least helps to maintain the family at home and most often other relatives as well—near and distant.

Then there is the question of self-choice or parental choice as to whom to marry. Marriage has been regarded as one of the great adventures of life but in India, unfortunately, it is no adventure at all. One gets married as easily—at least as far as he or she is personally concerned—as one may take a cup of tea. All romance, all search, all adventure, all the small and great things that give light and colour to a wedding—all are *non est*, because the parents search out the mates for their children. They are obtained, so to say, ready made. Now the search for a mate is natural to all sentient creation. If a mate were not given to us, we shall search for her or him ourselves. We must have a mate. A major portion, if not absolutely the whole, of animate creation searches and yearns for mates and sacrifices much to obtain the desired partner. This adventure is denied to us. On other adventures we may or may not embark, but on this we were bound to if others did not come to fill the gap. Embarking on one adventure may make us desirous and eager of embarking on others. When we are denied the privilege of the adventure that we would certainly have undertaken, we are denied, side by side, the possibility of any desire or eagerness for further adventures. Thus most of us make no adventures in life at all. We are afraid of the small-st. We have thus become almost incapable of great and stirring deeds.

Then I may briefly deal with the question of a separate home for each married pair. This is very important. The best of homes, the best of parents cannot be the same as one's own home, however bad, poor or ill-organised. Separate housing teaches self-reliance; it brings us in daily contact with a great number of difficulties and situations which every home has to face. Then it would enable the flowering out of individuality. This is greatly dwarfed and stunted because of the hesitation that the boldest of young men feel before elders in whose home he is, when desirous of doing certain things. In Indian homes, the youngsters, however old, have a very unfortunate time. They find it difficult to have any privacy for themselves; they cannot even receive and entertain their friends as they like, let alone the notions of embarking on personal ambitions or doing courageous deeds. Thus all personal desires and ambitions have to be ruthlessly smothered. And this goes on from generation to generation. Can this be for the well-being of the race?

All these considerations lead me to the inevitable conclusion that drastic changes in our home-life are necessary if the soul of the race—and not only its meagre and emaciated body—are to be preserved; if we have something original to contribute to human civilisation; if we desire that the individuality of the race should be maintained and that our young persons should flower out into decent and dignified specimens of manhood and womanhood. We must now seriously take in hand our institution of marriage and, with courage, undo the great wrong we are inflicting on our future—our moral and material future.

I know there would be evils. We cannot have all good. All institutions have their advantages and disadvantages, their good and evil sides. I know for a fact that at English Universities—and, no doubt, at other European Universities as well—there is a great deal of sexual vice and immorality. A pious man would say, let us have early marriage to eradicate this vice. First of all, marriage is no absolute safe-guard

against sex-immorality. Still it is, to a certain extent. But ought we, because of the possible danger of having a few—or even many—immoral men, to ruin our youth in its flowering by early marriage, by hardening its shoulders so soon. These sexually immoral young men of European Universities, are able, later on, to do great things. It is not sexual immorality that is so morally and physically weakening as the soul-damping, ever-present fact that there is a family for whose sake one's own life must not be risked in 'fool-hardy' enterprises, in ambitious, daring or reckless undertaking.

It is, I feel, not the sex-relationship that is so harmful as the bondage of marriage even without, it may be, the sexual relationship. I should not be understood as preaching immorality. I stand for the uttermost purity of sex-life. I also stand for the utmost fidelity of wedded love. But if I were given the option—in the present conditions of India—between a sexually immoral hero and a sexually pure idiot-medicore, I would unhesitatingly prefer the former. Moreover I am not so sure that a great deal of sexual immorality—despite early marriages—does not exist in our educational institutions. We seem to be lost both ways.

Be that as it may, I am honestly convinced that to raise the general level of our character, to teach us courage, dignity, fearlessness, manliness, to fit us for great undertakings and ambitious enterprises, to nerve us to face the buffets of the world—it is essential that early marriages must go. As a first step for the building up of our character, for the teaching to us of the love of adventure as a promise for future further and different adventures, we must allow our young men and young women to find out their own spouses. And for the recovery of our lost individuality, for the affording of opportunities to learn self-reverence, 'self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control', we must allow our young wedded pairs to make their own nests, to work out their own ideals and to yearn for and realise their own hopes in their own way; in short to find their own self-expression in the form and manner that appeal to them first and foremost.

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Calcutta—Barr Bazaar.

London Agents. LLOYDS BANK LIMITED.
NEW YORK AGENTS: THE GUARANTY
TRUST COY. OF NEW YORK.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL... Rs. 12,00,00,000.
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL... .. 7,56,00,225.
PAID UP CAPITAL... .. 1,50,99,225.

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THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

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Established 1880.

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Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 23,100,000.

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1-12-17,

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Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.
Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 1897

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Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up .. 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund .. 12,50,000.

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Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Negar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

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M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co. Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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Interest allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 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.

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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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. BANGLE.—General Manager. 15-4-12.

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Subscribed Capital... .. Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital 42,52,600

Reserved liability of

Shareholders 25,00,000

Reserve Fund 6,00,000

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Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharra, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

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12 months Deposits received at 5 % per annum.

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S. N. POCHKHANAWALA,

Manager.

25-2-17

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Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 37,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

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HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
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SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINCHIKU	KEELUNG
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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.

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Every description of Banking and Exchange business transacted.

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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. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ,, 99,00,000
Reserve Fund ,, 64,00,000

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Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. 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.

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Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules 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 Constituent 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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10-1-11.

Manager.

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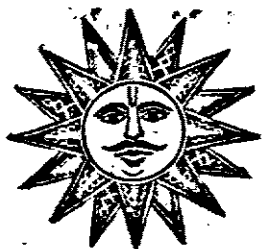
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BRAND:



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Clean
Wholesome
Intelligent
Entertainment

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Best Portland Cement.

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Guaranteed to pass the British Standard and all Engineering Specifications.

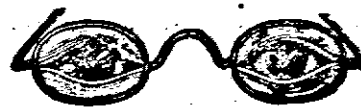
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62-11-10.

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WITH THOSE OF ANY OTHER COMPANY.

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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

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GUARANTEED INSURANCE.—This Company issues Guaranteed Policies in situations of trust and responsibility. It is specially authorized to guarantee the employees of the Post Office.

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22-9-10.

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EVERY ONE KNOWS.

whom it does concern that we are foremost in supplying the best

COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES

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Write to—THE BHARGAVA COMMERCIAL SOCIETY.

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Benares City.

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 and testified as to its efficacy by
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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.

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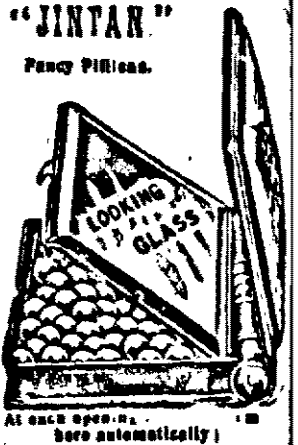
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To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price—Small Packet Rs. 0-1-0. Middle Packet, with Tin case., Rs. 0-4-0. Large Pocket with fancy case., Rs. 1-0-0

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 AND ACHES
 SPRAINS ETC.
 USE:—

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The magical pain balm extant. Cures all aches & pains
 Costs 8 As. Sold everywhere.



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(KING OF INDIAN CONFECTIONERS),

Highest Confectioner, Caterer and Grand
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Proprietor—**RATINATH,**
 Chitra Bazar & Grant Road,

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BOMBAY.

DENTISTRY.

Extractions Painless;
 Terms Very Moderate;
 Gold Crown, Bar and
 Bridge Work a Speciality
 (teeth without plate);
 Latest Successful Treatment
 for Pyorrhoea (pus in gums).
SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

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 NEW CHARJI ROAD,
 GIDDEON, BOMBAY. } 1-4-19.

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 Surgeon Dentist.

THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 1920. No. 21.

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

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Swami Vivekananda's Anniv- ersary.	Mission.
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Lord Sinha in Bombay.	Racialism at Amritsar.

NOTES.

Satyagraha. The significance and propriety of Satyagraha have been once more brought into controversy by the examination of Mr. Gandhi by Lord Hunter's Committee at Ahmedabad. The difficulty which some people evidently feel in regard to them is due to the fact that what Mr. Gandhi understands by Satyagraha is not merely Satyagraha but Satyagraha plus Ahimsa. Mr. Gandhi himself defined it to the Committee as the pursuit of truth and non-violence. Now Satyagraha does not necessarily include non-violence. Mahomed and Christ were Satyagrahis, according to every definition of the term. But they did not exclude the idea of *Himsa* in a good cause. This is indisputable in the case of the Prophet of Islam. As regards the Founder of Christianity, there is good reason to think that He ultimately adopted the doctrine of Ahimsa. But that He did not do so always is evident from the incident of His driving out the money-changers in the Temple with a whip of small cords. In India, however, for the last twenty-five centuries and more Satyagraha and Ahimsa have so consistently gone together that they may be said to constitute a single idea. When, therefore, Mr. Gandhi speaks of Satyagraha without feeling that it is distinguishable from Ahimsa, he is under the influence of the immemorial tradition of Hindu thought and culture. The assurance with which he holds that the Satyagraha movement can do nothing but good is likewise due to this intimate association in his mind of the idea of Ahimsa with the idea of Satyagraha. If Ahimsa were always and ever the concomitant of Satyagraha, or if Satyagraha were the concomitant of Ahimsa, Mr. Gandhi's position would be unassailable. But it is not the case. Many people who will not kill a worm will not hesitate to tell a lie, if it is to their interest to do so. Conversely, there are many men who patronise the slaughter-house, but would die rather than depart from the truth. If the populace understood Satyagraha in the sense that Mr. Gandhi understands it, there will be no safer or more efficacious means of national salvation. Incidentally, Mr. Gandhi was asked if it did not

ment to apprehend truth. The question in our opinion betrays a strange ignorance of what truth is. The test and credential of truth is that it can be apprehended by all. This is especially and pre-eminently true of moral and spiritual truth.

Swami Vivekananda's Anniversary: On Sunday last Swami Govindananda, the local representative of the Ramakrishna Mission, organised a public celebration of the fifty-eighth anniversary of the birth of Swami Vivekananda. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided on the occasion, and spoke in warm appreciation of the career of the late Swami and his lasting service to his countrymen. The Swami came at the right psychological moment. Sir Narayan thought, to remind Indians that their national contribution to the cause of humanity should be spiritual not material. Swami Vivekananda further illustrated in his own person the enlarged application of the ancient idea of *Sanyas* to the service of society and not merely to contemplation. Mr. Gokhale's conception of the Servant of India Society working in the political sphere, was a partial application of the same principle, and we should not be surprised if it had been suggested by the Belur Math. Mr. Gandhi's Ashram at Sabarmati is another endeavour to apply the ancient *Sanyas* idea to modern conditions. The last issue of the *Prabhudda Bharata*, the monthly organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, published at Mayavati, narrates a conversation in the course of which the late Swami outlined at some length a scheme of a Convent for women as a means of developing the great spiritual potentialities latent in Indian women for use in the regeneration of the country. The condition of the depressed classes moved the Swami to indignation, and he had far-reaching plans for elevating them and bringing them up to the same level as other Hindus. Swami Vivekananda was undoubtedly one of the dynamic forces of modern India, and it is well that we remind ourselves now and then of his great example.

The Bolshevik Peril. It is difficult for us in this country to decide how far the fear of the Bolshevik peril which seems to have cast in the shade the dread of German recidivism and postponed the settlement of the fate of Turkey, is a political creation and how far it represents a real danger to civilisation. The question has been complicated by the fact that some sort of arrangement has been recently come to permitting of the exchange of commodities with Bolsheviks. One thing, however, seems certain, that the Bolsheviks have triumphed over their opponents in Russia and that they are at present in possession of a military organization which enables them at will to strike westward in Europe, eastward towards the Pacific or southward towards Persia, Afghanistan and India. The Bolsheviks may or may not be devils incarnate—opinion seems to differ on the point even among English publicists—but they are not wanted on our borders. It has

always seemed to us to be folly to interfere with them in their own country and, perhaps, if they had been let alone, the danger of their spreading beyond it would have been much less. Probably even now if we do not seek to intermeddle in Russian affairs, they may not seek to interfere with ours. In any case, it is of the first importance that we keep a cool head on our shoulders, and lose no time in adopting such measures—internal as well as external—as will be effective in warding off the menace, if there is really one. The Government of India should make it clear once for all that it will not countenance the doctrine of "terrorism as a means to an end", said to be Lenin's maxim, by marking in a way which can not be mistaken its disapprobation of General Dyer's exploit at Jhallianwala. In this and other ways it must put itself in sympathetic touch with Indian sentiment which, we are sure, will respond readily and generously to such advances on the part of Government.

The Bombay Mills Strike. The Secretary of the Mill-Owner's Association announced in yesterday's morning papers the decision of the Committee of the Association on each of the fifteen requests set forth in the appendix to the representation submitted to the Association, on the 14th instant by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, as President of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee. Sir Narayan had indicated in the representation that four of the fifteen points should be settled as an inducement to the workers to resume work. These related to increased wages, annual bonus, hours of labour, and strike pay. Of these four, the Mill-owners have wholly rejected the last, taken the view that the question of bonus must be left to be decided from time to time, and made concessions in the direction of increase in wages and hours of labour. They have agreed to introduce the 10 hours' day from the first proximo, and to give 20 per cent more wages to permanent and 40 per cent to piece-work employees. As regards the eleven other requests they wholly or partially concede some, point out that some others are in accord with existing practice, and refuse only two altogether. It will be the general opinion that, on the whole, the Mill-Owners' concessions have not been conceived in a niggardly spirit. At the same time, they also show that the requests of the operatives were not unreasonable. That being the case, it may well be asked, why should there have been a delay of three weeks in announcing these terms, involving much suffering to thousands, loss of one life, and acute anxiety to Government and the public? This question will have to be taken up for earnest consideration immediately by all concerned. But for the vigorous intervention of His Excellency the Governor, the strike situation, so far as it affected the mill operatives, might not have yet reached its solution. Sir George Lloyd very properly waited to see whether the employers and the employed could not come to a settlement without his intervention. But when the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee placed before His Excellency the results of its negotiations with the Mill-Owners' Association and conveyed to him the confidence universally felt among the operatives in His Excellency's deep sympathy for them and strong desire to see justice done to them, Sir George Lloyd did not hesitate for a moment as to his course. His Excellency has once again proved his capacity as an administrator in circumstances of great difficulty and the public feel grateful to him. We ought not to omit in this connection to add a word of appreciation for the admirable tact and discipline with which the Police and the troops quartered at various centres, have borne themselves

in a situation which put a severe strain on their endurance and energies.

The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee. Next only to His Excellency's share of the credit of the present settlement of the strike in the Bombay Mills, is that of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and his colleagues on the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee, who have sat evening after evening anxiously discussing each phase of the movement as it developed and devising measures to allay unrest among and counsel patience to the operatives, on the one hand, and to ascertain their views and communicate them to the Mill-Owners on the other. We, for one, have never believed that the Mill-Owners as a class are hard-hearted and unsympathetic, and no one who attended the meetings of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee could have missed being impressed by the fact that the operatives as a class, though they are illiterate, are not wanting in intelligence and good sense. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at once realised that what was wanted was an agency to put the Mill-Owners in touch with their employees and that when once this was effected the situation would satisfactorily solve itself. All the agencies which had been working among the operatives happily agreed to co-operate in one joint movement. The thanks of the public are due to all of them. But they will all admit that they are in a special measure due to Sir Narayan who, with a terrible domestic anxiety weighing on his mind, sat for hours every evening, explaining, expostulating, interpreting, counselling, and several hours most mornings in drafting, revising, recasting and replying to representations. The *Dnyanodaya*, the Anglo-Marathi organ of six Christian missions working in the Bombay Presidency, pays a well-merited tribute to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's labours in connection with a pacific settlement of the strike of millhands. Our contemporary writes: "Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has done a noble and patriotic thing in forming a Bombay Labour Settlement Committee, particularly as he has been anxious for some time past about the health of Lady Chandavarkar. It is to the good of all concerned that the leadership of the two hundred thousand workpeople in Bombay's eighty-five mills has been espoused by so sane and balanced a man as Sir Narayan is, and we earnestly trust his efforts will soon lead to a resumption of work. That twelve hours a day are much too long to work in an Indian factory every one, millowners included, will readily admit. And with Bombay food prices 181 per cent higher than six years ago, as Sir Narayan has shown from official figures, the need for higher wages is quite clear. Perhaps a graver need still is that of better housing."

The Montagu Memorial Movement. A movement has been started in Bombay to raise a memorial to Mr. Montagu. Without desiring in the least to detract from the credit undoubtedly due to Mr. Montagu for his work in regard to constitutional reform, we feel that the movement at the present moment is premature. The rules under the Reform Act, on which so much has been left to depend, are yet to be framed. In the absence of these rules, the significance of the whole measure and of the parts thereof, can be but imperfectly appraised or appreciated. The Punjab affair with its pendant, the Indemnity Act, has created a new perspective in which the Reform Act has to be viewed, and there is a section of weighty opinion which is not satisfied that the responsibility for it ceases with the Government in India. A definite apportionment of responsibility must await the publication of the reports of the Hunter and Nehru Committee. We are not sure that Mr. Montagu himself would like it at this juncture.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 25, 1920.

A PLEA FOR DISUNITY.

We are obliged to the *Leader* for the courteous and considered reply to our criticism on its grounds for keeping up a division of political parties. It heads its reply "Fact and Sentiment." We suppose our contemporary relegates our criticism to the realm of sentiment because we quoted some lines of Mathew Arnold's in our article entitled "A Plea for Unity." But "poets never dream: prose-folk always do." The Vedic rishis "saw" their hymns, and the poet-mind in all ages and lands apprehends as in a flash the deepest truths of life, which, we sometimes think, it is the main business of us, journalists and politicians, to obfuscate. If we may say so without offence, our contemporary has shifted its grounds considerably in its latest plea for disunity. In the first article, our readers may remember, it adduced six reasons why the Moderates should continue to work apart from the Congress. Among these were (1) the Amritsar Congress resolution on the Reform Act, (2) the resolution about the recall of the Viceroy, (3) the violent language of the Radical journals in criticising Moderate members of the Indian Legislative Council, (4) the Satyagraha movement, (5) the boycott of the Hunter Committee and (6) the proposed memorial at Jhallianwala Bagh. We pointed out that the *Times of India* had interpreted the Congress resolution on the Reform Act as being in the right direction. Since then the *Mahratta* voicing Mr. Tilak's views, and *Young India*, those of Mr. Gandhi, have accepted and endorsed the *Times'* interpretation. We had pointed out that the Congress resolution regarding Lord Chelmsford's recall had a good precedent in the Bombay Presidency Association's resolution for the recall of Lord Curzon, that violent language is not a legitimate cause of party divisions, that the Satyagraha movement was initiated by Mr. Gandhi and not by the Congress, that the boycott of the Hunter Committee was not disapproved by all Moderates, and that the proposed memorial at Jhallianwala should not hurt any susceptibilities. We may state in passing that our objection to the Cawnpore memorial is not that it perpetuates the memory of a massacre, but that the exclusion of Indians from the premises, implies that the massacre has the sympathy of all Indians, past, present and to come. We are sure no Englishman will be excluded from the memorial at Jhallianwala because General Dyer happens to be an Englishman.

We need not, however, labour this point, as the *Leader* in its reply does not lay much store by it or the other five points. Our contemporary has discovered a new reason. It is that the whole fabric of modern responsible Government rests on the party system, and that a party in power without a party in opposition cannot be trusted to run efficiently the complicated machinery of responsible Government. Assuming for argument's sake that responsible government and

party system are inseparable, we may point out that the party system means that the Ministers belong to a single party and have a single policy. The Indian Ministers under the scheme of the Act are to be nominated by the Governor and there is nothing to bind the Governor to select the Ministers from one party. He may, and probably will, select them from more than one party. In fact the underlying idea of the scheme with its numerous checks and safeguards seems to deprecate the institution of party Government at the present stage. And what is the party system without party Government? As for opposition, there is likely to be no lack of it without party opposition in the new councils. With the official executive government, the Services accustomed to frame policies as well as to administer them, and the Legislative Council with its communal elements, we may assure our contemporary that the administration of Ministers is not in the least likely to come to grief owing to lack of helpful and healthy friction. Further, so far as we can judge, the conditions under which the new scheme will come into force are such as to constrain every Minister to one programme which cannot differ fundamentally in its essential features. Will the Moderates oppose a measure for universal compulsory education? Will the Radicals oppose a policy which has total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor as its goal? Will Moderates and Radicals seek a conflict on the subject of rural sanitation? All the subjects in the Moderate programme outlined at Calcutta are on the programme of the Radicals. We say that there is no material for two programmes. We go further. We say that it is the duty of all patriotic leaders to seek and discover fresh ground which will unite all creeds, races, castes and sects. The working power of a machine depends on a balance of the centrifugal and centripetal forces generated by it. Any disturbance of this balance will either bring it to a dead halt or scatter it to pieces. In Indian society the centrifugal principle has been developed to an excessive degree, and to add to it by the creation of political parties is to court destruction. We may differ in respect of individual measures, but our reading of Indian history and Indian socio-political conditions absolutely preclude our assenting to a policy of deliberate and determined disunity. Our contemporary recapitulates the circumstances which led to the holding of the first Moderate Conference. We are not concerned with the past, but with the present. We say that whatever might have been the case in 1917, there is no reason in 1920 to maintain a distinction which has ceased to be a difference or exists only as a difference of taste and temperament.

The *Leader* says that appeals for unity, however entitled to respect, do little good. But our appeal seems to have done some little good, if we may judge from the letters which we have received from men of all parties. "Public life must be a black dreary thing," writes our contemporary, "if it is to be divorced from charity of judgment or fairness of criticism." We entirely agree but no one is entitled to quit his life, public or private, because it is deprived

of the things which make it a thing of pleasure and beauty. In our opinion, the Moderates' action in resolving to stand apart from the national movement is nothing less than political suicide. We do not remind our contemporary that some of the most prominent Moderates have in their own younger days enjoyed a reputation for intemperate speech and unbalanced writing. But we do think that they have no right to be so thin-skinned as to squirm at the imputation of motives by unfledged orators and journalists. We are glad that our contemporary recognises this. Our contemporary concludes :

Surely it cannot be contended that it is enough for the Liberals to join the Congress on the three days of its sessions to receive the courtesy of a patient hearing, and for the rest of the year to be kept out of all the executive bodies of the Congress. Taking the constitution of the Congress as it is at present, we cannot see how the Liberals with the views they hold and which they are not prepared to abandon, can find themselves in those bodies. If those who are in power in the Congress think that the Liberals are not yet political 'untouchables' and that they may be yet again admitted into their sacred precincts a radical alteration in the constitution of the Congress seems to be necessary. It is for those who address such appeals to consider what practical means of achieving this end are open to them. It would be a mistake to suppose that their whole duty is done by issuing letters of invitation to the Liberals.

We gladly reproduce this passage because we seem to discern in it a ray of light. We entirely agree that it will not do for the Liberals or the Moderates to join the Congress for three days and to vegetate for the rest of the year. But we hope that the *Leader* does not contend that the Liberal party's position is similar to that of the Mohammedans or Sikhs in the body politic: that so many seats should be reserved in the Congress Executive for Liberals and so many thrown open to the generality of Congressmen. The same opportunities of winning the confidence of the Congress are open to Liberals as to Radicals. To ask for more is a sheer plea of weakness. For the rest, our contemporary knows perhaps better than we do by whom the present constitution was devised and with what object. We agree that it is radically wrong and should be altered. But how can it be altered if those who wish to see it altered refuse to take the steps necessary to get it altered? Finally, let us remind our contemporary that constitutional reform is not an end in itself. It is a means to a greater, nobler end. Let Liberals and Radicals see to it that they do not push their enthusiasm for or against it to such a point as to impede the great social forces which, under Providence, are impelling this ancient land to achieve its mighty destiny among the world's nations.

A Mysore View: The Karnataka (Bangalore) writes: "We, like the *Indian Social Reformer*, feel that the Moderate body is a sort of second chamber in our un-official parliament, its object being to revise and to supplement the work of the first chamber which the Congress is and which of course, must be held to be the organ *par excellence* of the Nation."

LORD SINHA IN BOMBAY.

Lord Sinha arrived in Bombay on the 15th, and spent that day and the next in this city. He was received with the cordial hospitality so characteristic of Bombay by all classes and nearly all shades of political opinion. If there were not such demonstrations of popular enthusiasm as those which greeted the home-coming of Dadabhai Naoroji after his election to Parliament, neither were there any of the ungracious, and almost spiteful, demonstrations on the part of some malcontents, which seem to have marred the great welcome which Calcutta accorded to her distinguished citizen on Sunday last. The Students' Brotherhood was the first body to welcome Lord Sinha at a public function in Bombay. His Lordship's reply to the address presented by it showed that the interests of the student population is very close to his heart. The Western India Liberal Association and the Bombay Presidency Association entertained Lord Sinha, and his speeches on both the occasions were characterised by modesty, chivalry, and sound sense. While expressing his pleasure that all sections of his countrymen were agreed as to the necessity of working the Reform Act to the maximum advantage of the country, he did not, as some others have done, fall foul of those who honestly hold that it could, and should, have gone farther and done more. As regards our work in the immediate future, Lord Sinha gave wise advice. "To my mind," he said, "the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the sphere of our responsible government would be to try and discharge in the manner most satisfactory to the people of India the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devolved upon us." His lordship proceeded to illustrate this by a concrete example. He said:

I will assume that local self-government, education and sanitation will become transferred subjects. They are all important and will tax our energies to a very great extent. Instead of diverting our energies in asking for other subjects like law and order to be immediately transferred, I venture to think that it is part of wisdom to begin from now to formulate a policy with regard to each of those subjects of local self-government, education and sanitation. How are we going to finance them, in what directions can we expand them? Probably a survey is necessary in addition to what has already been accomplished by the local Governments. We shall have to begin to carry out that policy early next year. Are we ready with one? I think not. It will therefore be a waste of energy, of which we do not have a superabundance, to begin an agitation for the purpose of obtaining control over the departments of law and order.

We think that there is much more political energy, potential and even actual, in the country than Lord Sinha believes. Indian politics is no longer the pallid, anæmic thing that it used to be when Mr. Hume, with a cake in one hand and a cane in the other, used alternately to cajole and cudgel his followers to carry on the semblance of political agitation once a year. Even the Congress of 1915 over which Lord Sinha presided, was a pale shadow compared with the thing of flesh and blood which it became at Amritsar. The point, indeed, admits

no doubt. Apart, however, from the question of quantity of political energy in the country, we agree with Lord Sinha that we would be far more actively compassing the early extension of responsible government, by working at the Act than by waiting for it. Perhaps, his lordship and ourselves may not agree as to the precise way in which this working at the Act will lead to the desired result. Lord Sinha, no doubt, means that the British Parliament would be so pleased and satisfied with our success that it will hasten to add more to what it has already given. We are inclined rather to the view that it will be found, when it comes to practical working, that the spheres accorded by the scheme are so closely impinged upon by those withheld by it, that Parliament itself must realise that, without these others also being made over to Indians, it is unfair and impossible to expect them to carry on with the rest without serious detriment to administrative efficiency. Parliament must not but come to realise that if Indians are expected to make bricks they must be given a sufficient quantity of straw.

Let us illustrate our meaning by the concrete example used by his lordship himself. How are we going to finance local self-government, education and sanitation, which may be transferred to Indians and which, all agree, need a lot of financing? There are only two ways of financing a department of the administration: by retrenching in some other departments or by fresh taxation. We do not consider the question of loans, because ultimately the device of loans involves one or both of these alternatives. Now, the Indian Minister casting about for ways and means to finance measures of local self-government, education and sanitation, has his back to a wall. The contribution to the Central Government and the expenditure on the reserved departments, are sacrosanct, however grievous may be his needs for his nation-building operations. One course only is open to the Minister—fresh taxation. Now, successive Finance Members of the Government of India, as well as others, have repeatedly declared that Indian revenue is inelastic and that almost all possible sources of taxation have been tapped? What the untrained, inexperienced Indian Minister called upon to do is what the trained, experienced Indian Civil Service had virtually given up as impossible. Not only that, British statesmen with centuries of political experience behind them, would blush if they were required to work a government system in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Ministers for the Army and Navy, and the Home Secretary, are to be permanent officials while their colleagues for Education and Public Health and Local Government are to be responsible to Parliament. While welcoming the improvements which the scheme of reform contemplates in the existing system, we have never concealed our opinion that the task imposed on the Indian Minister is no light one, and we feel constrained to point out that exaggerations on the one side are not more propitious to a favourable reception of the measure than exaggerations on the other. One more point. Lord Sinha

said that if the Ministers worked the Act to the satisfaction of the Indian people, the extension of the sphere of responsible government would be assured. He also repeatedly affirmed that the future is in our hands to make or mar. As a general proposition, applying to all human affairs, the maxim has a certain validity, but the complaint of the Congress party is that it is the very thing which is denied in the preamble to the Act. If it is in the hands of the Indian people to make or mar their political future under the Act, why not have said so plainly in the preamble? That there is more than an element of truth in the Congress contention is borne out by Lord Sinha's own exhortation to his countrymen.

MR. JUSTICE BANADE'S LIFE-MISSION.* (By, MR. G. K. DEVDHAR, M. A.)

To understand fully Mr. Ranade's claims to greatness, his life must be studied in relation to the time in which he was born and the environment that moulded his character. The two illuminating addresses delivered by Mr. Ranade at the meetings of the National Social Conference in dealing with the conditions of India in the pre-British period—one at Lucknow in 1899 on the subject of "*India a thousand years ago*"; and the other at Madras in 1898 on "*Southern India a hundred years ago*", clearly portray to our minds the India of those times. Later on when partition after partition of India began to come under British rule as a result either of conquest or commercial policy followed by periods of either consolidation, conciliation or administrative construction, and when the introduction of Western education and science as a result of British connection which, according to Mr. Ranade, was an act of divine dispensation calculated "to lift us up from the mire of our wretchedness", set in motion the process of liberalization of minds and thoughts of those that came under their beneficent influence, there was an influx of several vigorous and patriotic ideas suggesting directions for the rapid growth of the nation. Bengal which was probably the earliest to come under the sway of western influence sent forth a generation which came to be filled with the conviction that the basis of the society needed modification and our old religious notions and practices badly needed a radical change. In Bombay and elsewhere it was thought that the backwardness of our country was due to political conditions. It was at such a juncture when different people were suggesting different remedies for national advancement, each one in his own way, and when conflicting ideas were floating in the air and the country was budding into a new progressive life that Mr. Ranade was born.

He very powerfully felt, as a result of his vast reading and experience, that what India needed was a social evolution, or a radical change in spirit and not in form.

* From an address delivered at a public meeting held on the 10th. instant in the Satara New English School to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Mr. Justice Mahadeva Govind Ranade.

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I will assume that local self-government, education and sanitation will become transferred subjects. They are all important and will tax our energies to a very great extent. Instead of diverting our energies in asking for other subjects like law and order to be immediately transferred, I venture to think that it is part of wisdom to begin from now to formulate a policy with regard to each of those subjects of local self-government, education and sanitation. How are we going to finance them, in what directions can we expand them? Probably a survey is necessary in addition to what has already been accomplished by the local Governments. We shall have to begin to carry out that policy early next year. Are we ready with one? I think not. It will therefore be a waste of energy, of which we do not have a superabundance, to begin an agitation for the purpose of obtaining control over the departments of law and order.

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o doubt. Apart, however, from the question of quantity of political energy in the country, we are with Lord Sinha that we would be far more actively compassing the early extension of responsible government by working at the Act than by waiting for it. Perhaps, his lordship and ourselves do not agree as to the precise way in which this working at the Act will lead to the desired result. Lord Sinha, no doubt, means that the British Parliament would be so pleased and satisfied with our success that it will hasten to add more to what it has already given. We are inclined rather to the view that it will be found, when it comes to practical working, that the spheres provided by the scheme are so closely impinged upon by those withheld by it, that Parliament itself must realise that, without these others also being made over to Indians, it is unfair and impossible to expect them to carry on with the rest without serious detriment to administrative efficiency. Parliament must not but come to realise that if Indians are expected to make bricks they must be given a sufficiency of straw.

Let us illustrate our meaning by the concrete example used by his lordship himself. How are we going to finance local self-government, education and sanitation, which may be transferred to Indians and which, all agree, need a lot of financing? There are only two ways of financing a department of the administration: by retrenching in some other departments or by fresh taxation. We do not consider the question of loans, because ultimately the service of loans involves one or both of these alternatives. Now, the Indian Minister casting about for ways and means to finance measures of local self-government, education and sanitation, has his back to a wall. The contribution to the Central Government and the expenditure on the reserved departments, are sacrosanct, however grievous may be his needs for his nation-building operations. One course is open to the Minister—fresh taxation. Now, successive Finance Members of the Government of India, as well as others, have repeatedly declared that Indian revenue is inelastic and that almost all possible sources of taxation have been tapped? What the untrained, inexperienced Indian Minister called upon to do is what the trained, experienced Indian Civil Service had virtually given up as impossible. Not only that, British statesmen with centuries of political experience behind them, would beaghast if they were required to work a government system in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Ministers for the Army and Navy, and the Home Secretary, are to be permanent officials while their colleagues for Education and Public Health and Local Government are to be responsible to Parliament. While welcoming the improvements which the scheme of reform contemplates in the existing system, we have never concealed our opinion that the task imposed on the Indian Minister is no light one, and we feel constrained to point out that exaggerations on the one side are not more propitious to a favourable reception of the measure than exaggerations on the other. One more point. Lord Sinha

said that if the Ministers worked the Act to the satisfaction of the Indian people, the extension of the sphere of responsible government would be assured. He also repeatedly affirmed that the future is in our hands to make or mar. As a general proposition, applying to all human affairs, the maxim has a certain validity, but the complaint of the Congress party is that it is the very thing which is denied in the preamble to the Act. If it is in the hands of the Indian people to make or mar their political future under the Act, why not have said so plainly in the preamble? That there is more than an element of truth in the Congress contention is borne out by Lord Sinha's own exhortation to his countrymen.

MR. JUSTICE BANADE'S LIFE-MISSION.* (By MR. G. K. DEVDHAR, M. A.)

To understand fully Mr. Banade's claims to greatness, his life must be studied in relation to the time in which he was born and the environment that moulded his character. The two illuminating addresses delivered by Mr. Banade at the meetings of the National Social Conference in dealing with the conditions of India in the pre-British period—one at Lucknow in 1899 on the subject of *"India a thousand years ago"*; and the other at Madras in 1898 on *"Southern India a hundred years ago"*, clearly portray to our minds the India of those times. Later on when partition after partition of India began to come under British rule as a result either of conquest or commercial policy followed by periods of either consolidation, conciliation or administrative construction, and when the introduction of Western education and science as a result of British connection which, according to Mr. Banade, was an act of divine dispensation calculated 'to lift us up from the mire of our wretchedness', set in motion the process of liberalization of minds and thoughts of those that came under their beneficent influence, there was an influx of several vigorous and patriotic ideas suggesting directions for the rapid growth of the nation. Bengal which was probably the earliest to come under the sway of western influence sent forth a generation which came to be filled with the conviction that the basis of the society needed modification and our old religious notions and practices badly needed a radical change. In Bombay and elsewhere it was thought that the backwardness of our country was due to political conditions. It was at such a juncture when different people were suggesting different remedies for national advancement, each one in his own way, and when conflicting ideas were floating in the air and the country was budding into a new progressive life that Mr. Banade was born.

He very powerfully felt, as a result of his vast reading and experience, that what India needed was a social evolution, or a radical change in spirit and not in form.

* From an address delivered at a public meeting held on the 10th. instant in the Satara New English School to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Mr. Justice Mahadeva Govind Banade.

He said "It is not the outward form, but the inward form, the thought and the idea which determines the outward form, that has to be changed if real reformation is desired." Another passage from Mr. Ranade's writings makes the meaning of this phrase clear. "The change which we should all seek is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human dignity. This is what I understand by social evolution, both for individuals and societies in this country." As philosophy aims at perfection, as religion aims at salvation, as education aims at harmonious development of natural gifts, so nationalism should aim at a full and all round development of the various sides of national life. Mr. Ranade did not believe in progress of either the individual or society by compartments. He was fully convinced that if a nation were to rise to its full status it could only do so by systematically developing all sides or the aspects of its national or social life. According to him the dwarfing of a part meant the dwarfing of the whole. To him the various national activities such as political, industrial, social, religious &c., &c., were so many branches of the main trunk of the social growth or the phases of one and the same thing. That is why he was not content in starting ideas about work in one particular direction at the cost or exclusion of others. He wanted, if possible, that the national problem should be tackled in its entirety.

In fact, he desired the improvement of the whole man as a necessary condition for the growth of the society. That was the key to his life and that would supply a clue to the question as to why Mr. Ranade did not favour one particular branch of human or national activity to the entire neglect of other branches of human life. He recognised the need for specialization but his was the work of direction and like a general in possession of a commanding position he was directing the national efforts into various channels. Moreover, Mr. Ranade's optimism was so robust that he believed that "there is no cause for despair if we only remember one great lesson of history and science, viz., that no development of the body politic is possible, unless the new heat animates all our powers and gives life and warmth to all our activities." This distinguishes a towering leader of a new order of society like Mr. Ranade from others and that constitutes his real greatness. Unlike his many contemporaries, therefore, he devoted his attention and energy to the various needs of the nation and did not set one above the other. High and generous motives always prompted his work. He laboured for all causes that made for progress. His motto was "to love all, work with all, and feel for all. This, in his opinion, was the work of a true reformer. A true national reformer always takes into account the varied needs of the country, closely analyses the causes of its slow or stagnant growth and sets the stream of national enthusiasm for work in various channels.

In his opinion progress in a country like India rich in its traditions and civilisation in its glorious past was bound to be slow and by successive stages, if it was to be sure and permanent, because all organic and structural growth was such. This line of thought and action distinguished Mr. Ranade from the rest of the men of his times and placed him in the forefront as a safe leader of India as she stands now. That was the lesson of his strenuous life.

To him the national problem appealed very differently. He says "What is the inner spring of action which is setting in motion both reform and orthodox workers almost against their will, even where their will does not consent to move? That inner spring, the hidden purpose not consciously realised in many cases, is the sense of human dignity and freedom, which is slowly asserting its supremacy over the national mind. It is not confined to one sphere of family life. It invades the whole man, and makes him feel that individual purity and social justice have paramount claims over us all, which we cannot ignore long without being dragged down to a lower level of existence. This or that particular reform, or revival of ancient practices, as some would like to call them; the removal of this or that particular defect or vice, is not and should not be the only end and aim of the agitation to improve our social condition. The end is renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—the chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself, and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bound, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land."

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, III.

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But when I say all this I am not forgetful of the fact that neither the caste-people are with me, for their intolerance and suspicion are already aroused and rightly so: nor will I "be able to carry with me the more thoughtful section either of the Hindus or Christians with myself" as 'Kotgarh' says. The thing is that the situation is the most serious one and requires the wisest handling on the part of the most thoughtful among both the Hindus as well as Christians. Nor would I ever have dreamt of dealing with it if I had not felt myself, as a disciple and spiritual son of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub

Chunder Sen, in a line with all the teaching of the great sages in spite of or rather for the very reason of my being a member of the Body of Christ. In addition to this my personal experiences with my people, my family members and caste-brethren, twice during the last decade, first when I joined the Brahmo Samaj and next when I joined the Christian Church (and I was the first to join the Brahmo Samaj in the whole of Gujarat) have been such as to satisfy me in dealing with the problem in the way I do. Not that everything is smooth or yet may be smooth, for a true follower of the path of the Cross must be ready to be a veritable scandal in the eyes of the world, whether that world with its evil spirit is in the caste-people or in liberal Hindus or in so-called Christians. But apart from that, there is not the least doubt that with the expansion of the whole of the national life in India there has been a corresponding expansion in the caste-system itself and it is ready to tolerate much provided those who are thus tolerated know their proper responsibility. Mr. K. T. Paul has spoken of such an expansion in the whole of the Hindu life in his article on "How Missions denationalise us," and he thinks that the Missions must therefore change their policy with regard to high-caste converts, a suggestion which has been favourably received in more than one quarter. But what I would plead for is that such an expansion of the Hindu Society, instead of contributing to the expansion of a separate Christian community in however indirect a manner, should mean a halt to all proselytisation whatsoever, whether among high and low, and is the sign for a new order of things altogether.

When I say all this I am not forgetful that a thousand and one forces are slowly but none the less surely, making the caste-system yield its ground on all sides. If it does this in order to make room for rank individualism and anarchy in social life, for Bolshevism and class-system such as it prevails in Europe and America where the weakest and poorest go to the wall and wealth and success are the two gods which people worship, if the caste-system made room for all this, then certainly it is a result that is not desirable. But if instead of old castes new communities arose, in which there would be larger love and greater purity, then and then only it is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. But to reach such an end perhaps a progressive modification of the caste-system along with a truer appreciation and toleration on its part of personal, political, social and above all religious liberty which is the foundation of all liberty, may yet be the very best means of taking the great Hindu community several stages forward in the path of true progress. The caste-system has acted all along as a most powerful brake on the liberty of the individual; and though it has often denied him any liberty except in the religious sphere where a larger latitude has been given to him, there is not the least doubt that it has often prevented whatever liberty it gave from degenerating into licence. Thus, in spite of all its defects, and they are many as admitted by all, the caste-system does offer a vantage-ground from when it may be perhaps easier

to evolve a higher social system for the Hindus than it would be by the way of the wilderness of individualism. If the Christians or others now feel that it is too late for them to do this, their first duty is to organise themselves into such communities as would show to the rest of the Hindus the great superiority of these to the caste-system and consequently lead them out of it. Mohomedanism has succeeded in doing this to a far greater extent than Christianity, and it is high time for the latter in India to set its own house in order before asking other people to break theirs.

Unfortunately in India we have no true Christianity. Only once in a while Robert de Nobili, the Italian Jesuit who was the true St. Paul of India, and his successors worked in the right way and showed that Christianity is nothing else but the *Atmic Rajya*, kingdom of the Spirit, of the son of God, and to spread it as such they became even Hindus. The rest of Roman Catholicism and almost all of Protestantism has come as cultural and political assimilation, and this is the main cause of the extreme denationalisation and proletarianisation, especially in the latter. Had the missionaries come as servants and not as masters, as Fakirs and Sadhus and Sannyasis without money and political power behind them, had they come in the manner of or according to the commands of Jesus Christ and St. Paul and all the other great Evangelists of Europe, and even if their converts had been the lowest of the low, the Hindus would have fallen at the feet of both such missionaries and their converts. It has been the glory of Hindustan and of the Hindus that they have practised the greatest toleration of all religions for centuries, and paid their reverence wherever they found spiritual worth irrespective of caste, colour or country.

On the Indian side this Pearl of great price, the *Atmic Rajya*, was found out by many, but above all by Keshub who wanted to nationalise it in the form of the New Dispensation, a Christo-centric synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity. But it was too great a possession for his followers to be made proper use of and has been lying almost unused since his time. Max Muller wanted Keshub's followers to call themselves Brahmo or Arya Christians and form a nucleus round which a truly National Church of Christ might gather. But what was found impossible by his followers may yet be found possible by those among Christian Indians who are trying to nationalise Christianity by forming a truly National Church. Let all such come out of their present bondage, and with the spirits of Robert de Nobili on one side and of Keshub Chunder Sen on the other, advance to form a Church which is truly national, Hindu as well as Christian in the best sense of the term, a Church which is nothing less than the Hindu Church of Christ.

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Rai Sahib K. Ranga Rao, Secretary Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore writes: "The Government has been pleased to give us 34 acres and 29 cents of land in Udipi for forming an agricultural settlement for the depressed classes. This is the second gift from the Government for the purpose. We request our helpers and sympathisers—and all who believe in the uplift of the depressed to give us whatever help they can to carry out the scheme. Any amount however small will be most thankfully received."

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To him the national problem appealed very differently. He says "What is the inner spring of action which is setting in motion both reform and orthodox workers almost against their will, even where their will does not consent to move? That inner spring, the hidden purpose not consciously realised in many cases, is the sense of human dignity and freedom, which is slowly asserting its supremacy over the national mind. It is not confined to one sphere of family life. It invades the whole man, and makes him feel that individual purity and social justice have paramount claims over us all, which we cannot ignore long without being dragged down to a lower level of existence. This or that particular reform, or revival of ancient practices, as some would like to call them; the removal of this or that particular defect or vice, is not and should not be the only end and aim of the agitation to improve our social condition. The end is renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—the chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself, and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bound, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land."

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, III.

(BY MR. MANILAL PAREKH.)

But when I say all this I am not forgetful of the fact that neither the caste-people are with me, for their intolerance and suspicion are already aroused and rightly so; nor will I "be able to carry with me the more thoughtful section either of the Hindu or Christians with myself" as 'Kotgarh' says. The thing is that the situation is the most serious one and requires the wisest handling on the part of the most thoughtful among both the Hindus as well as Christians. Nor would I ever have dreamt of dealing with it if I had not felt myself, as a disciple and spiritual son of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub

Chunder Sen, in a line with all the teaching of the Aryan sages in spite of or rather for the very reason of my being a member of the Body of Christ. In addition to this my personal experiences with my people, my family members and caste-brethren, twice during the last decade, first when I joined the Brahma Samaj and next when I joined the Christian Church (and I was the first to join the Brahma Samaj in the whole of Gujarat) have been such as to justify me in dealing with the problem in the way I do. Not that everything is smooth or yet may be smooth, for a true follower of the path of the Cross must be ready to be a veritable scandal in the eyes of the world, whether that world with its evil spirit be in the caste-people or in liberal Hindus or in so-called Christians. But apart from that, there is not the least doubt that with the expansion of the whole of the national life in India there has been a corresponding expansion in the caste-system itself and it is ready to tolerate much provided those who are thus tolerated know their proper responsibility. Mr. K. T. Paul has spoken of such an expansion in the whole of the Hindu life in his article on "How Missions denationalise us," and he thinks that the Missions must therefore change their policy with regard to high-caste converts, a suggestion which has been favourably received in more than one quarter. But what I would plead for is that such an expansion of the Hindu Society, instead of contributing to the expansion of a separate Christian community in however indirect a manner, should mean a halt to all proselytisation whatsoever, whether among high and low, and is the sign for a new order of things altogether.

When I say all this I am not forgetful that a thousand and one forces are slowly but none the less surely, making the caste-system yield its ground on all sides. If it does this in order to make room for rank individualism and anarchy in social life, for Bolshevism and class-system such as it prevails in Europe and America where the weakest and poorest go to the wall and wealth and success are the two gods which people worship, if the caste-system made room for all this, then certainly it is a result that is not desirable. But if instead of old castes new communities arose, in which there would be larger love and greater parity, then and then only it is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. But to reach such an end perhaps a progressive modification of the caste-system along with a truer appreciation and toleration on its part of personal, political, social and above all religious liberty which is the foundation of all liberty, may yet be the very best means of taking the great Hindu community several stages forward in the path of true progress. The caste-system has acted all along as a most powerful brake on the liberty of the individual; and though it has often denied him any liberty except in the religious sphere where a larger latitude has been given to him, there is not the least doubt that it has often prevented whatever liberty it gave from degenerating into licence. Thus, in spite of all its defects, and they are many as admitted by all, the caste-system does offer a vantage-ground from when it may be perhaps easier

to evolve a higher social system for the Hindus than it would be by the way of the wilderness of individualism. If the Christians or others now feel that it is too late for them to do this, their first duty is to organise themselves into such communities as would show to the rest of the Hindus the great superiority of these to the caste-system and consequently lead them out of it. Mohomedanism has succeeded in doing this to a far greater extent than Christianity, and it is high time for the latter in India to set its own house in order before asking other people to break theirs.

Unfortunately in India we have no true Christianity. Only once in a while Robert de Nobili, the Italian Jesuit who was the true St. Paul of India, and his successors worked in the right way and showed that Christianity is nothing else but the *Atmic Rajya*, kingdom of the Spirit, of the son of God, and to spread it as such they became even Hindus. The rest of Roman Catholicism and almost all of Protestantism has come as cultural and political assimilation, and this is the main cause of the extreme denationalisation and proletarianisation, especially in the latter. Had the missionaries come as servants and not as masters, as Fakirs and Sadhus and Sannyasis without money and political power behind them, had they come in the manner of or according to the commands of Jesus Christ and St. Paul and all the other great Evangelists of Europe, and even if their converts had been the lowest of the low, the Hindus would have fallen at the feet of both such missionaries and their converts. It has been the glory of Hindustan and of the Hindus that they have practised the greatest toleration of all religions for centuries, and paid their reverence wherever they found spiritual worth irrespective of caste, colour or country.

On the Indian side this Pearl of great price, the *Atmic Rajya*, was found out by many, but above all by Keshub who wanted to nationalise it in the form of the New Dispensation, a Christo-centric synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity. But it was too great a possession for his followers to be made proper use of and has been lying almost unused since his time. Max Muller wanted Keshub's followers to call themselves Brahma or Arya Christians and form a nucleus round which a truly National Church of Christ might gather. But what was found impossible by his followers may yet be found possible by those among Christian Indians who are trying to nationalise Christianity by forming a truly National Church. Let all such come out of their present bondage, and with the spirits of Robert de Nobili on one side and of Keshub Chunder Sen on the other, advance to form a Church which is truly national, Hindu as well as Christian in the best sense of the term, a Church which is nothing less than the Hindu Church of Christ.

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Rai Sahib K. Kanga Rao, Secretary Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore writes: "The Government has been pleased to give us 34 acres and 29 cents of land in Udipi for forming an agricultural settlement for the depressed classes. This is the second gift from the Government for the purpose. We request our helpers and sympathisers—and all who believe in the uplift of the depressed to give us whatever help they can to carry out the scheme. Any amount however small will be most thankfully received."

LADIES' CONFERENCE AT AMRITSAR.

PARDAH CONDENSED.

At the session of the Ladies' Conference held at Amritsar during the national week, Mrs. Hessa Imam spoke as follows:—

"Sisters,—I think it a privilege to be asked to address this distinguished gathering and I am sincerely grateful for it. In my opinion the question which immediately needs our attention is the question of Pardah. Practically half the woman-population of our country yet remain in seclusion, and are to all intents and purposes, unable to take advantage of the expansive times now ahead. We have heard many platform speeches in the various Conferences and have read innumerable literature on the subject. Yet the progress that we see around us is very limited and hardly commensurate with the urgency of the problem. We are a people very slow to move and it is specially so in regard to the removal of Pardah from our Social System. While it is the duty of our men to do all they can to remove this evil from our midst, I think it the duty cast upon those of us who have shed the trammels of Pardah is infinitely greater. It is too late in the day to demonstrate that the kind of Pardah that is practised in India has sanction in religion or can be tolerated by any living and progressive community. The causes which led the growth of Pardah in our Social System are now too well-known and it will be needlessly taking up your time to dilate on that aspect of the subject. All the reasons that are usually brought out in support of the system are now fully exploded and all thinking persons realize that Pardah is not only now a meaningless anachronism but also a source of great hindrance to the onward progress of our country. With the new opportunities that are to-day being offered to our country for progress and advancement, our ideals and aspirations are naturally set on a future for our country which should in every way be worthy of her past. Then, why not let us go back in imagination to the past history of our land when women were as free as men, held their own in philosophical and political discussions and were in the true sense of the word the inspirers of men. To Indians the names of Sita and Savitree and so many others in Hindu history have not only been objects of adoration and pride but have served as examples of womanly perfection worthy of emulation. The Muslim History has her own heroines whose lives amply prove that women are never destined to live that demoralised and devitalized life which unhappily is the misfortune of so many of our sisters in Pardah. What does Pardah mean to-day as life is constituted? It simply means the division of home. Division of home leads to division of function which carried to its logical conclusion means division in the nation. There is not that harmonious concord, no blending of functions for common national good, and therefore success of all constructive national programmes is bound to be hampered if not altogether denied. It is, therefore, to my mind of the highest importance that Pardah should disappear as soon as possible if our ideal of National emancipation is to be attained within the time we want. With these few words I shall resume my seat."

INDIAN OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION.

AN APPEAL.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I shall be glad if you will kindly spare space in the next issue of your paper for the following appeal to the citizens of India on behalf of the Indian Olympic Association.

The institution is started with the object of securing representation for Indians on the International Olympic Committee and of selecting, training and sending a representative body of Athletes to take part in the next Olympic Games to be held in Belgium in July 1920.

The time at our disposal is very short—barely two months—to satisfactorily accomplish the big task of properly selecting and training a body of representative Indian Athletes and of collecting the sum of about three lacs of Rupees necessary to meet their expenses. But we cannot let go this opportunity of meeting the athletic representatives of the various races and nations who are all inspired by the same ideals of physical excellence and compete with each other in friendly rivalry. As the official report of the fourth Olympiad says:—

"These young men are also representative of the generation into whose hands the destinies of most of the nations of the world are passing at this moment, and we may hope that their meeting thus periodically, the enthusiasm which they share, and the opportunity afforded of mutual knowledge and mutual respect may have beneficent effect hereafter on the cause of international peace.

"The underlying idea of these International Olympic Games is that there is something in these periodical gatherings which gives promise of results more important than those to be hoped for from an ordinary athletic meeting, however representative and however extended in scope.

"The old Hellenic Games were the expression of good fellowship between Greek and Greek, and was the only institution, indeed, which united the Hellenic race during a history of continuous internal conflict. They formed a sort of cord of unity by which the race was held together not only through their internal bickerings, through the temporary ascendancy of one state or another, the civil strife of the Peloponnesian war and the downfall of Athens, but through the greater disasters of foreign domination like those of Macedonia and Rome."

The high ideals of peace and unity form the bases of this whole movement. To achieve any degree of success in such a short time at our disposal, support and co-operation from every citizen of India and every member of the Association is the first essential thing, and the best way of co-operating is to become a member of the Association and then to induce friends and relatives to do the same. This can easily be done by anybody without any great sacrifice or loss of time and I do not think that any one will grudge to grant us this simple request.

Full particulars regarding progress of the movement are published from time to time in the periodical progress reports and I shall be very happy to send copies of the same to those who may require them.

I trust that our people will rise to the occasion and help these national movement, about the importance and utility of which there can hardly be any two opinions.

S. R. BHAGWAT,

General Secretary,

Poona, 15th January 1920.

Indian Olympic Association.

AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE NAMASUDRAS.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer, Bombay.

Sir,

The Namasudras (the so called "untouchables") of my village, Koyra, a place not very far from the sub-divisional town of Baraset (District 24 Pergunnas) have started a

school for the education and upliftment of their children as also for poor Moslem boys. The school has been in existence for more than a year and the number of scholars receiving education is fairly satisfactory. The school is located in a thatched building constructed by the Namasandras themselves but as they are too poor and cannot afford to pay anything in cash they have been appealing, through me, for some furniture such as a table and a chair for the teacher and half a dozen benches for the boys. The Education Department has been written to for a small aid, and a general appeal is extended to my educated countrymen to contribute their mite for the up-keep of the school. Any donations sent in for this laudable object will be thankfully received and acknowledged by me or my esteemed and patriotic friend, Mr. I. B. Sen, M. A., B. L., Bar-at-Law, 57-1, Harish Chunder Mookerjee Street, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

6, Jackson Lane,
Calcutta.

Yours truly,
R. N. Dyer.

RACIALISM AT AMRITSAR.

Brigadier General Dyer's action at Amritsar is still *sub-judice*, although the Press as a whole has already passed judgment. *The Morning Post* and *The Daily Herald* have each been biased unduly in the directions which their readers would expect. As a nation public opinion has been rudely shocked, but it is doubtful whether the ultimate cause of such catastrophes is apprehended. The keyword which explains the severity in the method of the repression of the Punjab outbreak, no less than the outbreak itself, is "racialism." It was only for their skins being white that bank officials were clubbed to death by the mob, and if the skins of the Jullianwala crowd had not been dark the casualties would at the most have been by the score instead of by the thousand. It may be a gain for the moment that a rebellion was nipped in the bud, it will be a loss that will go down into the ages if the shooting which stopped the rebellion and the widespread misery that must have accompanied it, is to go into history as a massacre.

In the "crawling order" the racial passion comes even more emphatically into evidence. In a certain street Miss Sherwood, a Zenana missionary, was murderously attacked and left for dead. The General considered that some collective punishment was called for. The form of punishment adopted was to compel any Indian wishing to pass along the street to crawl along it. That is to say, because certain Indian malefactors had brutally and murderously assaulted an English lady all Indians entering the street were to be humiliated as above, not because they had any responsibility whatever for the assault, but because they were of the same colour as the men who had committed the assault. The motive given for such retribution was that "we look upon women as sacred and . . . I felt the street should be looked on as sacred." There is no hypocrisy here as the words rather tend to suggest, but only misconception. Side by side with the racial passion was the indignation of chivalry. If there is one offence that before all others makes an Englishman see red, it is the ill-treatment of women. But this does not make the impulse which produced the "crawling order" the less wrong; and it was revoked by superior authority as soon as it came to notice.—*The Challenge*.

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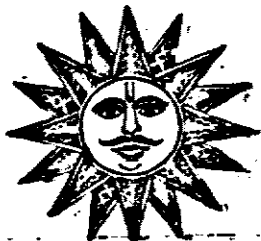
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1920. No. 22.

"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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Late Mrs. Narottam Morarji. We deeply regret to announce the death after a day's illness of Mrs. Narottam Morarji, the wife of our well-known mill-owner and distinguished citizen. The Chandavarkar and Morarji families have been most intimately connected by ties of friendship for many years. Sir Narayan and Lady Chandavarkar have been looked up to as their deepest well-wishers by the Morarji family. We cannot help feeling that the sudden and untimely death of Mrs. Narottam is to no small extent due to the severe shock caused by Lady Chandavarkar's death.

NOTES.

The Late Lady Chandavarkar: Lady Lakshmbai Chandavarkar died on Monday night after an illness of several months, borne with exemplary courage and equanimity. Unflinching in her devotion to the ideal of Hindu womanhood, she combined with it to a rare degree the larger outlook and the broader conception of women's place in society, which are conspicuous features of modern life. She had too strong a character merely to acquiesce in the bold and striking departures from orthodoxy of which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar set the example in so many directions. She thought out the problems involved in them patiently for herself, and her sympathetic attitude to social reform was the result of convictions she had formed as the result of her own thinking. Fastidiously shrinking from every one and every thing with the faintest suggestion of unwomanliness, she upheld by precept and example the rights and claims of Indian women to take their full share in movements for national regeneration. She was, till ill-health obliged her to give up all public engagements, the life and soul of many women's institutions, philanthropic and educational, and had a wonderfully clear grasp of the details of their working. Her judgment was always valued for its clarity and wisdom by her co-workers. Her death leaves a gap in the ranks of our women leaders which cannot be easily filled. In private life, Lady Chandavarkar's distinguishing characteristics were a deep solicitude for every one in her very large circle of relatives and friends. She never missed a single opportunity of showing that she felt with and for them in all their joys and sorrows and even when she was ill, she could with difficulty be deterred from performing what she regarded as a duty she owed to them. Every one who knew her will miss the gracious presence, and the always helpful counsel of the noble lady who has passed away. The loss to the bereaved husband and children is too deep for words.

Is India Ripe for the Party System? *New India* (Madras) writes in its issue of the 24th January. "We do not know if the *Leader*, which has frequently written on the inevitability of party politics in democratic life, means that the time is now ripe for the country to plunge into party politics. But, generally speaking, the opinion has been confined to the Extremists who have declared that not a single Moderate should get into power. At any rate to that end their efforts will be directed. Those who speak of party divisions accept the responsibility also of producing party programmes. Can it be contended that on questions of sanitation, agriculture, education, co-operation and the like, programmes of work can be put forward to which all cannot subscribe? Obviously only when progress has been made to a certain extent will our political life branch off into parties."

A Moderate Leader on Party Politics. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, one of the Moderate delegates to England speaking at Masulipatam a few days ago, took the same view. He considered that while the Nationalists and the Liberals differed in National Politics on the value of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report he could not see much difference between what a Liberal or a Nationalist could achieve in the Council. He thought that any possible practical programme of work in the Council to be framed by a Liberal or a Nationalist cannot be very much different from the other. The Nationalist programme for elementary education or for industrial expansion or for sanitation or for the betterment of the Depressed classes cannot be anything different from those of the Liberals. Under these circumstances he failed to see the soundness of the cry now that has been raised. Moreover the electorates have not been formed and it is idle to say that there is an electorate now in existence or likely to come into existence. There are no political organisations as yet in the country to form the backbone of any party in the electorates. He therefore thought that political parties with definite political programmes would emerge only after one or two terms of the new councils and till then it will be wise to send into the Council the best talent available.

The Montagu Memorial Movement. The promoters of the Montagu Memorial movement have wisely given up the idea of a personal memorial to Mr. Montagu in favour of one in commemoration of the passing of the Reform Act and Mr. Montagu's splendid work in connection therewith. The memorial is to take the form, first, of some object of public utility and, secondly, a monumental work of art to be erected on a suitable site and associated with the name of Mr. Montagu. It is undeniable that Mr. Montagu's work in connection with the Reforms has been such as to deserve recognition in India.

A Sequel to the Newington Tragedy: The Madras papers state that the project of converting Newington College, the school for Zemindar's sons, where the Principal was shot dead some months ago, into a Rajkumar College has been put off and that the scholars who remained at the school have been distributed among the educational institutions in and about Madras. We are sure that they will learn in contact with their fellow-students more than they would have ever learnt in the isolation of a Rajkumar College.

Hindu and Christian Toleration: The following paragraph from the Roman Catholic weekly the *Standard* (Madras), is interesting as a specimen of casuistry, and may be useful for future reference: "We are willing to make a present of the fact that we as Christians are 'anti-every-other religion' to the *Indian Social Reformer*. But we should like to define the character of our opposition to other religions. What opposition there is, is a pure, disinterested, intellectual opposition to any creed which is not such a complete account of religion as the religion of Christ. We are opposed to Hinduism, we do not hate Hindus. It is not so with the Hindu attitude to Christianity in India. Hindus are sympathetic to Christianity but they do not like its spread in their country. They are tolerant towards Christ but not towards Christians. They like Christianity in the abstract but dislike Christians in the concrete. The sub-conscious feeling behind the desire to Indianise Christ is the feeling that Christianity is the religion of the foreigner and the pariah. Christianity must be made respectable before Hindus will look at it. Now this is not exactly a vulgar anti-Christian spirit. But it is the patronising air of the super-man which is more hateful than the honest hatred which is a compliment between man and man." Mr. Manilal Parekh's suggestive letter which we publish today propounds a different view of the matter.

The Kundanmal Girl's School: We have perused the eighth report of the Kundanmal Girls' School, Hyderabad, Sind, with much interest. The School is in its fifteenth year, and presents the too familiar spectacle of a Girls' School overflowing with pupils but in want of resources and in debt. A Boys' School which was similarly full would be self-supporting. We are inclined to think that managers of Girls' Schools do not realise that a good many more people nowadays are willing to pay reasonably high fees for the schooling of their daughters than was the case some years ago. The report, lamenting the failure of two girls in the Matriculation, complains that the University does not see its way to make a little, "just a little concession," in the matter of grace marks in favour of girls who labour under several disadvantages. We recognise that girls labour under a great many disadvantages, but, in the long run, we think that the strictness of the University is beneficial to them. Parents should see that school-going girls

are relieved of some at least of the disadvantages from which they suffer. We are glad to see that the managers attach importance to good furniture, building and playground, and to the need of keeping out noises and smells from the class rooms. It is impossible to turn out good work in circumstances of positive physical discomfort—a truth which is too little recognised by Indian managers of schools.

The Bombay Prarthana Samaj: The following short history of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, taken from the 52nd annual report, will be found interesting: "The Samaj was established on 31st March 1837 (Falgun Vadya Ekadashi) for the spiritual worship of One true God in place of the worship of many gods and goddesses. Its purpose and principles were the same as those of the Brahma Samaj that was established in Calcutta by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1830. Its founders were Dr. Atmaram Pandurang Turknad, Messrs R. V. Madgaokar, W. B. Navarange, B. M. Wagle, B. H. Bhagvat, N. M. Parmanand and others who were later on joined by the late Hon. Mr. Justice M. G. Kanade, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, and Mr. V. A. Modak, and others. This Samaj has not identified itself with any of the three sections of the Bengal Brahma Samaj, yet it is in no way different from the Brahma Samaj movement except in name, for its principles, aims and objects are the same. This Samaj is highly indebted to the Brahma leaders of Bengal, past and present, for the help that they have always given it and the bond of spiritual and social brotherhood which they have sought to strengthen between this Samaj and the Brahmos in other parts of India." The Samaj maintains the Ram-Mohan English School, a Night School, the Bhandarkar Free Library and Reading Room, and the Orphanage and Foundling Home at Pandharpur. The Arya Mahila Samaj is an institution conducted by ladies belonging to the Samaj. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj carried on some famine relief work during the year.

Orthodox Hinduism Penitent: We are pleased to read the following editorial note in the current number of the *Mahamandal Magazine*, the organ of Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares: "It is clear to men of ordinary understanding that that country alone attains progress where the women will have no sorrows. If you leave India and look at other countries, you will see to what extent women are free from sorrows and to what extent the country has advanced in the path of progress. How can we prosper who have brought the women to the present condition of degradation, though knowing that they are the mothers of the future generations? How can we prosper having subjected them to manifold sorrows and practically ruined them? Do you know why the Indians living in India are deteriorating both in physique and mental vigour day by day? Though arrived in this insufferable condition we have not learnt the causes of this condition but are acting like one who having cut a big tree at the trunk got smashed by its fall. If we want to be happy through wisdom, or through wealth and zeal, we must know that it is by keeping the women in comfort and free from pain. Again, in what miserable and degraded state are the Hindu widows especially of higher classes, kept in our society? We generally take no care for them, we generally take no interest in them, no thinking about them for their progress and prosperity. Take the case of the case of the poor, helpless Hindu widow. They are utterly neglected; they are subjected to undergo hideous physical ugliness and are treated worse than the dogs that watch our doors—an object of ill-omen and curse."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1920.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE.

Fifteen years ago the Industrial Conference was started and it used to be held, like the National Social conference, along with the National Congress. The credit of originating this movement and of conducting it as General Secretary for several years belongs to Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar. Four years ago at the instance chiefly of Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj the Indian Commercial Congress was inaugurated in Bombay. As might have been expected, the two movements have been amalgamated and a joint session of the two bodies was held on the 23rd and 24th January in Bombay. By a formal resolution the two bodies have been amalgamated and henceforth the combined movement will be known as the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a trenchant speech criticising the policy of the Government in regard to several features of its fiscal policy. Mr. Petit's criticisms reflect a widespread feeling in the country. He summed up his views in the following forcible sentences :

"When one comes seriously to consider the entire policy adopted in the past by the Government of India and England, under one pretext or another towards the trades and industries of this country, one cannot escape the inevitable conclusion that both these Governments are not always serious in the oft repeated professions of solicitude for the mercantile and industrial welfare of this country. The new era that has now dawned, will, I sincerely hope, mean a different, and may I add a more honest and straight-forward attitude towards India."

Mr. Petit's observations on the Labour problem were lamentably one-sided and superficial. His advice to those whom he called pseudo-philanthropists was gratuitous to say the least of it. It is difficult really to take him seriously when he insinuates that those who show sympathy with mill operatives are doing so "on the off chance of becoming popular heroes". Nothing can be in greater and more refreshing contrast to Mr. Petit's interested onslaught on those who plead for just and humane treatment for factory-workers than the thoughtful and wise observations on the same topic in the presidential address.

Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj presided over the joint session and his presidential address while lacking no whit in incisiveness and point, was characterised by true statesmanship and breadth of view. His address traversed nearly the whole commercial and industrial field, and while expressing lively appreciation of the brighter side of Indian fiscal policy, put the case and the claims of India for just treatment with force and dignity. Speaking of Indian fiscal autonomy, Sir Fazulbhoj thought that the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee though it fell short of full fiscal freedom was a real first step towards it. Not that he was insensible to the possibility of the conces-

sion being whittled down by a narrow interpretation being put upon the two conditions affixed to it. It will be remembered that fiscal autonomy has been promised to India subject to the reservation that any measure not consistent with the international obligations of the Empire or was opposed to the fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government was a party, might be disallowed by the Imperial Government. Sir Fazulbhoj said :

I am sure there is no need for us to give the assurance to the British public that India will exercise her fiscal power with due regard to all her obligations to the Empire. There are several questions, for instance, the abolition of the excise duties on the manufacture of cloth, whereon the Government of India and Indian commerce and industry are at one, although an autocratic Secretary of State may be given an elastic meaning to the proviso above referred to; and though there may be occasions on which the Government of India and the Imperial Legislative Assembly may not agree—at least as long as the constitution of the Central Government remains as it is—yet I hope that the concessions secured will prove fruitful.

One of the most striking passages in Sir Fazulbhoj's address is his reply to those who hold that the commerce and industries department of Government should not be transferred to Indian control.

Of the trade and industry if this were made a transferred subject. It is, unfortunately, a peculiarity of this country that exotic trade and industry think their interests demand that the administration of trade and industries should be in hands other than Indian. Indians have proved their capacity to hold the highest positions under the State. They have proved also their fitness to establish and manage commercial and industrial enterprises of a great magnitude. I do not know in what words to characterise the attitude of those people who, in face of this tangible evidences of the fitness of Indians to manage above all the departments of commerce and industries, seek to make out a case against transferring these branches of the administration to Indian control. In fact, I go further and say that the backward condition in which India finds herself in regard to her industrial growth is due to the official machinery being in the hands of the members of the Indian Civil Service who, in the majority of cases, are practically out of touch with the realities of Indian trade and industries. British trade and British industry flourish in all countries, even where they have no preponderating voice; I see no reason why in a self-governing India they should be threatened with any risk. In fact, the greatest argument against this outside contention is afforded by the experience of several newly started industrial and commercial concerns a majority of which have decided to adopt British management.

It should not be thought however, that Sir Fazulbhoj is oblivious of the need for encouraging Indian talent and initiative in industrial matters. He is too strong a nationalist to ignore the fact that foreign management of Indian industries can be but a transitional device. The true objective of the Indian industrialist was that stated by Mr. Petit in his address, in his characteristic uncompromising style. Said Mr. Petit.

If India is to be industrially great and self-supporting the whole country should be studded with industrial concerns and should be entirely under Indian ownership, should be manned

by Indians from end to end and should be financed only with Indian money.

Sir Fazulbhoj as we said is not oblivious to this aspect of the matter. Speaking of the new Industries department in the Government of India he said :

What, I hope however, in this connection is that Government will not overlook the claims of Indians for employment to the different services to be created, as I venture to believe that an Indian agency is best suited to the staffing of such an organisation as the Department of Industries. Sins of omission on this score are sometimes belittled under the plea of the absence of suitable men. With the establishment of technical and technological colleges and the opening of Government and Railway workshops for the apprenticeship of Indians, such a plea will not hold good. It is moving in a vicious circle, surely, to refuse appointments to Indians on the ground of their want of experience and then to put bars against their getting such experience.

Sir Fazulbhoj's indignant protest against the shameless attempt to oust Indians from East Africa is worth quoting.

Unfortunately, even after the great services India rendered to the British Empire in clearing East Africa of Germans, the fate of our Indian brethren there is at present far worse than it was in pre-war days. You must have recently read the pathetic message of the Rev. C. F. Andrews regarding the condition of Indian settlers in East Africa. One cannot maintain calmness of mind when he perceives that Indians who have contributed their utmost to the development of East Africa, who were the first settlers in the country and who co-operated during the war to such large extent, are now threatened with eviction and deprivation of all their rights and privileges through the narrow vision of British settlers. The grounds adduced for such action are the most damaging to our self-respect; and all our countrymen should raise a united protest against the unjustifiable allegations made by a handful of European settlers to serve their own interest. The Congress is vitally concerned in this question for Indian traders and merchants had no little hand in developing East Africa, and I hope that you will all support the resolution which will be placed before you dealing with this subject.

We have already referred to Sir Fazulbhoj's wise remarks on the Labour problem. He rightly referred to the housing question as a very important issue of that problem. Good housing, as he said, will do much to improve and stabilise our labour; it has direct bearing on the efficiency of the labour for efficiency is attainable only through the establishment of healthy living conditions. The enthusiastic praise which he bestowed on His Excellency the Governor for his deep interest in the housing problem will be endorsed by everyone in Bombay.

We have no space left for the resolutions passed at the joint session. But we must not omit to refer with intense satisfaction to the resolution which demanded that total prohibition should be the goal of our excise policy. Hindu and Muhammadan sentiments are strongly in favour of total prohibition. Several Christian Missionary Conferences have passed resolutions supporting it; Indian political, social reform and temperance conferences have done the same; and now the best and most influential industrial and commercial opinion in the country has, from a purely business point of view

endorsed this demand. It behoves the Government of India to give some early proof of its responsiveness to Indian opinion on this vital question. We quote below the text of the resolution :

This Conference urges that in view of the great benefits to trade and industry which have already been secured by the United States of America through their prohibition of liquor and in view of the fact that the efficiency and welfare of Indian Labour have greatly suffered through the liquor traffic, the Government of India should set before themselves the early adoption of the policy of total prohibition of the manufacture import and sale of liquor in the country for intoxicating purposes."

COMMERCIALIZED VICE.

CAN IT BE MADE ILLEGAL ?

(BY Mrs. F. S. HALLOWES,)

This crusade is to raise public opinion against Commercialized Vice or Prostitution, an ancient and deeply entrenched evil, which blights every country, even the most civilized. Evils, as old as prostitution, have given way before an enlightened public opinion. Our fathers uprooted the enormous upas of slavery! As reformers, lecturers and writers were needed to set forth the enormity of slavery, so are they needed to advance against this evil of commercialized vice. Mr. Alexander Coote, that veteran worker of the London Vigilance Association, and of the Bureau for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic, declares—that if a law were passed prohibiting the *buying* and *selling* of woman's honour, the result will be :—

- (1) To abolish the prostitute.
- (2) To close markets for vice.
- (3) Places of amusement would be purified.
- (4) Disorderly houses would cease to exist.
- (5) Vested interests in immorality would die out.
- (6) The procurer and the bully would be no more.
- (7) The White Slave Traffic would be killed.
- (8) The most fruitful source of contagion in venereal diseases would be cut off.

It is perfectly safe to say that were it not for the money, a very large percentage of girls and women would never be tempted to leave the path of virtue. For they are subject to penalties, while there is no corresponding punishment for the profligate man who buys their services. Commercialized Vice or prostitution is a regular business, employing many hundreds of thousands of women; it is the business of supplying sexual gratification for payments made. It is carried on in various ways according to the class of the trade; but much of the business is done by tempting innocent girls and women into houses of ill-fame, or by causing ruined girls and women to walk the streets. Those engaged in its conduct, regard it as a regular business; in its higher walks it is even most carefully organized—and in very many cases, the prostitute is not so much making her living as earning a dividend, or making a living for some man or woman in the background. It must not be thought that all prostitutes are tricked into the life. In some nations, and in some of the lowest classes, prostitu-

tion is looked upon as an ordinary method of increasing the weekly earnings of the family. In other cases, sheer starvation forces many to prostitute themselves, so that their babies, or sick or lazy husbands, may have bread and shelter. Others of low morals or weak intellect, deliberately choose the life. The great majority enter it under 18 years of age, many in actual childhood. It is said that 25 per cent. are of weak intellect. Lecky in his "History of Morals" writes about the prostitute: "She is the most mournful and awful figure of history." Most mournful because few girls enter this awful abyss until they have been seduced. A frequent crime of lovers is seduction. Lovers are often "worse than murderers," for their desertion of the girl means, that she sinks into a hideous infamy from which society bare her return. A vast proportion of those whose reputations have been blasted by a momentary sin, and are doomed to extremity of life-long wretchedness, are not those who are incapable of virtue, they have been led astray more by the ardour of affection, and ignorance, than by vicious propensities. Infected by venereal disease, they become loathsome creatures, not wanted even by the lowest. Dead to *honour* and *heaven*, they commit suicide or die a premature death; their career being about five years.

RESCUE.

Good women and righteous men, have for centuries past put forth efforts to pluck these "brands from the burning." But they have dealt with results rather than with causes; they have, to use a homely simile, "*been mopping up the floor instead of turning off the tap.*" The tap being the *demand* for such women! What heroic sacrifices have been made! What magnificent work has been done in thus "mopping up the floor"! Time forbids to tell of the Societies and Federations, and Homes, Preventive as well as Rescue, which the nineteenth century set on foot for this purpose. The Acts of Parliament put in force for the protection of women and children would take many pages to describe. Good people, philanthropists, and statesmen, have made frantic, but futile, efforts to destroy the *effect* of immorality, without dealing with the chief cause. Society is like the foolishly-fond mother who shields her son by ascribing his vices to everything but the right cause. So the law imposes restriction on every one but the authors of the evil. "History shows that punitive measures against the woman alone, are powerless to raise the moral level; they merely add the guilt of injustice and cruelty to man's share in the sin." "It has been said with justice, that if it is true that prostitutes must exist in order to preserve the parity of other women, then they should be given a highly-honoured place, as one who sacrifices her very self for the good of Society."

ONE-SIDED LEGISLATION.

Must be changed for legislation which shall penalise both the profligate man who buys a woman's honour for immoral purpose, and the profligate woman, who sells it. For the woman may now be prosecuted and fined for solicitation, while the man who solicits may

not be touched. Profligate men have so long been *legally* immune from the consequences of their immorality, that the mere suggestion of giving them the same treatment as their companions in sin, appears to them to be an unjustifiable and vindictive attack upon their rights. How the law differentiates, may be seen in the raiding of gambling houses and the raiding of brothels. In the former, both men and women are arrested and charged. In the latter, although the man-profligate, by his presence, proves his guilt, he is not interfered with! Not even the knowledge that prostitution is the chief source of venereal diseases, this curse of the innocent as well as of the guilty, has induced our legislators to penalize Commercial Vice! Dr. W. Osler, describing the diseases which are the greatest scourges of the human race, wrote of venereal diseases: "They are in one respect the worst we have to mention, for they are the only ones transmitted in full virulence to innocent children, to fill their lives with suffering; and which involve equally innocent wives in misery and shame." The veil of secrecy stamps this vice as shameful. Evil rarely assumes such inveterate and perverting form, as when it is shrouded in obscurity and veiled by a hypocritical appearance of innocence. Those who demand prostitutes, vainly imagine that they remain unknown.

ALCOHOL AND COMMERCIALIZED VICE.

There is a historic connection between Alcohol and Commercial Vice, and a wider understanding of this fact would give an added zest to the propaganda for the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Alcohol is the indispensable adjunct of prostitution. The depravity in human nature is stimulated and kept alive by strong drink. Even a slight exhilaration from alcohol relaxes the moral sense. It "*quiets the conscience, quickens the passions, and quenches the reason*" of both young men and women. Girls are drawn into a bad life by means of strong drink. They live under its influence day and night. They are expected to sell liquor to their patrons, and to be "treated" by them. The profit on these sales of liquor can be traced in connection with Commercialized Vice in every country. The use of strong drink prevents men from practising self-control, keeps morality at its present low standard, and causes the hideous trade of prostitution to flourish.

WANTED ORGANISED ACTION.

Sin is organised, we must also organise for good. No haphazard attack will succeed. Re-construction of the social order is not possible unless a great phalanx stand shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. We summon to our ranks every chivalrous man and every good woman who love their children, their country, and their God. If these stand aloof, who will procure a *safer, cleaner* world for the young lives which are thronging up from the gates of birth? "*Every obstacle, moral as well as physical to the health and happiness of the people, must be removed,*" wrote England's Premier. Shall we not incur a great responsibility, if we do not demand that this obstacle be taken away? As mothers and wives, the work of raising public opinion against the

continuance of this obstacle to the health and happiness of their children and husbands, is our plain duty. We call upon every man who bears office in Government, be it national, provincial, or municipal, to demand legislation which shall be a deterrent to vice and disease. The State finds it necessary to enact stringent laws against murder and theft: these undoubtedly act as deterrents, though they do not abolish killing and thieving altogether. We ask for a deterrent of prostitution as absolutely necessary to the Public Health of India. Legislation which shall teach the young men of India that purity is as essential in the father as in the mother: that awful is the crime of being an unclean channel through which the current of polluted life flows to descendants.

ACCOMODATION ON G. I. P. RAILWAY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I travelled from Secunderabad to Bombay on the 21st January. As soon as I came to Wadi, "The Bombay Mail" which had three III class compartments and the rest I and II classes, was signalled line clear, after removing one III class compartment, detaining about 108 passengers, leaving them to suffer heavy cold. Passengers who were men, women and children, who had purchased Mail Tickets and who had to go long distances, were not only inconvenienced, but also left without food. The suffering of the poor and rich passengers, where there is no hotel on this G. I. P. Railway is indescribable. I do not know whether the G. I. P. Railway authorities have authorized the Wadi Station Staff to remove the III class compartment Truck, detaining all passengers to suffer hunger, cold &c

PULLAPAN RANGANDRIAS.

Jan. 25th, 1920.

Land Lord, KARNOOL.

THE HINDU APPRECIATION OF CHRIST.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will you kindly allow me to say a few words on this subject? The word "Avatar" is very loosely used by the majority of Hindus, and this is due chiefly to most of the Hindu thinking being monistic in its character. This persistent habit of looking at things in this way, the way of Vedant, makes most people entirely overlook the serious differences that have been made between one Avatar and another by such Theistic schools of thought as the Vaishnava. Most of these schools, which alone can consistently use that term, look upon only Krishna as the *Purna Avatar*, and others as *Amsha Avatars*. This practically means that Krishna is the Avatar for them in the same sense in which Christ is the Avatar for the Christian. But even the way of looking at avatars as *Purna* and *Amsha* shows that the heaven of monistic thought is not quite absent.

On the other hand, the Christian conception of Avatar is altogether qualitative. The Christians can say however that God, though He incarnated Himself in Jesus Christ alone, did speak "by diverse portions and in diverse manners" not only in the Jewish Prophets, but in the Teachers of other nations as well. This can be understood as *Amsha Avatars* if we use the term Avatar loosely. Christian thinkers in the past have looked upon even Socrates and Plato in this light and the Roman Church has even canonised Buddha under a different name. There is nothing in Christianity itself, whether of the New Testament or of the Early Fathers, Medieval Mystics or Modern Scholars, to make "anti-every-other-religion." It appears as such in India because it came with what is called "Dissidence of Dissent and Protestantism of the Protestant" allied to what I may call Europeanism of the European.

MANILAL PAREKH.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE

We print below the full text of the resolutions passed at the last National Social Conference held at Amritsar, with the names of the speakers:

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

That this Conference places on record its sense of great loss sustained by the cause of social reform movement by the very sad deaths, during the past two years, of three veteran social Reformers (1) Rao Bahadur Vama Rao Kolhatkar of Nagpur, (2) Rao Bahadur K. Veeresh Lingam Pantakoo of Rajamahendry in Madras Presidency both of whom presided over the sessions of the National Social Conference and (3) Rai Bahadur Mangoo Mal of Lahore. The lives of these three great social workers were devoted to the uplift of Indian womanhood and especially to the cause of the remarriage of widows and their names will be remembered with gratitude by all who are interested in the cause of social Reform in India.

(Moved from the Chair and passed in silence standing).

SCOPE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

That this Social Conference, recognising the fresh life opened out to the country by the new era upon which it is entering and the urgent call that fresh life makes for the Social Reconstruction of India's National life, is of opinion that the term "Social Reform" should be widened so as to comprehend, besides the items of reform hitherto advocated by the Conference, those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the Industrial, Economic, Sanitary, and educational interests of the Indian people in rural and urban areas and towards that end the Conference resolves that an all India Council of Social Conference consisting of about 100 willing workers all over the Country be formed and the General Secretary in Bombay and other Secretaries of the National Social Conference with the help of the Provincial Secretaries newly appointed be empowered to move in that matter, to concert measures for propaganda and practical work all over the Country in that behalf, collect the necessary funds, and take such steps as may be deemed useful in furtherance of the specific object.

Proposed by Mr. K. Nataraajan B. A. (Bombay) in English.

Seconded by Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale (Bombay) in Hindi

Supported by Dr. Satyapal (Amritsar) in Hindi.

THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR POSITION

That this Conference, at this important stage in India's national development, emphasizes the need for improving the status of women in India in such a way as to enable them to participate fully in the progressive national life of the country and to achieve this end urges the quick abolition of such evil customs as stand in their way of full growth such as (1) early marriages, (2) Pardah system, (3) the practice of extortionate dowries &c, &c., and speedy promotion of education and wider culture among women these being so very necessary for the growth of public spirit and national service, and the raising of the marriageable age of girls to at least, 16.

Proposed by Srimati Miss Lajjavati Devi (Jallandhar City) in Hindi

Seconded by Dr. Keshav Dev Shastri M. D. (Delhi) in Hindi

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

(a) That while expressing satisfaction at the progress of education among women in this country though slow and small, this conference strongly urges upon the attention of Government and the people the great and urgent need for

much larger and speedier expansion of the elementary and higher education among women and specially calls upon Government to make more liberal grants of funds to provide ample suitable facilities such as girls' schools in rural areas, Girls' High Schools in urban areas and Arts, Training and Medical Colleges for Women. Copies of this Resolution be sent to the Imperial and all provincial Governments in the Country.

Proposed by—Rai Bahadur Sunder Das Suri M. A. (Lahore) in Hindi.

Seconded by—Bakshi Gopal Dass Raies (Amritsar) in Hindi.

(b) That the custom of pardah should be done away with as it has no definite legal sanction.

Mrs. Hसरत Mohani (Aligarh) in Urdu. Read a paper on Pardah and its evils.

RE-MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS AND THE WORK OF PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAHA SAHAYAK SABHA OF LAHORE.

That this Conference welcomes the growing support to the widow remarriage movement in the Country and appreciates the work of the Punjab Vidhva Vivaha Sahayak Sabha, and further urges upon other social reform associations throughout the Country to follow its example and to co-operate with it in extending its sphere of activities in other Provinces so as to carry on more active propaganda on the subject of widow remarriage and to enlist practical sympathies of the people to the cause of improving the lot of poor widows by the advocacy of remarriage.

Proposed by Lala Khushalchand (Lahore) in Hindi.

Seconded by Pandit Thakur Dutt (Lahore) in Hindi.

Supported by Rao Sahab Kashiram Suri (Lahore) in Hindi.

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF WIDOWS.

That in order to ameliorate the condition of widows and to enable them to utilise their talents and services for the benefit of the Society on the basis of a self-reliant and self-respecting life this Conference recommends very strongly the establishment of institutions for their education and training and to achieve that purpose expresses its high appreciation of the existing institutions like the widows' Home at Poona, Madras, Mysore, Ludore and Cawnpore and commends the efforts that are being made in this direction by the Poona Seva Sadan, Bombay Seva Sadan, and the Vaidya Vishram of Bombay and Surat and Ahmedabad. It further highly appreciates the recent endowment of Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram O. I. E., M. V. O., to promote the widows' cause as announced by Sir Edward E. Maclagan in his recent coronation address.

Proposed by Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A., Honorary Organiser & General Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan (Poona) in Hindi.

Seconded by Lala Mukund Behari Lal (Meerut) in Hindi.

Supported by Rai Sahab Dr. Murari Lal (Cawnpore) in Hindi.

ABOLITION OF CASTE AND INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

That in the opinion of this Conference the system of caste, as it prevails in the Hindu Society, constitutes a serious obstacle to the growth of a social, industrial and National life on sound lines, the Conference, therefore, urges upon Social Reform Associations all over the Country as well as other public bodies and workers in the cause of social reform the necessity of sustained endeavours for the abolition of caste by measures such as inter-dining, inter-marriages &c. &c.

(Moved from the Chair.)

THE ELEVATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

That in the opinion of this Conference the position of the depressed classes in the Hindu community is very distressing and the main difficulty in the way of their elevation and social improvement is untouchability. This Conference, therefore, while appreciating the measures taken so far by Government and a number of Religious Bodies and Social Reform Associations for their uplift is still of opinion that the action taken is quite inadequate to meet the serious needs of the problem affecting a large portion of the Hindu population. This Conference, therefore, urges upon Government, Social Reform Associations, Religious Reform Associations, and philanthropic bodies, the need for providing greater facilities for their education, economic and sanitary improvement and thus make it easy for the question of untouchability to be solved and to enforce equality of treatment in all public institutions so as to remove the prejudices and disabilities of untouchableness attaching to them.

(Moved from the Chair.)

TEMPERANCE WITH A VIEW TO TOTAL PROHIBITION

In the opinion of this Conference the evil of drink increasing in the Country needs to be attacked vigorously with a view to securing its total prohibition, and therefore, urges upon the Government and public bodies to carry on a vigorous propaganda to check the evil and to strive for securing its total abolition by legislative and other measures at an early date.

(Moved from the Chair.)

WOMAN FRANCHISE.

That this Conference accords its hearty support to the demand for the enfranchisement of Indian Women. This Conference while expressing its regret and disappointment at the fact that this claim has not been conceded in the new Government of India Act, trusts that no time will be lost in affording the necessary facilities to Indian womanhood in exercising the ordinary rights of citizenship for which the Conference notices with great satisfaction a genuine desire on the part of women themselves. This resolution should be submitted to the proper authorities.

(Moved from the Chair.)

APPOINTMENT OF A GENERAL SECRETARY, TWO ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARIES OF THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE AND PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES.

That the following gentlemen be appointed as General Secretary, Assistant General Secretaries and Provincial Secretaries as shown below:—

GENERAL SECRETARY.

Sir Narayan G. Chendavarkar, Bombay.

ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A., Bombay and Poona. // ✓

Mr. D. G. Doshi M. A., LL.B., Bombay.

PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES.

Bombay	... K. Natarajan.
Madras	... Hon'ble S. Srinivasa Iyengar.
Bengal	... Sir P. C. Ray, Calcutta.
United Provinces	... The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
Punjab	... Lala Lajpatrai Sahni, B. A., Lahore.
Central Provinces	... The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Jishi B. A. LL.B., Nagpur.
Mysore	... M. Ram Rao, Bangalore.
Cochin	... To be nominated hereafter.
Hyderabad (Deccan)	... Mr. M. A., Hydari, Hyderabad.
Baroda	... Dr. S. B. Sament Balukram Mehta.

Indore ... Dr. V. A. Sakhtankar.
Gwalior ... To be nominated hereafter.

(Moved from the Chair).

CONSTITUTION FOR THE CONFERENCE AND ORGANIZATION OF ITS WORK.

That the General Secretaries of the Conference and the Provincial Secretaries newly elected be requested to make a report to the next Conference regarding the question of framing a constitution for the Conference and also the question of better organization of the Conference in consultation with the leaders of Social Reform movement in all provinces and to bring into being a council of National Social Conference with a view to organizing the work of social reconstruction on national lines all over the country by selecting an influential and representative body of men and women numbering about one hundred and the General Secretaries in Bombay should be authorized to take the initiative in this matter and collect the necessary funds for the work outlined, and adopt measures for achieving the object in view.

(Moved from the Chair).

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the Reception Committee of the National Congress for the loan of the Pandal for the purpose of the session of the National Social Conference.

Proposed by Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A., (Bombay) in Hindi,

Seconded by Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahani M. A. (Lahore) in Hindi,

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

That a most hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President of this Conference for presiding over this great gathering.

proposed by—Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A., (Bombay) in Hindi.

Seconded by—Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahani M. A., (Lahore) in Hindi.

TO SINCERE SOCIAL REFORMERS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With the kind indulgence of your numerous readers, I beg to open a new subject—a question that has but just been thrust into prominence by the exigencies of the times through which we are passing and the truth of which is gradually being brought home to all thinking minds. It has apparently, one thinks, nothing to do with the world crisis; but in fact the proper solution of it can alone save a community from certain destruction in the grave and perilous situation the whole civilised world is to-day facing. We have before us this moment the unprecedented and inspiring scene of a whole world exerting its best to recover its lost balance. This process of rehabilitation is in some cases carried on almost in a feverish haste as in Russia, and the result is Leninism, which, to use the words of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in another context, is simultaneously "a caste, creed and a curse." It is at present aiming at world-mastery and bids fair to succeed benefiting by the befogged brains of more than nineteenth of mankind, befogged both by the misery it has suffered and the system of its sudden deliverance! To come to the point, I wish to impress, this new theory of mob-rule paraded at times under the guise of Democracy, is both a

challenge and a threat to wealth and art, religion and morals—law and etiquette. Great minds in all nations are busy finding out what can assure their safety and guarantee, their resurrection from this universal death! We in India have been fighting for political reforms and we have just received a first instalment of the same. Whether that much be sufficient as some assert or be too little as others declare is beside my aim in writing this letter. I am sure like all my political friends that soon India shall possess all the most up-to-date paraphernalia of a modern Democracy. But I beg to inquire whether that alone can make for 'Indian Renaissance.' To one who has read history, and more, who can prophesy for the future on the strength of the past, it will be perfectly plain that the political form of government is only one of the many factors that can either make or keep a nation free and happy. All this lengthy diversion may to some appear unnecessary as the truth of these statements is accepted on all hands. So, by way of an apology I must say that acceptance in theory is one thing and to put it into action is quite another. There is before us at present a large school of politicians which wherever cornered by this kind of potent reasoning pretends to espouse the cause of Social Reform—that sure, great, and the most important foundation of a people's health and happiness—but observed by its undying bias it fights might and main to frustrate every practical measure of reform! Social Reformers! Pray, enough of this self-deceit. Lions among you have laboured life-long sowing seeds of healthy life but the seedlings have been walled away by gales of passion and prejudice! A whole harvest thus dreamed and forgotten! That attitude of mincing matters must now be given up. Social Reformers must themselves be a party now. A perfect solid phalanx with an undivided mind and purpose. They must speak in no uncertain word what they think 'must be done.' Political squabbles, personal jealousies and party bickerings, all these and more must be clear out of their path. They must be willing to join hands with all who believe in their faith. They must utilise to the fullest extent every opportunity whether political, economic, or religious that may arise. For their task is all too inclusive and their identity both this or that political school has but hindered their success so far. With those who would have none of Social Reform till they get complete Home Rule we can have nothing to do. With the others we shall be for him who bids higher. For that we must have strength of number, organisation, argument and action. I feel quite sure that such an opinion is fast being developed. It will be a new spirit, a fresh platform of love and amity work and no ostentation. Let not ragged old disputes damn our efforts. Nation-building was never a simple game. It was never a platform of abuse and recrimination. Such a party as I find springing into life to-day will purify our political life, it will rejuvenate religion, it will mend morals and will altogether make India a far happier and greater nation with a strong foot-hold in the present and an inspiring prospect in the future as she has behind her a grand and a noble past. So a strong organisation must be formed forthwith and a persistent propaganda set on foot. We must be prepared to secure full premises of progress along social times from all those who wish to enter the new Councils. And for that steps must at once be devised to strengthen our position. Will all Social Reformers rise like one man and achieve it? I hope they will.

S. G. BHAT.

B. A. LL. B.

Vakil High Court,

Poona 18th Jan. 20.

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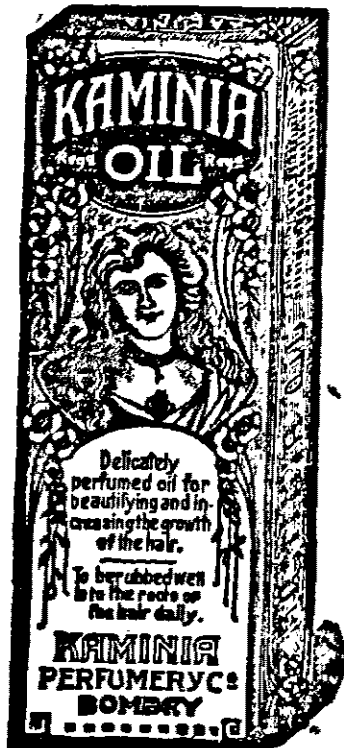
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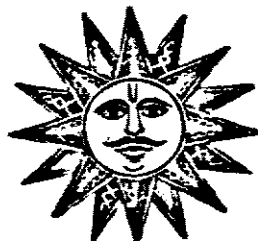
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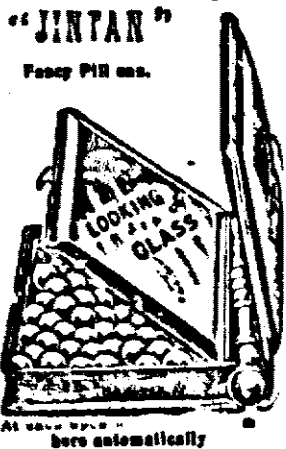
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Indians Overseas. The problem of the position of Indians overseas is becoming acute. Only in one part of the British Empire, Fiji, has there been a gleam of light. All existing indentures have been cancelled in this island. The thanks of the Indian public are due first, to Mr. Andrews who called attention to the hardships of the Indian labourers in Fiji, and, next to the Government of India for their vigorous action in the matter. As if to make up for this slight gain, the position of Indians in the Crown Colony of East Africa is being seriously menaced by the interested agitation of white adventurers in that colony. The most extraordinary part of the affair is that these gentlemen profess to be moved by love of morality, the Indians being depicted as a depraved people. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the Indians are more depraved than the Europeans, and there is some evidence to show the contrary. Mr. Andrews sends us a statement by Dr. Albert Cook, O.B.E., in charge of the G. M. S. Hospital, Kampala, Uganda, in which he certifies that in his over 20 years' experience of the largest hospital in Uganda, it is his deliberate opinion that there is less venereal disease among the Indians resident in Kampala than in any other section of the community. On the strength of this unfounded libel, and on the familiar argument that the white man must live, whoever else may have to die, some white settlers in East Africa are agitating to ruin the Indians in that part of the British Empire. From South Africa, Mr. Andrews sends an alarming cable. No one is less of an alarmist than he, and we, for one, are quite sure that what he says in his latest cable is absolutely true. "Worst situation since 1913, every right endangered," he says, and no other evidence of this is needed than that the Government of South Africa which welcomed Mr. Gokhale and showed him every courtesy during his tour in South Africa, have declined to receive an Indian representative with Sir Benjamin Robertson except, if our information be correct, on humiliating terms. That shows the spirit now prevalent in responsible quarters, and there is no use being annoyed when we are told of things which disturb over complaisant belief that the world we live in is the best of all worlds.

The Deputation from British Guiana. At this juncture, there has come a deputation from British Guiana offering to receive five thousand Indian agriculturists every year for three years. A Committee of non-official Indian members of the Indian Legislative Council has been appointed to go into the matter. For our part, we are not against Indians going abroad to improve their fortunes, and if a suitable scheme can be devised, receiving just and equal treatment with all other British subjects, we see no objection and much advantage in encouraging Indian settlers to carry their culture and intelligence to other lands. The difficulty, however, lies in ensuring that the advantages held out are really granted. In Natal and East Africa, Indians had a great share in developing the countries, but what is their position to-day? The terms proposed by the deputation from British Guiana seem to be inviting on the face of them, but how far they represent real advantages can only be determined after careful enquiry. For example, the prospectus issued by the British Guiana representatives states that several acres of prepared land will be given free or at nominal rates to immigrant Indians. In the report of Messrs. MacNeil and Chimanlal, written about eight years ago, we read "very little land in this colony (British Guiana) can be occupied unless it is properly drained and irrigated. Holders of small allotments cannot be expected to combine to construct or maintain irrigation dams and channels and irrigation systems." What has been done since this report was made to improve drainage and irrigation? Those who drew up the prospectus do not seem to have perused the MacNeil-Chiman Lal report. If they had, they should have pointed out in what respects matters have improved since that report was written. Another point to be borne in mind is that the Indian's position to hold his own in other countries entirely depends on his being able to hold his own here. Paper promises are worse than worthless unless they are backed up by a determination on the part of the Government and the people of India to see them carried out in the spirit and to the letter.

The Newington Tragedy. The trial of the minor zemindar of Kadambur, a student of Newington School, Madras, accused of murdering the late Principal, Mr. De la Hey, was transferred to the Bombay High Court by order of the Government of India passed on the application of Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Swaminathan. The case was taken up on Monday at the Criminal Sessions, before the Chief Justice, Sir N. C. Macleod, and a special jury. After a four days' trial, the jury brought in a unanimous verdict of not guilty and the accused was acquitted and discharged. The verdict, we think, coincides with the impression left on the public mind by a perusal of the proceedings in the Bombay High Court as reported in the papers. The Chief Justice's summing-up was a powerful and searching criticism of the prosecution case, and the jury did not take more than a few minutes to make up their

minds as to their verdict. The Madras investigating authorities have come badly out of the business, and we trust that the Government of Madras will not rest content till every one responsible for this cruel prosecution of an innocent boy is brought to book. The question remains, who shot Mr. De la Hey. A further question for the consideration of the Government of Madras arises from the revelations regarding the state of things in the Newington School. There were only nine students. A costly establishment was maintained for the benefit of the nine men, under European management and supervision. They were supposed to be imbibing the best features of an English public school education in this expensive establishment. What they were really imbibing there is hinted at in one or two remarks in the course of his lordship's able charge to the Jury. "The standard of truth did not appear to have been very high at Newington. Talavankottai was known as the champion liar at Newington. There is no champion unless there is a competition."

The Non-Brahmin Question in Madras: We are sorry to read in the *Hindu* (Madras) that at the Conference of Brahmins and non-Brahmins which met at the invitation of His Excellency the Governor of Madras to decide the question of reservation of seats in the territorial constituencies for non-Brahmins, no agreement was reached, and that His Excellency will report to this effect to the Government of India. If an arbitrator has to be appointed, adds our contemporary, it will probably be Lord Meston. We deeply regret that the repeated efforts of His Excellency the Governor of Madras—this, we believe, was the third—to get the question settled by a process of give-and-take, have failed. Whoever is responsible for the failure, has incurred a heavy responsibility. The non-Brahmins, we are glad, have been doing very well in the last Legislative Council as well as in the recent Municipal elections in Madras. All the six or seven nominations for the Indian Civil Service have gone to them this year. Considering that, of the seven successful candidates for the all-India open competitive examination for admission to the Indian Finance Department, as the results published last week show, three are, judging by their names, Madras Brahmins, it is evident that the selection entirely of non-Brahmins for the Indian Civil Service is really a triumph of the non-Brahmin movement. The following passage taken from a letter signed "Aggrieved Vellala" which appeared in *Justice* of the 31st January, however, portends a danger against which it behoves the leaders to guard the movement:

The Madras Government have ignored the Vellalas in selecting candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The selection though very laudable, so far as it goes, is defective in this respect. The West Coast is well represented, one of the nominees being the son of a member of an ancient royal family and the other a nephew of one who has rendered loyal service in the Judicial Department. The Midland and the Andhra Province are well represented too, for the Kamma Reddy and the Balija have been worthily selected. But the East Coast, Madras, and Southern districts, where reside some of the largest owners of the land, have been left in the cold. Even those who imagine that the Brahmin "is the intelligentsia" of the country often proclaim that the Vellala is next to the Brahmin. It cannot be said for a moment that the East Coast Vellala does not possess the requisite intellectual qualifications for the service.

The Viceroy and Indian Opinion: There has been a noticeable reaction in Indian public opinion in

favour of the Viceroy as a result, primarily, of the extravagant denunciation to which His Excellency was subjected by some of the speakers at the Amritsar Congress. This has been appreciably assisted by Lord Sinha's tribute to Lord Chelmsford for his share in advancing the Reform Act. The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Indian Legislative Council, we think, will greatly help the progress of this good feeling in the country. It was one of the happiest speeches which His Excellency has made in India. Lord Chelmsford has always seemed to us to observe a certain amount of detachment, not to say aloofness, from Indian interests but there is nothing of that in this speech where, indeed, he completely identified himself with Indian sentiments and aspirations. Some papers said that the appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair to the India Council was a slur on His Excellency's Government. Lord Chelmsford told the Council that he himself had strongly supported the proposal to make the appointment. It is impossible to say that we are in calm waters as yet, but we believe that the situation today is more propitious for a good understanding between the Viceroy and the people, and we earnestly trust that the best use will be made of it. General sympathy will be felt for the Viceroy in the death of his brother, reported last week.

The Next Viceroy: We hope there is no truth in the rumour that Field Marshal Earl Haig has been offered and is likely to accept the Viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Chelmsford. Apart from the disadvantage of having an absolute stranger at the head of the Government at a time when so much has to be done in the way of putting the reforms in train and preparing for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the objections which Lord Morley urged against the appointment of a soldier-Viceroy in the person of Lord Kitchener apply with manifold greater force to the appointment of Earl Haig. It will be misunderstood both in India and the outside world in a way which will be exceedingly unfortunate. If a change in the Viceroyalty is deemed absolutely unavoidable, we hope Great Britain will be able to spare us a statesman of high calibre and proved merit such, for instance, as Lord Selborne or Lord Haldane.

The End of the Bombay Mills Strike: On Monday last the Great Cotton Mills Strike in Bombay came to an end by the operatives quietly returning to work. Even after the publication of the concessions granted by the mill-owners the workers kept back for a whole week. Owing to the death of Lady Chandavarkar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar could not attend the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee's meetings. On Thursday evening, however, he resumed his work on the Committee, and the next day he drew up an exceedingly impressive tract, appealing to the workers to join their work at once. It is evident that this tract which was widely distributed on Saturday and Sunday, had a most beneficial effect. Writing of the strike of Bombay Mill operatives, the *Searchlight* (Patna) observes: "We are glad that responsible leaders like Sir Narayan have thought it necessary to take the lead. Not to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Moderate politician, but to Sir Narayan, the social reformer, do we look for a resolute lead. It is not a few rupees to pay to a few men that will solve the labour problem, but a permanent betterment of the social conditions—better housing, better salary, and schools for children."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1920.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY COMMITTEE REPORT.

The long awaited report of the Indian Currency Committee has at last been published. The Committee consisted of ten English and one Indian member, Mr. Dadabhai Merwanji Dalal. The English members were Sir H. Babington Smith (Chairman), Lord Chalmers, Sir Marshall Reid, Sir James Brunyate and Messrs. F. C. Goodenough, C. S. Addis, C. T. Needham, M. M. S. Gubbay, W. B. Hunter, and T. W. McMorran. All the English members have signed the majority report, but Mr. Dalal found that the divergence of opinion between his colleagues and himself was so great as to render it impossible for him to concur with their views. He has, therefore, written a separate report. So far as we can see, the most acute differences between Mr. Dalal and his colleagues relate to the causes of the rise of the price of silver and the measures adopted by Government to meet that rise. But these, however, are now past history. As regards the policy to be adopted to restore to normal conditions the situation that has arisen, he and his fellow-members seem to us to be in substantial agreement. He and his colleagues are at one in holding that it is desirable and, indeed, of the first importance to restore stability to the rupee and to re-establish the automatic working of the Indian currency system. Whether the rise in the price of silver was the result of the decrease in the Mexican output or of the embargo on the export of Indian silver, is an interesting question. The majority hold that it was due to the former; Mr. Dalal is convinced that it was due to the latter. It is evident that both causes contributed to the result which had such untoward consequences for India. As regards the steps adopted by Government to meet the situation created by the rise of the price of silver, we are in sympathy with much of the criticism which Mr. Dalal passes on them. We cannot understand the manner in which the majority completely ignore Mr. Dalal's arguments. We cannot help thinking that had there been at least one more Indian on the Committee as fully conversant with the theoretical side of the subject as Mr. Dalal is with the practical, the majority would have found it far less easy to overlook so completely the Indian point of view in adjudging the results of the policy hitherto followed. Indeed, their anxious attempt to make out that whatever the authorities did was the best that could have been done in the circumstances, is palpably untenable. There was very little "skill, courage and resource" in waiting upon the movements of the silver market and putting up the rupee value, not once or twice, but eight times in two years, (five times in one year), thus keeping the world of commerce in a state of protracted suspense and uncertainty. The tribute in the majority report to the authorities for these qualities, is obviously undeserved.

The most important difference between Mr. Dalal and his colleagues is as to whether the exchange value of the rupee should henceforth be one shilling and four pence or two shillings. One shilling and four pence, it will be remembered, was the rate fixed in 1893, and maintained more or less up to 1917. Mr. Dalal pleads for the one shilling and four pence rupee, while the majority are for two shillings. We think that the Committee's recommendation is preferable, if for no better reason than that two shillings are much nearer to 2s-4d, the present value of the rupee, than 1s-4d. Mr. Dalal observes: "The Indian money standard was definitely changed from silver to gold so recently as 1893. But it is impossible to contemplate another permanent change in the rupee value of the sovereign." It is not now proposed to revert from gold to silver. As for the sterling value of the rupee, the old limit has been eight times changed, and the reversion to 1s-4d will now be a more serious change than the adoption of 2 shillings. There is no meaning in differentiating between a permanent and a temporary change in such matters. Every change is permanent while it lasts and temporary, when it is past. The plea of custom will not avail either. If we had been accustomed to the 1s. 4d. rupee for twenty years, we had, previous to the seventies, been much longer accustomed to a 2 shilling rupee. The point must be decided on its merits. In our opinion, the reasons given in the majority report for preferring 2 shillings to any other limit are sound. That the reversion to the 1s-4d rupee cannot at present be effected, as acknowledged by Mr. Dalal himself, without debasing the rupee or producing a debased coin to take the place of the rupee, is, to our mind, a conclusive argument against it. It is a curious paradox that, while Mr. Dalal, who has no rooted objection to a debased silver coin, will not look at the nickel half rupee, the majority who shrink with horror from debasing the rupee, actually propose making the nickel eight-anna legal tender up to ten rupees! We protested against the nickel eight anna piece when the idea was mooted, and we continue to think it to be a highly objectionable measure. Government have found it necessary to contradict a persistent rumour that they are contemplating the introduction of nickel rupees. We hope that the contradiction will have the desired effect. Whether it has or not, we strongly feel that the silver half-rupee at least should be reverted to, as it enjoys nearly as much as the rupee the status in the popular mind of a standard coin of the realm.

That a relatively lower exchange is more beneficial to the export trade and to industries than a higher one, cannot, we think, be denied. The arguments of the majority to the contrary are unconvincing. No doubt there will be other causes coming into play to counteract to some extent the detrimental effect of a 2 shilling rupee as compared with an one shilling four pence rupee on our industries and exports, but these causes, with an one shilling four pence rupee, will be of much greater benefit to them, if by any possibility we can have both. Mr. Dalal's fears may be exaggerated but that there is a solid substratum for them, is unquestionable. The country is entitled to

demand that as far as possible this should be obviated. The majority report refers to it in a sentence. "We recognise," they observe, "that competitive imports into India may be temporarily stimulated by the high rate of exchange, especially from countries where the cost of production is low; but even in the period which may elapse before the adjustment of prices and other conditions to the new level is complete, this influence so far as manufactured articles from Europe and America are concerned, is likely to be counteracted by the greatly increased cost of production in the exporting countries at the present time." This as well as the subsequent argument based on the assumption that high exchange necessarily means low wages, is of the nature of unsubstantial speculation. Indian producers cannot be expected to be satisfied with such airy nothings. In our judgment, concurrently with the new currency arrangements, a well-considered tariff giving adequate protection to our industries from foreign competition, whether from Europe, America or Asia, ought to be devised and applied. If the Indian factory worker is to have his standard of living raised, his wages will have to be raised, he will have to be better housed, better fed and better clothed. All this must add to the cost of production. And if our industries are not to be protected adequately from foreign competitors who have an advantage over us, whether of longer experience, greater facilities, of cheaper labour or subsidised freight, we cannot expect our manufacturers willingly to incur all this additional cost. They may find it impossible to continue their industries. The disadvantages to which they are exposed by this alteration in our currency policy should be made good to them by a protective tariff. That is the right way of meeting the problem of a 2 shilling rupee. The loss to the producers of raw materials for export cannot be as much and can be only temporary.

THE GAME OF POLITICS.

Writing in *New India* on the resolution of the Reform Scheme, passed by the Amritsar National Congress, Mrs. Besant had remarked that Mr. Tilak had declared at some time that he was using her as his tool, and that now he was using Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as his tools and he would throw them aside when he no longer needed them. *Young India*, which is edited by Mr. Gandhi, replied to this suggestion in its issue of 14th January. It said that it was unable to accept the suggestion, and that even if there was any truth in it, "if they (Messrs. Gandhi and Malaviya) allowed themselves to be so used, it would not be the Lokamanya (Mr. Tilak) who would be to blame, but Messrs. Malaviya and Gandhi would be clearly held blameworthy for their simplicity." Our contemporary went on to say :

L. Tilak represents a definite school of thought of which he makes no secret. He considers that everything is fair in politics. We have joined issue with him in that conception of political life. We consider that the political life of the country will become thoroughly corrupt if we import western tactics and methods. We believe that nothing but the strictest adherence to honesty, fairplay and charity can advance the

true interests of the country. But we refuse, because of the essential difference just pointed out, to believe that in accepting the amendment L. Tilak was guided by any motive other than that of meeting his opponents' views so far as it was possible.

A letter from Mr. Tilak with reference to the above is published in *Young India* of the 28th January. He writes :

I am sorry to see that in your article on 'Reform Resolution' in the last issue, you have represented me as holding that I considered 'every thing fair in politics.' I write this to you to say that my view is not correctly represented herein. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of Sathua, and instead of the maxim 'अक्रोधेन जितं क्रोधे' (by dispassion is conquered passion) as preached by Buddha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna 'देवता नो भूयते तांस्तथैव अजाययद्' (As each one approaches Me so do I receive him.) That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase 'responsive co-operation.' Both methods are equally honest and righteous but the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my *Gita Rahasya*.

Mr. Gandhi appends a footnote to the letter in which he maintains that, for him, there is no conflict between the two texts quoted by the Lokamanya (Mr. Tilak), that they embody a law which is not for the unworldly, but essentially for the worldly and that "the epitome of all religions is to promote *purushartha*, and *purushartha* is nothing but a desperate attempt to become *Sadhu* i.e., to become a gentleman in every sense of the term." Mr. Gandhi concludes :

Finally, when I wrote the sentence about 'everything being fair in politics' according to the Lokamanya's creed, I had in mind his oft-repeated quotation 'सर्वे प्रति साठयम्' (Meet guile with guile.) To me it enunciates bad law. And I shall not despair of the Lokamanya with all his acumen agreeably surprising India one day with a philosophical dissertation proving the falsity of the doctrine. In any case I pit the experience of a third of a century against the doctrine underlying 'सर्वे प्रति साठयम्' (Meet guile with guile.) The true law is 'सर्वे प्रत्यपि सत्यम्' (Meet even guile with truth.)

Mr. Gandhi is absolutely right in holding that in the long run honesty is the best policy even in politics. Abraham Lincoln, Gladstone, and President Wilson, are conspicuous illustrations, though all these great statesmen have been at times denounced as dishonest, insincere and hypocritical by their contemporaries who were opposed to them in politics. Napoleon, Bismarck and ex-Kaiser William, on the other hand, preferred and practised the doctrine of "the end justifies the means." No doubt, they earned the plaudits of their countrymen, but the stern verdict of history, in each case, is unmistakably clear. Mr. Tilak, in a spirit of over-weening self-conceit, applies to himself the words which Shri Krishna applied to Himself. Now, Shri Krishna was an *Avatar*, in whatever sense we understand the term, the incarnate Cosmic Soul. He could understand and appreciate in their true inward significance the motive and the act and the aspiration of the worshipper; and can respond exactly in that sense and significance. Can Mr. Tilak

claim to do that? Has he any special endowment beyond "the rude world's finger and thumb" to assess motives, to see behind the effect to the inner cause? Omniscience alone can understand and undertake the meting out to us in exact measure what we mete out to our brothers and sisters. Because our acts are not merely the outward impact but also the inner thought which is behind it. Does Mr. Tilak claim omniscience? The audacity of his appropriating to himself the text of the Gita, takes one's breath away. We expressed our astonishment the other day at some six gentlemen who occupy the positions of Premiers in the British Empire preannouncing to the world on religion. Their presumption is as nothing to that of Mr. Tilak. The man who can talk of himself as Mr. Tilak does, is standing on the edge of a disastrous precipice well-marked in the chart of every spiritual voyagers. Let him beware in time!

THE HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

WHAT IT LACKS IN.

(BY PANDIT CHAND NARAIN ZUTSHI, M. B. F. A.
(LONDON.)

There can be no doubt that the animosity between the Hindus and the Mohammadans was historic and that the two great communities of India showed no signs of cohesion ever since their co-existence through various stages of their historical evolution in the country—in a word between them unity was unknown. None can say definitely whether it was the loss of political power of the Hindus or the superciliousness of the Mohammadans that deepened their resentment and hatred towards each other and made unity impossible in those times, but this much is certain that a greater and greater gulf yawned between the two communities ever since their lots were cast to be the inhabitants of India. It cannot be denied that, whatever might have been the motives, political, religious or social, that actuated them, there had been certain Mohammadan emperors who adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Hindus and enlisted their sympathy and support. But there had been also some reactionary successors who undid the work of their predecessors and contributed a great deal to the estrangement between the two communities which hitherto made progress impossible in this country. Besides, the recurrences of coercions and conciliations making things uncertain as they stood, rather fomented their excitement than cowed their warring spirit and left the two communities in a highly electrified condition rendering their tempers so sensitive that a slight provocation was enough to throw them off their balance and this often bred disorders and led to bloodshed in the realm. The events leading up to the year 1918 quite substantiate these remarks. Such a state of things naturally gave rise to pessimism. Men were not wanting who could see a dark future awaiting the country and no bright star rising on the horizon of Hindu-Muslim unity. Happily among these were the apostles of Unity whose voice, in spite of unfavourable circumstances, vibrated with the message of hope of

Hindu-Muslim unity however delayed, and who treated many a dark event as but a prelude to a bright future awaiting the country. To quote one of them, Sir William Wedderburn who said in his presidential address to the Congress in 1910 thus: "No doubt certain events have brought into prominence the differences between the two communities, but these differences should not be exaggerated, and we should rather direct our attention to the solid interests in which all Indians are equally concerned.....A recognition by the two great communities of the essential identity of their real interests, however long it may be delayed, is, I feel convinced, bound to come at last". The attempts of such men to bring about the Hindu-Muslim unity, however strenuous and sincere, failed to produce any satisfactory results until the year 1918 which marked the climax of Hindu-Muslim animosity, but after which a dividing line has been reached in the Hindu-Muslim relations, so that men standing on the brink of 1918 witnessed a change in the order of things and that the dawn and eve of the year 1919, presented quite different spectacles even to a superficial observer.

Let us now consider what are these changes and what has brought about them, and also whether or not are there any factors wanting to make the Hindu-Muslim unity a complete and permanent feature of the times.

To find answers to these questions we must picture to our mind the gloom of the year 1919, and recalling to our mind the various dark events that took place in it, we cannot but call it a dark one: perhaps no darker chapter could be added to the annals of this country than the one afforded by the year 1919 which witnessed the spilling of innocent blood of hundreds and thousands of Indian youth, both Hindus and Mohammadans, in the wake of the Satyagraha movement, the Jallianwallah massacre and the Reign of Terror in the Punjab, and in which year many untold calamities overtook the country in various spheres of human activity. But, as a dark cloud has a silver lining, the year 1919, however dark in other respects, stands as an unprecedented epoch and forms a landmark in the history of Hindu-Muslim unity as is evinced from the bold front the Hindus and the Mohammadans made against the common danger that faced the motherland and shared, in common, the fate of martyrdom. It was this common danger that made the two great communities of India identify their interests and realise at last the importance and need of unity, like the man and the wolf in the legend. Never were the two communities, vested with differences, religious, social or racial, witnessed participating in the weal and woe and rejoicing in the success and happiness of each other, the Hindus mourning with their Mohammadan brethren during Moharram and the Mohammadans taking part with their Hindu brethren in Dasharath celebrations: both the communities participating in public rejoicings at the release and mourning at the interment of the Allis or the Pals. In a word the two communities are drifting spontaneously towards unity to which end mere words and addresses utterly failed to move them an inch. These are the

happy signs of the times, portending, as they do, a change for the better in the Hindu-Muslim relations.

Judging from the signs can we say that the unity is complete and is likely to grow permanent? The answer is emphatically in the negative. The unity would only be complete when both the communities have arrived at that stage of existence when they can freely participate in their undertakings whether political or commercial and whether owned by a Hindu or a Mohammadan: when caste prejudices have been given up and when each one of them feels the help and co-operation of the other essential and desirable. For instance, if a few Mohammadans form into a limited company for starting say a periodical, it should, on no account, be the policy of the Directors to appoint the Editorial staff exclusively from among their class. Rather an undertaking of this kind must in all fairness be represented by peoples of as different shades of views and sects as possible within the scope allowed for the choice. In the same way if a few Hindus start a business they should not make it a point to enlist only Hindus as co-sharers and office bearers: one should not move an inch without taking the other in his train—every undertaking of theirs must make for the mingling of both.

A word for the Indian Potentates and I have closed this paper. All the Potentates whether Hindu or Mohammadan, should regard Hindus and Mohammadans on the same footing and admit into their service both Hindus and Mohammadans without any sense of communal partiality. They should not adopt an extreme policy and the Muslim Potentates admit only Muslims into their service and the Hindu Potentates admit Hindus only or both doing the exact reverse, rather both should give up their time-honoured spirit of communalism and adopt a liberal policy in matters of taking into service the Hindus and the Mohammadans. I take these instances all the more because we must be on our guard against communal prejudices retarding Indian progress and communal interests over-ruling all other considerations of common concern that make for Hindu-Muslim unity, and because it is in this respect that the Hindu-Muslim unity lacks a great deal. In conclusion I feel that unless these considerations begin to weigh upon the minds of the Hindu and Muslim Potentates and the people alike, the Hindu-Muslim unity is not likely to be a permanent and complete feature of the times and India will certainly be a long way off to be called "united".

THE NICKEL RUPEE INVENTION. (Communicated)

The persistence with which the rumour is repeated that Government contemplates the issue of a nickel rupee suggests the existence of some deliberate purpose in the minds of those responsible for this invention. Such purpose, if it exists, can hardly be a good or honest one, for we are informed on trustworthy authority that there is not a word of truth in the report, nor any hint of justification in facts for its repetition. There are possibilities of mischief in the spreading abroad of a misstatement of this kind, and this particular fiction should be contradicted wherever it is heard.

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO INDIA.

(BY THE REV. R. A. HUME.)

It is Christmas Day in America where I am on a furlough absent from my native land of India. There is a Latin proverb of mariners of old, *Coelum, non animus, mutant qui trans mare current*, which translated means, "They change their sky, but not their hearts, who cross the sea." My body is ten thousand miles away. My heart is in my beloved India where I was born nearly seventy-three years ago, and where I have served my country for over forty-five years. Though I cannot to-day use my voice, I will use my pen on one of the supreme days of the year briefly to interpret the significance of Christmas to some of my fellow-countrymen.

There were four different classes of persons connected in differing spirit with the birth of Jesus. They well represent four types of spirit which still come in touch with the One who was born in Bethlehem nineteen centuries ago. First, there were three wise men from the East who, influenced to believe that an unusual star proclaimed the coming of a king worthy of their worship, had journeyed long over trackless deserts following that star-gleam, and had brought rich gifts to present to the mysterious unknown king whom they sought. But marvelous to relate, that star-gleam brought them, not to a royal palace, but to a stable in which in a manger they saw a new-born babe. Nevertheless, through loyalty to their belief that even stars give divine guidance they were not deterred from accepting as worthy of their search and reverence the babe whom they found. Then, according to the story, "They rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And when they saw the young child with Mary his mother, they fell down and worshipped him; and opening their treasures, they offered unto him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh." These three wise men typify the spirit of reverence. Men sometimes wrongly assume that there is some conflict between religion and science. There can never be a conflict between true religion and true science. The spirit of science and of wisdom is always the attitude of open-mindedness and of readiness to receive and to follow facts wherever found, however these facts may differ from what has been assumed or anticipated. Equally the spirit of true religion is joyful, reverent regard for facts and for the divine in the human.

In particular, the long, long search of those Magi and their worship of the Christ whom they found, so different from the king whom they expected to see, is typical of the present and coming attitude of non-Christian wise men in the East for the spiritual king of men. As Christmas Days and Christmas experiences return and increase, reverent and wise men of the East will more and more fall down in spirit before that One born in Bethlehem, will worship Him, and will offer Him their spiritual gifts.

The second group who were connected with the first Christmas Day consisted of unlettered shepherds who had seen a wondrous light shine around them in darkness, and had heard good tidings of great joy and of peace and goodwill to men. The story relates that under the inspiration of the message that there was born a Saviour for them and for all peoples, "the shepherds said one to another: Let us now go to Bethlehem and see this thing that is come to pass which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came in haste and found Mary and Joseph and the babe lying in the manger." Then when they had gone away they told other what they had seen and heard, and "all that heard it wondered. These shepherds represented the spirit of curiosity

rather than that of worship. Nevertheless, it was they who soonest and most fully benefitted by their experience, and widely told the story to others. They are typical of the unlettered masses in our India who to-day are being drawn toward the Christ, and who through Him find development of all kinds of good, and who lead in telling others about Him. As of old, so to-day, not many mighty, not many noble are called.

The third person prominent on the first Christmas Day was Mary the mother of Jesus who naturally was amazed at her own experience, at the worship and gifts of the Magi, and at the visit of the shepherds. Of her the story says, "Mary kept all these sayings pondering them in her heart." Her's was the spirit of love, the spirit of wonder at contact with mystery and of meditating effort to interpret its meaning. To any observer of that babe in the manger how little he could anticipate what the Wonderful One has for centuries been doing for mankind. Even now how inadequately anyone can forecast what He will still do for all men! The most rewarding attitude for Christmas is that of love pondering in heart what the meaning of Christ is for the individual and for mankind.

But there was a fourth participant in the experiences of the first Christmas. He was King Herod, an incarnation of selfishness, materialism and cunning. Of him the story says, "When Herod the king heard it he was troubled." Therefore desiring immediately and for ever to put out of the way one who might oppose his selfish ambition he bade the Magi, "Go and search out exactly concerning the young child, and when ye have found him, bring me word, that I also may come and worship him." Herod's was the worldly selfish spirit of secret opposition to the Christ, the outward, insincere, crafty spirit, which dares not outwardly oppose the Christ, but desires craftily to put him out of the way. For the Magi, for the Shepherds, for Mary the first Christmas was a day of joy. Herod was troubled.

On this Christmas Day of 1919 there are wise and reverent men in East and West, both who take and do not take the Christian name, who revere Him who was born in Bethlehem centuries ago. There are multitudes of unlettered men, who while inadequately understanding Him yet are flocking to His name and side. There are some devout and mystic souls who with love ponder His life and who in loving hearts incarnate Him. There are worldly men who outwardly profess respect for Him, but who dislike His spirit and who would put Him out of the way.

Right here in America, while the very great majority of Americans earnestly desire a League of Nations which would promote peace and goodwill among men, there are some in the seats of the mighty who in Herodian spirit are "troubled" and conspire. But like Herod, they must and shall for ever have the Herodian reputation, and shall pass into dishonour. Eventually at the name of Christ every knee shall bow. A true and universal Christmas Day shall come.

In our India, too, four types of men hold the same four differing attitudes toward the Christ and to His Day. To one of the four each of us belongs.

INDIAN CURRENCY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The majority report, which is signed by the Chairman and all members of Committee except Mr. D. M. Dalal, states as its object the restoration of a stable and automatic system and the maintenance of the convertibility of the note issue. The fundamental recommendations of the report are as follows:—

(a) That the present rupee, unchanged in weight and fineness, should remain unlimited legal tender;

(b) That the rupee should have a fixed exchange value and that this exchange value should be expressed in terms of gold at the rate of one rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold, that is, one-tenth of the gold contents of the sovereign;

(c) That the sovereign which is now rated by law at rupees 15 should be made legal tender in India at the revised ratio of rupees ten to one sovereign;

(d) That the import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control as soon as the change in the statutory ratio has been effected, and that the gold mint at Bombay, should be open for the coinage into sovereigns of gold tendered by public;

(e) That the notification of Government undertaking to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn;

(f) That the prohibition on the private import and export of silver should be removed in due course and that the import duty on silver should be repealed unless the fiscal position demands its retention.

These recommendations develop with the necessary modifications required by altered circumstances the principles on which the Indian currency system was established before the war, and are accepted by the Secretary of State in Council as expressing the goal towards which Indian administration, following the previous policy, should now be directed.

Under the conditions existing prior to the war sterling and gold were identical standards. The existing disparity has made a choice between these standards necessary, and the Committee's recommendation is in favour of placing the rupee on a gold basis.

In recommending a rate, namely that above mentioned, for the exchange value of the rupee the Chairman and majority have taken account of the high range of silver prices and of the importance of safeguarding the convertibility of the Indian note issue by providing so far as possible that the token character of the rupee shall be restored and maintained, *i. e.*, that the India Government may be in a position to buy silver for coinage into rupees without loss. They were also impressed by the serious economic and political risks attendant on a further expansion of Indian prices such as must be anticipated from the adoption of a low rate.

The arguments advanced in favour of a gold basis and of a high rate of exchange appear to the Secretary of State in Council to be conclusive and he has decided to take the necessary steps to give immediate effect to the recommendations on these points. Accordingly the Government of India have to-day announced that the rate which they will pay for gold, tendered to them under the Gold Import Act by private importers will henceforth be fixed at one rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold, *i. e.* Rs. 10 for the gold contents of the sovereign. The consequential changes in the regulations relating to the sale of council drafts by the Secretary of State in Council and of reverse drafts by the Government of India will be notified separately.

The question of the internal ratio presents special difficulties. The Committee recommend the maintenance of gold on a legal tender footing especially in view of possible difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of silver. A fixed ratio must, therefore be established between the rupee and gold, as used in the internal circulation, either one sovereign for Rs. 15 as at present or one sovereign for Rs. 10 in correspondence with the new exchange ratio. The former alternative would give the sovereign the status of an overvalued token coin, necessitating permanent control over the import of sovereigns, and making an open gold mint impossible. The Secretary of State in

Council agrees with the Committee that such conditions ought not to be contemplated as a permanent arrangement. On the other hand, the lower ratio cannot be effectively introduced while a great disparity continues to exist between the commercial price of gold in India and the intended Indian mint par of one sovereign for Rs. 10.

Present conditions are a product of the war and in some sense artificial. They cannot be immediately remedied without risk of shock to the economic and monetary system in India, and of reaction elsewhere to which India cannot in her own interests be indifferent: a gradual process of rectification and of adjustment to new conditions is required. For some time past action has been taken in India to reduce the premium on gold by regular Government sales of bullion to the public and this measure will be further developed. It may be expected that in that way a natural adjustment may be effected until the path to legislation is cleared.

The Secretary of State has decided, therefore, first, that the import of gold shall continue for the present to be controlled by license under the Gold Import Act, with fixed acquisition rate as mentioned above; second, that meanwhile, periodical sales of gold bullion to the public shall continue; and third, that as a provisional measure during the transition period sovereigns shall remain legal tender at the present ratio of Rs. 15.

In arriving at these decisions the Secretary of State in Council has not failed to give careful consideration to the minority report signed by Mr. D. M. Dalal. Mr. Dalal's main object is the effective restoration and maintenance of the ratio of 15 rupees to a sovereign as a measure both of exchange and of the circulating value of the rupee. In order to secure this he relies upon freedom for the melting and export of rupees and correspondingly to freedom for the import of gold. To meet the possible result in shortage of silver coins he recommends that as long as the New York price of silver remains above 92 cents Government should coin two rupee silver coins of reduced fineness, the coinage of rupees of the present weight and fineness being meanwhile suspended, and only resumed when the price of silver falls to the figure named. He also recommends that sterling drafts on the Secretary of State should be sold only at 1s. 3 29/32d.

The Secretary of State in Council satisfied that this programme could not be adopted without untoward consequences. The heavy exports of silver coin to be anticipated under the scheme must threaten not only the whole silver circulation but also the Government reserves of silver coin, and entail the gravest risk of inconvertibility of the Government note issue. The demand for the gold required continually to make this deficiency good must greatly aggravate any strain there may be on the gold stock of the world when the freedom of import is restored. Nor is it safe to assume that these difficulties could be met by issuing new silver coins of inferior fineness; the evidence against the acceptability of an inferior substitute for the present rupee has impressed the majority, and their recommendation on this head is accepted by the Secretary of State as decisive. Mr. Dalal's recommendation in regard to the rate for sterling drafts, if adopted, must produce an immediate crash in exchange bringing unmerited disaster to those who have reasonably relied on some continuity of policy. The only cover which his scheme affords is the export of the country's circulating currency. In any case, even if a return to the pre-war level of exchange could be accomplished without a shock to trade or risk to the Currency system, it would lay India open to a further serious inflation of prices, while the majority's recommendation would tend towards a reduction of general price levels in India.

Both during and since the war Indian currency and exchange have presented problems previously unanticipated and more perplexing than any encountered since the decision to close the mints in 1898. I as the Secretary of State in Council is satisfied that decisions reached promise an eventual solution, and he desires to express his acknowledgments to the Committee and their Chairman for the ability and thoroughness with which they have explored the issue and have framed their recommendations."

APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN HUMANITARIANS.

I beg to draw the attention of all Christian humanitarians to the following editorial protest of Mrs. Annie Besant, published in the *Theosophist*, (Adyar, Madras, India,) August 1914, :—

"I am astonished to learn from *The Church Missionary Gleaner* that Christian Missionaries in China refuse to accept into Church membership any converts to Christianity who are vegetarians. It seems incredible that eating dead animals should be made *sine qua non* of Christianity. In its issue of May 1st 1914, under the heading 'Broken Vows' the *Gleaner* says :—'One of the difficulties in the way of the spread of the gospel in China has often been the vegetarian vows taken by Buddhists. The breaking down of these stumbling blocks is always gladly welcomed by the Missionaries.' This editorial introduction is followed by stories of the removal of the stumbling blocks. A Mrs. Deng was 'in great trouble with a bad foot. She had been in great pain, day and night, for over a year, and asked for treatment. In years gone by she would never come near the Christians, but the pain had been so great that she was only too willing to accept an invitation to come to the Mission House for treatment, even on condition of having to break her fast.' Mrs. Deng's mother, Mrs. Wang, 'also decided to break her fast,' and 'broke her last connection with outward idolatry by partaking of a meat dinner, thus discontinuing her fast of thirty years.'

"A sister of hers, living here in Chungpa, who several years ago was a catechumen, but never gave up her vegetarian vow, and therefore could not be taken into membership, has taken courage, and followed her elder sister in also breaking her fast. She—Mrs. Sie—had been ill for many months. Whenever she was exhorted to put her whole trust in the Lord, and give up her vow, she replied that she was afraid to break it. But when she heard of her elder sister doing so she at once expressed a wish to do so too. I brought her some cooked meat, and after prayer she took the long feared step, and said she would now really trust the Lord wholly and solely. She was in such a weak condition that one felt the little remnant of life might any time be finished, and therefore we were very thankful to see her enter the fold. Only two days after breaking her fast she died quietly. Her son and daughter-in-law, who had tended her with great care, have also promised to 'learn the doctrine.'

"The picture of the sick woman induced to pollute her body, and dying two days later is rather ghastly. The whole proceedings, with his unfortunate family forced out of taking clean food, is the first case by the refusal of medical help until meat was eaten, would be incredible if they were not in *Missionary Journal*."

I pray that Christian humanitarians of the world may kindly protect against the Christian Missionaries spreading flesh-eating with all its attendant horrors in the East, and may kindly urge the Missionary Societies to send only Vegetarian Missionaries to the Eastern countries.

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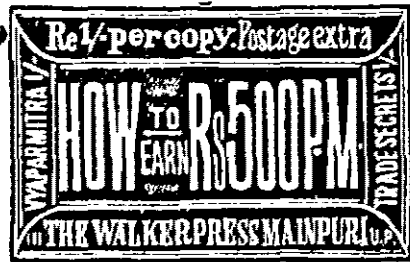
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Reserved liability of Shareholders " 25,00,000
Reserve Fund " 6,00,000

Head Office:—Alice Building, Bombay.

Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharra, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

Current Accounts :—3 % allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
2½ % allowed on Daily Balances from July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5 % per annum.

Long and Short period Deposits received at rates to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted.

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA
Manager.

25-2-17

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 37,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	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 Ra. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up " 99,00,000
Reserve Fund " 64,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. 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.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

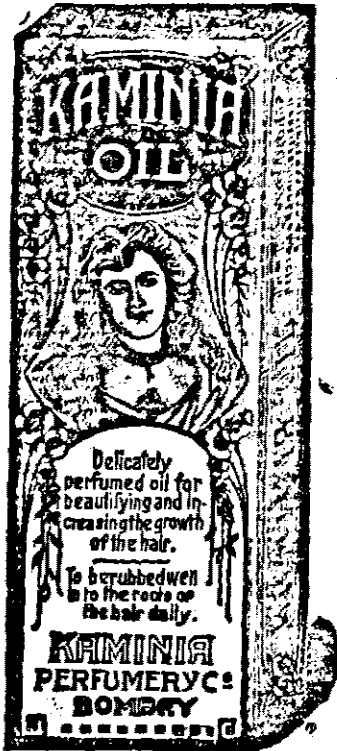
The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

M. P. STRINGFELLOW,

5-1-11,

Manager.

A Lady's Best Ornament is a Glorious Head of Hair.



A profusion of rich, soft silky, lustrous, wavy hair—where's the woman who would not like that!

There's only one oil that makes such hair and it's the far-famed

KAMINIA OIL
(Regd.)

Invaluable for ladies, and just as much for **Brain-Workers** and **Students**.

Heated head cooled, aching disappears and dandruff becomes a thing of the past. Added to all these it possesses a beautiful fragrant smell.

For superiority, awarded a **Gold Medal** at the Mysore Exhibition, and in **great demand** all 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 only once; and like many people you will prefer to use also always

Price per bottle, Rs. 1. V. P. Charges 6 annas extra

Price for 3 bottles Rs. 2-10. V. P. charges 14 annas extra

Write now, Do not delay.

Sole Agents:—

The Anglo-Indian Drug & Chemical Co.,

(5-8-16) No. 155, Jamma Masjid Market, BOMBAY.

Now-a-Days.

All things have advanced in price. Even the vegetable ingredients used in our *Atank Nigrah Pills* have advanced in price.

Even the labourers demand heavy wages being dearer. Even the users have increased yet the *Atank Nigrah Pills* for Toning up the system are sold at before war price i. e. at a Rupee.

Vaidya Shastri

Manishanker Govindji,

Atank Nigrah Pharmacy,

Head Office:—Jamnagar—Kathiawar.

Branch:—Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

A. K. JOSHI & Co.

Kalbadevi 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.
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ROYAL TONIC PILLS

Powerful Nutritious and Strength Restorer. Price Rs. 1-4 per box of 30 Pills.

PREPARED BY—GOVINDJEE DAMODER & Co.,

Wholesale and Retail Druggists and Commission Agents.
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Timely advice to the Wealthy

Costly but certain remedies are in the long run cheaper than cheap and uncertain ones.

KANDARPA SANJIVINI PILLS AND OIL

are the safest and surest remedies for indigestion constipation, loss of appetite, memory, mental, physical and nervous debility and all sorts of urinary disorders, improve impoverished blood.

Price per tin of 40 Pills Rs. 5 & per tola of Oil Rs. 10.

Both Purchased at a time Rs. 11/4.-

Medical Advice and a Medical Book containing 128 pages sent Gratis and Post Free.

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Empire Hindu Hotel

Opposite Victoria Terminus
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(Central Situation)
Strictly Vegetarian
Charges Moderate

Fitted with
Electric Lift, Fans and Lights.

TELEGRAMS:

"FOOD," BOMBAY.

22-8-19.

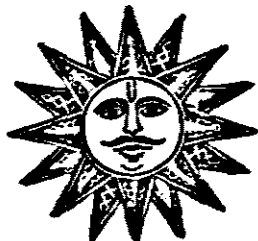
TELEPHONE

2789.

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, Hakims and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75 year and is well known for its purity and genuineness.

S. NARAYEN & Co.,

17-2-18

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"MESMERISM AND HYPNOTISM."

Complete Course Rs. 1-8 only. Contents. 1. Instructions. 2. Breathing Exercise or Yoga Practice. 3. Exercises to develop this will and memory. 4. Various Hypnotic processes. 5. To wake up a subject. 6. Clairvoyance. 7. Telepathy. 8. Levitation. 9. Wonderful methods of Hindu Healing. 10. Various diseases. 11. Hindu Catalepsy or Burial alive. 12 The secret method of telling future events most wonderfully by the Indian Yogees without horoscope or birth time. Mr. Ratikantha Bhowmik Head Master writes from Sanhatix on 22-10-19:—I have become successful hypnotist with the help of your course. The methods are far easier and simpler than in any other courses. Mr. B. Sitaramurti, B.A., B.L., Government pleader writes: Your book really reveals the wonderful hidden powers of man. The methods are of the easiest kind and the book is short is the best of its kind in the field.

THE EASTERN HYPNOTIC HOME,
P. O. Chodavaram, (Visagapatam, Dt.)

"COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES."

An Interesting Monthly Journal of Indian Material Progress.

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Madras S. C. 12-10-19

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PERSONAL MAGNETISM,
WILL POWER,
NERVE FORCE—

Call what you will—

Is the intangible power that controls human destiny. It is the key to all business and social success. This power is no special gift of any one. It is latent in every one. We help you how to display it. By our system, you can learn in a few days at your own home and not only achieve success yourself, but you can influence the mind, health and actions of others to a remarkable degree.

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THE LATENT LIGHT CULTURE,
TINNEVELLY, S. INDIA.

Battiwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.

Battiwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 2 each bottle of 100.

Battiwala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.

Battiwala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.

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

Battiwala's Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth

Battiwala's Ringworm ointment for Ringworm

Dhobi Itch etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or from
Dr. H. L. Battiwala Sons & Co., Ltd.

No. 12, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:—"Doctor Battiwala Dader"

THE BOMBAY CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK.

HEAD OFFICE Apollo Street, St., Bombay.

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazlulbhoj Currimbhoy (Chairman), Sir Vihaldas 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 Sahab of Malgaon.

Share Capital (full 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. MEHTA, Manager.**

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.

THE EXCELSIOR

BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE

AND

THE EMPIRE

BOMBAY'S MOST PALATIAL
PICTURE THEATRE

Where Film Plays of Distinction are shown

Every Week.

A

Great Cinema Masterpiece

is shown,

Both theatres are near the Bori Bunder

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EXCELSIOR SYNDICATE.

The Pioneer of Bombay's

AMUSEMENT WORLD.

FURUKAWA & CO.

TOKIO

The Largest Manufacturers
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OF

ELECTRIC BARE COPPER CONDUCTORS,

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ELECTRIC ACCESSORIES,

INGOTS, RODS, WIRES,

SHEETS, TUBES,

Etc., Etc.,

All our wires are made in accordance with the standard of the British Cable Makers' Association and are tested and approved by leading firms in India:

SOLE AGENTS IN INDIA AND BURMA.

TATA, SONS & CO.,

BOMBAY & CALCUTTA.

Best Portland Cement.

"GANPATI" BRAND.

Guaranteed to pass the British Standard and all Engineering Specifications.

It is absolutely uniform and most finely ground, which means economy in use and strength in constructional work.

TATA SONS Ltd.

Agents, The Indian Cement Co., Ltd
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Works at Porbunder, Kathiawad.

11-8-17.



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need to be examined by QUALIFIED OCULISTS and by SCIENTIFIC REFRACTIONISTS of 26 year experience, FREE OF CHARGE, you cannot do better than GO TO

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The leading firm of Oculists, Eyesight Specialists, Manufacturing Opticians and suppliers of the patented

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(Invisible one-piece bifocal lens.)

Toric, and all kinds of lenses,—Cylindrical, Spherical, Prismatic, &c., from pebbles as well as from best quality crown glass.

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ATTENDING 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 11 Elphinstone Circle, BOMBAY.

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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 3 year 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

GUARANTEE INSURANCE.—This Company issues Guaranteed Policies in situation of trust and responsibility. A specially authorized to guarantee the employees of the Post Office

MONTHLY PREMIUM.

AT AGE 20, Rs. 6-9-0.
AT AGE 25, RS. 7-8-0.
AT AGE 30, RS. 8-14-0.
AT AGE 35, Rs. 10-13-0.
AT AGE 40, Rs. 13-12-0.
AT AGE 45, Rs. 18-10-0

Proposal Forms and full Particulars may be obtained from any local Agent in India or from
22-9-10. ALLUM, BHARUCHA & CO. Managers.

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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.

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Number of Insertions.	1 Inch.		2 Inches.		3 Columns.		4 Columns.		5 Columns.	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
13	11	0	16	0	20	0	30	0	50	0
28	16	0	25	0	30	0	50	0	87	0
52	25	0	40	0	50	0	87	0	155	0

Casual advertisements at Rs. 4 per line for the 1st insertion and Rs. 2 per line of succeeding insertions. Advertisement charges are strictly payable half-year or yearly in advance.

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—
NORIHURO 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 masks 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

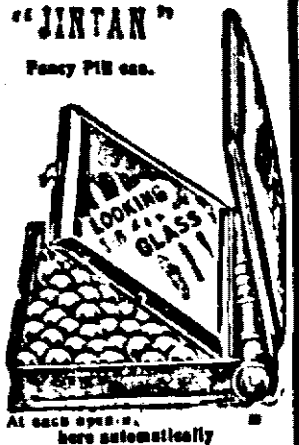
Biliousness, Headache, Vertigo, Nausea, Indigestion, Diarrhoea, and Dysentery, etc., etc.

To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price— Small Packet Rs. 0-1-0. Middle Packet, with Tin case., Rs. 0-4-0. Large Packet 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 here automatically

FOR PAINS AND ACHES SPRAINS ETC. USE:—

AMRUTANJAN.

The magical pain balm extant. Cures all aches & pains Costs 8 As. Sold everywhere.

ON DUTY!

THE YOUNG COLLEGIATE IS OUT.
 An educational Monthly for Young and Old.
 Editor:—Mr. B. S. NIMBKAR.

The "It's of it:—

1. If you are a Student, it will help you to the Examination Hall because your professors contribute to it.
2. If you are an active worker, it will show some field for you to solve problems, because it contains articles of your readers.
3. If you are an artist, it is illustrated for you.
4. If you are a Social reformer, it will discuss all problems of Social reform and will give you views of male and female reformers.

Whatever you are, the Monthly gives you whatever you want.
 Annual Subscription Rs. 3. Single Copy Annas 8.

Wanted Agents throughout India.

For advertisement rates & other particulars apply to—

S. A. DANGE,
 Manager.

Young Collegiate Office,
 Sandhurst Road, Bombay No. 4.
 14-12-19.

DENTISTRY.

Extractions Painless;
 Terms Very Moderate;
 Gold Crown, Bar and
 Bridge Work a Speciality
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 Latest Successful Treatment
 for Pyorrhoea (pus in gums).

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

Hours: 8-1-30 & 5-7-30; Daily.
 (Sundays—From 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.)

ADROOS BUILDING,
 NEW CHARNI ROAD,
 GINSAON, BOMBAY. } 1-6-19.

K. R. AMAT,
 Surgeon Dentist.

THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1920. No. 24.

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

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Christian Missionaries and the Jhallianwalla Massacre.	Non-Brahmin Representation in Madras.
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	A Useful Book of Reference.
	Surat Hindu Orphanage.
	An Interview with Mr. Gandhi.

NOTES.

Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition, Delhi.
We have received the programme of the forthcoming Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition to be opened at Delhi on the 21st instant by Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, the Patroness, who has been taking a deep interest in the subject. The Committee of the Exhibition hopes that many people will go to Delhi from all parts of India to see the Exhibition with a view to organizing and carrying out similar work in their own stations. The Exhibition programme covers seven days and includes various items. After the opening ceremony on the first day, the students of the Lady Hardinge Medical College will enact *Shakuntala* to an audience of women only. On Monday Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal will deliver a lecture in vernacular on the duties of Indian women in connection with Maternity and Child Welfare. On the same day in the evening a lecture will be delivered on Infant feeding and rearing by Dr. Ruth Young. There are several other lectures for women by women and demonstrations. The visitor will not find time hang heavy on her bands during the days of the Exhibition. All railways will grant concession tickets for second and third class on payment half fares and inter-class tickets on payment of third class fares to medical students, medical subordinates, nurses, midwives, school teachers and missionaries, provided they travel in parties of not less than four by the same train and produce certificates of *bona fides* from prescribed authorities.

Constitutional Reform in Hyderabad (Deccan.)
His Exalted Highness the Nizam has issued the following important Firman Mobarick dated King Kotli, the 5th February, 1920: "In my Firman dated the 22nd of Safar-ul-Muzaffar 1338 II. under which I established an Executive Council for the more efficient administration of my Dominions, I had directed that my Legislative Council would continue to work under the existing rules until they should be modified. This Council was one of the outstanding features of the Reforms introduced by my revered father. Since its establishment, some minor changes have been effected, but they are not sufficient to meet the requirements of present times, nor do they give promise of the fulfilment of those

duties and functions which I consider necessary for the prosperity and advancement of my beloved subjects. The Constitution I have given to my Executive Council has set it on the high road of administrative efficiency. It has made an excellent start and I feel confident that its working will demonstrate the wisdom of the steps taken. The next important move in the direction of Reforms I have in contemplation, is a thorough and complete investigation of the conditions most favourable to the enlargement of the Legislative Council and the expansion of its usefulness as an integral part of the Government machinery. I, therefore, direct the Sadar-i-Azam, Sir Ali Imam, to take immediate steps to collect all necessary materials on which a liberal scheme for the attainment of the above mentioned objects may be based. It is my desire that, with due regard to the social and educational advance made by my people, particular attention should be paid to the following points in conducting the investigation:—(a) Substantial introduction of the Elective Element, (b) Direct Voting, (c) Representation of all important Classes and Interests, (d) Effective protection of Minorities, (e) Conditions of Franchise, (f) The Official Element, (g) Powers and Functions. The Sadar-i-Azam is authorized to appoint special officers and constitute Committees on whose reports a comprehensive scheme with definite proposals shall be drawn up for presentation to my Executive Council for opinion prior to its submission to me for consideration and orders."

The First Non-official Municipal President in Madras. Dewan Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetty was elected first President of the Madras Municipal Corporation, under its new constitution, on Tuesday. The Dewan Bahadur is the *doyen* of the Madras Municipality, having been a member continuously for 36 years. It is a proof of his keen interest in civic affairs that he should have never thought of breaking his connection with the Municipality all these years. His choice for the first Presidentship is most appropriate, and it would have been a graceful thing if it had been made unanimously. We are sorry to see his name in the list drawn by lot for retirement next November under the Act. We are sure his constituency will return him at once to the Corporation, and we trust that his colleagues will unanimously re-elect him to serve his full term of Presidentship and to present the address which the oldest Municipal Corporation in India will, no doubt, vote to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales when he comes to us next cold weather. A long career of public usefulness such as the Dewan Bahadur's is one of which every citizen, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, may well be proud. We congratulate Mr. Chettiar on his election.

Christian Missionaries and the Jhallianwalla Massacre: The *Bengalee*, edited by the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, gives expression to the surprise felt by many Indians friendly-disposed to Christian Missions, when it observes, commenting on the Rev. S. Winslow's letter in a recent issue of the *Challenge*:

"We hope these words will strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of many European missionaries who, we are pained to think, have taken upon themselves a vow of silence even when the heart of the people is so sore over the affair. If we had now stalwart European missionaries who participated so whole-heartedly in the joys and sorrows of the people in the olden days, the whole country would have resounded with their indignant protest. But it grieves us to find in these days even missionaries figuring in the performances of the Indo-British Association. However, the Rev. Mr. Winslow gives a true picture of the effect which the abominable massacre at Amritsar has produced upon the minds of our countrymen. It has gathered into "one blazing point all the smouldering resentment awakened by a hundred lesser acts of cold superciliousness and cynical contempt, of callous indifference on the part of Englishmen to Indian susceptibilities" and branded it indelibly upon their hearts. With one or two exceptions, there is a conspiracy of silence over the matter. The Rev. Mr. Winslow asks, "how can we missionaries hope to preach Christianity with any success in the face of such deeds as these?" We wonder this question did not trouble the mind of other missionaries. We are surprised beyond measure to find that it altogether escaped their serious attention. It is of the highest importance for the fair name of Christians that a declaration should be made that such acts as were done in Amritsar are utterly contrary to the true spirit of Christ and as such they are repudiated. Let the plain thing be said straight and without camouflage. So long as acts like the Amritsar massacre remain unrepudiated by the general Christian consciousness, it will create a very unfavourable impression in the public mind in India." In a later issue of the *Challenge*, Miss Sherwood, the Missionary lady who was assaulted by the mob at Amritsar, writes a letter with reference to Mr. Winslow's letter. In this, she says that General Dyer deserves to be placed in the same category as Havelock and Outram, though she concludes that the words in her ears are not "Kill, Kill," but "Leave her alone, she is a woman," and that "it was Indians who rescued me, an Indian house that gave me shelter, and Indian hands that first dressed my wounds." The terrible ordeal through which she passed has evidently affected the good lady's sense of proportion.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's Unpleasant Experience : Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, late member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, and President of the All-India Moderate Conference held at Calcutta last December, has had an unpleasant experience while travelling in Burma. He gave the following account of it to a representative of the *Rangoon Mail*. A European entered his compartment and asked him to vacate it as a lady was with him (the European.) "I told him that they might get into the next compartment. He said it was occupied by a gentleman and went out grumbling. The guard or station master then came up to me, and asked me if I would vacate the compartment. I asked him why they could not go into the next compartment. He said that a gentleman was travelling in the next compartment. I told him that they might ask the other gentleman to come into my compartment and that it would be inconvenient for me to turn out with my luggage, etc. After a few minutes, the European officer re-entered my compartment with his wife, and said "you are a damned brute, it is disgraceful. I have never heard such a thing in my life, a refusal to oblige a lady." I said "you have no business to talk to me in this way," and then he said "shut up." He and his wife then took their seats in the opposite berth which was quite vacant. When I got up at seven o'clock he said,

"I want to let into you if you will." I did not quite follow him, and then he asked me, "do you understand English?" I said "yes." Then he said, "I have known lots of respectable people in India, Sikhs, Punjabis, and Hindus, and there are many whom I am proud to call my friends. None of them would have behaved to a lady in the way you have done. The Maharajah of Bikanir, Maharajah Sir Pratap Singh would have vacated the compartment. No Englishman worthy of the name would have behaved to an Indian lady in the way you have done." I told him "I have also travelled with lots of Englishmen and this is the first time I have seen such language used." This man is a Government officer, Captain Childers, of the Military Police at Pyawbe, and we hope that his superiors will lose no time in impressing on him the unwisdom of behaving like a bully to Indian travellers. We should be surprised if even Sir Sivaswami's seasoned moderation did not suffer momentary eclipse when the dawn of the 15th January was breaking on the way from Pagan to Mandalay.

Satyagraha and the Masses : Writing on *Satyagraha* in a recent issue we remarked that if the populace understood *Satyagraha* in the sense which Mr. Gandhi understands it in, there will be no safer or more efficacious means of national salvation. *Young India* refers to a tradition current in Northern India of the people having used *Satyagraha* against Aurangzebe in connection with a bathing ceremony at Mathura. As we do not happen to know of this tradition, we are unable to say anything about it. As for the example of the Quakers in England, the Doukhobors in Russia and, we may add, the Babis in Persia, these were religious sects bound together by a common belief and pledged thereby to suffering in common. The same effect was mechanically produced on the South African Indian passive resisters by their alien environment enforcing on them scrupulous obedience to the general body of laws as the first condition of their being free to break the special law which they deemed objectionable. The absence of any parallelism between these examples and the recent Indian endeavour at a reproduction of them in very different conditions, should be obvious. At the same time, we may point out to those who object to *Satyagraha* as a weapon of protest against a needlessly repressive measure, that they virtually leave no alternative but armed or unarmed insurrection as the only means whereby a people can seek to induce an irresponsible and irresponsible Government to undo a public wrong.

A Correction: We were in error in stating last week that seven men were selected from Madras for the Indian Civil Service. The actual number is five only, and the nominees are Mr. C. Vijiathavan B.A., B.L., a nephew of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Krishnan, Mr. K. Vallodi B.A., a son of Rajah K. O. Manavedan Rajah, retired District and Sessions Judge, Mr. Ramakrishna Chaudri M.A., of Guntur District, Mir Shabuddin B.A., B.L., nephew Mr. Bazalullah, Collector and District Magistrate of Guntur and Mr. Bhaskar Rao Naidu, son of Mr. Krishnaaswamy Naidu, sub-Judge.

Indian Olympic Association: We are requested to state that the preliminary sports to select a representative body of athletes to represent India at the next International Olympic Games to be held in Belgium in August 1920, will take place at Bombay or Poona during the first week of April 1920. Exact dates and place will be announced later. Only entries recommended by the Provincial Branches of the Association or other authorised institutions will be accepted. Particulars can be had from the General Secretary, Indian Olympic Association, Poona City.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1920.

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL, I. COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

The Bill for establishing a University at Dacca in East Bengal, which was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council in September last, was referred after a somewhat excited discussion to a Select Committee on Wednesday. East Bengal has a large Mahomedan population and a Dacca University has all along been regarded as specially required to encourage higher education among them. It is an admitted fact that University education has so far failed to appeal to Indian Mahomedans, and that if it is to do so, it is necessary that the special needs, difficulties and, it may be, prejudices of the community should be adequately represented in the various parts of the University. With this object in view, the Bill provides for a due representation of Mahomedans in the general body of the University and its important organs, in addition to the provision of a Mahomedan Advisory Committee to look after the special requirements of Mahomedan students. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji fastened upon these provisions and protested against the introduction of the communal principle in the proposed University. He was followed by other members among whom were Mr. Sastry, Sir Dinshah Wacha and Pandit Mohan Malaviya. Mr. Shafi, the member of Government in charge of the Bill, seems to have been a little excited and to have expatiated on the inconsistency of gentlemen who signed the Lucknow Compact and advocated Hindu-Mahomedan unity, opposing communal representation in the constitution of Dacca University. We are unable to agree that advocates of Hindu-Muslim unity should never in any circumstances object to the extension of communal representation. That would mean that Hindu-Muslim unity can be maintained only on one condition, namely, that the Mahomedans must have their way, however irrational or extravagant it may seem to others. This, we need hardly say, would be good neither for the country nor for the Mahomedans themselves. The petted child is often a spoilt child and Indian Mahomedans have been alternately the petted children of Government and of politically-minded Indians. And we are seriously afraid that they are in the way of suffering from this circumstance. But as regards communal representation in Dacca University, the protest of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji and the other gentlemen who supported him, was clearly misplaced. We have insisted in these columns over and over again that Education is the department of State activity, which bears most closely on the social and domestic life of the people. Holding that view, we cannot but feel that communal representation, if it is needed at all, is needed more in the educational than in the political organs of the State. We have no hesitation in saying that, in the special conditions of East Bengal, the provision for communal

representation in the proposed University is a wise and statesmanlike provision. It does not follow, we need hardly say, that a similar provision in Universities in other parts of India will be similarly wise and statesmanlike; though we have always felt that it is a source of strength to have all communities represented on the Boards and Committees of our Universities by the best men available from among the members.

SOME SUBSTANTIAL OBJECTIONS.

The proposed scheme for the Dacca University is open to substantial objections. The scheme purports to follow the lines laid down by the Sadler Commission. We think that while it does this to a large extent, in the letter, it violates in essentials the spirit of the recommendations of that Commission. Apart from that, there are serious objections to the scheme of the Sadler Commission itself. The most fundamental of them all is that it throws away altogether the experience gained in the Universities of India during three-quarters of a century, imposes on Indians an altogether new and strange conception of a University, and, indeed, obliges them to learn a new terminology for understanding and working the scheme. At any time, such a violent breach of continuity in the highest organ of education in a country, would be inconvenient and embarrassing. At this time, when our political system has been cast into the melting-pot so thorough-going a revolution in our educational system is simply bewildering. We can only understand innovations such as this scheme involves to mean that Indian education is to be treated not as a living organism, growing and adapting itself to and drawing nourishment and inspiration from its environment, but as a rare exotic to be prevented from becoming acclimatised in the country, and striking root in its soil, by being dug up from time to time in order to give place to a different species which has been found to be demanded by the altered political and social conditions of England. Not even Scottish experience is to be considered. The Sadler Commission actually seem to think that the conditions of student life in Bengal are much nearer to those in England than to those in Scotland or Germany! That is the only meaning we can attach to the following passage in their report:

The examples of Scotland and Germany, where suitable and respectable lodgings for students are abundant, quoted by Sir Gooroo Dasa, do not move us so much as the actual conditions of Bengal. We cannot accept his presentation of life at a hostel as being one of rigid routine and dead level uniformity. That is far removed indeed from the happy and varied life as we know it in English Colleges and University Colleges and University hostels, from the life that we have seen in residential Colleges in India like Aligarh, Serampore, Bankura or St. Paul's."

Some people have not seen in Aligarh a conspicuous success in the introduction of English University life. Serampore and St. Paul's are, we believe, Christian missionary institutions attended mostly by converts and their children over whom the Missionaries exercise paternal sway. We do not know anything about Bankura. We have recently had the

extreme case of Newington which, in one respect at least, namely, the extreme fewness of its scholars, was ideally situated for an experiment. In any case, we are not able to dismiss Sir Gooroo Dass's testimony about the Indian hostel system as lightly as the Commission has done. The Dacca University scheme is a particular application of the general principles laid down in the Sadler Commission's report. What we have said above shows that these general principles are by no means non-controversial. The country has had no time to discuss those principles and to express a considered opinion on them. The Report has been published in parts, and as the Reform scheme came to a head at about the same time, the recommendations of the Sadler report have been thrown into the background. Even the Universities have not been able to deal with the Report in the time that has elapsed since its publication. They have appointed Committees which will take not less than three or four months to make their reports to the Senate. It is utterly impossible to criticise the Dacca University scheme in a constructive sense, except in the light of the views one forms of the general principles enunciated in the Sadler Commission's Report.

ARBITRARY AND REVOLUTIONARY.

Evidently even Mr. Shafi, the Member in charge of the Bill, feels this difficulty but he is helpless. Nawab Ali Chowdhri, a member from East Bengal, quoted the opinion of leading educationists in his province, who were all agreed that the schools and colleges in the province, outside Dacca, should be affiliated to Dacca University rather than continue affiliated to distant Calcutta. The Chief Commissioner of Assam had urged that the educational institutions in that sub-province should not be under any University outside it, but if that had to be, he would much prefer Dacca to Calcutta. The Member for Education could only say in reply that he was sorry that Government was bound by the recommendation of the Sadler Commission and they would not depart from it. The Sadler Commission's treatment of this important point is perfunctory and by no means convincing. They reject the ground that the Calcutta University has grown to unmanageable dimensions, as having no bearing on the proposal to have a new University at Dacca. We had always thought it had a good deal to do with it. In any case the Sadler Commission itself was called into existence principally in view of the unwieldy dimensions to which Calcutta University had grown. The Commissioners have themselves put that fact in the forefront of their case for drastic reform. In our opinion, the line of right development in University reform in India is progressively to increase the number of Universities, thus reducing the area of their jurisdiction, in every province, until at last by a natural and easy process involving no violent dislocation of existing ideas and experience, each University has a jurisdiction not too large to admit of its being compacted into a teaching University. Our main aim in this country immediately should be to bring education of all kinds as far as possible to the doors of the people. The Dacca University scheme

deliberately pursues the opposite policy. It rejects the idea of affiliating colleges in the neighbouring districts of East Bengal and concentrates itself on providing what it believes to be an ideal scheme for persons within a five miles' radius of Dacca. And Government, we are told, cannot depart from this plan.

CONFORMING TO THE LETTER BUT NOT THE SPIRIT.

We remarked above that while the Dacca University Bill to a large extent follows the letter of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, it is not in essential respects in conformity with the spirit of them. The Sadler Commission observe:—

We have shown in another place the grave disadvantages of the existing dissociation between detailed knowledge of academic matters and responsibility for their administration, and have suggested that while the State cannot and ought not to rid itself of the ultimate responsibility for the larger questions of university policy which affect the country as a whole, the attempt of the State to manage a university in detail leads to confusion; it weakens the sense of responsibility of the University in advising Government as to the changes in their regulations, since Government is not bound to take their advice; and the responsibility of Government in dealing with university administration becomes somewhat unreal, since it is an obvious impossibility for the Government department concerned to be acquainted with the details of university management in regard to which they are legally obliged to make decisions.

We have no doubt that this picture is largely true of Calcutta University. But no one who knows will find much resemblance between it and the relations between, for instance, the University and the Government of Bombay. As both the Universities are governed by the same statute, the defects noticed by the Commission in the Calcutta University are clearly not inherent in the statute itself. They arise either from errors of administration or from the unwieldy jurisdiction of Calcutta University. The one, no doubt, has a bearing on the other. But the point we wish to note here is this: the obvious meaning of the quotation that we have made from the Sadler Commission's report, is that the Government power of control over the Dacca University should be considerably less than what is provided in the Universities' Act of 1904. How does the Bill give effect to this idea? It packs the University with *ex-officio* members, while giving it nominally power to manage its affairs. Let us compare the number of *ex-officio* members in Bombay University which controls a whole province besides several Indian States, and in the proposed Dacca University with its five mile radius. In Bombay University we have, besides the Chancellor, the Members of the Executive Council, the Chief Justice, the Bishop and the Director of Public Instruction, seven in all. The Act lays down that they shall not exceed ten. Take the case of the proposed Dacca University. First, we have the Viceroy as *visitor* with large powers which we have, no doubt, will rarely be used. Then there is the Governor of Bengal as Chancellor, and the Chancellor's powers are considerably more than those of the Chancellor of the older Univer-

sities and extends to matters of administration. The Vice-Chancellor is to be a paid full-time officer to be appointed by the Chancellor. The Treasurer is another such officer to be appointed also by the Chancellor. The Court which is the outer body of the University loosely corresponding to the Senate in the order of Universities, is to have as *ex-officio* members, these three gentlemen, the Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal and Assam, the members of the Executive Council of Bengal, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the Commissioner, Collector and District Judge of Dacca, the Director of Agriculture, the Civil Surgeon, the Superintending Engineer, the Chairman of Dacca Municipality, the Inspector and Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Dacca Division, and a number of others, without apparently any limit as to number. There is not much reality in the independence of a University, a point on which the Sadler Commission lay so much stress, in which so many persons hold seats in virtue of their official positions.

REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN. *

The series of volumes published by the Oxford University Press, under the joint editorship of Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. H. D. Griswold, with the suggestive title of the "Religious Quest of India," marks an epoch in the history of Christian contact with India, and more generally, indeed, of the relations between the East and the West. It has always been our conviction that the consummation so devoutly longed for by men of goodwill all over the world, namely, the union of the East and the West, must begin in the highest realm of thought, the spiritual. Complete mutual understanding of each other's attitude of mind by the religious-minded in every country, will achieve wonders, where the calculated efforts of the politically and commercially minded only will fail. In this series the editors, admirably selected for their respective subjects, bring to their task a mind well-equipped with information, high scholarship, and, above all, a resolute goodwill. The result is a growing sense, among thoughtful Christians and non-Christians alike, of the solidarity of the spiritual. We have called attention before to the curious fact, which goes to confirm our view of the fundamental importance of religion as the binding force of races and civilizations, that the movement of thought represented by the "Religious Quest of India" series preceded and precluded by several years the corresponding movement in politics which has found statutory expression in the Indian Reforms Act. It is fitting to acknowledge that the credit of initiating this beneficent movement, so far as it can be ascribed to any single man, belongs to Dr. Farquhar whose "Crown of Hinduism" was its first and most striking landmark. We have had with us for some months now one of the most remarkable books in this remarkable series, "Redemption, Hindu and Christian" by the Rev. Sydney Cave. The subject dealt

with lies at the very heart of the two religions, and we should like especially to congratulate the author on the atmosphere of deep reverence which he has succeeded so wonderfully in diffusing over every page of his book. No conscious effort would have been able to achieve this result. The reader feels that he is dealing with a writer to whom the names are nothing and the ideals behind them everything. He can see God, recognise Truth, under Hindu as well as under a Christian nomenclature. He is far too deeply and vitally interested in the grand movement by which the material world is slowly being transmuted to the spiritual through the soul of man, to waste attention on the verbal eddies that have at times delayed and even temporarily diverted it to ends seemingly irrelevant to its main great purpose.

NEED FOR RE-STATEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

We were privileged recently to publish an article from the pen of a highly-valued contributor with the assumed name of "Kotgarh" who told us in beautiful words how his deepening insight into Hindu thought helped to deepen his insight into Christ's thought also. Many a Hindu can say the same of the effect on him of a sympathetic understanding of Christ's message. Mr. Gandhi, in an interview with a Christian Missionary gentleman on a recent occasion, acknowledged in striking language his deep debt to the New Testament. We are glad to recognise Dr. Sydney Cave as of the group of pioneers who are boring a passage from either side through the great mountain range of prejudice and misunderstanding which has kept the East and the West asunder for centuries. That the men engaged in this task, and Dr. Cave among them, should differ sharply in some respects from the rank and file of their coreligionists, is inevitable. He acknowledges at the outset—though he holds, and rightly, we think, that they had excuse for it—that the earlier Christian Missionaries in India had no access to the higher Hinduism. In other respects, too, there have been fundamental changes in the conditions of the problem of Christian Missions in India. "Even the moral supremacy of Christianity," writes Dr. Cave, "can no longer be spoken of as a truism. Men are aware that not all in England are Sabibs. The 'slum' there, the social vice, misery, are familiar facts. The victory of Japan did much to rehabilitate Oriental self-respect. Now, on the gigantic scale of a world war, Indians have seen not only the failure of Christianity to preserve Christendom from war, but its failure to keep war free from needless cruelty and lust. And Indians can point with pride to the equal comradeship of their troops with British on the field of battle and their proved discipline and valour." If these changed conditions have made a restatement of Christianity, in terms of Indian spiritual culture, imperative, the fact that Christianity has made most of its converts from the depressed classes, interposes a serious obstacle in the way of such a restatement. "The great mass-movements," writes Dr. Cave, "have been chiefly among the outcastes. For such, religion meant devil-worship, and Hinduism, the

* Oxford University Press, 10 Shillings.

system which sanctioned their degradation, and denied to them the elementary rights of manhood. It is not surprising if those whom Hinduism has thus treated should regard the very phrase 'Higher Hinduism' as an oxymoron. With no tradition from the East, they have grasped eagerly at the culture of the West. It is scarcely to be wondered at if many such out-western and Westerners. Christians themselves are often as incredulous as Hindus that Christianity will ever supersede Hinduism. And in our great Christian communities even men of university education are often almost incredibly ignorant and indifferent in their attitude to Hinduism." The average Christian Missionary has himself been infected with this feature of the Indian Christian mentality with which he is most closely and constantly in contact. And when thinkers like Dr. Cave, among Westerners, and Mr. K. T. Paul, among Indians, endeavour to restate Christian truths in terms of Indian religious culture and national self-reverence, it is no wonder that they should at first meet with little sympathetic response from those who have come to constitute the conservatism of Indian Christianity. And conservatism in India is the root factor, whether it bear the label of Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian, Anglo-Indian or even Animist. It is the Indian religion of religions. Every one who wants to move a step is up against it in one form or another.

THE TWO GREAT RELIGIOUS TYPES.

Dr. Cave briefly states the purpose of his book thus: "That Christianity is a religion of deliverance and, as such meets the aspiration of Hinduism, it is the main purpose of this essay to show. The presentation of Christianity as ethics and not redemption is one-sided, and, as such, false to the Christian Gospel. Christ came to deliver men not from guilt only, but from bondage to the temporal. Born on the Semitic soil of Jewish legalism, Christianity went out into the Aryan world of Greek culture, where the craving for redemption was so intense, and found there a congenial home. It redeems from the world, yet gives moral content to life in this world. If there be a universal religion, we may expect it to be adequate to the spiritual necessities revealed by the two great types of world religions. We may look for it in a reconciliation of the two types in the higher synthesis of an ethical religion of redemption—a religion which redeems from the world, and yet enables us to find in the world a sphere of moral activity and progress. Just such a religion is the Gospel of Jesus Christ." The phrase we have italicised concedes the possibility of there being other such religions. And therein, if we may venture to say so, is the distinctive merit of Dr. Cave's book—its appeal to all men of good-will of whatever faith to cooperate in finding the Universal religion, whether among the old-established religions, if it is to be found there, or in a new one if one has to be evolved hereafter. Dr. Cave classifies the great world-religions in two groups—the religion of redemption and the religion of ethics. These he further identifies with the Aryan and the Semitic respectively. The Aryan or redemptive, he

says, seeks to meet men's mystic yearnings, but fails to give life in the world a moral content and meaning. The Semitic or ethical, on the other hand, is interested and influential in the conduct of this life, but fails to meet man's mystic yearnings. Every classification of this kind can be but a rough and general indication of the main characteristics of the categories concerned. Yet we would prefer to indicate at once that we do not think that either of these two types of religion is to be met anywhere at any rate in historical times in its pure, or rather crude, form; and that everywhere the two elements, ethical and redemptive, are to be found (in Mendelian phrase) recessive or dominant, but ready to develop in congenial environment. Even Judaism has its "Song of Solomon," while Mahomedanism has its Sufism. Buddhism is the ethical phase of Hinduism. Not only that, Christianity which, as Dr. Cave conceives it, is both ethical and redemptive, has developed predominantly as an ethical or a redemptive religion at different periods of its long history. It has had its mystics and it has had teachers and reformers who looked only to its ethical contents. Indeed, we think that in every great religion, though the ethical or mystic might predominate, the other has never been altogether absent. In other words, a certain minimum of both is required to make a religion, which suggests that religion is neither ethics nor mysticism but something from which both ethics and mysticism spring and in which they both have their being. The Universal religion therefore, must obviously be found not in a certain proportional blend of ethics and mysticism, but in the heart of Being which holds both in fusion. All great Teachers were in direct contact with the heart of Being, and their teachings were adapted to the needs of their times and their generation. Beyond these, their words pointed to and revealed a vast vista of meaning applicable to all times and all conditions by men of faith and foresight and noble unselfishness. Men of goodwill will, therefore, find in all religions the clue to a solution of the problems and perplexities of life. It follows that each individual will find the clue more readily in the teachers of the faith in which he is born and brought up than in others, just as one finds his way about in his own home even if ill-lighted than in a strange house though brilliantly lit up.

NON-BRAHMIN REPRESENTATION IN MADRAS.

In the last issue we referred to the Conference of Brahmins and non-Brahmin representatives, held by His Excellency the Governor of Madras, to bring about an understanding regarding the number of seats in the new Provincial Legislative Council to be reserved for the non-Brahmins in the territorial constituencies. *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahmin movement, published in its issue of the 5th February an open letter addressed to the non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency, signed by five non-Brahmin gentlemen who were present at the Conference, giving their version of the proceedings. It was agreed at the outset that those present at the

Conference would be free to publish a full account of the proceedings but that, before doing so, they should submit a copy to His Excellency "to see that such report was accurate." In view of this distinct understanding, the signatories have not done the correct thing in publishing their version without the omission and alterations suggested by His Excellency. No doubt, they have indicated in marginal notes that His Excellency had taken exception to them, and they have also published the correspondence between Dewan Bahadur Theagaraya Chetty, and Mr. F. B. Evans, the Secretary to Government on special duty in connection with the reforms, who conveyed His Excellency's corrections. His Excellency was requested to be present at the Conference by representatives of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin sections. It was characteristically kind-hearted of Lord Willingdon to have agreed to the request. The *Hindu* thinks that the tone of His Excellency's remarks was not quite calculated to soften asperities, but we fail to see what was wrong in them even according to the version of Dewan Bahadur Theagaraya Chetty. On the other hand, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's attitude at the Conference is really unintelligible. Mr. Kasturi (who is the Editor of the *Hindu*) is said to have supported Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay's proposal to reserve 36 out of 63 seats for the non-Brahmins, but he qualified his support by the condition that "if all did not agree, he would withdraw it." If it was right and fair to reserve 36 seats, why on earth should not Mr. Kasturi urge such reservation regardless of what others thought of it?

Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Row said that not more than 28 or 29 seats should be reserved for the non-Brahmins. His Excellency, however, thought that 50 per cent of the seats (that is, 32) would be a very fair number. Dewan Bahadur Theagaraya Chetty did not say how many seats he wanted but he regretted that he could not accept 50 per cent as he was answerable to others, which clearly meant that, for himself, he was not unwilling to accept that number. Under these circumstances, His Excellency had no course open but to have the matter referred to an arbitrator as provided in the Report of the Selborne Committee. We strongly feel that those who declined to accept His Excellency's very fair proportion, whether Brahmins or non-Brahmins, have shown themselves to be wanting in foresight and political sagacity. The non-Brahmins are clearly entitled to demand that they should, independently of the seats open to Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike, be assured of a minimum capable of effectively representing their point of view. Under Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Row's proposal they will not be assured of such a minimum. But with the proportion favoured by His Excellency, they will be completely assured of it. Their rejection of it, puts them clearly in the wrong. The Arbitrator, whether he be Lord Meston or anybody else, when he is asked to concede a decisive majority to the non-Brahmins, will have to enquire on what grounds such a demand can be substantiated. He will doubtless enquire how far and in what way the gentlemen who profess to speak for the non-

Brahmin millions really do so. Table IX, Volume II, of the Madras Census Report, 1911, gives the statistics of education by castes. There are some 80 Tamil castes, nearly as many Telugu castes, about half as many Malayalam castes, the same number of Canarese castes, and about 60 Oriya castes. The Brahmins are to be found in each of the four groups but the different linguistic groups, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, do not inter-marry. For all practical purposes the Telugu Brahmin is an altogether different caste from the Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam or Oriya Brahmin. And so the Tamil and the rest from one another. If we leave out the Brahmin, there are 79 Tamil castes, as many Telugu castes, and 39 Canarese and Malayalam castes and 59 Oriya castes, all comprehended in the term non-Brahmin. Each of these scores of non-Brahmin castes is as exclusive from the rest and from one another as the Brahmin. The leaders of the movement which goes by the name of non-Brahmin, belong to one or other of about half a dozen (if so many) of these nearly 300 castes. It can be easily proved from the Census figures of literates, especially literates in English, that the Brahmin's influence in the Tamil and Telugu districts is due entirely to his superior literacy, and that in the Malabar districts the Nair caste, which has most literates in English, enjoys a much larger secular influence than the Brahmins whose intense conservatism has stood in the way of their taking to English education.

If the leaders of the present non-Brahmin movement had exerted themselves in the past to minimise, if not to abolish, caste distinctions in the Hindu community, the multiplicity of the non-Brahmin castes will not be the forcible argument which it is against their claims to represent the whole Hindu community minus the Brahmins. Taking the five signatories to the statement in *Justice*, and speaking with some knowledge of the social and religious reform movement in Madras during the last thirty years, we do not remember to have heard or read of any of these gentlemen as having ever been prominently associated with the social reform movement which, during the last three quarters of a century and more, has aimed at bringing about the extinction of caste. There are, we gladly admit three or four gentlemen, in the less prominent ranks unfortunately of the present political movement, who have worked whole-heartedly in the cause of social reform. The most distinguished of them, one of the recognised leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and the social reform movement, whose name is well known and highly respected all over the country, is Dewan Bahadur Venkataratnam Naidu. And what did the Dewan Bahadur say at a meeting of non-Brahmin social workers over which he presided on the 31st of December last?

The other day reading a brief report of a preliminary meeting of the People's Service League I found it stated that Dr. Kurup had moved a resolution that Brahmins might be allowed to become members if they gave up their sacred thread. Without considering whether that resolution was rightly or wrongly rejected, shall we not put this test to ourselves? We have no sacred thread to be cast away. But we have caste

pride to be humiliated. We have caste prejudices to be given up and we have caste relations to be tested. Until we do this—that is one of the factors in the triple Sadhana I have spoken of—our social service will only be a patching up and healing up, which is not a permanent and complete cure.

If all workers are imbued with the triple *sadhana* of which this eminent social and religious reformer so eloquently impressed the necessity on his audience, where is the need for differentiating between non-Brahmin and Brahmin? Dr. Kurup's suggestion that Brahmins who discarded their sacred thread might be allowed to become members of the People's Service League, and, even more, its rejection by the members of the League, are extremely significant. None of our readers is likely to mistake us for champions of the caste system. But we do very strongly object to the electoral machinery being utilised, at the instance of men who most of them are bigoted adherents of this pernicious system, to penalise one particular caste because it has been quicker to react to the educational and political conditions introduced by British rule. After all, the spirit which rejects caste is the outcome of English education. It follows that men who are imbued with that spirit are likely to be proportionately more numerous in communities which have benefited by English education than in those which have not benefited by it to the same extent. Nevertheless, holding as we strongly do that any concession is worth making to induce educationally backward communities to interest themselves in national questions, we would earnestly advise that Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay's suggestion of 86 reserved seats may be accepted even at this eleventh hour. The Dewan Bahadur is a veteran publicist who has fought many hard battles against vested interests and corruption in championing the cause of the poor and oppressed, and any suggestion emanating from him is entitled to respectful consideration from all Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins.

The Prohibition Act in the United States. The *Indian Witness* writes: "The 'Pioneer' states that President Wilson will now make no effort to rescind war time prohibition, in view of the failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty. Evidently the *Pioneer* does not know that the Prohibition Amendment of the Constitution of the United States became effective on the 16th day of the present month; and can not be rescinded by President Wilson or any other man or group of men. The fact that every State which has adopted prohibition, and some of them have tried it more than thirty years, prospers far beyond its wet neighbours, has proven to the American people the desirability of making prohibition a part of the constitution of the United States."

A Useful Book of Reference: A very useful book of reference, modestly priced at annas twelve only, is the "Useful Information for Missionaries" compiled by Mr. W. E. Boggs and published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Memorial Hall, Madras. It is a veritable mine of information in many matters of everyday reference especially to persons living far away from towns, such as measurement, time, currency, building materials, and so on. The compilation is capable of considerable expansion, in future issues.

SURAT HINDU ORPHANAGE.

AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

This appeal is made on behalf of the Surat Hindu Orphanage which was established during the most severe famine of 1900, to alleviate the miseries of homeless orphans in Gujerat. Since its foundation it has maintained its position as one of the foremost Hindu Orphanages in this Presidency and upto now has given shelter to over a thousand children of all ages. It has never shut its doors against any orphans brought under its protection. Indeed, they have been cordially welcomed. This Orphanage has also pioneered a systematic training of its inmates in arts and industries, and made it its first care to see that under its protection they have been well educated and trained as well as they would have been in normal surroundings. Its working has received the highest commendations from the Government and the Princes, also from the people and representatives of various public institutions who have visited it. The policy of the management has all throughout been the saving of child life as of primary importance and all its resources had been spent for this purpose. No attempt was made to lock up any moneys received in land and buildings which would have prevented that number of lives that have been actually saved. This policy must now be revised. The Buildings occupied at present are getting more and more dilapidated and unhealthy in condition and the surrounding land is found to be insufficient for the wide and beneficent programme the management has set before it. In consequence of the prevailing high prices of land and buildings, it is found difficult to obtain another suitable premises and since it is imperative that the undesirable conditions should not prevail any longer, the provision of having its own home is essential. The institution has attained its usefulness to such a high degree, that it has received continuously destitute children coming from other charitable institutions such as the Beva Sadan, the Children's Refuge in Bombay and several other kindred organisations. A feature of this institution is that it never has limited the number of orphans to whom it should give protection. Any number at any time is always welcomed. The Orphanage has till now been closed to a section of the untouchable class, but in the new programme that it has set before it, it hopes to be able to provide adequate arrangements for the reception of the children of this unfortunate class.

As the institution has hitherto maintained its most cherished feature, the protection of old inmates during those years of their young life immediately after their leaving it, a settlement will also be provided for them as it has been done to a limited extent at present. To carry out these most pressing needs of the orphanage, an appeal is now made for raising two lakhs of Rupees for land and buildings and settlement. It is earnestly hoped that the public will give it a hearty and substantial response. The Committee have pleasure in acknowledging a gift of Rs. 20,000 towards the object from Mr. Kapilram H. Vakil in memory of his father,

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Bombay, 21st January 1920.

[The excellent work of the Surat Hindu Orphanage is widely known and appreciated. The appeal for funds to provide a permanent home for it will, we are sure, meet with generous response Mr. Kapilram's magnificent gift in memory of his father is an auspicious beginning—ED. I. S. R.]

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. GANDHI

(FROM THE *Indian Witness*, Lucknow.)

As I talked with Mr. Gandhi, I marvelled at the simplicity of his dress. He wore coarse white cloth, with a *kambal* thrown over his body to protect him from the cold. A little white cap was his only head covering. As he sat on the floor facing me, I asked myself, how can this little man, with his thin face and large protruding ears, and quiet brown eyes, be the great Gandhi about whom I have heard so much? All doubts were set aside, when we began to talk. I do not agree with all the methods that Mr. Gandhi employs to bring about the desired end; but I do want to hear this personal testimony of the man himself. Mr. Gandhi is a spiritual man. He is a thinker. In my short interview, I had the same heart-to-heart fellowship with him as I have had scores of times with some of God's saints. I took knowledge that this man had been to the Source of Christian strength and had learned from the great Christ.

"Mr. Gandhi, what can nations of the West do in furthering the all-round development of the East, and particularly of India?" Mr. Gandhi answered the question indirectly: "India is just now in the state of unlearning. She has learned a lot that is useless and unprofitable. From my observation of the West, and particularly of your own country, I have learned two outstanding facts: First, cleanliness; second, energy. I am fully convinced that my people cannot advance spiritually, until they clean up. Your people are wonderfully energetic. To a large extent, it has been energy after things material. If Indian people could have that same amount of energy, rightly directed, they would receive a great blessing."

"Mr. Gandhi, will you kindly tell me how Christianity can best help India, in view of the spirit of nationalism that is abroad." He replied, "What we need, most of all, is sympathy. When I was down in Africa, I found this illustration. I had to dig some artesian wells. In order to reach the pure flowing streams, I had to dig deep. Many of the people who come out here to study my people only scratch the surface. If they would dig deep by means of sympathy, they would find a stream of life there, pure and clear."

"And will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what book or person has influenced you the most?" Of course, I was prepared to hear him say something about the Vedas and several other Indian books with which Christian people should be conversant; but I was not prepared to hear from the lips of this man the mention of three English books that had shaped his life and thought. He frankly confessed that he was not an omnivorous reader, but rather a careful selector of the very best. The order in which he spoke of the books was as follows: The Bible, Ruskin, Tolstoi. Speaking of the Bible, he said "There have been many times when I did not know which way to turn. But I have gone to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, and have drawn strength from its message."

I was anxious to know how our Meerut Graduates' Association, composed of the finest of the educated men in the city, could further the city's welfare. In reply to the question, he gave me this one word, "Scavenger." He said, "I employ that word in all its meaning. If the members would get out and lend a helping hand to clean up the city, literally and morally, they would be doing a great work."

When I told Mr. Gandhi that I was going up to Lucknow to a Conference of the leaders of Methodism, and that I would like to take a message from him to them, he said: "Tell your leaders to live up to the teachings of Paul, as he stated them in 1st Corinthians, 13. Love and humility are the two messages that I would like to leave with them."

Meerut.

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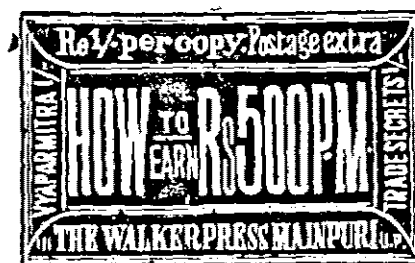
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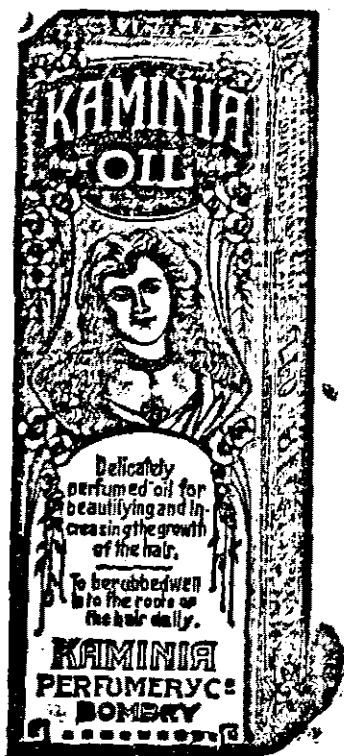
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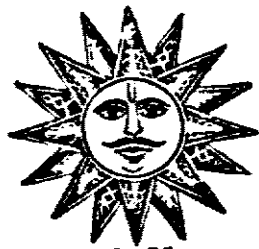
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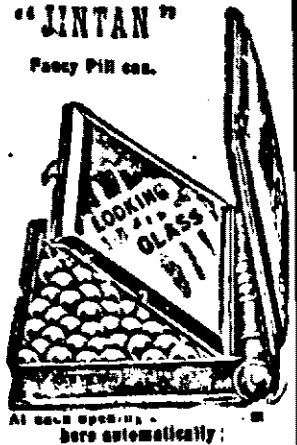
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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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 in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Sanjan. On Sunday, the 15th February 1920, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy before a large gathering of Parsis assembled on the spot, made a happy speech enlarging on the significance of the column dedicated that day at Sanjan to commemorate the landing of the Parsi Pilgrim Fathers on Indian soil. There have been discussions as to whether the Parsis left Iran to avoid religious persecution and as to whether they landed at Sanjan or some other locality. While these matters are of undoubted interest, we think that the fact that for centuries past there has been a continuous and consistent tradition relating to the cause which brought the ancestors of our Parsi countrymen to India and as to the site where they first landed, ought to weigh more than a little in the consideration of them. The memorial at Sanjan is consecrated by tradition whatever result historians may arrive at in future. Modern scholarship is beginning to realise that in discarding tradition altogether as a key to the past we are discarding the most reliable of data. Tradition has no doubt been added to and otherwise elaborated so as almost to obscure its core of truth, but it is always possible to get at this core if we dig deep enough. Another advantage of tradition is that, while documents and even inscriptions can be forged, tradition can be modified only by a very slow process of accretion. The Sanjan column bears the following inscription: "Homage to thee O, Ahura Mazda. This column has been erected by the Parsis of India in pious memory of their good Iranian ancestors, who, after the downfall of their Empire under their last monarch Yazdazard Shahriyar, for the sake of their religion dearer than life, left their native land, and suffering innumerable hardships at length landed at this once famous port of Sanjan, and settled under the protection of its kind Hindu ruler, Jadi Rana. We worship the good strong beneficent Fravashis of the holy." So the brother peoples who parted in the uplands of the Punjab before the dawn of history, in bitter hatred calling each the other's light his darkness and his darkness, the other's light, meet again after centuries, guided no doubt by the sub-conscious instinct which found expression in the first words of the leader of the Parsi pioneers to

Raja Jadi Rana: "We shall be the friends of all Hindustan!" As for Sanjan,

Where rolled the deep, there grows the tree
O earth, what changes hast thou seen!
There where the long waste rolls has been
The stillness of the central sea!

The Capital of India. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma and the four other members of the Imperial Legislative Council who voted for his motion to find a new capital for India, deserve, though we do not wish that they should be converted into pillars of salt, the fate which overtook Lot's foolishly retrospective wife. It was a sheer waste of the Council's valuable time to have debated a motion so obviously frivolous. Apart from the large amount of money that has already been spent on Delhi in order to adapt it to its functions as the capital of the Indian Empire, there are very cogent reasons why Delhi (and not any other city) should continue to be invested with that character. These reasons were stated and discussed at length when the capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi. To shift it once again from Delhi to any other place will be an act of political softening of the brain. The decisive vote on Mr. Sarma's motion will, we hope, convince Calcutta once for all that there is no chance of the seat of the Imperial Government being put back again on the banks of the Hugli with its mist and fog. That city will do wisely to settle down as a steady and sober provincial capital instead of brooding futilely over the departed glories of the capital of the Indian Empire. We do not deny that the Government of India is isolated at Delhi and that it ought to be in closer contact with the currents of public life and thought in the country. The remedy for this drawback is not a change of place. It will be as isolated at any of the places suggested in the course of the discussion, and at Calcutta it will be, as it used to be, "so enchanted with the *sandesh* and *ras golla* of Bengali politics" as to have a taste for nothing less cloying. The true remedy is to improve the means of communication between Delhi and the outlying parts of the Empire, by starting if necessary aeroplane services to convey swiftly to Council sessions and back safely to the bosoms of their families, the Sarmas, Iyers, Mudaliars, Iyengars and Chettiars of the South, and to introduce an element of responsibility in the Government of India immediately. The Government of India is now irrevocably bound down to Delhi as its capital. The political effect of a change to any other place will be disastrous. Mr. Khaparde may not care for historical associations but the people of India do very much and if the Government migrates once more, it will be felt in the country that the act is an acknowledgement that it is unworthy to sit in the seat of the great Hindu and Mahomedan Empires of the past. The Government of India officials should establish friendly relations with the Delhi sun. Their convenience should not count against the peril of sunstroke to which the Empire is exposed by the migration to hill-tops.

Poona and Compulsory Education. One of the cardinal defects of the Act which permits Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency, with the approval of Government, to introduce compulsory elementary education, is that it leaves it open to them to apply the provisions only to boys. With the single exception of Bandra, all the Municipalities which have applied for sanction to introduce compulsory education in their areas, have restricted it to boys. The Maharaja of Gondal who has introduced compulsory education for girls only on the very sound plea that the girls will shame the boys to go to school without any legal compulsion, has shown himself to be a shrewd judge of human nature. We are glad that the more enlightened section of the public of Poona, under the energetic leadership of Principal Paranjpye, has entered an emphatic protest against the proposal of the opportunist politicians of that city to introduce compulsory elementary education for boys only. The plea for this retrograde proposal is want of funds. It will be about as reasonable to introduce water-supply or conservancy or to provide medical relief to men only on the ground that the Municipality is too poor to provide them for both men and women. In modern life, literacy is as inexorable a need as any of these things. It is an acquired sixth sense without which men and women go through life as much hampered as if they were blind or deaf or dumb. Why Mr. Tilak and his partisans wish to perpetuate these disabilities so far as the women of Poona are concerned, passes our understanding. If Poona is too poor to pay for the education of its sons and daughters, let the preference be given to those who have been hitherto most neglected, namely, the girls. The plea of poverty is on the face of it unfounded. Poona city has been developing rapidly as a centre of education and administration and many wealthy persons from all parts of the Presidency have settled down there. The real reason seems to be the usual one of playing to the ignorant and superstitious gallery. Under the vigorous propaganda of the social reform party, however, public opinion in the capital of the Peishwas has become so liberalised that Mr. Tilak was refused a hearing for his reactionary views at a mass meeting in that city. This is no cause of surprise as it is evident that he is steadily losing ground with the younger generation which does not believe in his shifty methods. We wish the Poona protestants every success in their endeavour to assert the equal right of both sexes to the benefits of education. We are particularly pleased to see that the Marathas are strongly supporting Mr. Paranjpye and his party of enlightened reformers.

Extraordinary Intolerance at Jalalpur: A valued correspondent writes: "In your issue of 18th January, I noticed an interesting article 'Hindu Appreciation of Christ' in which the writer comes to the conclusion that 'the talk of an anti-Christian spirit among Hindus is thus absurd on the face of it.' And it ought to be so, but here is an instance of what has occurred at Jalalpur in this (Surat) District. Some native Christian boys who are preparing for the vernacular final examination were admitted in the Local Board Gujrati school. Thereupon the parents of the Hindu boys withdrew their boys from the school, and in order to stand well with them, even the Mahomedans and Dheds withdrew their boys! What is worse, the Anavala Brahmins, who are influential in the village, stirred up Hindus in other villages also and the children who were already attending Mission schools are being withdrawn from the latter. I have made inquiry and do not find that the Christian boys or Missionaries did anything to offend the susceptibilities of the Hindus. It is an anti-Christian movement pure and simple, engi-

neered by the Anawalas, although boys of the latter class do attend Mission schools or sit with Christian boys in other schools in the district." The withdrawal of boys from Mission schools is one thing. Nobody is obliged to send his children to a Mission school, and if there is a movement to establish indigenous schools in place of Mission schools, it is not a bad thing. But the intolerance shown by the withdrawal of children from the local Board school, because Indian Christian boys were admitted to it, reflects on the patriotism no less than on the enlightenment of the people of Jalalpur. We hope that the Local Board will not be intimidated by this exhibition of disgraceful intolerance.

Christian Missionaries and the Jhallianwala Massacre. The Rev. J. O. Winslow's letter in the *Challenge* drew, besides a letter from Miss Sherwood, to which we referred last week, another from Canon Guilford who referred chiefly to the efforts of seditious leaders in the district to stir up trouble. Mr. Winslow's reply is published in the *Challenge* which came last week. In the course of it, he observes: "Granted that this mischief-making was going on in the Amritsar district, as it was indeed in other parts of India also, can any unprejudiced person suppose that it justified what happened at the Jallianwala Bagh? The points on which I fixed attention in my letter were these:—(1) The crowd was not violent and would, according to General Dyer, have dispersed quietly, if so directed. (2) The people composing it are not accused of having been guilty of any misbehaviour beyond disobedience to a military regulation which might conceivably have been unknown to them. (3) No preliminary enquiries were made as to why this regulation had been contravened, or who were responsible for the gathering. (4) Firing was opened immediately and continued until all the ammunition was expended and five hundred persons had been killed. (5) No thought was taken for the wounded. There is no room here for 'distortion,' of which Canon Guilford accuses me. The facts are plain from the evidence as reported in *The Times*. I raised the question whether they did not call for outspoken denunciation on the ground of Christian principles. I wish I could believe that I was guilty, as Canon Guilford asserts, of 'gross libel' in speaking of 'a hundred lesser acts of cold superciliousness and cynical contempt, of callous indifference on the part of Englishmen to 'native' susceptibilities,' but experience is too strong for me, and each word of the indictment was carefully weighed. It is not, of course, an attack upon 'all Englishmen in India.' There are hundreds of Englishmen who in their dealing with Indians are animated entirely by the Spirit of Christ; and they are the salt of the British raj. But nothing is gained by trying to conceal in this country the fact of the wide prevalence in India of a very different temper, the temper which looks upon the 'native' as an inferior order of being to the Englishman, whose business is to know his place and to keep it; whose feeling don't matter so long as they don't become inconvenient in their expression; and the thought of intimate friendship with whom, as brother with brother, is one to arouse only feelings of amusement or repulsion. It is this fundamental denial of the Gospel of Christ, of which the Amritsar massacre was one outstanding and appalling consequence, against which Christians must unitedly set their faces. Had the victims been English, we know that a veritable tornado of denunciation would have followed. Shall we condone or palliate the act because they are Indians? That is the issue." Yes that is the issue. We are glad that Mr. Winslow has spoken out so clearly for the Christian conscience of England.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1920.

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL II.

A comparison of the views expressed by Sir Michael Sadler in his address at the Bombay University on the eve of his departure from this country, with the opinions expressed in the body of the report of the Calcutta University Commission over which he presided, and of these opinions again with some of the specific recommendations of the Commission, furnishes an instructive illustration of the way in which the Indian Executive Government makes use of the authority of eminent experts from Great Britain to give effect to its own preconceived plans. Some of these gentlemen cannot help seeing more than they are intended to see but they are so beset before and behind and all around them with well-trained departmental elephants that they have no option but, after a few ineffectual attempts to break away from them, to walk with as much grace and dignity as they can muster into the *Khedda* inexorably indicated for them. Speaking of the results of the policies adopted in Germany, England, and India regarding the relation of the State to education, Sir Michael remarked in Bombay: "Central Europe has got a good deal for its money. England pays a great deal of money for what it gets. India, deemed able to afford but little, has got little in return." He laid down the broad lines of a sound policy in these terms:

Education, seen in its larger aspect as one side of national life, is too great a power for the State to leave it unhusbanded and unrestrained. But the vital influences of education are too intimately connected with personal conviction and with family life for it to be wise or safe to leave their control and direction to the discretion of Government alone. A middle way must be discovered between two extremes. How shall it be found? I see no other way than that of discussion, affecting administrative policy through organs of representative Government.

Towards the end of his address in Bombay, Sir Michael Sadler pointed out the exceptional advantages which India possesses for great educational experiments.

India would be famous as the trial-ground of many new educational ideas. And by basing your experiments upon the social organisation of the people concerned and by making the new education an integral part of community life with its varied interests, experiences and needs, you would act in the manner towards which Western thought in education is already tending.

Examine the constitution of the proposed Dacca University as outlined in the Bill before the Imperial Legislative Council and, indeed, in the Report of the Sadler Commission itself, in the light of these observations. It is based not on "the social organisation of the people concerned" but on the administrative hierarchy holding sway in Dacca. The regiment of *ex-officio* members can have no permanent interest in the institution. *Ex-officio* persons have no "personal conviction or family life" with which education is intimately connected. They will enter and

depart according to the exigencies of the Services to which they belong. We may point out that this policy of packing the University with *ex-officio* members while giving it on paper extended powers, is directly contrary to the policy advocated by the highest authorities in Local Self Government, namely, that of doing away with control from within, reserving to Government only a power of intervention in cases of gross default.

Replying to a question by Nawab Syed Nawabaly Chaudhury in the Imperial Legislative Council in March 1917, the then Education Member, Sir Sankaran Nair, stated as one of the main reasons for the postponement of the Dacca University scheme, "that the great areas over which the classes are distributed who seek university education, make it impossible, according to eminent educationists in India, to import into India that type of University which requires the Colleges to be grouped at a centre." The Bill before the Council so far defers to this opinion, that it allows a territorial jurisdiction within a five mile radius of the central building of the new University, a departure from the strict letter of the Sadler Commission's recommendation. As we showed last week, Mr. Shafi does not seem to be quite happy over this feature of the Bill—only he does not know what he can do. An honourable member from East Bengal has given notice of an amendment increasing the five mile to a fifteen mile radius. It is clear that the scheme in its present form does not embody the views or ideas of any considerable body of Indian opinion. Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, the distinguished Indian scientist, presiding at a public meeting at Calcutta, observed about the Calcutta University Commission's recommendations and the anxiety of Government to give effect to them before the new Councils come into being:

But how do the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission stand? The Commission has itself admitted that they are a complete departure from Indian University traditions and amount to a revolution in the University system as it now stands. If evolution is the law of life I do not see why it will not hold true in the life and institutions of a people. Order and progress are the static and dynamic forces that act upon society and all social institutions. You can not with impunity completely break away from the past. In politics we are asked to obey the law of progressive realisation for the attainment of our ideal, why should it be otherwise in the field of education?

The Government of India will be well-advised, if it decides to postpone action with reference to the Calcutta University Commission Report, including the Dacca University scheme, until next year when the constitutional reforms will be in working order. This will be in conformity with Sir Michael Sadler's own suggestion that the middle and sound way between State control and absolute *laissez faire* in education, is that "of discussion affecting administrative policy through organs of representative Government." The present Indian Legislature is on the eve of its dissolution and has not moral authority sufficient to support changes so momentous in our educational system. If the essence of Bolshevism is the institution of changes

without reference to historical conditions, Bolshevism in education is as little to be encouraged as Bolshevism in the economic sphere. This is an aspect of the question which we venture to press upon the Government of India which has started a new department to prevent the infection of Bolshevist ideas from spreading in the country. If, however, for any reasons which are not apparent to the public, Government is determined to get the Dacca University established without giving an opportunity to the enlarged Council to consider the scheme in the light of its more representative character, we would ask that an authoritative pronouncement (or protest) should be made that the principles underlying the present scheme are to be regarded as exceptional to it. In the scheme of the Bill itself, the number of *ex-officio* members in the Court should be reduced to a maximum not exceeding that in the older Universities. The Court should be liberalised and enlarged by room being found for a preponderant element of non-official Indians with academic qualifications, both by election and nomination. Donors of large sums should be honorary members entitled to participate on ceremonial occasions. "He who pays the piper may call the tune," is not a fit motto for a University whether at Dacca or at Oxford. The Court thus reorganised should become the governing-body of the University, approximating to the Senate in the older Universities. The Academic and Executive Councils which, in the Bill, are independent statutory bodies making co-ordination of the work of the University difficult (thus throwing all power into the hands of the salaried Vice-Chancellor), should be reduced to the status of the Syndicate in the existing Universities. The academic and administrative sides of a University are so closely interdependent that the desirability of having two independent Committees for the purpose is far from evident. It is the introduction of "diarchy" in the University and the disadvantages of it are not half so problematic as in administration. We would suggest that the two Councils should be thrown into one Council. It will, of course, be open to it to appoint an administrative Committee for purely administrative matters. The scheme will thus be simplified without detriment to its fundamental provisions, and, what is equally important, brought within the range of Indian experience. The human factor should not be altogether left out of consideration. The best-conceived schemes are sure to fail if they have to depend largely on imported men for their working.

The three factors in the problem of educational reform are, (1) our idea of what a university is, (2) what the conditions of teachers and students' lives are, and (3) what kind of a State is established in a country. The Sadler Commission has dealt more or less adequately with the first two factors of the educational problem in Bengal. But the third important factor could not have been brought within the terms of its reference, though in determining the relation of the State to education, it can not be a matter of indifference what kind of a State we have to deal with, Sir Michael

Sadler in his Bombay address instituted an instructive comparison between the results of the educational systems in Germany, England and India. He would, we are sure, be ready to admit that if the State in Germany and England had been, as in India, discontinuous with society, the effects of their policies would have been materially different from what they have been. It is idle to ignore the fact that in India the State and the society are, as yet separated by a gulf of differences. Here there is not that important influence in steadying educational policy which in Germany and England prevents it from being worked to extreme limits, namely, the influence arising from the fact that the statesmen who mould the destinies of the State are themselves products of that system and that their children and children's children will have to reap the benefits or evils of the system. Where this influence exists, we are inclined to think that the question of policy is a minor matter. No doubt, English Governors and teachers do their best to put themselves in the place of the Indian but they are not Indians. Their solicitude is either overdone or underdone. It is seldom that they are able to hit off the golden mean between what is due to discipline and what is due to youthful ardour. From the Report of the Sadler Commission itself we can produce instances to show that in some things the members have been carried away by excessive tenderness to what they took to be a national sentiment, while in others they have failed, while portraying with remarkable accuracy the surroundings of the Bengalee student, to understand how his mind and soul reacts to them. The Sadler Commission gives us two-thirds of the material for University reform. The reformed Legislative Council will give us more of the remaining third than the present Government of India or its Council can possibly do.

THE TIMES (LONDON) AND SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER.

Any man of ordinary commonsense in the position of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, would have seen that the best course for him with reference to the Punjab disclosures was to preserve complete silence. His admirers would have taken it as a confirmation of their opinion of him as "the still, strong man in a blatant land," while his detractors, it might be hoped, would soon tire of "baiting" a man who followed the Disraelian maxim of "never withdraw, never apologise, never explain." Those who do not belong to either of these categories would have been glad to let the matter pass peacefully into the limbo of oblivion, as the best thing for the restoration of harmony in the country and as the most charitable thing in the interests of Sir Michael's reputation. If, however, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab had adopted this course, he would have belied his character as a champion bureaucrat. Every bureaucracy, it is ordained, must be destroyed out of its own mouth, and if Providence had not cursed it with an overwhelming itching for ill-timed speech, it would be virtually

invulnerable. The time was, and that not so long ago, when Sir Michael's idea of the *Times*, as a London edition of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, would have been amply justified. Those were days when England had had no practical experience of bureaucracy as a great paid agency for causing the maximum of harassment with a minimum of service to the people. In those days Indian complaints regarding the bureaucratic administration fell on deaf ears and were treated as ebullitions of the disgruntled educated classes intent only on obtaining a transfer to themselves of the loaves and fishes of office. But this has now become impossible. England has had a taste of bureaucracy since, and can now appreciate Indian complaints regarding its imperiousness to external impressions. And what better proof can there be of this defect than that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, even though he has had the opportunity afforded by some months' stay in England, has totally failed to appreciate the change which has come over the attitude of his countrymen towards the pre-eminently Prussian idea of a fiendishly efficient bureaucracy supported by a ruthless militarism?

How inconsequential, not to say silly, masqueraders in lion's skins can be, is only known when they open their mouths. The ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab denies that he telegraphed approving of General Dyer's action at Amritsar but says he informed General Beynon that he approved of it. The *Times* scornfully points out that the point that Sir Michael O'Dwyer did not telegraph his approval himself but merely permitted somebody else to do so, is very unimportant. General Dyer made no distinction between the Lieutenant-Governor telegraphing his approval directly and through an intermediary. He declared before the Hunter Committee that the Lieutenant-Governor had approved of his action, and produced the telegram. It did not seem to have occurred to the members of the Committee either, that the fact of the telegram having been sent by General Beynon militated against General Dyer's claim that the Lieutenant-Governor approved of his action. If a subordinate had put forward an excuse of this kind, Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have rightly regarded it as a prevarication aggravating an offence. That he finds himself under the necessity of resorting to it, only shows that he finds himself in a position from which he must find a way out anyhow. Sir Michael O'Dwyer declares that General Dyer was justified in opening fire. The General was *prima facie* the best judge of the amount of the firing necessary. We are indebted to the London Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* for a fuller and more informing summary of the *Times*' comments than Reuter has supplied. Reuter's summary slurs over an effective part of the *Times*' rejoinder to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's defence of General Dyer. It merely states that the *Times* maintains that General Dyer's action was indefensible, especially because he did not stop the firing when the crowd instantly began to disperse. The *Chronicle* correspondent supplies an important omission in Reuter's message. The *Times* points out that for

many years including last year there has not been a riotous assembly in India which could not have been dispersed by a volley or two from a couple of dozen police armed with smooth-bore muskets. If, we may add, at Amritsar it was found necessary to shoot down five hundred men, besides wounding thrice that number, for the same purpose, to what but to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration is that change due? His late Honour is thus between the horns of a dilemma: if General Dyer was right, his administration is irretrievably damned by that single fact. But this is not the whole of the matter. A fuller treatment of it will become possible (and necessary) when the Hunter and Nehru Committee's reports are published.

But the pith of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter is in his protest against "the baiting of the British officials in India by a certain section of the press in India and in England," the evil consequence of which, he says, are rapidly appearing in India. We do not regard the British official in India as a bull or a bear, and it is not our pastime to bait bulls or bears or British officials. We should have preferred not to dwell on this subject now had not Sir Michael thought fit to "bait" the press in England and India which has condemned his martial law policy in the Punjab. In the first place, we are not sure that Sir Michael is right in putting himself forward as the representative of British officials in India, in this matter. British officers in other provinces dealt with a similar situation at the same time in a very different manner. Not only that, but it has been stated that some senior officers in the Punjab itself did not approve of Sir Michael's policy or methods. Sir Michael's pretension, therefore, that he stands for all the British officials in India and that to criticize his administration is to bait them, is absolutely untenable. If it were otherwise, there will be no alternative for intelligent Indians but to centre their hopes on the attainment some day of absolute *Swaraj*. This point seems to have escaped the *Times*. Its remarks that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was suffering from loss of perspective and that British officials in India and elsewhere are public servants and are not exempt from public criticism, seem to imply that it accepts Sir Michael's unwarranted claim that British officials in India, as a class, approve of General Dyer's shooting or the late Lieutenant Governor's administration. There is an important sentence in the *Times*' article, sent by the *Chronicle*'s correspondent, which will infuse confidence in India. It pertinently points out that the Hunter Committee has no judicial character and is merely charged with investigation and can only deal with those witnesses whom the Government chooses to place before it. This emphatic statement is welcome in view of the matters before the Committee having been loosely spoken of as being *sub judice* by persons in authority who ought certainly to know better. The *Times* administers a parting comment to Sir Michael O'Dwyer which should go far to reassure us in India that British opinion will not tolerate any laxity in dealing stern justice to the perpetrators of

iniquity in the late disturbances in the Punjab. Mr. Montagu would seem clearly to have misunderstood the trend of public opinion in the country—to put the best interpretation on his words—when he said in a post-prandial speech that the chief lesson of Jhallianwalla Bagh was to warn Indians of the danger of loosing “retaliatory machinery” by indulging in riotous behaviour. The *Times*' comments show that it is not the view of the British public that “retaliation” is a principle of Government in India. There is a higher law than the *les talionis* and it is the reign of that law that Great Britain, as a professing Christian nation, ought to seek to establish in India.

LIQUOR LICENSES IN THE PUNJAB.

The authorities of the Excise department in the Punjab are making a new departure in fixing the term of liquor licenses in five districts as three years instead of only one year as has invariably been the case in previous years. The Amritsar Temperance Society protested on the ground among others “that on the eve of inauguration of the new era by the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation, the Government would be fettering the hands of the popular minister to whose charge the Excise department would be transferred.” The Society further pointed out that “such action would be naturally criticized and objected to as rendering the use of the powers about to be conferred on the people nugatory and ineffective, and be considered as extremely unsympathetic towards popular aspirations and requirements.” The contention is simply unanswerable. In a year's time the department of Excise will have been transferred to popular control. Why should the Excise authorities in the Punjab effect an arrangement with the vendors of liquor which will tie the hands, and fetter the discretion, of the minister for the bulk of his term of office? Why should the Government appoint a popular minister for the department of Excise, and then for the bulk of his term, deny him a free hand to deal with the number and location of liquor shops in five districts of the province? Is this the way to give the people the opportunities to better their lot? And if these opportunities are to be withheld, how will the people be on probation, and how can they prove their fitness to manage the departments handed to their control? It is obvious that the Government of the Punjab are putting themselves in the wrong by trenching on the province of the minister. It is not enough to say that “the decision was taken with the object of minimizing the evils of the frequent recurrence of auction,” for surely the minister when he comes may be trusted to be at least as anxious to minimize those evils as the bureaucracy. We are further told by the Financial Commissioner that “the system has been introduced only in districts in which the number and location of shops has recently been subjected to special scrutiny by the Deputy Commissioner, the

Commissioner and the Financial Commissioner, and in which the system of sale of country liquor in sealed bottles for “off” consumption has been established.” The complacency of the Excise Department is indeed admirable, but we are yet to learn that this “special scrutiny” by the authorities named has given satisfaction to the people themselves. If the authorities imagine this to be the case, they must be living in a fools' paradise, for is it not a fact, despite the self-satisfaction of the authorities, that the revenue from Excise in the Province shows an appalling rise—and so does the consumption of liquor? That is why the people want a popular minister to tackle with the problem which is growing more and more acute every year, certainly not to sit with folded hands and do nothing, or merely to echo the views, and voice the opinions, of the Excise department. If this were the only purpose, no minister would be needed; if one is needed he must be left free to chalk out his own course. To do otherwise, would be to take away his occupation and to reduce “responsible government” to a farce.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE IN INDIA.*

(By Miss KASHIBAI NOWRANG B.A., L.M.S.)

As one goes through the health reports one is grieved to see the growing mortality returns amongst mothers and new-born babes. In big cities like Bombay with so many philanthropic institutions and so many doctors, charitable dispensaries and hospitals, why should this state of things continue, is a question which troubles those who ponder over the subject.

Amongst the causes that go to make the heavy mortality, low condition of the expectant mother, improper attendance and negligence at the time of confinement, starvation and unhealthy surroundings, are some of the chief. Most of these are enhanced by gross ignorance as to what should and should not be done during the whole period of pregnancy and lying-in, on the part of the people in general and women in particular. Besides this there are certain superstitions which come in the way of taking proper medical advice.

As to the death-rate among children, most of the cases are due to ignorance about baby rearing. As you go over the question carefully to find out the causes, you are astonished to see that, in most cases, the ill-health is brought on, so to say, by the parents through their silly harmful notions as to feeding, clothing and surroundings of babies.

It is always wiser to prevent than to cure disease and in order to do this women must be taught to understand their responsibilities and duties of this period of their lives.

If they understand how to take care of themselves and of their unborn and newborn babies whom

* *Maternity and Infant Welfare in India* by Mrs. Ruth Young B.Sc., M. B. Ch. B., Price Rs. 1-8, Messrs. Butterworth & Co., Calcutta.

they treasure more than jewels, and if the great calamities that they themselves bring on their precious treasures by their ignorance are glaringly pointed out to them, I am sure they will give anything to avoid them and get healthy babies. So many anxious sorrow-stricken mothers are seen going about from person to person (Vaidya, Hakim, Quack and doctor) in search of health to their little babes.

It is to help these mothers particularly and save the precious lives that are to build and strengthen our nation in future that the Maternity and Infant Welfare work has been lately started in India. And Mrs. Ruth Young's book on the subject deals in easy language with some of the most important facts. Not only does it give an idea as to the work the Welfare League wishes to take up but it also gives useful hints to the health visitors and parents. Mrs. Young has in her book tried to show some very ordinary yet just as much injurious practices that are carried on through ignorance and superstition; and a health visitor, if she is to gain the confidence of the people she is eager to help, has to be well acquainted with all these in order to vividly point out the dangers that are brought on by malpractices and show how timely care and help can avoid all these.

Mrs. Young has given useful and instructive information for young mothers in simple language and though the book is an outcome of lectures given to a class held by the association for the provision of Health and Maternity supervisors, it is very useful to all mothers who understand easy English and should be carefully read by all interested in the subject.

LADY LLOYD'S INFANT WELFARE SCHEME.

A considerable volume of life, how much it is impossible to say, is lost during the ante-natal period. This loss is largely due to ignorance and lack of proper care of the expectant mother and is consequently largely preventible. A large proportion of infants born alive (according to statistics for 1919, 653 per 1,000 in Bombay) die within one year of birth. When it is remembered that the number of births each year is about 20,000 in Bombay the appalling extent of this loss may be realised. The deaths are in the main due to ignorance and lack of proper care of the mother during (a) the ante-natal period, (b) the natal period, and (c) the post-natal period, and lack of proper care of the infant during (a) the natal period and (b) the post-natal period. The deaths are consequently in the main preventible.

WHAT IS NOW BEING DONE AND AT WHAT COST.

An Infant Welfare Scheme is at present being conducted in Bombay under the able and sympathetic management of Dr. Dossibai J. R. Dadabhoi. This philanthropic lady is giving her valuable services gratis to the public. Two centres have been established, viz:—one at Slesher Road, Opposite Grant Road Station,

and one at the Haji Saboo Sidick Maternity Home, Imamwada. A health visitor, who is a fully-trained nurse and midwife, is in charge of each centre. With the aid of the District Nurse (employed by the Municipality) she endeavours to keep in touch with expectant mothers with a view to give them the necessary advice and assistance, to attend during child-birth mothers who do not take advantage of the Maternity Homes, and to persuade mothers to bring their infants regularly to the centre for advice and assistance.

At each centre a register is kept containing particulars (including weights) of the infants brought there. Each infant is carefully weighed and examined on the occasion of each visit. The Lady Doctor herself attends at each centre twice a week to give advice to the mothers who come there. Although the services of the Lady Doctor are honorary and the quarters for the centres have been obtained rent free the work is considerably cramped for lack of funds. The monthly expenditure in each centre amounts to over Rs. 400 as under:—

Health Visitor	Rs. 100
Milk	Rs. 300
Medicines, etc.	Rs. 20

The funds available for the work amount to but Rs. 62,000. The deficit between working expenses and interest on the funds is being met by voluntary contributions.

WHAT IS PROPOSED TO BE DONE AND THE ESTIMATED COST.

Her Excellency Lady Lloyd having become aware of the terrible conditions prevailing has determined, so far as lies in her power, to alleviate them. With this end in view she has, with expert assistance, evolved the following scheme. There should be at least 10 centres, as above described, in Bombay, all under the control of a qualified Lady Supervisor. It is estimated that a capital sum of at least Rs. 20 lakhs would be required for the up-keep.

Lady Supervisor	Rs. 6,000
Doctors	Rs. 12,000
Health Visitors (each at Rs. 150 per month)	Rs. 18,000
Milk	Rs. 42,000
Rent	Rs. 18,000
Medicine, etc.	Rs. 9,000
Contingencies	Rs. 5,000

Rs. 1,10,000

As the scheme is to be on a permanent basis and it would be unfair to expect voluntary services for all time, an allowance for doctors has been made.

The next requisite in order of urgency is an Institute. The building should include a large hall, an office, and living quarters for the Lady Supervisor. The hall would be used for addresses to mothers, lectures to health visitors and midwives, baby shows and exhibitions connected with Infant Welfare.

The Institute should be located in some central and convenient part of the Island, in the locality of Parel, if possible. Lastly, there should be in the same compound as the Institute both (a) a Maternity Hospital

and (b) a Children's Hospital. These would not merely benefit the actual patients, but would afford a means for the practical training of health visitors and midwives. When the Institute is taken in hand, it will accordingly be necessary to acquire, by purchase or on a long lease, sufficient land to accommodate not merely the Institute building, but likewise two hospitals.

APPEAL FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The objects above described must appeal to all of whatever race, creed or calling. Moreover, the appeal is not merely to the heart but to the head also. Bombay is already faced with a shortage of labour. If but half the infant lives now lost were saved, and with the first alone of the above measures it is anticipated that far more than half would be saved, a substantial increase to the labouring population must accrue. The appeal is made at a time when Bombay has greatly prospered. It is the first appeal Her Excellency has made. Assuredly it should not fall on deaf ears.

FUTURE MANAGEMENT.

When funds have been collected, it is proposed to put the scheme on a legal basis either under the Charitable Endowments' Act of 1890 or by registration under the Registration of Societies' Act of 1860 or the Indian Companies' Act of 1919. A feature of the control will be the inclusion of Her Excellency Lady Lloyd for so long as she may be in Bombay and leading members of the medical profession. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. R. Kidd, National Bank of India, Ltd., who has kindly consented to act as Honorary Treasurer.

Christian Missions and Vegetarianism in China: We have received two letters from Christian Missionaries bearing on the allegation that Christian Missionaries in China make the eating of animal food a condition of church membership. One of them is printed today. The other was not intended for publication, but we have written for permission to print it also. We may mention, however, that the writer of this second letter suggests that the vegetarian pledge is taken by members of Chinese secret revolutionary societies and that it is, perhaps, as an act of reclamation that converts are asked to renounce vegetarianism. We were certainly not aware that vegetarianism in China is associated with anarchism, but even if it were, surely some better proof of freedom from anarchist tendencies can be demanded of converts. If total abstinence be a vow of the Extremists, should we demand that all Moderates should be addicted to liquor?

Lala Lajpat Rai. After five years of expatriation, Mr. Lajpat Rai returned to his native land on Friday afternoon. We are sure his presence in the Punjab will go a great way to help the other leaders to reconstruct public life on sound, constructive lines.

Sri Ramkrishna Paramahansa: The eighty-fifth birthday anniversary of Baghavan Sri Ramkrishna Deva will be celebrated at the Belur Math, on the 29th February, 1922.

CHRISTIANITY AND VEGETARIANISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your issue of February the 8th you published a letter under the heading 'Appeal to Christian Humanitarians' in which the writer has quoted, through the *Theosophist* of August 1914, extracts from the *Church Missionary Gleam* of May 1st 1914. I have not been able to verify the quotation said to be taken from a magazine published nearly 6 years ago, but assuming that the quotation is accurate, I cannot refrain from writing to express on my own behalf, and I feel certain, on behalf of Christian Missionaries in general, our complete repudiation of the intolerable policy indicated by these extracts. The fact that I am not a vegetarian myself does not I think in any degree lessen the strength of my feeling and I am writing immediately to the London Secretary of the Society for definite information. If it seems almost too much to expect that judgment, with such clear evidence before us, should be suspended, I hope at least that the actions of certain individuals in China will not be taken to express the general attitude of Christian Missionaries on the question of meat-eating as a test of fitness for membership in the Christian Church.

Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) A. W. DAVIS,

Agra, 11th February.

Church Missionary Society.

LEGISLATION AGAINST THE SOCIAL EVIL.

We understand the Bishop of London will shortly introduce a Bill to raise the age of consent to eighteen for girls, with a clause protecting boys up to sixteen from seduction by women over eighteen. The Bill will probably seek to abolish the defence of "reasonable cause to believe"; extend the time limit within which a prosecution must be begun; and increase the penalties against brothels. We wish Dr. Ingram every success with his Bill; he has included in it most of the points upon which women's organisations are practically unanimous. We would suggest, however, that it might do away with a good deal of opposition if the Bill definitely asked for the equal protection of both sexes up to the age of eighteen. There does not seem to be any adequate reason for protecting boys only to sixteen if girls are to be protected up to eighteen, and it is important that the law should express the true principle behind it, which is, in this case, that the preservation of the chastity of young men is regarded as being of equal importance to the community as the preservation of the chastity of young women.

We wish we could feel that increasing penalties against brothel keepers would do any good, but we believe that, under the present system, the whole law against brothels is utterly ineffective. It is, in fact, not enforced, and it seems useless to add to the penalties when those already on the statute book are so rarely put into operation. It is well known that prosecutions against brothels are largely, if not entirely, left to the discretion of the police, and their discretion generally means that a brothel is not interfered with merely for being a brothel, but only if it is conducted in a disorderly manner, an annoyance to respectable people, or in some other way becomes obnoxious to the police. It may be arguable that this is ultimately the best way to deal with brothels, but it is not the law of this country, and the law should either be enforced, or suitably amended. We do not approve of leaving the police to decide whether brothels shall or shall not

tolerated, and so long as this is the case we can take no interest in proposals to increase the penalties. In our opinion, brothels should be proceeded against by raid: all those found on the premises should be arrested and charged with aiding and abetting: and these raids should take place during such hours as the houses are most likely to be used. We think, too, that the law should be simplified, so that any citizen or local resident could go before a magistrate and complain of a brothel as a public nuisance, and the magistrate should have power to send for the occupier and owner and ask them to show cause why they should not be proceeded against. If the occupier or owner could show that he was not using his house for the purposes alleged, then no further action should be taken, but if the occupant is so using the premises, then both he and the owner should be cautioned, told to discontinue such use, and bound over to come up for judgment if called upon. On a further charge the occupier should be ejected and the property closed for twelve months at the owner's loss. As we could not now afford to close a house for twelve months, a better way might be that the owner should be heavily fined and the house made over to the charge of the local authorities for twelve months or more, until the fine had been paid by the rent thereby accruing. In towns where the police are under the control of the local Town or Borough Council this plan might work very well. In London things are more difficult, as the local authorities have no control whatever over the Metropolitan police; these being, for all practical purposes, a semi-military force, responsible only to the Chief Commissioner.

It would, however, put a very useful weapon into the hands of social workers if they could obtain injunctions against brothels by personal, well-founded complaint, and it is along these lines we would like to see the law amended. As it stands at present we believe the administration of the law to be a form of extra-legal toleration, and although we feel sure that for the most part the police act with discretion, and propriety, we do not consider that it is either wise or right for such powers to be left in their hands. If the Bishop of London can see his way to a real amendment of brothel legislation he will do a great service to public morals.

—The *Shield*, London.

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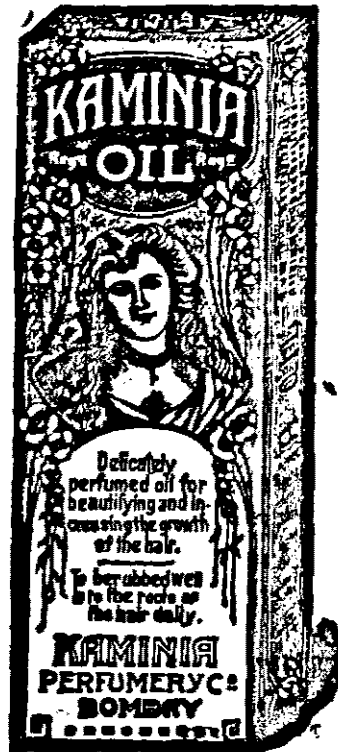
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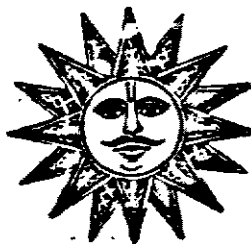
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Redemption Hindu and Christian.	

NOTES.

Barrenness of Political Thought in India: The *Standard*, the weekly English organ of the Roman Catholic Christian community published in Madras, is one of the papers one always looks into in the expectation of finding stimulating ideas. In a recent issue, our contemporary rightly laments the absence of productive political thought in the country. It observes: "What we want very much in this country is serious political discussion carried on in books, weekly and monthly journals so that political truth and not political untruth may filtrate to the masses. India is in the interesting stage of political evolution when debates on the fundamental principles of governments and constitutions ought to be the order of the day. India is in the position in which France was when the revolutionary constitutions were being discussed or in which America was when it was a matter of debate whether the U. S. A. should be a federal State or not. We have a right to expect the production in India at the present moment of great political literature. But beyond one solitary production, Mr. Vyasa Rao's *Future Government of India*, we must look in vain. The great constitutional experiment finds Indian political thought barren." We have heard of a project for publishing a series of books treating in a competent manner of the several branches of the administration. But it is not the kind of literature which the *Standard* has evidently in view. While we recognise the truth of our contemporary's lament, we think the cause is to be found in the fact that the course of political reform in this country is determined not by ideas but by exigencies. Since the Regulating Act, India was governed on the basis of a unitary State. The federal form of Government for India was suggested by the need of giving Indians some scope without impairing the supremacy of the Central Government on which British rule in India was thought to depend (Para 3 of the Despatch of 25th August 1911). Mr. Montagu a few days before he became Secretary of State denounced the Government of India as wooden and ante-diluvian, and

yet, when he framed the Reform Scheme, he deliberately excluded the Central Government and concentrated his reforming energies on Provincial Governments which were not so badly in need of reform, as they are working more or less in close contact with the people whom they administer. Where is the incentive to political thought in this game of political blindman's buff?

The English Public School: As we have more than once noted, the English Public School, which is often held up as a model educational institution for the admiring imitation of Indians, is being freely criticised in England for, amongst other things, its tendency to emphasise class distinctions. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* points out that the English Public School cannot be the basis of an effective system of national education. He writes: "The Public Schools can only develop parallel to the rest of society which, in England, is a long way from casting off class distinctions. Etons and Winchesters cannot be created all over England like Board Schools; they cannot in the same sense, therefore, become national institutions. If a truly great and effective system of National education is to be built up in England, it had better start on its own legs. When every citizen, whatever his circumstances without moving from his domicile or sending his children far away, can be sure that they will get the best teaching in the land by the most able and the most highly paid teachers in the land, that they will have as fine play-fields, as open a field at the Universities, as high ideals, as healthy a life, as varied a curriculum as any boy in any school; by that time the old public schools will have been improved out of all recognition." That sentence defines the ideal which we should have before us in India, even more than in England. For the superposition of class distinctions based on worldly possessions on caste distinctions based solely on birth, can only tend to social chaos.

British Opinion and the Amritsar Disclosures: Mr. T. E. Welby, Secretary of the European Association, who has been trying to get up opposition to the Reform Act in England, writes as follows to his Association, regarding the effect on English public opinion of the Amritsar disclosures: "By far the most important, and from our point of view, event since I last wrote has been the publicity attained here by the Amritsar disclosure. So far as I can judge from conversations with journalists and others, the feeling is that if we British in India act in the way General Dyer acted, or approve of such action, then the sooner British authority in India is swept away in favour of any sort of Indian administration the better. Utterly unreasonable as such a view is, it is I fear one that large numbers of people in this country will take until the truth about India can be plainly made known to them. The immediate effect of the Amritsar disclosures has been to stiffen nearly the whole press against us. The

"Morning Post," of course, can always be relied upon to put our case; and the "Evening Standard" is fairly friendly. I managed, with some difficulty, to get the "Globe" to publish a short article by me on the subject, taking the line that even if General Dyer should be found to have gone too far, zeal to denounce his possibly excessive measures should not blind us to the aims and acts of the murderous mobs in Amritsar. I think I can see some sign of a reaction from the hostility towards British methods in India aroused by the first disclosures of Amritsar. Still the position has been rendered very much more difficult. Even a paper like the "Observer," which, though pro-Indian, has nothing in common with atrocity-mongering Radical newspapers, has denounced all that General Dyer stands for as Prussian. Many papers simply will not listen to the other side of the case." What Mr. Welby naively calls "the truth about India" is, of course, the lies with which it is sought to bolster up the dying cause of Anglo-Indian despotism in England.

The Press Act and the Amnesty. A Press Note issued last week states that the Governor of Bombay in Council has been pleased to direct that, of the orders now in force requiring the deposit of securities under the Indian Press Act, 1910, by 46 presses and 8 newspapers, such orders shall in the case of 34 presses and 5 newspapers be cancelled and the securities deposited returned. While we welcome this order, we wish it had been found possible to cancel all the securities under the Act. Indeed, we think it is high time that the Act itself should be repealed. In answer to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council last week, Government said that they had no idea of repealing the Act but that they would consider Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's suggestions for its modification, made in his presidential address at the All-India Moderate Conference last December. Seeing that his arguments did not convince even that Conference which passed a resolution demanding the repeal of the Act, we wonder what object is to be gained by adopting his milk and water suggestions. "Rallying the Moderates" in official parlance evidently means "considering" the suggestions of the most timid of them.

A Hopeful Sign. We are pleased to read the following wise advice in the columns of the *Hindu Message* of Srirangam, edited by Brahmin gentlemen who are rigid upholders of the *Varnashrama Dharma* (caste system), with reference to the failure to settle by agreement the number of seats to be reserved for non-Brahmins in Madras. "The country would not be endangered if the Brahmins had of their own accord and freewill conceded a few more seats to their Non-Brahmin brethren. It is our firm opinion that the Brahmins should have more gracefully undertaken to retire from the field altogether, and afford the Non-Brahmin Legislative Council an opportunity to vindicate itself. This may sound heterodox, but it will none the less contribute to the progress of our country which every patriot—Brahmin or Non-Brahmin—must have at heart. It may mean the dislodgement of a few of the Brahmin veterans, but more than any one else they should know that they can serve the country by remaining outside the Council, at least as well as, if not better than, by remaining within it."

Depressed Classes in Travancore and Cochin. In the elevation of the depressed classes, the Travancore Government have been taking praiseworthy steps. Their first action was to improve the material condition of the untouchables and the unapproachables by offering

them sites for house-building and cultivation. The Government has promised them 500 acres and gave about half of this extent of land last year. In the Dewan's address to the Popular Assembly we are informed that the remaining half has also been given to them, to enable them to follow their traditional occupation of agriculture and to make themselves ready for further betterment in education and social position. Cochin has been even more progressive under its enlightened Raja assisted by his liberal-minded Dewan, Mr. Vijayaraghavachari. The Raja of Cochin has ordered that all public roads shall be opened to all depressed classes who are now debarred from using them, and that all public schools, including those receiving a Government grant, shall admit the children of depressed classes. These declarations are being enforced and several prosecutions have been launched and convictions obtained against people who attempted to restrain members of the lower castes from using the public roads.

Pay of Primary Teachers in Sind. We have received a copy of a memorial which has been or is being sent to His Excellency the Governor praying for some improvement in the pay and position of primary teachers in Sind. The question admits of no controversy. The statements made in the memorial are only too true. Besides an increase to their salaries the teachers urge that, as they rarely live to enjoy pensions, notwithstanding that pension contribution is regularly credited into the Government Treasury from Local Boards and Municipalities, the proposal of the Director of Public Instruction may be adopted to give their families the benefit of these contributions. We think this is a reasonable prayer, and we trust that Government will accede to it. There is another suggestion calculated to raise the status of teachers, which involves no expenditure, and should be allowed. This is that school masters should be given a chair before every officer and be invited to official Durbars. Another request which should be allowed is that children of primary school masters should be exempted from fees in schools and Colleges. We also sympathise with the great difficulty felt by teachers in getting suitable houses to live in. On the whole, we are astonished at the moderation of their demands, and cordially commend them to the prompt and favourable consideration of Government. The grievances of the Sind teachers are more or less those of teachers all over the Presidency, and relief should be extended to all.

Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Hindu Marriage Bill was referred last week to a Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council. All the non-official members of the council are members of the Committee, and the Law Member of Government is the only official on it. We print today an article by Mr. Lele on the Bill. Mr. Lele agrees that an age-limit should be fixed, but objects to the introduction of a provision to ensure that parties taking advantage of the Bill should have no other husband or wife living. We have just time to-day to state that we strongly disapprove of his line of reasoning. There should be one law and one rule of right for man and woman, and, whatever the Hindu law-giver might have thought in ancient times, we most emphatically protest against the British Indian Legislature extending his one-sided doctrines to a new set of facts. We may add that since his return from England, Mr. Patel has personally assured us that he will himself introduce the age-limit as well as the monogamous principle into the Bill in Select Committee.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1920.

POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES.

In the last few days, Indian political life has been enriched by the accession of two striking personalities. Lala Lajpat Rai returned from America where he has been obliged to live for the last five years for reasons which are somewhat obscure but which may be safely described as political. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar resigned the Advocate-Generalship in the Madras Presidency and has formally joined the Congress. Mr. Iyengar's act is almost the first instance of an Indian resigning high office in order to devote himself to politics. When it is remembered that Lord Sinha and Sir Sankaran Nair both began their careers of official preferment as Advocates-Generals, the one in Bengal, and the other in Madras, it is easy to estimate the strength of public spirit which has led to Mr. Iyengar's giving up the post. A special cause for satisfaction in the restoration to public life of Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, is that neither of them is a mere politician. Lala Lajpat Rai, indeed, graduated in Indian public life through the difficult course of social service, when social service was much less appreciated than it is to-day, many years before he took up politics. In the beginning of this century when a great famine ravaged the country, he started the movement of Hindu orphanages which has since been taken up in all parts of the country. He had a very large—in fact, the largest—share in building up that wonderful educational organisation, with its high schools in every district of the Punjab, and its Colleges in several places, which is at once the pride and glory of the Arya Samaj. The vitality of this organisation can be judged from the fact that quite recently it has thrown an outpost in this Presidency, the long-established Rajaram College at Kolhapur having been made over to it by the Maharaja. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is the President of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, is an earnest and liberal supporter of the movement for raising the Depressed classes, and one of the stalwart supporters of the neo-Hindu movement which Dr. Sabramanya Iyer inaugurated some years ago. We have had occasion to refer to his addresses on this subject. He believes that caste is not an essential part of Hinduism and that the disappearance of caste can only add to the strength and vitality of Hinduism.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, as we said above, has formally joined the Congress party in Madras. He signalled his occasion by making a public speech in which he maintained that there was room in the Congress for all parties and that it was the duty of all Indians to work within that movement. That is our own view. But we are not sure that that is the view of some Congressmen who happen to be influential with the bulk of the party at the moment. We agree with Mr. Iyengar that it is our duty to make the broader view prevail with the mass of Congressmen, and that it is not right for the minority to secede from the

national movement. We do not go so far as he did and ask that the Liberal organisation should cease to exist. As we remarked once before—and the remark was received with approval in several quarters—there is need for a second chamber to our unofficial Parliament and the Liberal organisation may well supply that need. Mr. Iyengar rightly said that all members of the Congress are not expected to approve of all its resolutions, and that he himself did not do so. Why should not those members who do not approve of some resolutions, form an organisation by themselves to propagate their own views on those matters? But it is necessary that all should recognise that the paramountcy of the Congress and that none should make it their business to pull down and discredit that movement built up by years of strenuous labour. Lala Lajpat Rai has not formally declared his adhesion to any of our political parties. In Bombay there seems to have been something of a scramble to secure him first. Mrs. Besant rode with him in the first car in the procession, and Mr. Tilak occupied the second car. The Servants of India Society had invited a few friends to welcome him. Amidst this embarrassing wealth of attention, the Lalaji kept his own counsel and devoted the larger part of his public speeches in this city to the enunciation of several home-truths which, we trust, will not be lost upon our leaders, old and young. It is impossible, we think, that Lala Lajpat Rai will be a leading light of the Liberal Federation. The Panjabees are Congressmen to a man and there is every reason why he should feel just like any other Panjabee. We are glad of the accession of Mr. Iyengar and Mr. Rai to the Congress movement, because it is sure to add to the elements which make for strength and stability in it, and which badly need reinforcement. The only moderation that is not pure opportunism is the moderation that springs from a keen realisation of the large length of bleeway that we have to make up in international life. Men who have thought and worked in the fields of religious and social reform, and have a vivid idea of the hampering influence of some of our beliefs and customs, cannot but realise this, and cannot but realise that without removing these hampering influences, we cannot hope to rise to the full stature of Indian manhood.

REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN.

In reviewing Dr. Cave's excellent book in the Religious Quest of India Series, we pointed out that the redemptive and the ethical elements were present in every religion, though the one might be more prominent than the other. In fact, we are inclined to think that the difference between the redemptive and the ethical in a religion is mostly a difference of point of view. Judaism is the ethical and Semitic type of religion *par excellence*, and yet the Psalmist was thinking not of his conduct in life of but God's redeeming grace when he reflected:

Whither shall I go from Thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?

If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, Thou art there.

If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;

Even there shall Thy right hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me.

If I say, surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me.

Yea, the darkness hideth not from Thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to Thee.

This train of thought is elaborated in a manner worthy of the Hebrew Psalmist himself in Francis Thompson's audaciously holy poem, "The Hound of Heaven," in which God's love pursues man as the sleuth-hound pursues the criminal: it will not be denied.

Now of that long pursuit
Comes on at hand the bruit;
That Voice is round me like a burating sea;

Halts by me that footfall:
Is my gloom, after all,
Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly?
' Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,
I am He Whom thou seekest!

Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest Me.'

The thought of the Hebrew Psalmist of, perhaps, the second millennium before Christ, and of the English poet of almost our own day, is repeated with striking felicity by the medieval Tamil saint from whom Dr. Cave quotes so largely and appreciatively in his book.

Me dog, lower than a dog, all lovingly Thyself didst take for Thine. This birth-illusion's thrall
Is placed within Thy charge alone. And I in sooth,
is there aught

I need beyond that, with care search out? Herein is there authority at all with me?

Thou may'st again consign me to some mortal frame; or 'neath

Thy jewelled feet may'st place me, Brow-eyed One,
or again in the famous lines,

Abusing Thee or praising,—crushed by sin, and grieved am I.

Lo, Thou'st forsaken me, Thou brightness on red coral hill.
Thou mad'st me Thine; didst fiery poison eat, pitying poor souls,

That I might Thine ambrosia taste,—I, meanest one.

The human father in Christ's greatest parable waits till his prodigal son comes back to Christ to lavish on him his all-forgiving love. But the Heavenly Father pursues His prodigal children even to the pig-sty with His love. "If I make my bed in hell, behold, Thou art there." In this view, the most puissant which faith and devotion have evolved, of God, the Divine Grace makes no conditions, not even that of repentance. Neither faith nor works can add to nor sin detract from the power and destiny of God's love to redeem. Love never faileth, and God is Love.

The ethical content of religion arises from the fact that the realisation of the truth that God is Love, is utterly and absolutely incompatible with sin. It has the power to cast out sin, and nothing else has

that power. We must digress a little to point out that "sin" is a specific psychological phenomenon which should be carefully distinguished from the lapses from convention and custom to which the term is generally and wrongly applied. Nothing is sinful which is not selfish. Everything selfish is sinful. As an American thinker, Dr. Hyde, puts it in his admirable little book, "Jesus' Way": "All sin is parasitic. It saves itself by sucking the life out of something better than itself. Every sinner of every stripe belongs to the genus parasite. Evil has not the strength to stand alone. It must always fasten on to something better than itself to hold it up." The ethical power of religion is the power of religion to redeem man from selfishness. The realisation of God's love drives out sin because it drives out selfishness. The inspired Author of the *Gita* is a true psychologist when He says that, "even if the very wicked worship Me, with devotion to none else, he should be regarded as good, for he has rightly resolved. Soon does he become righteous." Christ habitually acted on this principle and incurred thereby the reproach of the Pharisees for mixing with publicans and sinners. The only exception was in the case of the rich man who had kept all the commandments but whom Jesus would not admit to His circle until he sold all he had and gave the proceeds to the poor. This he could not do, and so he goes out of the Scripture. There should have been exceptional reasons why Jesus who, like all great Teachers, saw deep into the heart of man, required of this highly respectable citizen a test to which he never subjected the publicans and sinners whom he befriended. The point, however, is that both the Hindu Avatar and the Christian Incarnation adopted an identical attitude in this matter. The ethical impulse in every religion is inherent in its redemptive power. It follows that that religion in which the redemptive aspect has received most stress, is likely in its practical operation, to be also the most ethical, that is to say, the most effective in driving selfishness out of the human heart. A religion which sets up merely as a sort of moral police, can but indifferently succeed even as regards its special purpose.

The failure of Christianity and, indeed, of Hinduism and of every great religion, is due to politicians and priests having subordinated the redemptive central feature of each religion to their special limited objects. The two great dangers to which a religion is exposed are statecraft and priestcraft, and not Pantheism nor the doctrine of *Karma*. It may well be that minds nurtured in the dualistic systems of religion grow temperamentally incapable of appreciating the profound ethical potentialities of the belief that all is God and God is all, even as those who are brought up in a system the corner-stone of which is the doctrine of *Karma*, are unable to conceive of how Calvary can save mankind. But the Vedanta has produced saints even as Christianity has done, a fact which is not to be cancelled by the other fact that the names of both have been claimed by hypocrites. As for the doctrine of *Karma*, Acton tells us in his essay on George Eliot—"the supreme purpose of whose work," he says, "was ethical," and of whose works he writes, "there are

few works in literature whose influence is so ennobling"—that "she thought that the world would be indefinitely better and happier if men could be made to feel that there is no escape from the inexorable law that we reap what we have sown." The deadset made by Christian thinkers against Pantheism and the doctrine of Karma, has always seemed to us to be misconceived. Indian Pantheism has produced the finest types of reverence. That is a fact. No amount of word-spinning can get over that fact. When logic and fact conflict, it is our logic that is obviously at fault. As for the doctrine of Karma, its foreign critics have not understood it in its fulness. It no doubt makes a man feel that he is a victim of his own irrevocable past, but it also makes him feel that his future is in his own hands to make or mar. The proper mental reflex of Karma is neither pessimism nor optimism but patience and perseverance with charity to all and bitterness to none. It is the best antidote to the prevailing tendency in the West to impute all evil to rival nations and all righteousness to one's own. A sincere believer in the doctrine of Karma always looks to the beam in his own eye and says as little as possible about the mote in his brother's. We can think of no greater influence for fostering charity than Karma. And Charity is greater than even Faith and Hope.

PERSONAL HYGIENE.*

The publishers justify the publication of Dr. M. R. Samey's book on "Personal Hygiene" on the excellent ground that in the existing English and European works on the subject of sanitary science, the theories and lessons are all clothed in the—to them—*swadeshi* realities of English and European life, social, economic and religious. "There is no use preaching," they rightly observe, "sanitary doctrines which ignore the custom of early marriage, the joint family system, the all-pervading scheme of untouchability and superstitious purifications, the conditions of the Indian retail trade in foodstuffs, the floor, the cowdung, the ants, the eating leaf, the broomstick, the butter milk, the tropical heat, the scavenger etc. Some of these conditions automatically help the attainment of the ideals of the sanitarian, while some hopelessly stand in the way." What Lord Mayo wrote of official suggestions for agricultural improvements, applies with even greater force to sanitation.

"First," remarked that great Viceroy, "we must not ostentatiously tell Native husbandmen to do things which they have been doing for centuries. Second, we must not tell them to do things which they can't do, and have no means of doing. In either case they will laugh at us, and they will learn to disregard really useful advice when it is given."

This is what has actually happened in respect of official endeavours to improve Indian sanitation. Dr. Samey's book is valuable inasmuch as it takes special note of the practical needs and conditions of Indian climate and social life. Without being a faddist, Dr. Samey is an

advocate of the simple life. As regards food, he prefers a nut and fruit dietary, supplemented for vegetarians by the liberal use of milk, cheese and eggs, and for non-vegetarians by fish, flesh and fowl. Grain foods, he deprecates, as being digested in the intestines and, therefore, unnatural and disease-inducing foods, the cause of the nervous prostration and broken-down health that abound on all sides. On the subject of foods and drinks, Dr. Samey has some excellent commonsense observations which will be found useful by young and old. For drink, clean, pure water is the best, and our author bans tea, coffee, cocoa and, of course, alcohol. The simplest and safest way of ensuring good drinking water is to boil it. Dr. Samey quotes with approval Dr. Kellogg's maxim that smoking is a relic of barbarism. Chewing tobacco and the use of snuff are equally objectionable. They, as well as smoking, taint the breath, ruin digestion, obliterate taste and smell, spoil the blood, oppress the brain, depress the heart, irritate the nerves, waste the muscles, obstruct the liver, dim the vision, stain the skin, and deteriorate and contaminate every organ and tissue with which it comes in contact in the body. "Their influence," sums up Dr. Samey, "is to lessen vitality, to benumb the sensibilities, to shorten life, to kill." We are afraid that many readers will leave off reading the book at this point as, in their view, life without tea, coffee, liquor and tobacco, is not worth living. But they will be wise to profit by Dr. Samey's advice in these matters, and even if they do not care to do so, they will do well to read the pages that follow.

Following the pages on food and drink, we have some useful and informing pages relating to sleep, constitution, heredity, idiosyncracies and temperament. We think these topics would have come more naturally after the pages devoted to the exterior of the human being which is the proper complement of the topics of food and drink. Dr. Samey's sections devoted to cleanliness are quite as lucid and helpful as those on other topics. The author thinks that the need for regular bathing arises from the artificial nature of much of social life. In a state of nature, he seems to think, an occasional dip would be all that is needed. Dr. Samey is not a fanatic in respect of any particular kind of bath. The temperature of the water, he says, should be adjusted to suit different circumstances of constitutional health and disease. He gives some sensible general rules which all people will benefit by following. He adds a warning against excessive bathing which tends to make the skin harsh and scaly by diluting the secretions of the sebaceous glands. This may be noticed on the persons of very orthodox Hindu widows and very prosperous professional Hindu priests. Our author has a good word for the ancient Roman custom, followed in many parts of India, of rubbing some bland oil over the body before bathing. Europeans have a repulsion for persons who bear the marks of this mode of bathing, as shown by the term "oleaginous" commonly applied by them to the Bengali Indian who anoints himself with mustard oil every day. In some other parts of India, sesamum oil is used, and elsewhere,

* Messrs. Butterworth and Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 oct.

cocoonut oil. Dr. Samey recommends pure refined cocoonut oil as the best of all for this purpose. Referring to the use of soap, he points out that some of the ingredients are injurious to the skin and that, therefore, a liberal supply of water should always accompany the use of soap. Dr. Samey's remarks on the necessity of keeping teeth, tongue, nails and skin, clean, are not new but they bear iteration. In connection with the last, he recommends every one to be his own barber. Money spent on a shaving set, he says, is a profitable investment and not expense. Evidently, he is not an advocate of growing long hair and beard, either as a means of conserving animal magnetism or as a means of saving time and trouble. The subject of clothing is a vast one. There is no question which has more agitated clothes sanitarians than the one of flannel. Dr. Samey, we see, follows the orthodox rule and advocates woollen next the skin. In a recent American book of considerable scientific pretensions, this practice is denounced in unmeasured terms, and cotton stuff is advocated as the most suitable material to be in contact with our bodies. We must leave the experts to quarrel and follow our own particular convenience or comfort. Dr. Samey recommends flannel next the skin "especially in summer," which, we are afraid, must remain a counsel of perfection to many people. Dr. Samey himself recognises this and sums up with the simple rule to keep the head cool and the feet warm at all seasons of the year. As regards the style of dress, his motto is as light and loose as possible. We commend this especially to some of our young men who wear clothes so tight-fitting that we have often found ourselves losing the thread of a discourse in wonder as to how a large section of the audience managed to get into their clothes without an operation. Some, indeed, seem to have their clothes sewed on to them every day. Dr. Samey, for all his eminence as a sanitarian, is not a good hand at logical division and we feel ourselves once again disconcerted by his introducing the subject of "the skin" after that of "exercise" instead of, as it should be, under "personal cleanliness." All the same, what he has to say on these topics are well worth saying and being and attended to. On the subject of exercise, Dr. Samey rightly lays stress on the importance of its being pleasurable. It is, he says, the enjoyment of exercise in which consists its chief excellence.

HINDU MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

(P. R. LALL, B.A., LL.B.)

The Hon'ble Mr. Patel has moved that the Bill be introduced to validate intercaste Hindu marriages be referred to the Select Committee. There have to be made certain additions to the Bill to make it complete. The suggestions are made on the basis that the change intended by the Bill is desirable.

As at present drafted it is a negative Bill taking away a disability. But the ability has not been provided. The law as at present enforced is that there cannot be a legal marriage between a man and a woman belonging to different castes. A provision of the higher or lower rank of certain castes. These

that the fact of the spouses belonging to different castes should not render the marriage legally invalid does not by itself constitute a provision that will make it a legal marriage. It is in fact a new institution that is sought to be founded and one has to add a positive section providing what will constitute a valid marriage. On the statute Book of India there are two enactments giving sanction to marriages that were not, before the enactments, valid marriages (i) the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act and (ii) The Special Marriage Act. Going into those Acts, one finds a provision in the beginning of each, like that drafted by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel. Later on, however there is in each a provision stating what are the things that will make a marriage. In the former Act, Sec. 6 runs:—

"Whatever words spoken, ceremonies performed or engagements made on the marriage of a Hindu female who has not been previously married, are sufficient to constitute a valid marriage, shall have the same effect if spoken performed or made on the marriage of a Hindu widow; and no marriage shall be declared invalid on the ground that such words, ceremonies, or engagements are inapplicable to the case of a widow."

In the latter, sec. 11 runs:—

The marriage shall be solemnised in the presence of the Registrar and of the three witnesses who signed the declaration. It may be solemnised in any form, provided that each party says to the other in the presence and hearing of the Registrar and witnesses, "I (A) take thee (B) to be my lawful wife (or husband)."

There must be a similar provision in this Bill. The second is not what we want inasmuch as we do not want to register intercaste marriages for validating them. Section 6 of the Widow Remarriage Act will serve as a model and may be (in the absence of a better suggestion) adopted *mutatis mutandis*. The main change will have to be made as regards that portion which is on the basis of the two spouses being of the same caste. The principal reason for the change is that while in connection with a marriage under the widow Remarriage Act only one of the parties has to be given a statutory capacity, in an intercaste marriage both have to be given such a statutory capacity. The ceremonies and recitations and engagements applicable to one caste may differ from those applicable to another and we must choose as to which spouse should be selected to make a pivot of. We may say whatever ceremonies, &c., would have constituted a valid marriage of two parties of the husband's caste or of the wife's caste shall also constitute a valid marriage of two parties of different castes. We may also have another way and say whatever ceremonies, &c., would have constituted a valid marriage of two parties of the lower of the two castes to which belong the parties to a marriage in question (or it may be higher) shall also constitute such a marriage as a valid one. In my opinion the former way is better because, it is more definite, the latter having the possibility of bringing into courts the tough questions are only tentative suggestions made because of the

necessity to make some such positive provision in the Bill.

Having dealt with the essentials, I mean to dispose of two subsidiary matters (i) minimum age-limit (ii) restriction to monogamy.

(i) We should fix an age-limit. The reformers do desire to remove the system of child marriage. Let us, therefore, put in the Bill some minimum age limit, the best age limit in my opinion is sixteen for the lady. Whether there should be different age limits for marriage with the consent of the guardian and those without such consent is a point that must receive its due attention.

(ii) We ought not to enact that marriages under the new law shall be monogamous. In those communities which require marriages to be monogamous, there is provision for divorce or dissolution of marriages. According to Hindu law there is no divorce and hence any requisition that marriages must be monogamous will work hardship. Supposing the wife in the case is guilty of adultery or some such conduct as would have entitled the husband to ask for a divorce had the Indian Divorce Act applied, the husband in the case will be without any relief at all. Under the Hindu law he can marry another wife and if no specific provision be made, Hindu law will govern the marriages even under the new law. If the Hindu law is to impose on the parties to a marriage under the new Act its own restrictions, the privileges must also be maintained. If the privilege is to be taken away, take away the restriction also. To achieve that, it will only be necessary to enact a provision like section 17 of the Special Marriage Act which applies the Indian Divorce Act to marriages performed under that Act. Even then, of course, the result will not be quite satisfactory, because you may be able to apply the Divorce Act to marriages solemnised under the new Act, but not to Hindu marriages that do not require the aid of this Act. So that a husband who has married according to ordinary Hindu Law will not be able to marry under the New Act a lady of another caste if his first wife deserts him or commits adultery and the New Act enjoins monogamy. He is at present able to marry another wife of his own caste. The safest course is, therefore, not to enact monogamy until Hindu Law admits of divorce.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHILDREN.

The whole future of the Presidency of Bombay will be affected vitally by what we accomplish during the month of March, 1920. That is a sweeping assertion, and of late the public may have been some what surfeited with sweeping assertions. But this statement is not demagoguery. It is literal and precise truth. The greatest asset of any nation is its man-power, (Man-power includes woman-power, as mankind includes womankind). The fruit of the man-power tree is His Majesty, King Baby. Its root is the mother. The Children's Welfare Organization aims at saving, improving and developing the fruit, and having behind it logic as well love, practical wisdom as well as humanity, shrewdness and experience in other lands as well as sentiment, it aims at saving and improving the fruit by studiously tending the root.

Motherhood is a vitally important and very complex art. To regard it as fortuitous or accidental, or

as a mere matter of course, like the passing of the seasons, is to flout Providence, to neglect one of mankind's most sacred duties, and to invite national deterioration and disaster. There are whole quarters in Bombay in which motherhood is not even an accident, but sheer, stark tragedy, both for mother and babe. We may strive without ceasing to bring about political and social reforms, but in this age of fierce international competition we cannot hope to achieve real progress for the nation, without ensuring real progress for its individual citizens. The root of good citizenship is motherhood. The time at which you can make or mar citizens is when they are in the cradle. You cannot hope to get high-grade citizens out of low-grade nurseries. The gutter and the chawls of Bombay are some of the lowest grade nurseries in the world. The Children's Welfare Organization aims at remedying this evil and safe-guarding the Bombay public against the gravest danger that can threaten any community: (1) the deadly peril of a high rate of infant mortality (2) the almost more deadly peril of a sickly, weakling, ailing, disease-ridden infant populace.

Do not forget that the babies of one year are the citizens of another year. The appeal is as much to your sense of logic as to your sense of humanity. It does not matter what your calling, if you are resident in this presidency you are and must always be affected personally by Children's welfare in this Presidency. It affects your pocket and your prospect even if you should make believe to yourself that it does not affect your heart; because in it is wrapped up the whole matter of the country's progress, the people's efficiency, production, prosperity, the relations between capital and labour, and a hundred other vital questions. The vitally important question as to whether or not Bombay (which in no many other ways leads all India) shall adequately and *successfully* launch its Children's Welfare Organization, depends upon two main factors, the strength of your generosity and sense of duty, and the devoted labours of a band of ladies and gentlemen in Bombay who, at the call of Her Excellency, Lady Lloyd are freely giving their days and nights to doing the actual work which must precede a successful launch. The time is very short now, and your help must come very soon if it is to affect the launch of a movement which goes to the root of all progress in Bombay.

WANTED.

The Children's Welfare Exhibition and Fete opens on March 8th at the Prince of Wales Museum. *Your* contribution is awaited *now*, your attendance on March 8th.

The Children's Welfare and Pearl Necklace, which will be one of India's really famous ornaments in years to come awaits your contribution a pearl, or the price of one *now*.

The Children's Welfare Fund needs your contribution badly. Whether it be a lakh or a rupee and needs it *now* please send to Mr. Kidd, of the National Bank of India.

There will be many entertainments in aid of the same cause. In enjoying these—the Display of Dancing at the Empire Theatre, the Eastern play in the Royal College of Science and others—you will help Children's Welfare if you buy your tickets *now*. See Messrs Rose and Company about it.

Refreshments will be provided at the Exhibition. This section is in the charge of Mrs. Chambers. Every kind of comestible that you ever eat at tea-time is wanted and *your* contribution cakes or cash will be welcomed gratefully at the Exhibition Office, Prince of Wales' Museum.

CHILDREN'S WELFARE PEARL NECKLACE.

The following statement shows the Pearls and cash which have been contributed since last week's list appeared. These donations are most gratefully acknowledged, and it is hoped that further gifts will be sent in as early as possible:—

Mrs. Mungaldas (Ahmedabad). 1 Pearl.
Mr. Peroshaw Bomanjee Patit, Cheque for Rs. 500.
Mr. J. B. Needham Cheque for Rs. 370.

Pearls and Cash will be received up to March 31st, and the Raffle will be drawn early in April. The 1st Prize Necklace, value about Rs. 85,000, is now ready and on view at the Army and Navy Stores (Jewellery Department.) The remaining prizes will be on view shortly but will be subject to alterations and additions as more pearls and money are received.

The following ladies and gentlemen are members of the Children's Welfare Pearl Necklace Sub Committee and are authorised to receive pearls or money for the necklace:—

Lady Jehangir, Ready Money House
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Mr. Gulsabchand Devchand Jeveri, Chowpatty,
Mr. Mias Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani, Chotan House, Dontad Street.

Intending donors are requested to send their donations as soon as possible to any of the above or to the undersigned, and they will be duly acknowledged.

KATHLEEN HAPPEL,
Chairman,

Malabar Hill, Sub Committee,
26th February 1920. Children's Welfare Pearl Necklace.

CHILDREN'S EXHIBITION AND FETE FUND.

The following Subscriptions are gratefully acknowledged and further help is earnestly invited.

Amount already acknowledged	Rs.	119,884.
Mrs. Pirojbai J. P. Sakhidas... ..	"	100.
An Indian	"	100.
		<hr/>
	Rs.	120,084.

BOOKS WHICH INFLUENCED MR. GANDHI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

In the *Indian Social Reformer* of February 15th you have quoted from the *Indian Witness* of Lucknow an excellent account given by Rev. S. W. Clemes of his interview with Mr. Gandhi during the latter's flying visit to Meerut on January 22nd. As the interview took place at my house, when I happened to be present I should just like to add one or two things to this account, in case it may be found instructive by your readers.

Among the books mentioned by Mr. Gandhi as having influenced him the most and to which he referred even now in moments of doubts and difficulties were, besides those named by the interviewer, also the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Ramayana* and the biography and sayings of Raj Chandra, a Gujarati, and to the interviewer he recommended Edwin Arnold's 'song celestial' (an English version of the first) and Griffith's

Translation of the second. The 3rd is in Gujarati but on inquiry I learn that a Hindi edition is available.

To the interviewer Mr. Gandhi also explained how the western missionaries need not work here as if they were uplifting a fallen people for India's was a honry civilisation and how by working among masses, he himself did not profess to teach them but learnt from them.

MARUT,
21st February 1920.

Yours faithfully,
SITA RAM.

CHRISTIANITY AND VEGETARIANISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your issue of the 8th February Mr. Labh Shanker Lakshmidas in an appeal to Christian humanitarians quotes from the "Theosophist" to the effect that in China certain missionaries would not accept people for membership of the Church except on condition of giving up the vegetarian vow and of eating meat. It is difficult to ascertain the truth in a matter like this unless one knew all the sides of the question. So I am inclined to think that Mrs. Besant's interpretation of the report in the C. M. S. Gleaner may not be right. For as a Christian I cannot conceive that Missionaries would do such a foolish and unnecessary thing as that unless there was something in it. The report published in the 'Gleaner' does not lend itself to this interpretation. I presume in China the vegetarian vow is a sort of an inveterate prejudice based on religious principles. In that case Missionaries were right in demanding the vegetarians to give up their vow in a practical manner before they were allowed to be members of the Church. For in Christianity food is indifferent from the standpoint of religion. A vegetarian is not a better Christian nor a flesh-eater a worse one because of the difference between them as regards food.

Let me tell you that though I am not a vegetarian myself I have a great respect for one who hases his abstinence from meat on considerations of health, usefulness of certain animals, suitability of climate etc. and I believe that vegetarianism ought to be encouraged by precept and example. But I consider vegetarianism on religious grounds as nothing less than superstitious. Mr. Lakshmidas' quotation is misleading and beside the point. If he will consult the 20th Chapter of the Book of Exodus in the Revised Version of the Bible, he will find that the sixth commandment is "Thou shalt do no murder." That is the meaning of the original. If it meant non-killing of animals also, as our friend seems to think it does, you could neither explain nor justify the Jewish practice of animal sacrifice. It is not to the point, because in many matters Christians are not bound by the rules of the Old Testament which have been superseded by a higher revelation through Christ. Jews made all sorts of distinction in the matter of food, like many of our Hindu brethren, on religious grounds, which Christ does for all swept away by his personal example and precept. Our Lord used to take all kinds of food, and his declaration on this point is final. Please read the 15th Chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mathew where we have the following in the 11th verse—"not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man; but that which proceedeth out of the mouth, this defileth the man;" and also the 17th to the 20th verses where Christ's own explanation is given which I do not quote to avoid being lengthy. Jesus Christ ate fish on the coast of the sea of Galilee and lamb's flesh on the night of betrayal with his disciples. A Christian will admit that unnecessary killing or infliction of

pain on dumb creation is wrong and he will join any effort made to prevent or remove such suffering. But when vegetarianism is preached as a religious truth and we are asked to refrain from killing even for food we frankly say we do not understand it. We believe such a movement creates insincerity because it is not practicable absolutely to refrain from killing and because the great majority of those in the name of whose religion *Ahimsa* is preached, live on some kind of animal food which involves a huge amount of pain. Even vegetarians cannot claim to have realised the ideal which indeed cannot, in its very nature, be realised and so is not a true ideal at all. They destroy plant life, which from Hindu standpoint is not distinguishable from other forms of life. Men must kill something or other if they have to live. So that a vegetarianistic superstition must be broken in the interests of a higher conception of religion. It is also interesting to note that the criticism is not usually directed against Mahomedans, who are as much, if not more, enamoured of fish as Christians are supposed to be. May I tell you that I have a number of Christian friends who are vegetarian in their diet but are not superstitiously or religiously so. Under necessity they would eat animal food without any remorse of conscience. Should we not make a more rational case for vegetarianism in India by purging it of religious associations and then advocate it earnestly?

Yours etc.,
R. C. DAS.

St. John's College,
Agra.

COCHIN PANCHAMA CONFERENCE.

The Panchamas of the Cochin State will hold a conference in the last week of April, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will preside, and Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar may probably be present and deliver an address—*The West Coast Spectator*.

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

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NOTES.

The Press Act. At a public meeting of the citi-
zens of Bombay held on Friday, resolutions were
passed urging the total repeal of the Press Act of
1910, the withdrawal of restrictions imposed and
securities taken under that Act from all presses and
newspapers, and the removal of the restriction in
the way of Mr. Horniman's return to India. Speak-
ing as one who had been himself a journalist for
twelve years, Sir Narayan maintained, not for the
first time, that the Press Act should be repealed,
adding that the suggestions of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar
for mere modifications in the Act would not do. He
took up one by one the arguments used to justify the
Act, and showed that they were either without sub-
stance or had been disproved by experience. He
pointed out that the ordinary law was quite sufficient
to deal with seditious writing and that the doctrine
of "veiled sedition," propounded, we think, by Lord
(then Sir S. P.) Sinha, was inapplicable to news-
papers which worked in broad daylight. He further
pointed out that the Press Act made martyrs quite
as well as the Penal Code, and that, most conclusive
of all, it had not allayed unrest as it was expected to
do by its supporters. On the contrary, Sir Narayan
thought that it had contributed to the increase of
unrest. The Act is thus a piece of uselessly irritating
legislation which, in the apt words of Mr. Ramanand
Chatterjee of the *Modern Review*, every Indian jour-
nalist feels as a standing personal insult to himself.
Sir Narayan concluded with an appeal to the Press
to realise the immense responsibilities devolving on
it in the new era and to devote itself in a spirit of
lofty patriotism to the highest interests of the
country. The principal resolution was moved by
Mr. Gandhi and seconded by Mr. M. R. Jayakar, and
ran as follows:

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held
under the auspices of the Press Association prays Govern-
ment for the repeal of the Indian Press Act on the ground
first, that the principle and policy of the Act are not only
contrary to the spirit and tradition of the British but as expe-
rience has proved, increase prejudice against Government,
making the remedy worse than the disease; secondly, that the
repeal of the Act will further the ends and be in fulfilment

of the policy of trust and co-operation inaugurated by His
Majesty's gracious Proclamation of December, 1919; and
lastly that the repeal will complete in a marked manner the
liberal policy already adopted by Government by the removal of
restrictions imposed on certain newspapers under the Act.
This public meeting also appeals to the sense of national duty
of Indian journalists to rise to the occasion of the new era
and realise fully that that era will throw on it greater res-
ponsibility than heretofore in inspiring all classes of people in
India with a spirit of mutual co-operation, harmony, and
ordered progress while fearlessly and with dignity upholding
the peoples' cause and representing their wrongs and advanc-
ing the cause of constitutional freedom and Indian nationality.

Reaction against Communal Electorates. It may
seem rash to speak of a reaction against com-
munal electorates with the Brahmin-non-Brahmin
controversy in Madras carried before an arbitrator
appointed by Government, and the heated speeches
in the Imperial Legislative Council on the special
representation of Mahomedans in the Dacca Uni-
versity. It is nevertheless a fact that a reaction is
setting in. Mahomedans of culture, character and
independence find that they have no chance in the
communal electorates as against candidates whose
sole equipment is to interpose at the end of a
long debate or a complex negotiation with the
parrot query "How about Mahomedans?" The
Mahomedans will, as a highly intelligent community,
not take long to realise that communal electorates are
dead-sea apples, rank at the core though tempting
to the eyes. The Indian Christians had also caught
up the cry and have been accorded communal elec-
torates in at least one province in the new reform
scheme. But they are a highly educated commu-
nity, and we are not surprised that one of the lead-
ing organs of Christian opinion in India has already
sounded a solemn note of warning. The following
editorial paragraph in the February *Young Men of
India* from the pen evidently of its gifted editor, is
reproduced here as evidencing a line of thought
which is bound to revolutionise the view now
popular with some communities in regard to
communal electorates:

It seems evident that at least the Indian Christians in the
Madras Presidency will have conceded to them the rights of
a separate electorate. Their demands have been met in the
fullest of degree possible. We wonder whether this is a
matter for congratulation. We have added one more burden
to the man who calls himself a Christian. Take, for example,
the case of a convert. He makes his decision because of a
personal religious experience. We accept him because of that,
and admit him into our society, and, incidentally now, to a
special electorate. May we ask what connection is there
between a man accepting Jesus Christ and being compelled
to invest himself with certain political rights or handicaps;
cutting him off even more fully from those bound to him by
ties of blood, kinship, and friendship. The whole matter

needs very serious consideration. We trust that those who without their consent are compelled to vote in special electorates, whether Mohamedan, European, or Indian Christian, will be individually permitted to withdraw themselves and vote in the general electorate. We believe there are some such who, as a matter of conscience, and "as men of good-will," will willingly abjure any rights which special communities may confer upon them.

Constitution of the Imperial Legislature: Early in January the Government of India issued a press communique containing tentative proposals regarding the distribution of seats in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State which together will constitute the Imperial Legislature under the Reform Act. These will be directly elected by the several constituencies named in the Government communique. There is one important omission among these constituencies. While commerce and the land-holding interests are specially provided for, the Universities are severely ignored. This must not be. We think that at least 10 seats ought to be given in the Assembly to the Universities which are, after all, the fountain-head of progressive thought in the country. These 10 seats should be provided either by increasing the total number of elective seats in the Assembly to 110 or by cutting down from the other constituencies. In the Council of State also room should be found for at least six University members in the same way. The few comments which the Government proposals have evoked, show that there is a real danger of the all-India part of the Reform Scheme being neglected in the controversies provoked by the introduction of diarchy in the provinces. It is impossible to over-estimate the consequences of such a contingency. The reforms, instead of putting the country on the highway of advancement, will in that case put it back by a whole century.

Child Welfare versus Commercialized Vice. On February 26th during "Maternity and Infant Welfare" week in Delhi, a memorial of national importance was presented to His Excellency the Viceroy. This memorial which prays for legislation that shall render the trade of vice illegal, is in the interests of Public Health; it is signed by men and women, (men's names being in the majority) of many races, classes, professions and religions from every important town in every province of India, and is therefore of national significance. The following Provinces are represented: Madras, Tinnevely, the Deccan, Mysore, Kolar, Arcot, Bengal, Assam, Behar and Orissa, Central India, Central Provinces, the United Provinces, the Punjab, N. W. Province, Sind, Baroda, Bombay and Burma. These signatures fill two great rolls; one men's, the other women's, measuring together 200 feet long, about 7000 in all. The memorial prays for legislation, which shall cleanse the cities of India from commercialized vice, and render it illegal for a man to buy, or for a woman to sell, in the interest of immorality. The signatories believe that thus only can the wastage of child life and the heavy loss to the State, of actual and potential population be avoided, and the rising generations be taught, that the handing on of disease to others, is a crime.

Miss Sherwood's Compensation: The following paragraph in the *Bengalee* reflects, we believe, the thought of most Indians on the news that Miss Sherwood, the Christian Missionary lady who was brutally assaulted at Amritsar, had been offered Rs. 50,000 by Government as compensation for the assault, and had refused it: "Miss Sherwood has shown her true nobility of mind by refusing the offer. But why did the Government go out of its way in offering such a huge compensation to her alone? There were others, both Indians and Europeans, who suffered more or less during those dark days when the bunglings of the

officials made matters worse in the Punjab. Were they offered similar compensations conceived in a reckless spirit? All honour to Miss Sherwood that she has declined to accept the offer, seeing perhaps the invidiousness of the distinction that has so gratuitously been made." The principle on which the compensation was calculated is as inscrutable as that on which Nepal has been endowed, by a fiat of the Executive Government, with a gift of one million rupees every year from the revenues of India. Still, we are told we are on the way to responsible Government! Certainly, if financial responsibilities are the criterion, we have had it for many years past.

Sinning against Light. The *Mahratta* thinks that our comments on the proposal to leave out girls from the scheme of compulsory education which the Poona Municipality has in contemplation, were due to our not knowing that the leaders of the movement for exclusion have themselves educated their own daughters and, what our contemporary calls, "the exceptional position of the Poona Municipality." The latter point may be disposed of at once. The position of the Poona Municipality, as depicted by the *Mahratta*, is in no way different from that of most district Municipalities which have their own problems of water-supply and drainage to solve with resources utterly inadequate to the functions vested in them. As regards the other point, we are quite aware that Messrs. Tilak, Kelkar and Lavate are far too wise in their generation to keep their daughters illiterate. That makes their opposition to the inclusion of girls in the scheme all the more reprehensible. We can understand and excuse an ignorant bigot who does not believe in women's education opposing it. But for gentlemen like those named above, who know the value of education for girls and have taken good care to secure it for their own daughters, to deny the same blessing to the daughters of the people whose civic well-being is entrusted to their care, is to sin against the light. The *Mahratta's* argument merely comes to this: "We have educated our daughters, and don't care if the daughters of our fellow citizens wallow in ignorance." A more selfish point of view, it is impossible to conceive.

Swami Shradhdhanand's Timely Exhortation. Swami Shradhdhanand has issued an appeal to future voters. He writes: "There are different political societies in the country and they are inducing you to return members who would support their different propaganda. But whether you return a liberal moderate or a Home Ruler, a Tilakite or Besantite, a title holder, a congressman, *do keep one great Truth in view.* If you vote for a man who is sexually impure, is a miser, a hypocrite, a prey to passions or is addicted to any one of the five great vices enumerated by the ancient Indian lawgivers, the change in your political emancipation will be a change in name only. Therefore, I earnestly, implore in the name of Truth and the Motherland all the voters to vote for men of stirring moral character whom no smile by Kama, or lobbypromona will be able to lead astray from the path of Truth and Justice."

Mr. Asquith's Return. We welcome with pleasure the return of Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons by a large majority at the by-election for Paisley. Quacks sometimes effect cures in politics as in medicine, but it is dangerous to trust the destinies of a great Empire to men who have learned statesmanship by rule of thumb. Men like Peel, Gladstone, Salisbury, Ballour, Morley, Grey, Haldane and Asquith, have built up English public life and imbued it with its high character, and it will be an evil day when their places are taken by gentlemen who learnt their politics on the roadside.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 7, 1920.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

The question of the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey which has been smouldering for months past burst into a blaze on the announcement some days ago that the Supreme Allied Council has decided to leave the Turkish Government in possession of its historic capital at Constantinople. A section of the English press led by the *Times* attacked this decision vigorously. An influential section of British politicians, prominent among whom are Lord Bryce and Lord Robert Cecil, have denounced the decision in scarcely more measured terms, and demanded its rescission. The strength of the agitation has been such as to induce Mr. Montagu to interrupt his convalescence by an interview to a London paper vigorously defending and justifying the decision. What is more, the matter was raised in the House of Commons and the Prime Minister made a speech the tone of which indicated the serious character of the opposition. All these, however, are in the nature of political controversy amenable to the ordinary methods of political accommodation. The sinister feature of the situation is the intervention of ecclesiastical dignitaries and eminent nonconformist clergymen with a plea for depriving the Turks of Constantinople. The effect of this most unfortunate action on their part has been to convert a political question into a religious controversy. Mr. Lloyd George himself stigmatised it in the House of Commons as having beneath it something of the old feeling of Christendom against the Crescent. If international questions are to be decided by the intervention of Christian Church dignitaries, not only Mahomedans, but also the followers of all non-Christian religions including Hindus and Buddhists, together numbering many millions more than the number of Christians in the British Empire and in the world, have reason to feel uneasy. No reader of this journal will take it to be wanting in appreciation of the religion of Christ. But surely, that is quite a different thing from having the fate of nations decided according to the prejudices of any church or cult. The effect of the ill-considered action of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other eminent divines has been to stiffen the support lent to the Mahomedan protest movement by the other great communities of the Indian Empire. We are glad to note here that even a Christian Indian community, with considerable affinities racial and religious to the English agitators, namely, the Anglo-Indian community, has through its accredited representative urged the upholding of the decision to leave Constantinople in the possession of the Turks.

Just as we rule out the prejudices of Christian ecclesiastics, so we exclude the beliefs of Mahomedan divines, from our consideration of the question. The reform movement for which this journal stands and has always stood does not rest on any infallible

revelation but on justice and reason. Who should be regarded as the Khalif, is a question entirely for the Mahomedan community. Nor do we concern ourselves with the question whether the removal of the Sultan's Government from Constantinople, will or will not derogate from his dignity as Khalif. These are matters which no non-Mahomedan is competent to discuss. What we urge is, that the pledge having been solemnly given that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople, that pledge should be kept in the letter and in the spirit. Mr. Lloyd George told the House of Commons that the pledge of January 1918 was not an offer to Turkey but a perfectly deliberate pledge made to reassure the people at home and in India in regard to the Allies' war aims. It was given, the Prime Minister declared, after full consultation with and with the consent of all parties and the Allies. "It stated" he went on to say, "that the Allies were not fighting to challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire with its capital at Constantinople, subject to the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised: also that Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine were entitled to recognition as separate nationalities. The declaration was specific, unqualified and deliberate." How far this paraphrase by the Prime Minister of his original declaration is exact and whether there is any interpolation or elaboration not originally indicated in it, is a point on which there may be differences of opinion. With reference to a query in the *Times*, it should also be said that what the Prime Minister said of Constantinople, applies to Thrace as well, and that, if as the *Times* suggests, Thrace is to be handed over to Greece, the pledge will be as much dishonoured as if Turkey were deprived of Constantinople, Thrace having been distinctly mentioned in it as a territory of which the Allies were not fighting to deprive the Turks. Another point for consideration is whether the conditions under which it is proposed to leave Constantinople in the hands of the Turks are consonant not merely with the letter but also with the spirit of the declaration of January 1918. The Prime Minister made no secret of the fact that the tenure of their capital by the Turks under the Peace terms, will not be materially different in its effects from their expulsion from it: rather it will be such as to enable them to be kept under surveillance. On all these points, India looks to His Highness the Aga Khan who has returned from Europe at an opportune moment, to give a clear indication of his views. He has, as Mr. Montagu acknowledged recently, played an important part in the discussions which have led to the present decision, and he more than any other Indian is competent both by position and character to give the country the lead in this matter which it urgently needs. May we add a word of friendly counsel to those Mahomedan publicists who insist on the restoration of Turkey to the state which obtained prior to the War? Nothing is to-day what it was before the war, and a demand of this kind is as impracticable as the demand to blot the past five disastrous years out of Time would be.

We also strongly endorse Mr. Gandhi's advice to the promoters of the Khilafat movement to eschew such methods as "boycott" which ultimately do more harm to the cause on whose behalf they are started than to that against which they are directed.

There remains one other point. Both the supporters and opponents in England of the retention of Constantinople as the capital of Turkey, seem to be agreed that massacre is a regular method of Turkish rule. Were it not that we have reason to think that this opinion is due to a large extent to racial and religious prejudice, we confess we should not have been able to sympathise, as we do, with our Mahomedan countrymen in the Khilafat movement. What is more, Indian Mahomedans of the culture, humanity and enlightenment of several of those who are prominently associated with the movement, would not have done so whatever might be the view of bigoted Mullas and fanatical Moulvis. That the assertions about the massacring proclivities of the Turks, as a race, are grossly exaggerated, to say the least of it, appears from the paragraph which we reproduce below from the opening article in the January number of *Asia*, the ably conducted and superbly got up organ of the American Asiatic Association of New York, received last week. The author, Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, writes of Turkey with a broad background of experience, having travelled extensively in Europe and Asia as correspondent of the *New York Herald* and *Century Magazine*. He reported the wars of Turkey with her subject peoples, Italy and the Balkan States and, more recently, Turkish attacks on the Suez Canal during the late world war. Dr. Gibbons is the author of "Foundation of the Ottoman Empire" in the "New Map" series covering Europe, Africa and Asia. He is no admirer of Turkish rule which, he roundly says, has always been a blight. His evidence on this point is, therefore, specially valuable. Putting the Turks in a class by themselves for cruelty and destruction in invasions, he observes, is prejudice or ignorance. And only prejudice or ignorance is responsible, he adds, for the stories that gained credence in Western Europe of barbarous treatment of Christians under the Turkish yoke after the conquest was completed. He goes on to remark :

The truth about the Ottoman rule is that the Sultans who founded and extended the Empire showed a tolerance towards subject peoples quite unusual in Europe of that day. If they had exterminated the Christians or expelled them, how explain the millions of Christians in the Ottoman Empire to-day? If it was impossible for Christians to engage in agricultural pursuits and commerce with any feelings of security for life and property, how explain the enormous amount of property owned by Christians and the preponderant position of Christian elements in the commercial and industrial life of the Ottoman Empire? Far from exterminating or driving out the people of the land as Israel was ordered to do in Canaan or as our ancestors actually did both when they crossed to England and later migrated to America, the Turks recognized the Christian elements of the land into which they came as *millet* (nations) and allowed them a large measure of autonomy. Why? We find the answer in Turkish nature and in the Ottoman system of government.

Mahomedanism did not react upon the Turks as upon Caucasians. If others did not want to accept the true Prophet why should the Turks worry? Let the rais (non-Mahomedan subjects), the *ghaiours* (infidels) manage their own affairs and settle their own quarrels among themselves. Since the Mahomedan law made no provision for the economic and social life of *ghaiours* this was the easiest way out of the difficulty.

IMPLICATIONS OF HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

We reprint to-day from *Young India* an article by Mr. Gandhi headed "Hindu-Mahomedan Unity." Mr. Gandhi, more than any other Indian, has striven to bring about Hindu-Mahomedan unity, and his words on that account, deserve the most careful consideration. Besides, we hold Mr. Gandhi in high respect and we loth to dissent from him except for weighty reasons. We are therefore, extremely sorry that we are constrained to characterise his article on "Hindu-Mahomedan unity" as superficial, ill-informed and misleading. We had condemned Mr. Candler's personal challenge to Mr. Gandhi as impertinent, and there the matter ends. As regards the larger question which Mr. Gandhi has endeavoured to answer in the article under notice, so far as it is a warning against forcing the pace of progress, it is well-conceived and timely. Certainly any organised or even unorganised attempt on a considerable scale to force upon the "Hindu-Mahomedan unity" as the term is understood at present, implications affecting social and family life, is bound immediately to result in disruption. A contributor writing on the subject a few weeks back in these columns used the phrase that Hindus and Mahomedans have "drifted" towards unity. That is quite true. There has been no conscious preparation towards that great end. That even Mr. Gandhi should deny that "Hindu-Mahomedan unity" should have any implications extending the social and family life, shows how little thought has been bestowed on the question.

To our mind, it is idle to talk of "Hindu-Mahomedan unity" so long as the mere mention of inter-dining and intermarriage is enough to lead to the consequences to which, Mr. Gandhi rightly thinks, it will lead at present. What we see before us is not unity but only a movement towards it. Real and complete unity will come only when inter-dining and inter-marriage cease to be unthinkable as they are at present. And, notwithstanding Mr. Gandhi's pessimism, we are sure that that day is not far distant. There are forces "which are not us" that are making for such unity. So far as inter-dining is concerned, Mr. Gandhi's position will strike most of our readers as far-fetched and out of focus with what is already happening. Curiously enough, Mr. Gandhi confuses inter-dining with eating out of the same plate and drinking out of the same cup. These are insanitary practices which no one thinks of when he speaks of inter-dining. Mr. Gandhi's view that the idea that inter-dining is a means of cementing social and national life, is a superstition borrowed from the West, is belied by the fact that castes and sects, Hindu and

Mahomedan, have communal dinners the right of each member to be invited to which has sometimes been sought to be enforced by a court of law. So far as we know, it is not part of Hindu culture that a man should observe the same privacy in eating as in the sanitary necessities of life. Sanyasis, widows and others who wish to impress their hosts with their piety, sometimes observe the vow of silence while eating, and there are, no doubt, persons with or without pretensions to piety who prefer for reasons of their own to eat unobserved. Otherwise, commensality is one of the most ancient incidents of social and domestic life, well-known to and largely accepted by Hindus and Mahomedans. In fact, the invidiousness of the prohibition against other communities, arises precisely because of the recommendation, not to say obligation, to inter-dine with one's own. If it were a rule that each man should seek a solitude to take his meals in, there would be no need at all for such a prohibition. The offensive nature of the prohibition obtrudes itself most when you request a Mahomedan friend to step out of the room for a few minutes in order that you may have your tiffin with the Hindu friends who are present. Such occurrences are not uncommon, and it is idle to urge that the ousted Mahomedan has no cause for offence. As a matter of fact, most educated men, Hindu and Mahomedan, perfectly realise the absurdity of the prohibition of inter-dining, and, as we said, it is being tacitly abandoned.

Inter-marriage, as Mr. Gandhi says, is a more difficult question. It is because it enters more deeply into personal and family life. And just because it does so, it can and does produce a unity between communities which nothing else can. Mr. Gandhi speaks of the English and Germans fighting notwithstanding that there is no bar to inter-dining or inter-marriage between them. But we would remind Mr. Gandhi that before the War the Germans, though they were known to be potential enemies, had all the rights of Englishmen in India, though these were denied to Indians who are British subjects; and that even to-day there is a well-marked distinction discernible between the way White races deal with one another and the way in which they deal with coloured races. No one says that communities which eat and inter-marry do not fight with one another. But it is obvious that even when they fight, they do so with greater consideration for each other than when they fight against races which they would not admit to social intercourse. Why do the Scotch and the English get on so well together, and why is Ireland such a problem? Because the two former "assimilate," while the English and the Irish do not, though they have lived together under the same Crown for nearly the same length of time. Difficult as the problem of Hindu-Mahomedan inter-marriages is, there are reasons why we need not think that it is going to be always as difficult as it is now. There are distinct signs of a proof of social and racial fusion which has been interrupted. Without going so far back as the Moghul period, there are to-day in Indian States

examples of such inter-marriages being recognised by the communities concerned. But for our law courts, the process would have been more rapid. Mr. Gandhi holds it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mahomedans to inter-marry and yet retain intact each other's religion. There is a great Hindu nobleman in an important Indian state, who has married a Mahomedan lady, and yet retains his orthodoxy. The Hindu religion, and all religions for that matter, accept accomplished social facts, or they would not last long. Mutual toleration is not unity. So long as Hindus and Mahomedans mutually tolerate each other, so long there will be no real unity, whatever you may call it on paper. Those who hold that national unity is desirable, and work for it, should realise that inter-dining and inter-marriage are inherent in the idea of unity and prepare the way by facilitating a common line of social evolution for all communities inhabiting India. To sum up the whole matter, Mr. Gandhi sees no harm in caste and his idea of Indian nationality is a confederation of castes. What is going on in Madras is a conclusive proof that, though caste might have been beneficial in its origin, it is now become harmful to national progress. Social divisions there will always be but to us it is inconceivable that any nationality, as the term is understood, can be built up on the basis of caste which, as it is to-day, is nothing but a device to reduce the opportunities of social intercourse between persons of different castes to a minimum in order to concentrate their sympathies and services on their own particular sections. Bacon recommended a single life for churchmen "for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool." That reason has an application to the caste system.

CATTLE-BREEDING IN INDIA.

One of the interesting questions of Indian demography is the occurrence of small groups of people from far-off provinces in different parts of the country, which have settled there in times long past. In course of time, some legendary explanation is evolved by each group, which probably bears some relation to the real cause. Mr. Narasimha Iyengar who, having occupied high offices in the Mysore State, is devoting part of his well-earned leisure to contributing his interesting reminiscences, written in racy and idiomatic English, to the *Mysore Patriot*, gives us a clue to the migration of Kannadas to different parts of the country. Writing of his visit in the seventies to the breeding establishment at Hunsur for the famous Mysore Amrit Mahal cattle which, he is convinced, is the best in India, "the very *It* in cattle flesh", he observes: "The fame of the Amrit Mahal cattle was justified for size, speed, endurance, impatience of harsh treatment, etc. and were proved in scores of military operations undertaken on British ground by the British Government". One significant incident in the employment of these cattle is that they behaved best and were most serviceable in the hands of the drivers who hailed from the same land as their bovine selves. This is perhaps the key to the fact

that so many Kannada people were found in the camp equipments of many a far off station and field in Central and Upper India." Mr. Eardley Norton's reminiscences in the *Looker-on* are widely quoted both for their vivid language and their shrewd observations on men and things. We venture to think that Mr. Narasimha Iyengar's reminiscences are in both respects comparable to Mr. Norton's, and are, in one respect, superior to them, namely, the value of his reflections on Indian administration and social and religious life. Nowadays, when we hear so many complaints about the English of Indians, one cannot help wondering how Mr. Iyengar acquired his wonderful mastery of the language, which is not in the least diminished by advanced age. We hope Mr. Iyengar will give us these articles, revised and enlarged, in the form of a book.

In his reminiscences Mr. Narasimha Iyengar says that from a prolonged study of the matter he has come to the conclusion that the ancient Indians had taken much thought of the importance of maintaining good breeds of cattle for the health and prosperity of the country. Their way of providing for this national necessity was to provide ample pasturage. Mr. Iyengar rails at our modern officials who egg on the rustic to improve his breed of cattle while, at the same time, the means of feeding cattle are reduced. In the report of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India, there is a section on cattle-breeding. The Indian breeds, it is observed, are poor, and the better breeds even among them are disappearing. The question is whether to improve the breed by importing cattle and cross-breeding, or by selection and development of the indigenous varieties. The Department has sensibly decided on the latter policy. But the achievements on which it seems to set much store, do not show that it sufficiently realises that its aim should be to make a better breed of cattle available to the average cultivator in the country. For example, we are told that foreign countries appreciate the output of the Government breeding farms and, in illustration, it is stated that the Belgian Government bought about 400 cattle from one farm. Is the Department sure that the Belgian Government came to India for cattle, not because it could not get them elsewhere? Are we to believe that the Belgian Government preferred Indian cattle to English cattle so much that they did not think that the greater distance and the wider differences of climate between Belgium and India than between Belgium and England, mattered in comparison? Last December, the price of ghee suddenly jumped up, and there was an outcry in Bombay that thousands of cows have been exported. The Government found that about six hundred animals had been sent out mostly to Brazil. Is India going to be a cattle mart for all the world when, it is well known, she has not yet made good the cattle lost in the fodder famines during the last 20 years?

Ancient Indians, realising no doubt the vital importance of cattle to the agricultural industry and to the public well-being generally, inculcated the peculiar sentiment of sanctity of the cow which foreigners have exaggerated into worship

of that animal. That superstitions have been the means of building up civilizations is now a commonplace of sociology. The ancient administrator, with very limited resources of publicity, sought the help of the legist who incorporated the idea in the form of an injunction into the body of the religious observances of the people. The object of these Indians was not to evolve the ideal cow, which seems to be the aim of the Government farms, or to produce white-elephants in the shape of bulls fetching two thousand rupees each—the Department boasts of having that sum offered for a bull at the Hissar establishment—but to breed serviceable animals in large numbers, such as the ordinary Indian cultivator can feed, house, and manage without an expert veterinary department attached to his humble homestead. The section on cattle-breeding in the Agricultural Report shows how far removed the aims of the Government experts are from the needs of the people. They are either idealists seeking to produce the perfect cow by crossing and inter-crossing all the world's varieties or commercially-minded persons seeking to produce the beast which will fetch the highest price in the world markets. In either case, the needs of the Indian peasant is the last thing which enters into their calculations. That humble but necessary individual does not want a cow or a bull which will take the highest prize in an International Cattle Show, but an animal which will give sufficient milk for his little ones or provide sufficient ox-power for his ploughing operations, without eating too much and without exacting requirements as to stabling and medical attendance. From his point of view, these farms are expensive vanities, though they may provide the scientists of the Government of India with opportunities to pursue their pet hobbies. The whole thing is run on wrong lines and, so far as Indian requirements are concerned, is waste of money.

HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

Mr. M. K. Gaudhi, writes in *Young India*—Mr. Candler some time ago asked me in an imaginary interview whether, if I was sincere in my professions of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity, I would eat and drink with a Mahomedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan. This question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu-Mahomedan unity that there should be interdining and intermarrying? The questioners say that if the two are necessary, real unity can never take place because crores of *Sanatanis* would never reconcile themselves to interdining, much less to intermarriage.

I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution. In its origin caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-being. In my opinion the idea that interdining or intermarrying is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary necessities of life. And if mankind had not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indulgence, we would have performed the operation of eating in private

even as one performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody. I can recall the names of several cultured men and women who ate their food in entire privacy but who never had any ill-will against anybody and who lived on the friendliest terms with all.

Intermarriage is a still more difficult question. If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mahomedan brother and *vice versa*. I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we exercise with regard to our appetites whether about eating or marrying, the better we become from a religious standpoint. I should despair of ever cultivating amicable relations with the world, if I had to recognise the right or the propriety of any young man offering his hand in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendliness with the whole world, I have never quarrelled with a single Mahomedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruit in Mahomedan or Christian households. I would most certainly decline to eat cooked food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which his lips have touched and which has not been washed. But the restraint or the exclusiveness exercised in these matters by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mahomedan or the Christian friends or my sons.

But interdining and intermarriage have never been a bar to disunion, quarrels and worse. The Pandavas and the Kauravas flew at one another's throats without compunction although they interdined and intermarried. The bitterness between the English and the Germans has not yet died out.

The fact is that intermarriage and interdining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof. But insistence on either the one or the other can easily become and is today a bar to Hindu-Mahomedan unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindus and Mahomedans cannot be one unless they interdine or intermarry, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindus and Mahomedans if, for example, Mahomedan youths consider it lawful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not, even if they suspected any such thing, freely admit Mahomedans to their houses as they have begun to do now. In my opinion it is necessary for Hindu and Mahomedan young men to recognise this limitation.

I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mahomedans to intermarry and yet retain intact each other's religion. And the true beauty of Hindu-Mahomedan unity lies in each remaining true to his own religion and yet being true to each other.

For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mahomedans even of the most orthodox type being able to regard one another as natural friends instead of regarding one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu-Mahomedan unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today seeing that the Mahomedans are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mahomedan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mahomedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

And mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mahomedan form of worship of God and his manners and customs or if the Mahomedans will be impatient of Hindu idolatory or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahomedans have arisen from each wanting to *force* the other to his view.

SAVE THE CHILDREN.

Space cannot be spared for many words, and in the service of so urgent and so fine a cause as Children's Welfare many words should not be needed. But help is needed, and the support of every man and woman of good will in all Bombay, is wanted during the ensuing week to launch Bombay's Children's Welfare movement on a scale befitting the dignity and importance—and the crying needs—of this great City and Presidency.

Save the babies and serve the race!

Help the Children and make good citizens!

The great Children's Welfare Exhibition and Fete at the Prince of Wales Museum, under the patronage of Her Excellency, the Hon. Lady Lloyd, will be opened at 4-30 p. m. on Monday March 8th. by His Excellency, the Governor, and will be open daily from 4-30 p. m. till midnight, throughout the week.

The Famous Children's Welfare Pearl Necklace, will be on view in the Entrance Hall of the Exhibition, where tickets in Pearl Necklace Lottery can be bought at Rs. 10 each. There will be at least 15 prizes, the first worth about Rs. 85,000; the second about half that amount, the third about

half the second, and so on. Everyone wants tickets, so early application (at the Exhibition, or at one of the Banks or Clubs) is most desirable.

CARNIVAL WEEK IN BOMBAY.

The Exhibition and Fete will be one of the most remarkable ever seen in India. There will be matter of amusement, instruction, entertainment, value, enjoyment and interest here, for all classes, all ages, every taste. Every woman must see the sections for women only. Nobody should miss seeing the Exhibition and Fete, Bombay's great centre of attraction next week. Music, dancing, games, refreshments—the Carnival will provide all these on a generous scale. And, in ensuring pleasure and enjoyment for themselves; in learning a great deal for themselves, all visitors will know that they are helping the children—the finest and most practical of all good causes.

There will be Pardah arrangements at the Children's Welfare Exhibition and Fete, on Wednesday, March 10th from 11. a. m., 1 p. m. when women only will be admitted; entrance in Rampart Row. Free admission will be given to all nurses during these hours, on March 10th.

On the 12th and the 14th instants there will be particularly interesting Indian Concerts in connection with the Children's Welfare Exhibition and Fete, held in the Variety Theatre (Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Freeman Thomas Hospital). At these concerts the famous singer Gauhur Jan, supported by many well-known Indian instrumentalists and singers will appear. The Baroda Orchestra, lent specially by the kind permission of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, will perform. All seats for these concerts are to be reserved and it is necessary to book early. Tickets obtainable from Rose & Coy.

THE CHILDREN'S WELFARE EXHIBITION WEEK.

The following subscriptions are gratefully acknowledged :—

Amount already acknowledged	Rs. 120,084
Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Froom	„ 500
Mrs. Nanabhai Tullackchand	„ 500
Babu Luximan Narayan	„ 100
Bombay Municipality	„ 5,000
Serenbai Merwanji & 2 others	„ 50
	Rs. 126,334

CHRISTIANITY AND VEGETARIANISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I read with much surprise and profound regret the extract from the *Church Missionary Gleaner* in your valuable impression of the 8th instant. I doubt very much whether the statements contained therein are really true. For anybody who has read the Bible knows thoroughly well that flesh-eating is not at all a *sine qua non* to join the Christian Church (Vide Romans 14th chapter verses 17 and 21.). There are

hundreds, if not thousands, of Indian Christians in the Southern districts, like Tanjore, Madura, Trichinopoly and Tinnevely, who are very strict vegetarians, and yet communicant members of the church. I am a Brahmin convert, of over 80 years' standing and am connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was ordained in 1894. All through my life and even up-to-date, I am a strict vegetarian, and a strict abstainer from all kinds of liquor, and fear, the use of tobacco. In a book, I published four years ago, designated "The Hebrew Origin of the Indian Brahmins" I had strongly advocated that the European Missionaries who work and move with the high class Hindus should abstain from eating animal food, which is an abomination to Hindus. Nevertheless the opinion is abroad in India that the moment a Hindu becomes a Christian, he has thenceforth a license to eat mutton, fish, beef, pork, etc., and to get drunk. The great majority of Indian Christians are not vegetarians, and this is a great stumbling block for high caste Hindus to join that community. On the Malabar Coast the Indian Christians are so dirty in their habits that when one eats animal food and drinks liquor, his neighbours would ask him whether he has become a Christian. Unfortunately the religion of Christ is presented to the Indians in a Europeanized form. Christ was an Oriental Guru. It is not at all necessary for one to change his diet, his costume, his identity, his name, and his nationality to become a Christian.

K. R. GOPALA Aiyar.

HINDU MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL AND MONOGAMY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Let me thank you at the start for publishing my article on Mr. Patel's Bill in your issue of the 29th February. I was really glad that my blunt opposition against enacting monogamy was met by a like disapproval and gave leave to make a little explanation. I am entirely for monogamy for Hindus as much as any other race. But as I stated, for making monogamy as a real institution you must have some means of dissolution of marriage. It is merely because Hindu Law does not generally recognise any dissolution of marriage that I submitted we should not prescribe monogamy in the proposed measure. Otherwise a result will follow which I shall elucidate by a concrete instance. A is a Maratha with a Maratha wife married in a strictly Hindu fashion. A's wife deserts him. What can he do? Under the Hindu Law, A can take another Maratha lady for his wife. Supposing A falls in love with a lady of the goldsmith caste, he cannot marry her in spite of the Patel Act because his first defaulting wife lives and cannot be divorced, if monogamy is prescribed in that Act. If by any means this difficulty is avoided, nobody will be more delighted than I to see monogamy enjoined.

P. R. LELU.

[What becomes of the Maratha wife, in the illustration, if A deserts her in "a strictly Hindu fashion"? She cannot remarry so long as A happens to be in the land of the living, married perhaps under the provisions of the Patel Bill to the goldsmith lady with whom he has "fallen in love." Why should A be provided by the Legislature with a facility denied to his Maratha wife? Mr. Lelu has evidently not thought of that. Ed I. S. R.]

**THE CANADA HOSPITAL, NASIK.
(FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN).**

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The citizens of Bombay have always responded generously to every appeal for supporting public institutions meant for women and children. A very interesting public institution in this presidency is the "Canada Hospital" at Nasik. One of its interesting features is the fact that it is supported by foreign money and managed by European ladies for the benefit of Indians of any race or creed. This hospital is urgently in need of financial support, and I have volunteered to make an appeal to the generous public as I have seen, during my recent visit to Nasik, what a very useful and helpful work is being done there for the welfare of the people of this land. I saw the hospital full of patients, mostly Hindus, who were admitted either for ordinary medical or operative treatment. The lady doctors and nurses are whole-time workers. Between Deolali and Nasik this is the only hospital where competent medical and surgical treatments can be had for *pardah* ladies and other female patients who prefer being treated by a doctor of their own sex.

Owing to the exchange trouble the money received from Europe and America gives only half the amount intended by the donors and required for running the hospital. Against this there is the question of the ever-rising prices for food stuffs and clothing to be considered.

Much encouragement to the workers of the hospital and succour to their poor patients can be given if we, the Bombay public, subscribe Rs. 80,000 which is not a large sum when compared to the urgency and importance of the requirements. Many rich people from Bombay have either built or are already building bungalows at Nasik and Deolali for their temporary stay. Among these there might be some who would like to perpetuate the memory of a member of their family, by a special gift. There might be others who would wish to ensure the help of a generous doctor by helping her at this time of special need. Larger amounts could be most usefully devoted to the work; but the very smallest donations will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

I may add that I am in no way connected with the hospital or any one engaged in its service. I was prompted to volunteer to make this appeal as I feel that this hospital deserves every possible financial help at this time, and as I also feel sure that an appeal of this kind is never made to the citizens of Bombay, in vain.

May I request that all enquiries and donations be sent direct to Dr. (Miss) Landon, Canada Hospital, Nasik.

Bombay Guardian House,
Bombay, 26th Feb. 1920.

M. G. JOSEPH.

**THE FIRST INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE IN
BANGALORE.**

(From our Bangalore correspondent.)

In the evening of the 15th February the first inter-caste and widow remarriage which was recently registered under Brahm's Marriage Act III of 1873 by Mr. T. J. Tasker, I. C. S., Registrar under the Act, was celebrated in the Samaj premises. In response to invitations issued by Mr. and Mrs. V. Balasundaram, who were primarily responsible in bringing about this social reform marriage, a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen were present at the Samaj, among them being Rev. Mr. Fuller of the Wesleyan Mission, Mr. O. R. Reddy, Inspector-General of Education, Dr. Muthuswamy Das of Kolar Gold Fields, Mrs. Mahadevan-

Mrs. Coopuswamy Chettiar and many others. Mr. M. Narayan Singh, the bridegroom, as Assistant Master in the Wesleyan Collegiate High School, and Srimathi Bagialakshimi amongst the bride were recipients of congratulations from many friends of Mr. and Mrs. Balasundaram and from others interested in social reform. Mr. E. Subbukrishnaiya, Brahm Missionary from Madras, performed the ritual. After refreshments Mr. Subbukrishnaiya performed Harikatha performance and the interesting function came to a close at 8 p. m.

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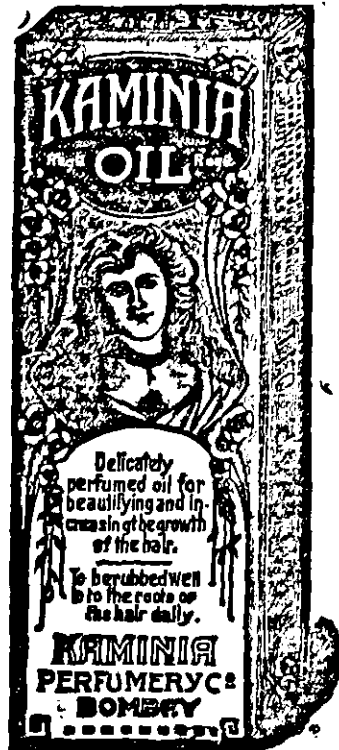
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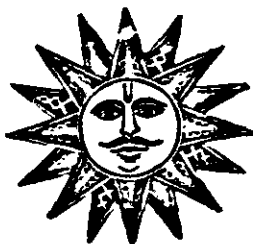
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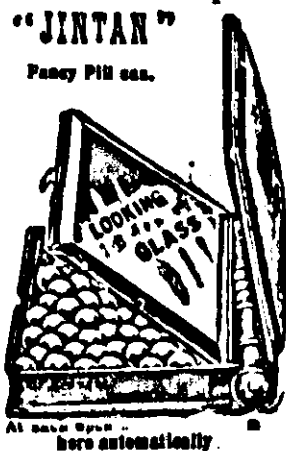
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Turkish Question. The developments of the Turkish question are so dramatic as to suggest the existence somewhere of a sinister influence antagonistic to the Turks. We referred last week to the Prime Minister's vigorous condemnation of the anti-Turkish agitation headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and defence of the decision to leave Turkey in possession of Constantinople, though under the guns of the Allies. A day or two after this pronouncement, came the news of a new massacre of Armenians. Mr. Lloyd George at first pleaded want of official confirmation, but the next day he regretted that the news was unfortunately true. The Turkish Government was at first said to have repudiated responsibility for the massacre and, in a later telegram, to ask for an independent enquiry by the United States into the truth of the allegations. This, however, does not seem to have prevented the Allies from taking drastic measures. British troops have occupied Constantinople and the French and Italians have been requested to send troops to co-operate with them. This seems to be a reversal, though temporary, of the decision which Mr. Lloyd George defended. There is a strong reaction in England against the terms of the Peace Treaty with Germany as being ruinous to the Germans, and the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, supported by Lord Robert Cecil, has demanded its revision. Government gave a temporising reply. There can be no doubt that whether the Coalition Government moves in the matter or not, the next British Government will materially modify the Treaty of Versailles in favour of Germany. The relevancy of this matter here, is that, if the Germans had been driven out of Berlin and dispossessed of many of their provinces, putting these under other Powers, as it is proposed to do in the case of Turkey, modification of the Treaty in the light of events will be useless and impossible. We are sure that, given time, the English people will realise the mistake of treating Turkey like an outcaste State, and it looks as if those who are agitating against Turkey are anxious to have the matter settled out of hand beyond the possibility of revocation. The reaction in British feeling against the Treaty of Versailles is illustrated by an extract from a review

of Mr. Keynes' book "The Economic consequences of the War" in the *Challenge* received last week. Our contemporary which is an independent organ of democratic Christianity, in no wise opposed to Mr. Lloyd George in a party sense, writes:

We have taken advantage of a disarmed and defenceless enemy to exact terms which they could not gain. We forsook justice for revenge. Posterity may find an apologist for Mr. Lloyd George. There is always a recurrent fashion in the drama to idealise the weak tyrant, and history itself is susceptible to such tendencies. But no pleading can blind the historian who chose to set the Fourteen Points, which were the tale of our proposals, against the Treaty of Versailles, which is the record of our performance. By this contrast we stand condemned. We in turn have been faithless to a scrap of paper. . . . We have broken our pledge, we are helping the anti-Christ to oppress and destroy. Is it too late to turn back and amend our way? Drastic revision of the treaty, a complete reversal of its reparation clauses, above all a swerve of spirit from hate to justice, are necessary if the good name of England is to survive and the peoples of Europe are to live. . . . The war has not exhausted our sacrifice. We must lay an offering of love upon the altar of the world.

Our contemporary, echoing no doubt a widely prevalent opinion, calls for a new Peace Conference to revise the main provisions of the Treaty, whose purpose will be reconstruction, and whose spirit will be one of hope and understanding, though it hurts its British pride to do so. Should not the mistakes made in the case of Germany be avoided in the case of Turkey, which was Germany's tool in the war? No Empire stands to lose more by the revival of long-slumbering religious antagonisms which any differential treatment of Turkey is sure to provoke, than the British Empire. India has in its power to exercise a decisive influence on the side of justice and moderation, and we trust Indian leaders of all communities and all shades of opinion will realise the great opportunity that Providence has placed in their hands.

India and the Labour Party. Speaking at a reception given to welcome him on his return to India by the Western India Liberal Association, Mr. N. M. Samarth who was one of the Moderate delegates to England, criticised the National Congress delegates for identifying themselves with the Labour party. If he had stopped there, he would have been perfectly right. For many years past, we have deprecated the cause of Indian reform being identified exclusively with any British political party. Nearly fifteen years ago we fell under the lash of Sir Pherozeshab Mehta for venturing to differ from his advice to some delegates then leaving for England to look to the Liberal Party for friends. Nevertheless, we have continued to maintain our opinion, and we hold to-day more strongly than ever that Indian reformers should

stand on their own feet and that in their relations with British politicians they should make no distinction between one party and another. Mr. Samarth, however, did not stop there. He went on to denounce the Labour Party as self-centred and lacking in breadth of outlook, and asserted that the moment Indian interests came in conflict with those of British labourers, the former will be ruthlessly sacrificed if the Labour Party were in power. This is pure speculation. What is fact is that both the Tory and Liberal parties have not hesitated to sacrifice Indian interests when they came in conflict with the real or supposed interests of an English industry. Mr. Samarth will not require us to produce proofs. They are written large on the face of the fiscal policy which India has been forced to pursue for the last fifty years. And there is this to be said in favour of the Labour Party. The interests of manufacturers and capitalists in two countries often conflict, but the interests of workers seldom do. And that is why, while an international federation of labour is a possibility, such an international federation of manufacturers or capitalists is not. The interests of the common people, as opposed to the privileged classes, are everywhere identical.

The Press Act Meeting. In view of the misapprehension caused by Mr. Munshi, who moved the vote of thanks to the Chairman at the Press Act meeting on the 5th instant, criticising the omission of any reference to Mr. Horniman's deportation in Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speech, it may be stated that when it was first decided to hold the meeting and Sir Narayan was asked to preside, it was not intended to include any resolution relating to Mr. Horniman in the programme, as his deportation was not ordered under the Press Act. It was, however, afterwards agreed to have a resolution asking for the removal of the restriction on Mr. Horniman's return, for the reason that, though his deportation was not ordered technically under the Press Act, it was in virtue of his office as Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* that he was sent away. Sir Narayan, when this was represented to him, accepted the suggested addition. It was characteristically magnanimous of him to do so as any one will recognise who knows the bitter attacks on him which were almost a daily feature of the *Chronicle* during the last few months of Mr. Horniman's editorship. Mr. Natarajan who moved the resolution regarding the removal of the restriction on Mr. Horniman's coming back, would certainly not have done it if Sir Narayan Chandavarkar had, as he had a perfect right to do, insisted on the original programme being retained unaltered, though, of course, Mr. Natarajan is entirely and solely responsible for the remarks which he made in moving the resolution. In these circumstances, Mr. Munshi's remarks were not only irrelevant but also extremely ungracious, and have ill served the purpose he meant to advance. Matters were made still worse by the reporter of the *Bombay Chronicle* taking upon himself to ascribe to the Hon. Principal Paranjpye who seconded the vote of thanks, ideas and expressions which he has felt bound to repudiate in the columns of our contemporary. There are several speakers in Bombay who are thankful to the reporters of the daily press for eking out their actual utterances with such amplification as they (the reporters) in their generosity choose to put in, but Mr. Paranjpye has ideas and convictions of his own, and is able to clothe them in words without such adventitious aid. To take liberties with him, was, therefore, a rash act which, no doubt, the gentleman concerned has had cause to regret.

The Child-Welfare Exhibition. Last week was the Children's and Lady Lloyd's week in Bombay. Very

great credit is due to Her Excellency and her co-adjutors, Indian and English, for the success of the Child Welfare Exhibition which they have so ably organised. The central features of the exhibition were, of course, the educational, health and maternity sections, but the object being to raise funds for permanent work, a number of amusements were provided in the shape of side-shows. We trust that the proceeds of the exhibition will exceed Lady Lloyd's most sanguine expectations. Her Excellency has good reason to be gratified at the quickening which is so evident of intelligent interest among all classes in the problems of child-life in this city. The public of Bombay, on their part, are deeply grateful to Her Excellency for her devoted and unwearied labours in organising the exhibition and making it the grand success that it has undoubtedly been. If even a hundred less children die per year in Bombay as the result of Her Excellency's propaganda, it will be an achievement conferring lasting happiness on every one who loves her children.

The Situation in South Africa: A valued friend sends the following notes from South Africa which are not without bearing on some current problems in this country: "The political situation here is very serious. General Smuts has his back to the wall and Mr. Hertzog is very strong. The victory of the latter will go very hardly with the Indians out here. The Nationalists (the extreme Boer section) are making the expulsion of the Indians one of their chief battle cries. In South Africa the trouble is the domination of the moffusal or the back-veld. It is that domination which is causing all the trouble. If we don't watch it, we shall have the domination of the moffusal in India; and that will be a terrible tyranny. Here General Smuts is at the mercy of ignorant and reactionary Boers. Education here is interesting though depressing. The material progress of the schools has been excellent—good pay, buildings, equipment, etc., but the organisation is pitiable. It confirms me in my contention that India does not need merely more money for Education: she needs an overhauling of the organisation."

A Correction: In our leading article last week on "Implications of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity", dissenting from certain opinions expressed by Mr. Gandhi in an article on the subject which we reproduced from his journal, *Young India*, a sentence occurred characterising his article as "superficial, ill-informed and misleading". It was certainly offensive though not intentionally so, and we regret it was not omitted.

Swami Vivekananda on Indigenous Medical Treatment. For all his intense nationalism, the late Swami Vivekananda was not a blind advocate of indigenous medical treatment for diseases. The February number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* reports a conversation with him in the course of which a disciple suggested that indigenous Kaviraj medicine was very well suited to the Indian constitution. The Swami who was himself at the time undergoing Kaviraj treatment, dolefully replied: "My idea is that it is better even to die in the treatment of doctors well posted in the modern scientific developments of medicine. But laymen who do not know the modern scientific developments of medicine, but blindly go by the ancient books, may cure a few cases, still there is not much hope of recovery in their treatment."

The Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundur. We are requested to announce that the anniversary of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundur, comes off on the 4th and 5th April next. Mr. Gandhi will give away the prizes.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 14, 1920.

FREEDOM OR POWER?

It is a paradox that, while Indians have acquired more political power, they have less of civil liberty to-day than they had thirty years ago. When the National Congress movement was started there was no Press Act. Any one could start a Press or publish a newspaper without having to deposit a security or obtain a dispensation from the Magistrate. That, notwithstanding the Act, the Indian Press has grown and is growing enormously in influence, is due to the growing appreciation of the people of the uses of a strong press to resist chiefly the aggression of the Executive Government on their liberty. It is a fact worth noting in this connection that the majority of Indian newspapers belong to the National Congress side of politics. This is because liberty is the primary need of the Indian people and the Indian Press, and the National Congress by its demand for a declaration of rights and otherwise lays more stress upon it than the Moderate party which attaches more importance to the participation in political power promised by the Reform Act. It was no mere accident that brought the Punjab troubles in such close sequence to the Reform scheme. There is a logic in events transcending what we know as logic, and it was that logic that ordained that the one should come so closely upon the heels of the other. Instinctively the National Congress put the Punjab occurrences in the forefront of its programme at Amritsar. They raised the issue of civil liberty as a greater end than participation of political power, in the most acute form ever known in India. They stamped the demand for a declaration of rights which, since Mrs. Besant's jaiinternment, was tending to lose some of its vitality, with the authentic seal of national security.

Mr. Montagu's attitude has consistently been to subordinate the question of civil liberty to that of participation in political power. Speaking at the banquet given in his honour on the passing of the Reform Act, he practically justified the martial law excesses at Amritsar, asking of his audience of young Indians whether they should not do the same in a similar emergency. His colleague, Lord Sinha, expatiated a good deal on the Reform Act on his arrival in India, but said never a word to soothe the lacerated heart of the Punjab. Mr. Bihendra Nath Basu who, though no longer in office, has a liking for official circumlocution for its own sake, has, so far as we know, been observing a like reticence. The Moderate leaders, although for obvious reasons unable to imitate Mr. Montagu's detachment, have been infected by his example in their relative valuation of the events in the Punjab and the passing of the Reform Act. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is reported to have said in a public speech at Lahore or Amritsar that they should try to forget or

overlook the martial law occurrences and to appreciate the merits of the Reform Act. No doubt, he and other leaders honestly believe that the participation of political power under the Reform Act will in itself be a guarantee of civil liberty, but history does not support this view. Tocqueville has shown that the French Revolution, far from reversing the political spirit of the old State, only carried out the same principles with intenser energy. The State, which was absolute before, became still more absolute, and the organs of the popular will became more efficient agents for the exercise of arbitrary power.

The popular view is that the excellent principles of the Revolution were perverted by the absolutism of the revolutionary leaders. But, as Acton points out, the Reign of Terror and the period of convulsion were barren of political results, and the absolutism of the Republic was really the work of the ideas of 1789, incorporated in that Constitution of 1791 which continued for seventy years the model of all foreign Constitutions, until Austria returned to the medieval originals which England alone had preserved. He goes on to observe:

The purpose of all Continental governments framed on that pattern, is not that the people should obtain security for freedom, but participation in power. The increase in the number of those who share the authority renders the authority still more irresistible; and as power is associated with wealth, those who are interested in the augmentation of power cannot be interested in the diminution of expenditure and thus parliamentary government generally results in an improved administration and increased resources, but also in addition to the pressure and the expenses of the State.

As we understand these observations, the Montagu scheme follows the continental scheme rather than the English model of giving precedence to security for freedom over participation in power. The Morley-Minto reforms also followed the same main plan which Sir William Meyer rather cynically, though truly, described before the Joint Committee of Parliament in a sententious form. "It there are people who would upset the boat," he said, "it is best to have them in the boat." The five million or so voters will, in a way, participate in political power, but will that mean more security for freedom? Not necessarily. That is why men who feel a fervour for freedom and have worked for it in the religious and social spheres cannot regard the Reform Act as a set-off against the Press Act. We may add that had constitutional reform taken the line of greater security for freedom and not merely of participation of power, we would probably have been spared the several communal demands for special protection.

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN EAST AFRICA.

Judging from recent numbers of the *East African Chronicle*, the principal organ of Indian opinion in that colony, the Indian situation in East Africa seems to be taking a favourable turn. It is evident that the main cause of this happy feature, is the visit of Mr. Andrews and the effective manner in which he exposed the falsehoods with which it was being sought

to instigate measures of repression against Indians. The first indication of a reaction against the nefarious propaganda, was the closely-reasoned and thoughtful letter which we reprint from Mr. Robert Chamberlain, one of the oldest British settlers. This has evidently had an excellent effect. It has put heart into the more fair-minded and honest section of the local British community and encouraged it to speak out. The *East African Chronicle* of the 14th February reprints a letter from Mr. G. H. W. Mackenzie which in its indictment of the selfish section of Europeans is even more outspoken than Mr. Robert Chamberlain's. "No one can get away from the fact," says Mr. Mackenzie,

that Indians were here before the advent of the European, and that they have assisted in opening up the country to a very great extent. They penetrated far into places that were not anywhere near civilisation, and began and developed the business of trading, and were the first to induce natives to wear clothes, though this only began with a piece of cloth. Financially the Indians own the greater part of this country; neither can anyone refuse to admit that the greater number of Europeans in this country are in their debt. They are always ready to assist in any good cause. There is no poor Indian to the extent that he would have to give himself up as destitute of means of subsistence. Amongst the Indian community one assists the other to a very great extent, when times are very bad. They would also assist any White man when occasion arose in every possible way. Dirty! The majority are not really dirty. It is their manner of living or dressing, there may appear to be a lot of rubbish in our eyes, but it is clean rubbish."

The *East African Chronicle* of the 21st February records another pronouncement by an Englishman in that colony, prefacing it with the remark that there are signs that the tide is slowly changing. "We can feel," writes our contemporary, "the reaction setting in. One by one European gentlemen are boldly taking the platform in correction of the anti-Indian crusade." The President of the Kusumu Chamber of Commerce, Mr. F. Colman of the National Bank of India, made an admirable speech at the annual general meeting of the Chamber, in the course of which he strongly deprecated the anti-Indian attitude of some of his fellow-Europeans, on the grounds of the material interest of the Colony as well as justice to his Indian fellow-subjects. The passage is rather lengthy but it is worth quoting. Mr. Colman said:

I do not profess to be a seer, nevertheless we can see India awakening from her repose, organizing commercially, organizing politically. India is not the India of ten years ago. The West is bidding strenuously for her favour. The time has gone past for treating her with indifference. The trade of the West of Mesopotamia, of the Persian Gulf, of Egypt and of Africa will be attracted to such a centre as Bombay which would represent a ready market of adjustment and exchange, rendering such a point an exchange clearing house of this part of the world. The time is very near—may be this year—when Uganda will sell the majority of her cotton, which is of fine quality, to Bombay, stimulating the tendency to transfer a share of Lancashire's industry to India. East Africa and Uganda may "adjust" their currency, change it to Gold, Copper, Nickel or paper yet the exchange circle must always remain Mombasa, Bombay, London, necessitating harmonious

as opposed to schismatic, inter-relation. The importance of India not only to East Africa but to the Empire, makes it all the more necessary that we should deal with her subjects in this country with all fairness. Yet our candidates deafen us with their cry of "Indian Restriction." On what grounds do they uphold the attempt to penalize them in the land they were the first to occupy and develop?

Mr. Colman condemned the attitude adopted by the majority of British speakers and newspaper contributors as one which had never been supported by Imperial reasoning and was merely the ebullition of local feeling. He went on to observe:

It is a matter of deep concern to observe the effort at repression of the Indian community which has been such a conspicuous feature of East African politics for the past few years. Every opportunity seems to be taken by certain sections of the public and Press to distress and stultify Asiatics. And what have they done to deserve such treatment? Entered into competition? That is the paramount grievance. There is no such grievance in India. Europeans in the Peninsula enter into competition with British Indians and on the same terms as in this country and are quite able to hold their own—and more. But the inevitable has occurred. Our perennially un-systematic attitude has done its work and instead of having to handle an unconcerned and confiding fraternity we have now to deal with a politically organized community vastly superior in numbers to our own. We might well be more generous in our views and consider their position and accept their appeal to take part in the administration. It is an Imperial necessity that we should review our attitude and meet their legitimate aspirations. We may well regard the fact that British India put more men in the field in our recent life and death struggle than all the Colonies put together. Our present attitude is not in accord with this or the spirit of Empire or the general trend of political movement of our day. The Home Government can never approve for a moment the practical prescription of our Indian fellow subjects of the Empire which is so plainly the intention of so many of our spokesmen.

The protests of Englishmen like Mr. Robert Chamberlain, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Colman, are beginning to have their effect. The *East African Chronicle* reports that there has been a marked difference in the latest session of the convention of Associations, as contrasted with previous sittings: "the Indian question" automatically dropped out. It was, in fact, no "question" at all. And the theme has noticeably been abandoned by the candidates at Nairobi, Upland, and at the Coast, who have issued manifestos in preparation for the Legislative Council elections. We hope that this auspicious development will grow and prosper, and that the relations between the English and Indian community in East Africa will be once for all established on lines of friendly and cordial co-operation.

FACTORY LABOUR IN INDIA.

There are thoughtful Indians who hold that the conditions of labour in factories can never be improved so as to admit of a healthy and high-toned personal and family life, that the man or woman must become a piece of machinery like that which he or she has to tend all day; and that as man is more than machine

factures, factory labour is inimical to national and social well-being and that, therefore, factory industries should as far as possible be discouraged, if not altogether abolished. This is an extreme view. The important features which differentiate factory industries from handicrafts is, first, the use of mechanical power, secondly, the gathering together of a number of workers without any social or family ties at a factory situated, as is often the case, at a place distant from their homes and villages and, thirdly, the extreme division of labour. Modern industrial nations, excited thereto by the lust of commerce, had treated their human instruments with less care and consideration than their machinery. But gradually labour has become conscious of its own rights, and has turned the habit of working in association for the profit of the employer to good use by working together to attain its own salvation. Agricultural labourers unused to working in groups have always been unable to compass by combination any considerable improvement in their position. But factory labourers have succeeded in many countries by using the knowledge gained in the factories of the advantages of combination, in compelling employers to give them an increased and increasing share of the profits of industry. And several enlightened employers themselves have devised and put into operation schemes of co-operative industry in which the workman has also a proprietary interest. A list of such schemes, some of which are in actual operation and some of which have been suggested, was given in an American exchange, *Social Service*. It is thus evident that if factory industry has, like most institutions, imperfections, it has also, like them, in itself the means of overcoming them, in the habit of combination which it fosters among the workers. If wise and humane foresight on the part of employers and of the State does not anticipate and provide for the dislocation of family life and personal standards, which is caused by the workers being drawn away from their homes and villages, their own outraged personalities will ere long rise in wrath and require reforms to be effected at the risk not only of the employers but of the whole community. The history of the past in the countries of Europe and America, and also in India, show that partly by the humanity and foresight of employers and the State, and partly by the more or less effective use of their power of combination, factory workers have had their conditions of life gradually ameliorated. We are, therefore, unable to condemn factory industries, as such, as being incompatible with a clean and healthy life for workers.

Speaking on the Hon. Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Hasmoon Jaffer's motion to appoint a strong commission to enquire into the conditions of factory labour, Sir Thomas Holland told the Imperial Legislative Council that, on the whole, he thought it not unfair or indiscreet to say that he would rather see the mill industry of Bombay wiped out than accept an indefinite perpetuation of the conditions under which many of the workers are necessarily compelled to live. As Sir Thomas knows very well and, indeed, stated in his speech, that they need not be perpetuat-

ed, the Council might have been spared this affectation of idealism, especially on the part of one speaking for Government. The mill operatives themselves, sympathy for whom was the professed motive for this outburst, would not approve of Sir Thomas Holland's anathema. The conditions in which they live and work are bad in all conscience, but the days were when labour conditions in England were much worse, and yet nobody thought of wiping out English industries as the ultimate remedy. We are accustomed to have humanitarian grounds urged in support of policies which result in material loss to India and her people, and Sir Thomas' unfortunate remark might be availed of by Manchester politicians to press upon the Government of India reforms which may seriously cripple our mill industry. Further, bad as are the conditions of life of the mill operatives, they are less bad than they were some years ago, and the very fact that the last great strike was conducted by them in a perfectly orderly and constitutional manner shows that they have derived other advantages too from their occupation. No one who had occasion to watch their bearing, will say that they are a down-trodden class. There is no use indulging in exaggerations, and Sir Thomas Holland's observation was unpardonable. On the subject of Mr. Jaffer's motion itself, we agree with Sir Thomas that there is much relating to the conditions of factory labour which needs reform, and which requires no Commission to discover. The fact is that a number of members of Legislative Council who cannot spare the time or do not command the knowledge to form considered opinions of their own on public questions, find it easy to move resolutions recommending the appointment of committees "of officials and non-officials" to do this for them. "It has been said," observed Sir Thomas Holland, "that when the devil had exhausted all other devices for retarding progress, he invented the Committee; and the Commission, with his special object in view, is such an improvement on the Committee that its inventor may readily obtain, at any rate, provisional protection, without infringing the devil's patent rights." We do not know if Sir Thomas Holland had Lord Hunter's Committee in mind when he made this caustic comment on the inutility of Committees. The fact that he did not exclude any Committee from the scope of his generalisation carries with it its own significance. There are several reforms which can and ought to be undertaken at once. No Commission is needed to say what they are. In fact, we think that a Commission of Enquiry is not at present the most urgent need in connection with the problem of factory labour.

The most extraordinary speech on the motion, was, however, that of Sir Dinshaw Wacha. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj, while holding that the appointment of a Commission would be premature, laid stress on the education of the workers and the formation of unions among them as the first conditions for instituting a system of arbitration with a good chance of success. This is perfectly true. It follows that, in the present state of illiteracy of the majority of factory workers, it

is the duty of Government and all men of goodwill in the community to see that their interests are duly safeguarded. Sir Dinshaw Wacha's speech shows that he has utterly failed to realise this fact. His account of the recent strike of mill workers in Bombay, how it arose, how it developed, and how it came to an end, is not in accord with facts. The narrative of a mill operative reproduced in one of the representations of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee showing that the strike really began as a lock-out, has up to this date not been contradicted. To talk of a "lightning-strike" as Sir Dinshaw did, is, therefore, not correct. Neither is it correct to say, as he did, that the operatives organised themselves in a threatening manner, and that it was only when the aid of military was invoked, that the trouble was checked. On the other hand, it was the general view that the operatives had behaved with exemplary good sense, and it was this which facilitated the intervention of His Excellency. As for the invocation of the military having ended the strike, it need only be pointed out that the strike lasted many days after the troops began to be picketed in the mill district. We have stated more than once that it is a mistake to regard the mill-owners and agents, as a class, to be hard-hearted in their dealings with their workers. But when Sir Dinshaw Wacha puts them in a par with the operatives and urges on their behalf that they too have their "grievances" against the latter, it is impossible to take him seriously. As a matter of history, we may point out that he was not correct when he said that, "when the trouble was settled, the mill-owners had the same terms to put before the strikers as they had determined on at the outset." The terms were notified first, and it was not till a week after the notification that the operatives resumed work after persuasion by the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee and other wholesome influences. Sir Dinshaw Wacha seems to have been especially put out by Sir Thomas Holland's appreciative references to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work. Sir Narayan had said in an article that what was wanting really was "the human touch" in the relations of the mill-owners to their workers. What is their one-sided in this statement? Perhaps, it would be best to leave the matter at this point. Sir Dinshaw seems to have been entirely ignorant of the facts and taken no care to acquaint himself with them before talking as he did in the Council.

THE ARUNDALE ROMANCE.

The *Hindu* of Madras is one of the ablest and most important of Indian newspapers. If we had to say what its special characteristic is, we should unhesitatingly say, a certain cold, deliberate, calculated precision in its views of men and measures. Certainly no one can accuse it of being impulsive or effusive. The outburst headed "Adyar's Ways" in its issue of the 5th instant, therefore, attracted an amount of attention which it would not have done in most other journals. The solitary fact which evoked it is not such

as to call on its own merits for such portentous treatment. Intermarriages between Indians and Europeans have long lost the charm of novelty. They have rather become commonplace, and nowadays excite little comment except in ultra-Indian or ultra-Anglo-Indian circles. Most of us dismiss the news of such a marriage without a thought and, if more generously disposed, with a hope that it may prove more happy than several such marriages have been. It is true that the generality of such intermarriages has been between Indian men and European women. But the principle is the same in the case of an Indian girl espousing an Englishman. There have been a few such cases, though far fewer than of the former kind. Why the *Hindu* should have lashed itself into rage over a marriage contemplated by Mr. G. S. Arundale with a Brahmin girl in Madras, passes our understanding. Where is "the great scandal" which several leading Brahmin friends of Mr. Arundale were invoked by the *Hindu* to avert at the risk of forfeiting the respect and confidence of their fellow-countrymen? The *Hindu* felt it its duty "to warn Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale that their responsibilities will be terrible and that the reaction of such a step on their political and educational activities will be intense." We confess that all this seems to us to be quite hysterical and unbecoming the columns of a great Indian newspaper like the *Hindu*. The correspondent who protested that the *Hindu* had no right to attack a private transaction and that it had done a grave injustice to the girl and made her the subject of common talk everywhere, was perfectly right. The explanation of the *Hindu* that the matter of its comment was wholly derived from, and the paragraph itself published at the desire of, a close relative of the girl's, only means that that journal lent itself to be used by an interested party to create a scandal about a contemplated act which was well within the rights of those most immediately concerned in it. That the *Hindu* introduces this explanation as due "in fairness to ourselves" shows that our contemporary is not quite proud of its journalistic escapade.

If the *Hindu's* lapse is surprising, Mr. Arundale's behaviour is still more surprising. He wrote a letter to the very next issue of the *Hindu* stating that a marriage such as that it had referred to was in contemplation, "but that being assured, however, by responsible friends yesterday morning, including Mrs. Annie Besant, that it would be likely seriously to prejudice, in the present difficult situation, such humble service in India's cause as I am able to render, I have decided to subordinate my personal interests to those of the land I adopted as my motherland many years ago." The bump of egoism must be very pronounced in Mr. Arundale's phrenology to make him so oblivious of the enormity of subordinating not his "personal interests," as he says, but the far more important interests of the young girl whom he has exposed to an odious publicity, to his precious contribution to India's cause. The motherland is best served by treating her daughters with the loyalty and reverence that is her due. Some glimmering of this seems to have dawned

ed on Mr. Arundale's mind, because, we see, that he has sent an explanation to the press that he has only postponed, not abandoned, the contemplated alliance. Mr. Arundale's letter to the *Hindu* quoted above is not consistent with his subsequent explanation that only postponement, and not abandonment, of the projected marriage was intended. The use of the past tense when he wrote that "the marriage you ~~made~~ *made* to *was* in contemplation" could not have any other meaning. To postpone a thing is not to put it out of contemplation, rather it is to prolong and extend and perfect the contemplation of it. Further, the advice of responsible friends, including Mrs. Besant, was too big a force to produce so slight an effect as mere postponement. No doubt, Mr. Arundale used the phrase "in the present difficult situation," but no one with the least sense of proportion would have understood him to mean seriously that "the present difficult situation" arising from high prices, dislocation of exchange, labour strikes, the Khilafat question, the Punjab troubles, the squabbles between Nationalists and Moderates, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and so on, would have been affected one way or another by his little and rather one-sided romance at Adyar!

This, and the article and Mr. Mahadeva Sastry's letter in *New India* in defence of Mr. Arundale and against the onslaught in the *Hindu*, leave on our mind the uneasy impression that the young lady's feelings have counted for little in the matter, and that the negotiations have been conceived and conducted, as high contracting parties in an international transaction, between Mr. Arundale and the elder brother of the lady (who is too young to be involved in this grievous turmoil) as a momentous step in bringing about the union of the East and the West. In fact, Mr. Arundale's role seems to approximate more to that of a "mandatory" under the League of Nations than to that of the happy man who has wooed and won his fair lady. If the *Hindu* had confined its comments to this aspect of the matter without dragging in Adyar, Mrs. Besant, and Hindu Society, it would have been well within its rights as a public journal. Our purpose in insisting on an age-limit in Mr. Patel's Bill is just to obviate cases of this kind. The *Hindu* announces that the young lady and her relatives have left for Bombay which has become a sort of matrimonial clearing-house for all India.

THE INDIAN PRESS ACT *

(By SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR)

I am glad to associate myself with this movement for the repeal of the Press Act. I have been ever since I began public life a supporter of the liberty of the press. Having been myself at one time a journalist for twelve years I have realised the grave responsibilities of the Press and the power it has to make or mar its country. I have felt how precious on the whole is the liberty of the Press? I will however not dilate here on the value of the liberty of the Press. That is unnecessary because the Government by re-

* Speech delivered as Chairman of the Public Meeting held in Bombay on the 5th March 1920.

moving the restrictions imposed on certain newspapers under the Indian Press Act has shown that it too values that liberty. So long, however, as the Act remains,—and the suggestions of Sir Sivaswami Iyer for mere modifications in the Act will make no difference—liberty of the Press in India must remain adulterated; and we all know adulterated articles and policy are not pure. My opinion that the Press Act should be repealed is not of to-day. It was strongly pressed in a memorial to Government addressed by the Bombay Presidency Association five years ago.

Briefly, what have been the main arguments advanced in support of the Act? First, it has been said that the ordinary law has been unable to get at "Veiled Seditious." What, I ask, is veiled seditious? In plain language it must mean seditious which works and spreads in secret, which is not open and therefore cannot be got at by ordinary means. It operates underground, hidden. But a newspaper's writing is open; it works in broad day-light. So if it is seditious, it cannot be said of it that the seditious is veiled. If by veiled seditious is meant covert attacks upon Government, intended to overthrow it, I humbly affirm, having had judicial experience, that the ordinary law is sufficient to provide against veiled seditious. In a recent decision a well-known English Judge sitting on the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords to decide a case, said in his considered judgment that words which are dangerous to society or social stability change their meaning according as society changes, with its views and ideals. They have no fixed import applicable to all times. Seditious is one of those words, and the definition of it in the Penal Code is so elastic as to apply to any seditious writing veiled or not. The real root of the matter is this term "veiled seditious" used in support of the Press Act is a cover for the distrust of our Courts by the Executive. But it is said, the Courts have power under the Act to decide whether a newspaper's writing is seditious or not. Yes, they have the power; but, there again, it is an adulterated power, not the full judicial enquiry of the ordinary law. That full judicial enquiry, it has been urged in defence of the Act, won't do in the case of newspapers because a long trial in Court with the articles read, commented on and exposed to public gaze by publication of the Court's proceedings in newspapers serves only to spread the seditious writing more widely than when it had appeared in the paper arraigned, and to make a martyr of the charged editor. But that evil remains all the same in the case of the Press Act. The proceedings in Court where they are taken against the paper brought under the Act, are exposed to public gaze all the more and when the Court holds it guilty, it and the editor become martyrs, greater martyrs too than if they had been found guilty by the process of the ordinary law, because the more summary character of the proceedings of the Press Act strikes the ordinary layman as denial of full justice and as oppression. The Act has been in operation now for several years. We have had sufficient experience of that operation. Does the experience justify the continuance of the Act on the Statute Book? The test is—Has its

application these nine years allayed unrest? It has not. Its supporters would perhaps say: "Things might have been worse but for the Press Act." That is at best speculation. It is not because the bedrock of fact stands that the unrest has been there all the same. I would say, it has been greater than it was before the Act. At any rate, it has not sensibly diminished. Then what is the justification for the Act except the making of the Executive partly at least Judges in their own cause? That is the sting of this law and this sting must go, if liberty of the Press is to be real.

It has been declared by His Majesty that we are entering on a New Era of reform in India. That New Era has been initiated by amnesty to a large number of political prisoners and by removal of restrictions imposed on a large number of newspapers under the Press Act. We ask that this circle of confidence for the New Era may be completed by the repeal of the Act itself and the right hand of fellowship extended cordially by Government to the newspaper press, whose function it is in modern times to discharge the duty of the prophets in old times. I would also most earnestly appeal to the Press to rise to the occasion of the New Era, to the height of His Majesty's recent Proclamation and serve the country and the Empire with a faithful sense of duty and dignity in upholding the cause of the people and of progressive government, in exposing fearlessly and truthfully all wrong and injustice and in purifying the private and public life of the country all round. It is of no use for a newspaper to claim liberty of the press in the name of liberty and criticise and condemn autocracy as it should and at the same time impose its own autocracy and slavery on the people by creating its own reign of newspaper terror and autocracy, vilifying all who differ from it and who do not sing to its tune, or pander to its tastes. Liberty in such a case is worse than slavery. Liberty of the Press is a means, not an end. It is a means to a larger liberty. When the liberty of the Press becomes liberty for the newspaper, none for others, it imposes its own slavery on others and endangers the larger liberty and taints and corrupts true national life. We are now at a momentous step of India's growth when we all, Government, the Press and the people, are being tested and tried by Providence. Let all three strive for real liberty. One way to that is the repeal of the Press Act by Government and fearless, high-minded and impartial discharge of its duty by the Press.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

We reprint below a remarkable letter addressed to the *Daily Leader* of Nairobi by Mr. Robert Chamberlain whom an esteemed correspondent of the *East African Chronicle* describes as "an Englishman in East Africa one of the oldest, most successful, and most capable settlers."

SIR,

By his manifesto, Lord Delamere has frankly joined issue on the Indian and native questions as against the mind, conscience, and justice of Imperial England. He has behind him the majority of the white settlers. But he has not behind

him the minority who dare to seek their judgments below the surface of things. In my opinion, the probable and almost inevitable result of the present white attitude will be to compel the Imperial Government to take both subjects entirely out of the influence of our local jurisdiction and to legislate on both these fundamental issues by Order-in-Council. Lord Delamere's weakness is that he is just a Repressionist. He is a factor to be considered, but not a beacon light for the guidance of statesmanship. By his manifesto, his lordship sets his signature once more after due and deliberate consideration over a long period, to the notorious and odious contents of Chapter Seven of the Economic Commission Report. Lord Delamere is a Repressionist. He is a Repressionist as against the native. He is a Repressionist as against the Indians. He offers no gleam of hope to either of these sections of the community. His real attitude towards the native can be summed up in his inevitable reply to one pregnant question. "May I," asks a progressive, civilised native, "can I buy land from the white man in the open market?" And Lord Delamere's reply, given in the name of the whole white community is an emphatic "No." "The superior race shall be free to interpenetrate you. Under no circumstances shall you ever enjoy a similar privilege or a similar right as against the white man. The use of the soil is open to you in places to be selected for you by us. It is there open to you only upon the conditions of your servility and your acquiescence in the arbitrary dictates of our superior will." The battle between white and black was joined on precisely ago this issue many decades in South Africa. It has been fought out there. The writing is already on the wall that the white man has lost. Make no mistake about that. Let him who doubts go and look for himself. He need not look below the surface. The white man is still in South Africa in large numbers. He holds the harbours, the railways, and the goldfields. But the soil he does not hold. The soil is possessed by the black man. For him it yields its fruits, for him and for his seed for ever. The dream of colonisation of South Africa belongs already to the world of dreams, of unrealities, of things unattainable. With the last ton of gold safely out of the last slope, the true position of the white man, relative to the black will be declared in all its stark nakedness. The South African battle has been stubbornly fought. The white man has persevered through many generations. The native has just gone on living and increasing and learning. There is to-day in South Africa no "Native Problem." The problem now is a White Man's Problem. How is he to maintain a bare foothold for his children against the vast multiplying, advancing hordes of skilled, capable, and civilised black men? The Repressionist policy of South Africa has availed less than nothing against this over-whelming tide of humanity. And Lord Delamere's policy of Repression will avail just as little in dealing with the native question of East Africa. It will avail even less as against the Indians. The Indian community is fortunately well able to take care of itself in the coming struggle. The Indian asks for two things—the franchise and access to the soil. Both requests will in due season become demands. For both requests are reasonable and each is rooted in justice and in the nature of the circumstances. And each request, soon to become a demand, leads itself to compromise and agreement without danger of weakening white control in essential features. The worst of the matter is that delay breeds ill-will and hostility on both sides. Delay in the discharge of the political justice as between races can and does produce social dangers of the worst possible type. The European does not understand the Indian and fears him—fears him as a commercial, industrial and political competitor. He fears that any extension of the franchise to the Indians will lead—necessarily and inevitably by the sheer weight of numbers—to a transfer of political control to Indian hands. The fear and its origin can be understood. The white man's view of the franchise is the democratic view. He can think of the vote only in the terms of complete equality—of manhood suffrage. The white man believes that the Indian shares this view of the franchise, and we all believe—for I am here at one with my fellows—that the Indian Community would be unable to support such an extensive privilege by the necessary individual character and capacity for political affairs. A white man may be illiterate. But he is none the less a capable

and responsible political factor, for he has a struggle of centuries long behind him which has produced political aptitude as a second nature. An Indian may be educated in the academic sense of that much abused term, and yet may be quite incapable of casting an intelligent vote. It is here that we touch the kernel of this tough political problem. But let us be sure of one thing before we develop our fears. Does the Indian Community, in reality and sober truth, ask for the franchise in the sense we are prone to attribute to their request? Personally, I think not. As I read the situation, it would appear that a reasonable measure of voting and deliberative power entrusted to the educated and propertied classes would meet all their wish and even all their aspirations. They refuse—and in my opinion, they rightly refuse—to accept our arbitrary and autocratic domination. They would accept and even rejoice in our political guidance and control. But they ask—and in my opinion they rightly ask—that we shall base such guidance and control upon our respect for their manhood, for their civilisation and for their common humanity. Could they well be content with less? What the remote future has in store, what is to be the result of this contact on African soil, on our Western and their Eastern civilisation, no man can dare predict. But neither shall we dare to fear the consequences of an act of bare political justice. For myself, I hold firmly to the belief that our European influences upon African evolution will gain in spiritual depth by virtue of co-operation, by virtue of some moral and human quality in Eastern civilisation which will help to reinforce even our own great powers. If I did not and could not hold such faith as this, I should value at less than nothing my own share in the sorrows and joys which make up the tale of human existence.

As a matter of recent African history, there is a queer but exact parallel to the present white attitude, towards the Indian Community in East Africa. That attitude, as defined and expounded by Lord Delamere, is precisely the attitude of the Transvaal Republic towards the Uitlanders. I was an Uitlander for a term of years, and I know what it feels like to be a political outcast. The Uitlander won. He imposed his political principles on the evolution of South Africa. The result is—and rightly—that the Dutch majority, once the repressive factor, now rules the English minority upon British principles. You will see—for I dare to prophesy on this particular head—exactly the same result here. The Indian Uitlander will win. He asks just now for the reasonable measure of political justice which later on he will sternly demand. Lord Delamere offers him a very decided measure of repression and mixes the draught with the bitters of threatened expulsion. Englishmen know all about the policy of repression. We tried it as a national policy towards the Jews during a period of some centuries. Under one of the early-Edwards, we even expelled the Jews. And what was the result? I would ask Lord Delamere to attend at the House of Lords on a gala day. And when he has discussed our local Indian question with Lord Sinha, I would ask him to do a little counting for me. I don't want him to count receding foreheads and weak chins. On a gala day, that would be too severe a task in spite of the number of modern creations. No, all I want him to do is to count noses—Norman noses against Semitic noses. And having made the count, the noble lord might resume his place and talk to Lord Sinha about a Lord Disraeli who once sat there in the place of pomp and power. And just as the old policy of repression failed against the English Jews, so will it just as surely fail against the East African Indian. Our treatment of the Indian question here can take its origin neither out of racial prejudice, nor repression, nor expulsion. The Repressionist is really a Bolshevik, turned upside down. If he were really a logical, normal human being, he would realise that a policy of repression finds itself expressed in the long run in a policy of extermination. You remember Swift's remedy for Irish unrest; let the rich Irish colonist make an article of diet out of the poor Irish aboriginal, and all would be well. Lord Delamere's proposal to expel or repress the Indian is founded on precisely the same political principle as that which Swift reduced to contempt and laughter by the scornful touch of his biting wit.

We can neither repress, nor expel, nor segregate, nor even exterminate the Indian. He is here—a fact to be dealt with by the statesman in the spirit of justice and humanity. Indians

and natives demand of us the same things—the realities of just government and these things we shall give them in full measure. Neither native nor Indian wants the pretences of the politician. Interpenetration is a doctrine full of fat meat for the white man. For the native it means serfdom-starvation. The Indian problem is capable of a solution which expressly excludes the influence of fear. That solution is to be found only on the broad highway of racial co-operation.

Elementeita,
January 15th 1920.

I am, etc.,
ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN.

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B. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.
A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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Capital Called up ,, 1,00,00,000

Reserve Fund ,, 66,00,000.

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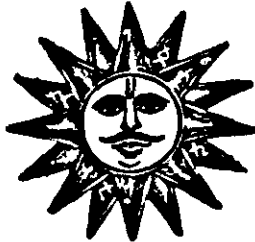
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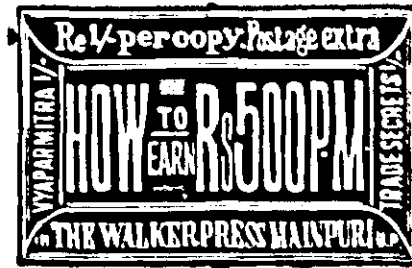
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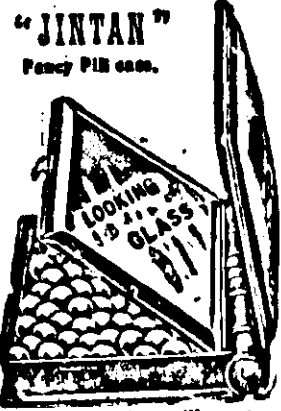
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1920. No. 29.

"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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—:o:—

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"The End of the Road."
To all Men.

NOTES.

—:o:—

The Turkish Question. The Harfal in Bombay on Friday passed peacefully. Almost all Mahomedan and Hindu shops were closed. A great public meeting was held in the evening when the principal resolution was moved by Mr. Gandhi. In this connection, the *Challenge*, received on Thursday, has an admirable paragraph expressing the true Christian view of the question of leaving Turkey in possession of Constantinople, which is in refreshing contrast to the excited demands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others. Writes our contemporary: "Constantinople remains Turkish. This must cause general disappointment, which we fully share. But we do not dispute the decision, and we do not think that Christians ought to agitate for the restoration of Saint Sophia to Christian worship if political considerations point the other way. This is not a subordination of religious to worldly interests, for we hold that the religious interest cannot be really secured by military or political action. If on general grounds it were wise to remove the Turkish power from Europe we should rejoice to see it done. But if such an act could possibly lead to a Mahomedan holy war, that result would condemn it. And while we ardently desire to hear of Christian worship offered once more in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, we should not welcome that as a deliberately enforced result of military victory. It was in accordance with Mahomedan principles to turn it forcibly into a Mosque. It is not in accordance with Christian principles to turn it back by force into a Church. We hope to see it a Church again when the children of those who are now Moslems desire to worship Christ."

South African Politics. We published last week some notes from a friend regarding the seriousness of the political situation in South Africa. General Smuts he said, has his back to the wall, and Mr. Hertzog is very strong. The victory of the latter will go very hardly with the Indians settled in South Africa. The Maritzburg correspondent of the *Times of India* cabled the results on the 13th instant of the General

Election in all except eight constituencies, as follows: Government 39, Nationalists, 39, Unionists, 24, Labour, 21. A Reuter's cable of the 10th instant, the date of the election, said that the main issue was between the South African Party, under General Smuts, who will support the Imperial connection, and the Nationalists under General Hertzog, who favour separation and a Republic. The Unionists under Sir Thomas Smartt, will support General Smuts. On the constitutional issue the attitude of the Labour Party, under Colonel Creswell, will probably be determined by economic considerations. It should be remembered that the vast majority of the inhabitants of South Africa have no vote. The party in favour of the imperial connection would have had an overwhelming majority, if the coloured races had not been denied the franchise.

Lord Meston's Award: The non-Brahmans of Madras have not profited by taking their case, regarding the reservation of seats in the new Legislative Council, to arbitration. Lord Meston's award has been published and it provides for the reservation to them of 28 out of 65 seats. They could have got 32, if they had not contemptuously rejected Lord Willingdon's offer of 50 per cent. They could have had 30 for the mere asking. Brahmans would not have seriously stood against that number being reserved for non-Brahmans. And what is more important than the number of seats, there would have been an accession to the strength of good feeling on both sides. Non-Brahmans will be greatly disappointed at the award but, on Lord Meston's line of reasoning, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. His lordship points out that the claim of non-Brahmans for special representation is based on the apprehension that they would otherwise be left in a minority at the polls despite their superior voting power, by reason of the social influence and electioneering tactics of Brahmans. To avert such a contingency it does not, he says, appear to him necessary to guarantee the non-Brahmans a large majority of seats or indeed any majority. It seems sufficient to ensure them such a start in the race as will prevent their being out-distanced if they exercise ordinary energy and intelligence. Lord Meston points out that recent experience in Legislative Council as well as municipal and local boards elections, shows that non-Brahmans are already competent without special protection to secure reasonable success. The reservation of an absolute majority of seats, he goes on to say,

would place the non-Brahmans in a position of security which might tend to impair their cohesion and encourage sectional differences. On the other hand, something less than a clean majority would ensure an effective voice for the interests of their community in the Council while it would leave them with a healthy stimulus to strive in the competition of polls for representation more closely related to their numerical superiority.

There is much force in these remarks. A Mahomedan gentleman who had taken a prominent part in getting for his community their present proportion of seats, told us the other day that he thought that it would perhaps have been better if it had been provided that the number in excess of the numerical proportion of members, should be returned by general electorates. That, he said, would have brought in some members of a type which has not a very good chance in communal electorates, but the presence of which in the Councils would greatly strengthen the interests of the community. Experience is a good teacher. Mere strength of numbers by itself does not count for much, though with adequate leadership it will carry everything before it. Communal electorates are not conducive to the growth of leadership in the candidates.

The Problem of the Foundling. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj which celebrated its anniversary last week held, as usual, a public meeting devoted to the work of its Orphanage and Foundling Home at Pandharpur. The Hon. Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas presided at the meeting and made, as he usually does, some helpful remarks. The Secretary, Mr. G. B. Trivedi, in his report referred to the endeavours of the Managing Committee of the Samaj to reduce the high mortality among the foundlings. The fact is that the mothers, young Hindu widows led astray, come to the institution generally after trying other means of getting rid of their burden, and with their health irretrievably shattered. They wish to get away as soon as their purpose is over, and the child has to be either farmed with nursing mothers in the neighbouring villages or to be brought up on artificial food. In a large percentage of cases the baby is born with the taint of a deadly disease with which the mother has been infected. The experience of the Pandharpur Home has been the experience of such institutions everywhere. The *Social Welfare*, an admirable Canadian weekly published at Toronto, indicated in a recent issue the history of the problem and its right solution. Our contemporary observed :

Too long we have looked at the problem from the wrong angle. First, we considered the mother only, and saving her from disgrace. This has led to "Baby Farming," and the terrific infant mortality—rather, infant murder—rate of the past. Then we came to consider two parties, the mother and the child—and the mother bore all the misery physical, mental and moral—while the father went "scot free." We shall only attain the proper heights, when we recognize that here we have the *Eternal Triangle* on which all human progress is built—a man, a woman and a child. The treatment of the illegitimate child is to save him from being neglected. Norway has passed legislation which has solved the problem to a large extent. The father is forced to accept responsibility by the State. He and the mother contribute jointly to the support of the child and the child takes the father's name. This recognizes the family principle, removes the onus of disgrace from the mother alone, guarantees the rights of the child, and illustrates the guardianship of the State at its highest.

The Prarthana Samaj and all those who realise the scandal and the disgrace of the present state of things, ought to press for legislation on these lines in the new Legislative Councils. Till we have a law of this type, our efforts to deal with the problem of the ruined widow and her foundling baby will be fruitless.

The Press Act in Bombay : In reply to a question in the Legislative Council, the Government of Bombay gave a list of printing presses and news-

papers whose securities are to be returned and those whose securities are not to be returned. Thirty-four presses and five newspapers obtain this relief out of forty-six presses and eight newspapers from which securities have been taken. Twelve presses and three newspapers are denied relief. Among these latter are the *Bombay Chronicle* press and the *Gujarati*, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* newspapers. The attitude of Government to the Press will be interpreted by the public more with reference to the cases where relief has been withheld than from those where relief has been given. The four newspapers named above have, perhaps, been more uncompromising critics of Government than others, and the inclusion of them in the relieved list, would have been a striking testimony to Government's confidence that they have nothing to fear from the most uncompromising criticism. These remarks apply also to the refusal to remove the restriction on Mr. Horniman's return to this country. A great Government fighting shy of the presence of an individual! His Excellency the Governor gave some wise advice to mill-owners recently exhorting them so to consolidate their relations with their work-people that agitators' incitements may leave them unmoved. We venture to think that Government might do the same with the people whose affairs they administer. Perhaps, it is as well that these presses and papers are kept under security, as a reminder that there is the Press Act still on the statute-book. No newspaper in the country is free so long as a single press or paper can be penalised by the Executive Government using the machinery of the Press Act. If the Indian Press and Indian publicists, aye, and Indian Governments do not feel the chain when it works a brother's pain, they are themselves unworthy to enjoy freedom.

Freedom or Power? Apropos of the reflections in our leading article last week the following observations of the *Tribune* of Lahore on the outlook in the Punjab are very much to the point.

Unless we know our duty and are prompt in addressing ourselves to it, it will be no matter for surprise if the electorate will, in these circumstances, return a large number of men to the Council who for the present will readily dance to the tune set either by district officers or by their superiors at the head-quarters. A legislature, the majority of whose members were thus subservient, would clearly be a more potent weapon in the hands of the reactionary elements in the bureaucracy than even their present undivided authority and irresponsible power, and the process of dumb legislators quietly registering the decrees of the executive, so beautiful in its simplicity and its logic, will go on as merrily as ever.

The passage occurs in a leading article enlarging on the urgent need of imparting political education to the masses, but what kind of political education is possible in the presence of such laws as the Press Act? A certain kind of political information can be imparted; but education which implies the clash of mind with mind in a free atmosphere is impossible.

The Way to Social Reform. "Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting, by complaints and denunciations, by the formation of parties, or the making of revolutions, but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought right action will follow. Power is in the hands of the masses of men. What oppresses the masses is their ignorance, their shortsighted selfishness."—Henry George.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 21, 1920.

ART IN RELIGION.

The exhibition in the Leicester Galleries of the statue by Mr. Jacob Epstein of "the Risen Christ" has caused a commotion in the world of Christian convention. It represents, as the *Challenge* says, not so much a departure from tradition, as a fierce denial. "Each one has his Christ," Mr. Epstein is reported to have said. This is the Master as he is seen by this great imaginative artist, very different from the traditional Christ. Christ is traditionally pictured as a tall man wearing a long robe, with flowing beard and hair, with an oval Aryan face and soft, pleading eyes. Mr. Epstein's Christ is a stern, grim figure, with close cropped head and clean shaven lip and chin, with scornful mouth and accusing eyes. The figure is closely swathed evidently in its grave-clothes and the left hand points with taut forefinger to the wound in the open palm of the right hand where the nail had pierced. Can this be Christ? The artist says it is *his* Christ. The Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan, the fashionable castigator of social vices, writing in the *Graphic*, denounces the statue in bitter terms. He writes:—

I have stood in the front and at the back elevation of this gross and grotesque thing, with nose turned up and feet turned in; I have stood on the right and the left of this offending and hurting caricature: I have studied the unshapely head, the receding brow, the thick lips, the up-tipped nose, the uncanny eyes, the poorly built body, with its ugly feet and uglier hands, till I felt ready to cry out with indignation that in this Christian England there should be exhibited a figure of a Christ which suggested to me some degraded Chaldean or African, which wore the appearance of an Asiatic, American, or Hun Jew, which reminded men of some emaciated Hindu or badly-grown Egyptian swathed in the cerement of the grave. Some one has observed that if a hero were to come into a room we should stand up and acclaim him: and if Christ should cross the threshold, we should kneel down and revere Him; but let me add, if Mr. Epstein's horror in bronze were to spring into life and appear in a room, I for one should fly from it in dread and disgust, lest perhaps he might pick my pockets, or worse, do some deed of violence in keeping with his Bolshevik appearance.

The Rev. Father's criticism is so far at least inept that Christ was a Jew, and as a native of the land which links Asia to Egypt, he was more akin to the Hindu and the Egyptian than to the Greek and the Italian. The fact that Epstein's statue recalls these races rather than the Levantines is thus a point in its favour. As for kneeling down and revering Him, if Christ came into a room, the poet, Lowell, did not find his Christ in a room where Reverend Fathers are in mortal dread of their pockets being picked—their Master had none—but in a hovel rude, with naught to fence the weather from His head:

A naked, hungry child
Clung round His gracious knees,
And a poor hunted slave looked up and smiled
To bless the smile that set him free;
. My Christ no more I seek,
His throne is with the outcast and the weak,

Surely if Christ came to-day, He would not be found in the drawing rooms which the Rev. Father denounces with such knowledge and acceptance, but in India, Egypt, or in Bolshevik Russia where there are so many weak and outcast. What the Rev. Father's soul yearns for is not Christ but the fashionable *padre* "the dear good man" with "the high forehead, the almond eyes shadowed by dark eyebrows, the fine nose, the month opened as though to speak (perhaps to eat?), the long pointed beard, the beautiful oval face and the long chestnut ringlets of the hair, whose dignity is enhanced by the long purple garments"—such as a Society lady will be proud to exhibit in her *salon*. The traditional Christ of Father Vaughan's adoration is just as much an imaginative production as Epstein's bronze statue. The apostles who had seen Christ and the early Christians were neither artists nor fashionable preachers and they were content with such symbols as the fish, the lamb &c., as types reminding them of Christ. The figure of the Christ was long a fluctuating one, until that of Byzantium became universal. The Rev. Father's condemnation of Epstein's work is really a revelation of Society religion in London. "The Risen Christ" angers him so because He has parted with the purple robe and pointed beard and chestnut ringlets. Epstein's Christ is false because it is not picturesque!

There are other writers, not less religious than the Rev. Father, who take a juster view of the statue. Thus the *Challenge* appends below an excellent portrait of the statue the following appreciation:

There has come home to the artist one aspect of the Christ of the Gospels—an aspect too often forgotten. There is in the Gospel a strain in Christ of anger, of mastery, of triumphant power. This has often been forgotten, and the Church has lingered upon "the gentle Jesus, meek and mild." Here in this work Mr. Epstein has seized upon the other side of the Master's character; he sets it apart, he makes his Christ as incomplete in this way as the Jesus "meek and mild" would be. But here at least is the attempt of a great artist to express the Christ he has seen in the Gospel, and though there is more, infinitely more, there is such a Christ in the story. There is in Him power, austerity, terrible determination unshrinking courage. The thing which should astonish the beholder is not that the theme has now been chosen but that it was not chosen before.

This two-sided character of Jesus is well-described by Professor Höffding in his "Philosophy of Religion." Comparing Christ with Buddha, he observes:

The character of Jesus does not fall under the expansive type: it is rather one of conflicting opposites. And he is a man of strong will; he does not retire that he may find rest, but seeks to determine the fate of his people by leading them to higher things. He is, at any rate as compared with Buddha, an emotional man. His spirit is violently stirred; he is moved to his inmost depths; his soul can be shaken and deeply troubled; he can be angry. Jesus' love is no mere gentle and involuntary outpouring; it is a restlessly seeking and struggling love: his is an enduring not a resigned surrender.

Epstein's statue brings out the strong traits of this character more than the traditional "meek and mild"

Jesus. But neither represents the whole of Jesus. That achievement awaits a master-spirit in whom the conflicting opposites of Christ's personality are appropriately intermixed. The volcano in repose and the same volcano in eruption are two different things, and only a great genius can render the repose-aspect and the eruption-aspect in one picture. Buddha, whom Professor Höffding assigns to his category of *expansives* "who possess in their soul's life a fullness of unity which, on account of its overwhelming power, moves them to activity and communicativeness," is an easier subject for the artist. There is no eruption-side to Him. He is like the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas, serene, calm, ineffable,

As some tall cliff which lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

By contrast, the *discordant* types, as Höffding names them, "tortured by the opposition offered within their own breasts to their ideal, the effect of which is heightened by the close proximity of the ideal, turn to juristic analogies; they feel like criminals in the presence of the judge: the judge, it is true, becomes transformed into a mediator, but the play of contrasting effects soon breaks out again, and the mediator, in his turn, takes his seat on the judge's bench." Professor Grunwedel has tried to establish in a learned treatise that the traditional figure of Buddha is an adaptation of the Greek Apollo. India, according to this scholar, was trying feebly to evolve a figure of Buddha, but her own genius was not equal to the task. In the first centuries of the Christian era, Greek artists wandered over to India carrying with them the types and styles of the age to which they belonged. Naturally, the Professor says, they would copy or adapt the models of their native art to meet the demands of their foreign clients of whatever religion. Foucher has described this process with reference to Gaul. "Do you want a Hesus, a Teutates? We can give you a Mars, a Mercury, and you can worship them under other names. We do not know your Goddess Solcis—you people of Aqua Solis (Bath), but how would it do to make this representation of Athena stand for her image?" If Apollo was Indianised into Buddha in this manner, is it not even more probable that the same or some other Greek type was Christianised to represent Christ? Perhaps, Mr. Epstein himself has unconsciously adapted some type with which he is thoroughly familiar to represent his risen Christ? Is imagination anything but subconscious memory?

THE INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL IN COUNCIL.

On the 25th February the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel moved in the Imperial Legislative Council that the Bill which he had introduced to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of official and non-official members. The Home Member, Sir

William Vincent, moved an amendment to refer the Bill to a Committee of all the non-official members of the Council with the Law Member as Chairman. Sir William explained the position of Government to be that they regard the Bill as a liberal measure with which individual members of the Government have every sympathy. Many of them, he said, felt that it was unreasonable that adult persons who desire to marry should be prohibited by law from doing so because they belonged to different castes. But they wished to ascertain the opinion of non-official members not only in regard to the details of the Bill but also on the question whether they (the non-official members) think that it would be right to pass this Bill at the present juncture, or whether they think that public opinion is not ripe for it and that it should be postponed until we have a more representative Council. This attitude is so obviously reasonable that even Mr. Patel virtually accepted it. We should not be surprised if the Select Committee reports that the Bill should be brought up before the enlarged Council next year. The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee who strongly supported the principle of the Bill and forcefully rebutted the objections urged against it by its opponents, thought it would be preferable if this matter were considered and disposed of by a larger and more representative body reflecting in a true sense the public opinion of the country, speaking with a voice and authority not belonging to the present council. Except Mr. Patel and Mr. Sinha, none of the supporters of the Bill was urgent that it should be passed by the present Council, and several of them seemed to be of the same view as Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.

The Mohamedan members of the Council objected to being included in the Committee. Sir Fazulbhoy stated his reasons thus: "As a Mussalman, I would not like to serve on this Committee and discuss this question, firstly, because it is a purely Hindu question, and, secondly, the Hindus themselves are divided on this question, as we have seen in the debate in this Council for the last two days. If we as Mussalmans serve on the Committee, and if we decide to side with the minority, I think it will not be fair to the other part of the Hindu members that we should mix up and discuss this question and decide it with a Muhammadan majority." The Hon. Mir Asad Ali gave another reason which, perhaps, weighed more with his Moslem colleagues. No precedent, he said, should be created whereby a piece of social legislation affecting a particular community, especially when it is interwoven with religious customs and usages, might come under the review of the representatives of other communities in the Council. The mischief of communal electorates cannot be more vividly illustrated. There are no general standards of right and wrong in social matters, but each member is to vote and act as a Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh and so on. The Mohamedan members, to be true to their religion, ought to join the Committee and support the principle of the measure which is on the lines of human brotherhood.

which the great Prophet of Arabia proclaimed to the world. Is it not their duty to uphold the doctrines of the Founder of their religion and to advance them in all reasonable ways? What is the good of talking about Islam, if one does not believe in its great message of human brotherhood and strive by every peaceful means to spread it far and wide? Is Indian Mahomedanism degenerating into a statutory qualification for communal electorates? In our opinion, the Mahomedan gentlemen who, for one reason or another, wished to shirk this duty were not acting in the spirit of their religion or in the interests of their country. Farther, as Sir William Vincent pointed out, there are some non-Hindus, including Mahomedan, members representing mixed constituencies, consisting partly of Hindus. Would it be right to deprive these constituencies of the right to discuss this question merely because they happened to elect a Mahomedan as their representative?

Mr. Patel was not quite happy in his speeches in making his motion and winding up the debate. He started an irrelevant discussion by stating that the opposition to the Bill came only from Brahmans and that the majority of non-Brahmans supported it. The assertion was easily disproved by several of the speakers, but it gave rise to rather acrimonious observations so much so that the Vice-President had to declare that he would not allow any further reference to the matter. And then we certainly expected Mr. Patel, after his repeated personal assurances, to take up a much stronger attitude about the monogamous principle and that of adult marriages than he did in his concluding speech. What he said amounted to this: personally he was prepared to accept these principles if the majority of the Select Committee so desired. Our position from the first has been, and now is, that without these two principles, the Bill as it now stands will do great harm to the Hindu community, apart from the question of social reform. It is evident from Sir William Vincent's remark quoted above that he assumed that the marriages under the Bill would be adult marriages. Mr. Sarma, who supported the motion, remarked that unless the Bill said that the parties to a marriage under the Bill are to be monogamous, the result might be disastrous to the Hindu community. He also referred to the omission to fix an age-limit in the Bill. Mr. Banerjee also spoke of these points as of great importance. Mr. Sastri insisted that the Bill should contain a condition that the parties to a marriage under it should be adults and monogamous. The Hon. Mr. Chanda also urged that provision should be made in respect of these two matters. These are not matters of detail. They are vital to the utility of the Bill and we regret that they were not incorporated in it at the very outset. Mr. Patel, curiously enough, seems to think that the Bill will be opposed by the Hindu community more strongly than it is if it laid down an age-limit to marriage, and made it a condition that the parties should have no prior wife or husband living. On the contrary, we think the Hindu community will feel more re-assured that the Bill will work no harm.

Mr. Sastri's suggestion that marriages under the Bill should be registered in some form, is also important. If the circle of marriage is to be widened beyond the customary limits, the customary proofs thereof will not suffice. There should also be provided some form of divorce to part couples who find that they should never have joined in matrimony. Then, the law regarding succession in respect of the issue of marriages under the Bill, should be definitely fixed. Mr. Patel made great play with the phrase "the line of least resistance." He is up against an adamant prejudice and he cannot get round it by talking of the line of least resistance. If the Bill does not pass this session, it will be desirable to drop it altogether, and bring in a broad measure on the lines of Mr. Basu's Bill. Orthodox Hinduism may keep its sacrament intact, but the Legislature will provide an alternative form of civil marriage and succession for those who have outgrown the limits set by caste and custom.

THE NEW BOMBAY COUNCIL HALL.

The agitation against the use of the southern corner of the open piece of land known as the Oval for building a temporary new Council Hall on, will be appraised at its right value by those who are familiar with the building history of Bombay during the last ten or fifteen years. An agitation of a very similar kind some years ago interfered with the University making some much-needed addition to its accommodation, with the result that the work had to be undertaken during war time at a much enhanced cost. That a new Council Hall is needed in Bombay, cannot be denied. It must obviously be built on open space somewhere in the city. That also admits of no two opinions. There is no part of Bombay where some open space can be spared for it with as little encroachment on the sun-and-air amenities of the locality as the site selected. Open spaces are a great need of the City, but the Fort and its vicinity has a superfluity of them as compared with the really congested parts of the City, like Chakla, Girgaum, Kamatipura, and Kumbharwada. The need of open spaces in Bombay is the need of these localities, which is not met by the two maidans and the Oval in the region of the Fort. We lay stress on this point because the cry of "open spaces in the city," unless interpreted with reference to the actual disposition of the existing spaces, is merely a fashionable shibboleth. The Fort, especially at the site of the Oval, can do with less open space than any other locality, because the sea embraces it closely on three sides and the sea-breezes play about it from these sides at all hours of the day and night. The choice of the site, therefore, is the best that could be made from the point of view of the sanitary and other amenities of the city. Its proximity to the Secretariat is, of course, an important consideration for, otherwise, the Secretaries and their staff will have to spend hours needlessly at the Council when it is in session, whereas in the proposed site, they can attend to other office duties, stepping across the road when they are actually wanted. Then there is the easy accessibility of records which

will, otherwise, have to be transported in lorries to and fro at each sitting. For the convenience of Governor, members of Government, Ministers, and their retinues, more accommodation will have to be provided in the new Council Hall if it is not sufficiently near the present Secretariat. If it was intended to build a chawl or a mill or a hospital for contagious diseases on the site, there will be force in the objections raised by some of our contemporaries. The Council Chamber is none of these. There will be only watchmen sleeping in the building in the night, and the sweetness of the slumber of no inhabitant of the Fort will be spoiled by the effluvia from the Council Chamber. The choice of the corner of the Oval is the best that could have been made. The alternative suggested of holding the Council meetings in Poona, can only emanate from a source which secretly is chagrined at the inception of the reforms symbolised by the new Council. The only solid objection is the deprivation which the choice involves of Elphinstone College of its play-ground. This, we hope, will be made good in the rest of the Oval. Otherwise Government should find some other site not far away from the College for its play-ground.

Since the above was in type, the *Times of India*, in response to the Governor's remark at the Legislative Council that the critics of the Oval site have put forward no alternatives, suggests the Town Hall. It also mentions the University Convocation Hall and the Cowasji Jehangir Hall in the Royal College of Science, as suitable candidates for the honour of the Council Chamber. The *Times of India's* sympathy for the Reform Scheme amounts to enthusiasm, and the great service rendered to it by its eminent Editor by his evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament, has been gratefully acknowledged by Moderates and Nationalists alike. But we think that our contemporary has momentarily overlooked the character of the new Council in its laudable anxiety to conserve Bombay's open spaces. It has also overlooked the rights and claims of public bodies to which the two Halls in its waiting list belong. It has further overlooked the many substantial pillars of the Town Hall, through which no member can catch the eye of the President without the help of an X-ray apparatus. If the pillars are to be removed, the Hall will have to be rebuilt, and Bombay deprived of its one historic building, its yew lamb for persons with some historic feeling. The crux of our contemporary's alternative is that the new Council will not in all probability sit for more than 30 days in the year. We are sure that this is not the expectation of the Indian public. The Reforms are avowedly a first step to responsible Government and the new Councils have been spoken of even by strait-laced officials as potential Parliaments. In any case, we feel that they should be inaugurated under conditions most favourable to the growth of high associations and worthy traditions. A British Minister cannot but feel himself braced up in difficult moments by the thought that he sits and speaks from where Pitt and Peel and Gladstone sat and spoke from. In Mr. Money Penny's life of Disraeli, there is

an account of an unedifying squabble between Gladstone and Disraeli about the Chancellor of Exchequer's robe of office, which was worn by Pitt when he held that office, and had descended to successive Chancellors since. Macaulay in his essay on Warren Hastings speaks of Burke impeaching the illustrious misdemaneant in the Hall of William Rufus, where Bacon had been condemned, where Charles I. had been convicted of tyranny. What sanitation is to our bodily health, high associations which stir great memories are to our souls. To assign a House to the new Council on the assumption that it will sit only for 30 days in the year, is to fly in the face of the Reforms scheme. But even if it were to be held only for three days in the year, it should still have its own home to which all the Presidency can turn as its constitutional centre. This, it will be said, has little relevancy to what is meant to be a temporary arrangement. The answer is, the Town Hall or other Halls will comply still less with these conditions. As regards the two other Halls, we are surprised that the *Times of India* coolly forgets that the Convocation Hall belongs to the University, that new buildings are springing round it to accommodate post-graduate classes and libraries, and that not so long ago our contemporary itself has repeatedly emphasised the need for developing the University as the centre of academic life for the Presidency. The Senate meets most frequently just when the Council will be in longest session. The arrangement will constantly conflict with the convenience of the University. As regards the Royal College of Science, the Hall is intended for the College uses and as an Examination Hall for the University. We believe the University has a grievance in that the latter condition on which its made a grant towards the Hall, has not been kept. That, however, is another matter. But it will be an act of high-handed usurpation to commandeer it as a Council Hall.

GUJARAT STRI KELAVNI MANDAL.

(By Mrs. SHARADA MEHTA B. A.)

This Mandal has been started last year by the Gujarat Kelavni Mandal, which has been doing a good deal of work in various branches of education for the last four years. Its chief object is to guide and promote the private attempts made at different places in Gujarat in the direction of Secondary Education for girls suited to their special needs. With a view to achieve this end this Mandal has thought fit to affiliate the institutions working such experiments, to supervise their teaching work and to hold examinations for the final standard.

The following institutions have already been affiliated: Vanita Vishram Mahila Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad, and Mahila Vidyalaya, Surat. Affiliation of some other schools is expected.

The chief features of the curriculum framed by the Mandal are:—

1. Special importance to the study of domestic arts and Science, Vernacular, Ancient History of India and present Administration.

2. Division of subjects into necessary and voluntary :—

Necessary :—Vernacular, English, Domestic Art and Science, and English and Indian History with Administration.

Voluntary :—Sanskrit, Mathematics, Hindi, Geography, Needlework, Drawing and Theory and Practice of teaching.

3. Vernacular as the medium of Instruction. The special features of the examination are :—

- (1) Oral and Practical examination in English, Hindi, Needlework, Drawing and Practice of teaching.
- (2) Vernacular as the medium of examination.
- (3) Holding of examinations twice a year.
- (4) Exemptions to be given as follows :—
 - (a) In English (except oral) Sanskrit and Mathematics to the examination students who passed those subjects.
 - (b) The theory and practice of teaching (except teaching in English) to students who passed the final examination of the Female Training College.
 - (c) In certain subjects of Drawing to students who passed the final grade examination of the School of Art.
 - (d) The subjects which the candidates have passed in the previous examination or examinations held by the Mandal.

This examination is called "Shalant Pariksha" (School Leaving Examination). The first examination will commence on the 21st June 1920 at Ahmedabad and other places to be notified after the receipt of applications.

Candidates not appearing through the affiliated Institutions may appear privately. It is manifest from the above that Matriculation students desirous of appearing at this examination can very well do so after a short study of Vernacular, Ancient History of India, and Domestic Art and Science.

Candidates are required to send their applications with a fee of Re. 1 before the 6th May next.

Application forms, Syllabus and Rules of the examination can be had from the Hon. Secretary, Social Reform Hall, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.

Prizes of Rs. 10 each will be awarded to successful candidates standing first and obtaining not less than 45% of marks in any of the following subjects :

Subject.	Donor.
Gujarati,...	Miss. Needham, M. A., Principal, Maharani Girls' High School, Baroda.
Domestic Art and Science	Mrs. Sharda Mehta, B. A.,
English,	Mr. Keshavprasad C. Desai B. A., L.L.B., Mrs. Vidya Nilkanth, B. A.,
Hindi,...	Sympathiser.
History, Drawing (Needlework, Sanskrit, Pedagog.	Gujarat Stree Kelavni Mandal.

THE PRESS ACT MEETING.
RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were passed at the public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay on Friday, the 5th March, under the auspices of the Indian Press Association, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, presiding :

"That Sir Narayan Chandavarkar be elected to the Chair."

Proposed by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh.

Seconded by Mr. B. N. Motiwala.

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Press Association of India prays Government for the repeal of the Indian Press Act on the ground *first*, that the principle and policy of the Act are not only contrary to the spirit and tradition of the British but, as experience has proved, increase prejudice against Government, making the remedy worse than the disease; *secondly* that the repeal of the Act will further the ends and be in fulfilment of the policy of trust and co-operation inaugurated by His Majesty's gracious Proclamation of December 1919 and *lastly* that the repeal will complete in a marked manner the liberal policy already adopted by Government by the removal of restrictions imposed on certain newspapers under the Act.

"This public meeting also appeals to the sense of national duty of Indian journalists to rise to the occasion of the new era and realise fully that that era will throw on it greater responsibility than heretofore in inspiring all classes of people in India with a spirit of mutual co-operation, harmony, and ordered progress while fearlessly and with dignity upholding the peoples' cause and representing their wrongs and advancing the cause of constitutional freedom and Indian Nationality."

Proposed by Mr. Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Seconded by Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

Supported by Mr. C. S. Deole.

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Press Association of India conveys its thanks to the Government of Bombay for their action in cancelling the securities deposited under the Press Act in the case of the majority of the Presses and Newspapers which had been ordered to do so, and requests that similar action may be taken in the few remaining cases of the kind, so that the new order of things may begin in an atmosphere free from grievance and irritation on the part of the public press."

Proposed by Mr. G. K. Deodhar.

Seconded by Mr. Hasanally Abdulally.

Supported by Mr. Mavji Govindji.

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Press Association of India requests the Government of Bombay to remove the restriction in the way of Mr. B. G. Horniman, President of the Press Association of India and Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* returning to India, as a measure of justice in consonance with the terms of the Royal Proclamation."

Proposed by Mr. K. Natarajan.

Seconded by Mr. Faiz Tyabji.

"That copies of Resolutions No. 1 and 2 be forwarded to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India and H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council; and Resolution No. 3 to Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay."

From the Chair.

Vote of thanks to the Chair.

Proposed by Mr. Munshi.

Seconded by the Hon. Mr. B. P. Paranjpye.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR'S SPEECH.
The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

All those who listened with rapt attention to the definite and dignified, thoughtful and forceful address of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, as Chairman of the Press Association Meeting held on the 5th instant in Bombay, seemed surprised at his absolute silence in respect of Government's attitude towards Mr. Horniman. And while moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr. Munshi did just the right thing in saying that the Chairman's omission was simply accidental. And he was quite correct in his conjecture, for Sir Narayan did say at that close, that this omission "was quite unintentional, and that everybody who had been deprived of his liberty must be set free in accordance with the Royal Proclamation, and they all hoped that in the case of Mr. Horniman this clemency would be exercised the earliest."

It is thus clear, Sir, that Mr. Munshi was quite relevant and graceful in his remarks, and he offered them not to create, but to avert any misapprehension in the public about the unintentional omission.

Apollo Street,
Bombay,
18th March 1920.

Yours faithfully,
BURJORJI FRANJI BHABUCHA.

[Our correspondent misquotes Sir Narayan's words. He evidently takes them from the report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, which was not correct. What Sir Narayan said was that the omission as to Mr. Horniman was not unintentional, that he did not refer to him because he was not there at the meeting to advocate the cause of A, B, C or D, and that as Mr. Munshi had referred to the matter, it was his (Sir Narayan's) duty to inform the meeting that, in his opinion, whatever might have been the merits of the action of Government in extraordinary times, now, having regard to His Majesty's proclamation of amnesty, Government would be well-advised in removing restrictions on all persons and Mr. Horniman was one of them. Ed.—I. S. R.]

CONTROL OF VENEREAL DISEASE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Report of the Federation of medical women on the Duty of the State in the control of venereal disease, is just to hand from Europe. This report condemns the present methods adopted for combating the evil, and sets out in general terms a constructive policy upon the basis that the control of venereal diseases can only be attained by an honest recognition of the cause of these diseases. While this report approves of free, secret and efficient treatment for all patients, it declares and reiterates that no treatment can possibly eradicate the evil. This pronouncement by federated medical women is the same as that which we have brought before the public of India during the past year. It is, that *Prevention* is the first step to be taken by any sane body of reformers, and that the State has the primary responsibility for dealing with the source of public disease. This is the direct method to get rid of the public trade in vice. All other methods, excellent as they may be for dealing with the evil, such as education of the young, raising the age of consent, housing reform etc. cannot hope to stem the disease, as long as the manufacture of it is going on in every city, by facilities approved by the State. Let us see to it that our cities are cleansed from the centres of contagion—then all the contributory methods so constantly urged will have a chance of success.

(Mrs) F. S. Holloway.

"THE END OF THE ROAD."

The Ministry of Health and the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases have given their approval of a film dealing with venereal disease, entitled "The End of the Road." The film was first shown privately to a selected audience at the Alhambra, London, and later to special audiences by invitation in a number of the larger provincial cities. The film can be rented in the ordinary way to any picture theatre which cares to exhibit it, and as far as we can gather there are no restrictions imposed upon its exhibition, although most managers will probably follow the example of the manager of the Regent Street Polytechnic cinema, who has stipulated that no one under eighteen shall be admitted.

By the courtesy of the N.C.O.V.D., we were able to see the film at its private exhibition at the Alhambra. The story is designed to reveal how the careers of young people can be influenced by their early moral teaching. We see the mother who, using the illustration of a bird's nest found with three eggs in it, tells her little girl of five all the story of her birth, making it interesting and beautiful to her. The second mother puts her child off with evasions and lies. Then we follow the development of the two girls, one at the "end of the road," entering marriage with the hero-doctor, and the other beginning after many trials and troubles, the long tedious process of treatment for syphilis. If the film had been limited to the careers of the two girls, and the "good" girl had not been quite so aggressively good, and the "foolish" girl had not been quite so inane and foolish; if, too, the whole production had been really English instead of pretending to be so, it might have been a good deal more interesting. As it was, the audience had to follow the sentimental adventures and illicit love-making of half-a-dozen other people all dragged into the story to point various moral aspects. There was the girl seduced by the chauffeur, who shot him when he refused to marry her (a woman Councillor sitting near remarked audibly that this girl was the only sensible one in the story!) There was the girl who followed her lover to the camp, but was taken care of by the Y.W.O.A. Patrols; the girl who worked in a "sweat-shop" and went to the camp for a lark, and was there kissed by a syphilitic man and so infected; there was the woman who drowned herself after spending week-ends with a married man whose little son is blind from birth, and whose wife is being operated on for gonorrhoeal complications due to his loose life. Five out of the seven men portrayed are loose-living, callous scoundrels, but judging by the film they are all in perfect health and comfortable circumstances. All the principal women except the heroine come to a bad end owing to their trustful ignorance, either being seduced, contracting venereal disease, or committing suicide. We think the natural conclusion of any ordinary person seeing this film would be that women have no character, no common sense, and no endurance, and that venereal disease is a disease from which men are immune; but which they can pass on to women. The shop-girl who goes off to live with a rich man was apparently upset because he would not marry her, but as there was never the slightest indication that he intended to do so, her attitude seemed somewhat unreasonable. She is infected by him and is unwilling to take treatment, so she is shown over a Lock Hospital and sees the frightful effects of syphilis in its late stages; but here, again all the victims are women. The pictures in this section were horrible and revolting; they might conceivably frighten some young people into continence, and that appears

to be the object of the film, but we can conceive no reason why an audience should be compelled unsuspectingly to see an operation actually performed. The preliminaries of the operating theatre are always spared a patient in ordinary surgery; he or she is anaesthetised in another room, but here on the film we see not only the preliminaries but the actual cutting of the flesh. In our opinion all this should be entirely deleted. It is needlessly horrible and upsetting to the lay person, and will probably make many people who see it quite ill. The film is far too long; it takes nearly two hours to exhibit and could be cut down to half the present length with advantage. On the whole we should prefer it not to be exhibited at all. Like the celebrated egg, it is "good in parts," but taken as a whole it is an appeal to fear, and we believe the appeal to fear opens the way to all sorts of obscene brutality in the name of self-protection. The N.C.O.V.D. has done much good work, but we do not believe this film will add to its reputation. There is a general feeling that the horrors and dangers of venereal disease have been pressed too much already in lectures, lantern-slides and pamphlets. These things come from a wrong view of life; a wrong view of ourselves; a wrong view of our relation to others. We must replace wrong ideas by right ideas, and there is a real desire just now for constructive moral teaching. Unless we really believe that evil is more powerful than good, we should trust more to the natural goodness of people, and appeal on the very highest ground. For instance, instead of showing the ravages of venereal disease we should like to see a film, play, or lecture illustrating what love in its most spiritual sense demands of the man or woman who desires to be a true lover, and the positive reasons for chastity and self-control in all things.

"Love is a great thing, a great and thorough good."

"Love desires to be on high, and will not be kept back by anything low or mean."

"Nothing is sweeter than Love, nothing more courageous, nothing higher, nothing fuller nor better in heaven and earth."

"Love is born of God, and cannot rest but in God....."

Is it impossible to bring such thoughts and ideals before our young people? Perhaps the film is an impossible medium, but that it could be done in some way we are quite sure. We believe adolescent youth has more true apprehension of high ideals than any other age. Can we not give it something better and more truly romantic than "The End of the Road"?

The *Shield*, London.

TO ALL MEN.

We appeal to all men to recognise the great spiritual force of love which is found in all and which makes us all one common brotherhood. In spite of sacrifice and devotion there is dissatisfaction and unrest in all lands. Consciously or unconsciously men are seeking for a new way of life. They cry for a bond which shall unite the world in freedom, righteousness and love; that shall liberate it from its suffering, its hatreds, its disunion. They cry for a religion of life, for an active spirit of peace on earth, of goodwill to men.

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found need of our time is to realise the everlasting truth of the common Fatherhood of God—the Spirit of Love—and the oneness of the human race.

We have used the words of Christ, but we have not acted upon them. We have called ourselves by His name, but we have not lived in His Spirit. Nevertheless the Divine Seed is in all men. As men realise its presence, and follow the light of Christ in their hearts, they enter upon the right way of life and receive power to overcome evil by good. Thus will be built the City of God.

We stretch out our hands in fellowship, sympathy and love across frontiers, lands and seas. We call upon all men everywhere to unite in the service of healing the broken world, to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

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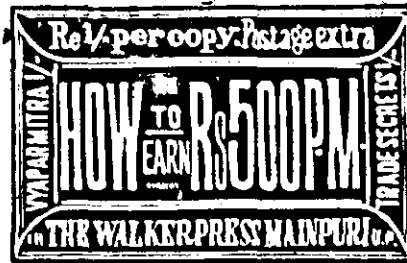
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Reformer" will be Rs. 7-8-0 instead of Rs. 5 from the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound sterling instead of twelve shillings as hereto. We have struggled hard to avoid this step, but it has been forced upon us by ineluctable circumstances. The enhanced cost of paper alone is sufficient to account for the increased subscription. We hope our subscribers will kindly realise our difficulties. All new subscriptions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1st April will be at the new rates. Attention is also called to our revised rates of advertisement.

The Inter-caste Marriage Bill: As was expected, the Bill to validate inter-marriages between members of the several Hindu castes, which the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel had introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, has been postponed, on the report of the Select Committee to which it was recently referred, for being dealt with by the reformed Council which is to come into existence in less than a year's time. This is not altogether a matter for regret as the Bill was defective at several points. As the Hon. Mr. Sastry put it, its very brevity was its danger. Society is a great complex, and the social reformer, whether he operates through legislation or through propaganda, has to be careful to see that, in correcting a particular custom, he chooses a mode of treatment which adds to, and not detracts from, the vitality of the social organism. "The line of least resistance" policy is always a dangerous policy. It is treating the symptoms of a disease without removing the cause of it. The prohibition of inter-marriage is the outcome of a specific idea of marriage and its consequences. As the means of altering that idea and that outlook are beyond the resources of the legislator in modern India, the wise course and the right course, is for him to leave the old system alone, and to provide alternative modes of marriage and succession on secular principles. Neither Mr. Patel nor Sir George Lowndes can create a new nor extend an existing sacrament. But they can pass a civil marriage

law, and it is in that direction that, we hope, the next Bill will seek relief.

The New Bombay Council Hall: The Government of Bombay have issued a Press note stating that, in view of the strong sentiments expressed by the public against the appropriation of any part of the Oval for the erection of a temporary Council Hall, they have decided to abandon their intention and will seek another alternative for the accommodation of the new Council. It is so unusual a thing for Government to abandon, in deference to public opinion, a project which they had decided upon or, at any rate, to avow that they do so, that some satisfaction may be derived from this avowal in the present case. We wish that Government would be equally responsive to public opinion in other matters where it is more indubitably in the right. The main objection to the proposal to build on a small part of the Oval, was that it will deprive of their playground the children and grown-ups who use it as such at present. The Council Hall is the concern of the whole Presidency and is entitled to generous hospitality at the hands of the capital city. Government would have done well to have decided on and announced the alternative when announcing the abandonment of their project, so that the public might judge how far the alternative is better than the original. We hope that the University Hall and the College of Science Hall will be left free to develop an academic atmosphere undiluted by the political feelings which will naturally play their part in the new Council. Scaffolding has suddenly sprung up about the quarters of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the Town Hall. If the Town Hall is the alternative, its Library, the only important one in the Presidency, will, we hope, be accommodated in some at least equally convenient building. The Town Hall will in some ways be an appropriate place for the new Council, even permanently, if it can be provided with an auditorium where members can be seen and heard without difficulty. The buildings in the Elphinstone Circle will be convenient for the accommodation of unofficial members and other subsidiary purposes. If, however, the Town Hall is to be converted into a Council Hall, the Bombay public will have only Shantaram's Chawl to go to for public meetings.

Christian Missionaries and the Punjab Excesses: We have more than once referred with regret to the reticence of Christian missionaries in India, as a class, regarding the martial law excesses in the Punjab. There have, of course, been noteworthy and courageous exceptions. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Bombay Auxiliary of the Bible Society on the 1st instant on the influence of the Bible, the Rev. Dr. Macnicol said: "We are far too ready to prefer patriotism to truth, to side with our class and let wrong remain unrighted. We have far too much of the time-serving spirit. That is not the spirit of the Bible

I think that those who say that we held our peace in the matter of the Punjab disorders in a way that was cowardly, have justification for their charge against us. I wonder who was in that matter on the side of Christ and of the prophets of Israel—Mr. Gandhi or we." Dr. Macnicol is one of the leaders of the new thought in missionary circles and his candid words should go a great way towards rehabilitating the religion of Christ in the minds of those who have realised in some measure the horrors of the martial law regime in the Punjab. But why have missionaries, as a class, merited Dr. Macnicol's self-accusation? It has long been in our mind that the immense organisations, educational and philanthropic, which they have established on the basis of large Government grants, may be one of the reasons. We do not say that any missionary who is at all faithful to Christ, will consciously allow such a consideration to control, much less to guide, his conduct. But human conduct is not always guided by conscious motives. There are, too, insidious, sub-conscious currents from which consciousness takes its colour. Cardinal Newman's words in one of his "Parochial and Plain Sermons" were called forth by somewhat analogous conditions. "We have taken the world's pay, and must not grudge its yoke. *Independence surely is not the church's privilege, unless hardship is her portion.*" The offer of half-a-lakh of rupees to Miss Sherwood as compensation from public funds, shows how the present system affects the official attitude to Christian missions.

Social Reform and Factory Labour. Social reformers came in for some not very well-informed and rather peevish criticism in the debate on Mr. Kamat's motion in the Bombay Legislature Council to appoint a Committee to enquire into the social and economic conditions of labour. As we said a fortnight back, no enquiry is necessary to find out the conditions which cry for prompt remedy. They are sufficiently obvious to all. In the course of the discussion Sir Dinshaw Petit and one or two other mill-owning members thought it fit to inveigh against social reformers for intervening in the last strike. It is an ancient experience that the reformer always suffers while his reforms prosper. But we may point that it is a mistake to say that the social reformer does not know the conditions of the industry and that he should, therefore, not intervene in strikes. The social reformer intervenes primarily to improve the conditions of the operative as a social being. What is Bombay politics tending to?

The Bombay Provincial Social Conference. A session of the above conference is settled to be held at Sholapur along with the 20th Bombay Provincial Conference during the Easter Holidays (on 3rd and 4th April 1920). This is sure to be an important session as the scope of social work on wide lines as settled in the second resolution passed at the last National Social Conference held at Amritsar, is to be given practical shape at the deliberations of the Conference. Mr. Gopal Krishna Deodhar M. A. of the Servants of India Society has kindly consented to preside and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will attend the Conference and deliver the inaugural address. Fee for the membership of the Reception Committee and of Delegates is Rs. 2 and 1 respectively. Peasant and lady delegates will be admitted free of charge, on application. All correspondence regarding this Provincial Social Conference should be addressed to Raoji Nemchand Shah, Pleader, General Hon. Secretary, Presidency Social Conference, Sholapur.

The Complete Christ: Referring to the two aspects of Christ's character represented respectively by the Rev. Bernard Vaughan's conventional Christ and Mr. Jacob Epstein's Christ, we observed in our leading article "Art in Religion," last week that a figure representing and reconciling the twofold aspect was yet to be created. The *Challenge* gives a fine reproduction in the issue received last week of a figure of which it says "here there is leadership and love together." But the portrait is not that of a work of art but that of a man, Anton Lang, the famous impersonator of Jesus in the celebrated mystery play of Oberammergau. It had been rumoured that he was dead, but he is still alive and well. He was given total exemption from military service by the Bavarian Government during the war, and even his application to enlist as a stretcher-bearer was refused. "It is good to know", says our contemporary, "that the unique ministry of Anton Lang of such high service to the world at large, was not without honour in his own country, even in its darkest days."

Illegitimacy Laws in America: The high infant mortality rate among illegitimate children is arousing serious thought in many countries. We are indebted to the *Industrial Banner* of Toronto for the summary reprinted today, of a report by Professor Ernest Freund, of the University of Chicago, on illegitimacy laws, issued by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour. Professor Freund suggests legislation providing for support by the father up to the age when the child may legally go to work.

A Convenient Expression: Thus Mr. Surendranath Banarjee's *Bengales* "We cannot conceive why it is thought that public safety will be seriously endangered by the grant of amnesty under the Royal Proclamation to the late editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. Is it seriously believed that the Empire will be in danger by his being given a free permit to come back to this country? "Public safety" may be a convenient expression but it is not much serviceable on the present occasion when much is left to fertile imagination only without any solid substratum. When the benefits of the amnesty under the Royal Proclamation have been extended to others there is no reason why the concession should be denied to Mr. Horniman only. We trust the Government of India will see its way to reconsider the matter in an unbiassed spirit."

Is a Paper Famine in Sight? We heard by the last mail from London that the price of paper, already high, may go up to one shilling a pound this summer. The *Times of India* had this note among its current topics on Friday. "Reports from the world's various paper markets show a very serious shortage of paper of all kinds amounting to a paper famine. Paper mills in America, England, and Scandinavia are booked up for periods varying from one to two years. Prices are at present anything from six to nine times higher than they were before the war and are rising every week. News paper which in London could in 1914 be had for an anna or a trifle more per pound is now quoted at eight annas and is likely to go up to twelve. Many American and Canadian papers announce that owing to the shortage of paper they will be obliged to discontinue publication of advertisements. Other papers are limiting their sizes and circulation. Many French papers have announced an increase of 100 per cent. in their rates of subscription and this applies to papers in other parts of the world. The outlook is a serious one both for the paper trade and the public."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 28, 1920.

THE CONGRESS PUNJAB ENQUIRY REPORT.*

The Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress to enquire into the incidents of the martial law administration in the Punjab, have made their report which was published on Friday. The Commissioners were four Barristers-at-law, namely Mr. Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, with Mr. K. Santanam, another Barrister-at-law, as Secretary. A large part of the evidence dealt with in the report had been collected before the appointment of this unofficial Commission, by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the National Congress under the direction of the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who went to Lahore soon after the cessation of martial law and immediately instituted enquiries. This prompt action on their part, involving as it did considerable personal loss and inconvenience, put heart into the people of the Punjab whom the martial law regime had left dazed beyond description. The evidence collected by the Sub-Committee was supplemented by some received by the Commissioners direct. The Commissioners examined the statements of over 1700 witnesses and have selected for publication 650 of them. The excluded statements, we are told, are mostly statements proving the same class of facts as those proved by the published statements. Every admitted statement was verified by one of the Commissioners and was accepted only after they were satisfied as to the *bonafides* of the witness. No statement was accepted without sufficient cross-examination of the witnesses. Many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages. Some of the witnesses have made very serious allegations against officials. As to these, the Commissioners observe: "In each and every case the witnesses were warned by us of the consequences of making those allegations and they were admitted only when the witnesses adhered to their statements, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personally ran and the damage that may ensue to the cause by reason of exaggeration or untruth." The Commissioners rejected statements which could not be corroborated although, they say, in some cases they were inclined to believe them. Such, for instance, they add, were the statements regarding ill-treatment of women.

The arrangement of the Report is in keeping with this scrupulous care in the admission of evidence. It opens with a brief historical and geographical sketch. It goes on to present a critical estimate of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's attitude towards Indian opinion and the Indian Press based mostly on his own published speeches and from official records. Lurid light is thrown on some of the recruiting methods

* The Karnataka Printing Press, Thakurdwar, Bombay. Two volumes separately Price Rs. Seven, together Rs. Six. Report volume only Rs. two only.

adopted by officials. This chapter affords a clue to subsequent events and is important. The Commissioners conclude:

He (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) wanted to make and did make a supreme effort to crush the spirit that was struggling to be free from the thralldom under which he had bound it during his iron rule. He scented danger in every honest speech made by the leaders and he detected conspiracy in every combination, and thus forgetting himself issued his orders against Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gandhi. He must have known that this could only end in exasperating a people who had already been incensed against his rule. We feel tempted to say that he invited violence from the people so that he could crush them. The evidence in the appendix shows that he subjected the Punjab to the greatest provocation under which they momentarily lost self-control. They have paid deeply for it, but they have also, with amazing quickness, regained self-control and risen purified through the fire of sufferings mostly undeserved.

Then follows an excellent analysis of the Rowlatt Bills and an account of the Satyagraha movement. As regards one of the Bills which was passed (the other has not been heard of since) the Commissioners say:

It has been contended on behalf of the Government that there has been misrepresentation and exaggeration in connection with the Act. We hold that the Act hardly lends itself to popular misrepresentation. It has certainly been misrepresented on the official side. A typical exaggeration that we have seen complained of is a cryptic phrase, *na appeal, na dalil, na vakool* meaning "no appeal, no argument, no pleader." In our opinion, if this is the worst description of the Act on the popular side, it far underrated its evils, rather than overstates them.

The chapter on Satyagraha is only indirectly relevant to the subject-matter of the report. The Commissioners themselves say that in the Punjab, the civil resistance part of Satyagraha was neither understood nor appreciated, much less practised. The *hartal* as such had nothing to do with civil resistance. It is an old institution of popular protest against an unpopular measure. Neither Satyagraha nor *hartal*, in the opinion of the Commissioners, had anything to do with the mob-excesses. In a brief chapter on the general aspect of the martial law regime in the province, the Commissioners point out that on the 6th April there was a complete *hartal* in the Punjab and meetings at which resolutions protesting against the Rowlatt Act and demanding its repeal were passed. There was no disorder and the demonstrations were perfectly peaceful and orderly. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer was displeased. On the 7th of April, that is the day next after the *hartal*, speaking in the Punjab Legislative Council, he shook his mailed fist and rattled his sabre. The following private conversation on the same day with one of the members, Raizada Bhagat Ram, is illuminating.

After the meeting (of the Punjab Legislative Council) I (the Raizada states) met the Lieutenant-Governor in the drawing room. He asked me what sort of a *hartal* we had at Jullundur. I replied it was a complete *hartal*, and that there was no disturbance. Sir M. O'Dwyer asked me what I

attributed it to. I answered, "To my mind it was due to the Soul force of Mr. Gandhi." On this Sir Michael raised his hat and said, "Raizada Sahib, remember there is another greater force than Gandhi's Soul-force."

We cannot deal in detail with the chapters in which the Commissioners treat of the occurrences in several towns and villages. The place of honour is appropriately given to Amritsar. Here, too, the *hartal* of the 6th April, was observed peacefully. Not only that but on the 9th April, there was a remarkable *Ram Navami* procession in which Hindus and Mahomedans fraternized. When the procession passed the Deputy Commissioner who was watching it from a building on the way, the bands struck up "God Save the King". It was a great demonstration of Hindu-Mahomedan friendship, conducted in the most orderly and loyal manner. On the 10th April, the day after this procession, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, the Mahomedan and Hindu leaders, were sent for by the Deputy Commissioner and sent away to an unknown destination. When the people came to know of this, they started bareheaded and bare-footed (common signs of mourning), and totally without the means of offence even for a stick, to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to plead for the release of their leaders. The crowd marched through the streets of Amritsar, past the National Bank, the Town Hall, and the Christian Mission Hall, "the very buildings, which within a short time were to be destroyed by some of them". It was stopped on its way by a military picket. The men wanted to go to the Deputy Commissioner to make *Faryad*, prayer or complaint. It pushed forward, the military fell back a little, it advanced, the military fired killing and wounding some of the crowd which turned back carrying the dead and wounded with it. The sight of these exasperated the mob which became thenceforth uncontrollable. It sacked the National Bank killing two Englishmen, brutally murdered the Railway Guard, Robinson, the manager of the Alliance Bank, and Sergeant Rowland, burnt the Town Hall, the Post office and the Mission Hall, and committed the cowardly assault on Miss Sherwood. All this was the work of a few hours. By 5 p. m. on the same day it was all over. The people had regained their sober sense. The City was left to itself that night, and there was no disturbance, no robbery, no looting. On the 11th, the dead bodies were carried in a large funeral procession within the time stipulated by the authorities, in a peaceful and orderly way. Neither was there any trouble on the 12th. Meanwhile, the water and electric supply to the City had been cut off as a punishment. The only incident on the 12th was that Hans Raj, who subsequently became chief approver in the Amritsar conspiracy case, held a meeting and announced that next day another meeting would be held at Jallianwala Bagh under the chairmanship of an old and respected citizen. This gentleman knew nothing about the matter, and the Commissioners think that it was merely a lure to draw a large gathering at Jallianwala on the 13th. On the morning of the 13th, General Dyer who had relieved the civil authorities on the 11th of charge

of the city, entered Amritsar and made a proclamation at about 9-30 prohibiting processions of any kind in the city at any time. The Commissioners point out from the map of the city that the most crowded parts were left out in making the proclamation. A little while before the proclamation, a boy went about the street beating on a tin can and announcing that a meeting would be held at Jallianwala at 4 p.m. that evening and that Lala Kanhya Lal, the gentleman mentioned above, would preside. General Dyer came to know of this at about 12-45 p.m. He took no steps to prevent the meeting, but waited till 4 p.m. when he got together about 100 troops, with two armoured cars, and reached the Bagh at about 5 p.m. What followed is now notorious.

This book is the gravest and most deliberate indictment, preferred by non-official Indians of unimpeachable character and capacity, against any British administration in India. The country owes a debt of gratitude to the Commissioners for their devoted labours. Their report is a model of logical arrangement, clear exposition and a masterly marshalling of facts which, as a rule, are left to tell their own story. A chronological summary of the principal events is the only want we have experienced in our first hasty perusal of the report. Perhaps, an index would add appreciably to the convenience of the reader. Further editions are sure to be called, and these suggestions may be borne in mind in preparing them. A word of praise is also due to the Karnatak Printing Press for the way in which it has carried out its part of the work under obvious pressure of time. We print the Commissioner's summary of their conclusions in another column. They involve several high-placed officials from His Excellency the Viceroy downwards. India is asked to await the Hunter Committee's report before passing judgment. She will do so. But she will ask Britain when the time comes to do Justice. India will not ask for revenge. She will not even ask that the men who, in infatuation of power, might be held to have killed, wounded and, worse than both, humiliated her children, should be made to suffer in person or property. She will only ask that they may no longer pollute her by their presence.

A far hour shall wreak

The deep prophetic fulness of her woes

And pile up on their heads the mountain of her curse;

That curse shall be Forgiveness!

Gokhale Education Society, Benares: No more appropriate memorial of the late Mr. Gokhale can be imagined than free primary education. The Benares Gokhale Education Society is imparting this to over 200 boys and girls in that city. The last annual report is a record of strenuous work on the part of a few earnest admirers of the late Mr. Gokhale.

A Temperance Meeting. A public meeting will be held at the Cawasjee Jehangir Hall (Royal College of Science) at 6 p.m. tomorrow (Monday the 29th instant) to support the cause of temperance, purity and union, when Dr. Harold Mann will preside. Mr. R. A. Woods of Boston, well-known as a social worker and public speaker, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will be among the speakers. The meeting is open to all and students in particular will be welcome.

RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATION FOR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS.

In a footnote to the section on his "Elements of Politics," dealing with the best method of forming electoral divisions, the late Professor Sidgwick observed: "Here I may remark that a critic of my first edition asked, 'why is nothing said about the very important question whether the electors should be limited in their choice to persons resident in the electoral district or not?' My answer is that I know no reason worth discussing in favour of a compulsory limitation of this kind." The italics are ours. The late Lord Acton pithily described the residential qualification for candidates in the Legislature as tantamount to a rule that if ten statesmen lived in the same street, nine should be thrown out of work. He pointed out that the object of such a restriction, namely, "security against Boulangism" (carpet-baggers, in Anglo-Indian phrase), can be attained by restricting the number of constituencies to be addressed by the same candidate, and that in the United States where the usage exists, several intelligent Americans are persuaded that it is an urgent evil. Viscount Bryce in his monumental work, "the American Commonwealth" points out the evils arising from this restriction. He writes:

The mischief is two-fold. Inferior men are returned, because there are many parts of the country which do not grow statesmen, where nobody, or at any rate nobody desiring to enter Congress, is to be found above a moderate level of political capacity. And men of marked ability and zeal are prevented from forcing their way in. Such men are produced chiefly in the great cities of the older States. There is not room enough there for nearly all of them, but no other doors to Congress are open . . . As such men cannot enter from their place of residence, they do not enter at all, and the nation is deprived of the benefit of their services. Careers are moreover interrupted. A promising politician may lose his seat in his own district through some fluctuation of opinion, or perhaps he has offended the local wirepullers by too much independence. Since he cannot find a seat elsewhere, he is stranded; his political life is closed, while other young men inclined to independence take warning from his fate.

This rule, so thoroughly condemned by all authorities, has been, as usual, adopted in this country. It has been in force ever since the elective principle was introduced in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils. The Southborough Committee recommended that it should be retained in Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, as a compromise. The passage in their report on this point, is worth quoting:

With regard to the general and communal constituencies, the majority of us, although opposed to such a restriction anywhere, resolved, on a consideration of the evidence, to abandon uniformity, and to impose the restriction in the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, but not in the remaining provinces.

The minority, consisting of Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Hailey and Mr. Hogg, desired that the restriction should be imposed in all provinces, and were prepared, if necessary, to face a definition of the qualification which

would secure that the candidate should be actually a resident of the constituency. In his evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament, Lord Southborough spoke out his mind very freely on this point. The Joint Committee itself accepted "the compromise" suggested by the Franchise Committee in respect of the residential qualification whereby the restriction is to be imposed only in Bombay, the Central Provinces and the Punjab. Even as regards these provinces, Mr. Montagu, in the course of the debate on the Bill in the House of Commons, expressed himself as personally opposed to the principle of restriction and held out the hope that it may be reconsidered when the rules were made.

An energetic protest should be made against the retention of the residential qualification in Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces. There can be no doubt that it will lead to non-entities being chosen from several districts, and the result will be the domination of the back-veldt which is having such disastrous consequences in South Africa. The bureaucracy, of course, has a rooted aversion to "tall poppies" among Indians and it is nothing strange that it should not be over-anxious to facilitate their entry into the Councils. Even without the handicap of residential qualification for members, the new Councils promise to focus not the intelligent, progressive elements in the nation's life, but the depressing, dividing, debilitating elements in it. The fear which the *Tribune* expressed as regards the Punjab, in the paragraph which we reproduced last week, is by no means exclusive to that province. It exists everywhere, in Bombay as much as in other provinces. The residential qualification is the means by which the choice of the electorate is made subservient to parochial influences in the mofussil, among which official influence is so prominent. The Indian public will be preparing a great disillusionment for itself if it does not exert itself to the utmost to get this relic of a discredited system abolished once for all. It is likely to work far more mischief in the new Councils than in the old. Viscount Bryce points out that, as Ministers cannot be members of Congress in the United States, as in England, the British Colonies and in Continental Europe, the operation of the rule is not so mischievous in America as it would be in these countries. "The inconvenience of excluding a man from the service of the nation," he says, "because he could not secure his return in the place of his residence would be unendurable" in England and the other countries. The new Indian Legislative Councils will differ radically in character from the old, in that Ministers are to be selected from among the elected members. There is yet another consideration. In addition to the causes which might make a member unpopular in his constituency in Western countries, purely social and religious reasons will have to be reckoned with in this country. A member may become unpopular in the mofussil for such reasons as (among Hindus) keeping his daughter unmarried beyond a certain age, for marrying a widow or out of his caste, or even associating with

members of the depressed classes, and (among Mahomedans) for shaving his beard or for not secluding the women of his family behind the purdah. A shrewd observer of the surface currents of public life tells us that Mahomedan members with shaven chins have disappeared from Indian Legislative Councils. These are possibilities which cannot be ignored. The effect of the residential restriction, from this point of view, must necessarily be to divorce political from social, religious and sanitary reform, and to retard the progress of much-needed social legislation the facilitating of which was one of Mr. Montagu's declared objects in the scheme of reform.

IMPLICATIONS OF HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.*

(BY "KOTGARH")

Permit me to congratulate you upon the article entitled "Implications of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity" appearing in your issue of March 7th, and Mr. Gandhi's article from *Young India*.

I feel some diffidence in differing from Mahatmaji but on this point I feel it my duty to add my voice to yours, as a result of my own personal experience.

Does not our error lie in the too generally accepted position that there will always be communities, adhering to Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian religions, as these faiths are now held? Have we not yet to learn that there is but One True Religion, and that it is yet in the making—that each of these systems of philosophy and faith has its quota to contribute to that One Ultimate Understanding of our relation with God and with each other? Surely as these three at present exist—so divergent from each other in various ways—they cannot all be perfect visions of the truth. Personally I cannot feel that any one of them is that. And if mankind is to progress and grow away from the *Maya* which at present misleads and deludes it, the path must lead not only *through* but *beyond* these local phases of spiritual and intellectual experience. Religions must tend to merge into each other as they draw nearer to the Truth which is One, and racialism must be lost in the recognition that the differences which we set up between man and man are illusions based upon pride, selfishness and ignorance, that we are not in reality many men or communities or races but one *Purush*—one multi-personal unity.

I feel with you deeply, that all these customs and conventions which separate us into different camps, are *not* little things. It is of such that life is made up at present, and these things violate that deep hunger of the soul for union with one's brother and with God. They hold us apart where love should and would draw us together. There may be *temporary* political and national unity of purpose and sympathy without true union in the things of common life, but it will only last if it leads to true unification. Eating and drinking together, and inter-marriage, these are not little

* M. Gandhi's article and our comments on it, which are referred to by "Kotgarh" were published in the *Reformer* of the 7th March.

or superficial things, for of these, and the relationships which they imply, our mundane life—and indeed much of the nobler aspect of life—is made up. It does not outrage the law of love if a man prefers to eat alone, but it does outrage that law if he is ready to eat with one person and refuses to eat with another in every way his spiritual and social equal. Barriers set up between men of equal spirituality and refinement of life and feeling, which hold apart from participation in a common life those otherwise fitted to profit by coming together, obstruct the great unifying principle of God's love in the world, through which we must grow together, and having become one with each other grow to that higher salvation where MAN becomes one with GOD.

Eight years ago I had the privilege of making an Indian lady my wife. The experience of these years lays upon me the duty of writing this letter, for they have been years of an ever-widening vision of the superficiality of man's conception about racial and communal differences. Fundamentally, mankind is One, and where Love is there is neither East nor West nor where love is will there be eventually Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian. Lack of love is the force which makes for *duality*, and duality is the fruit of *Maya*.

Our whole trouble lies in our having stopped short at being Hindus or Mahomedans or Christians. Not one of these religions will solve the problem of unity. There is—there can only be—one true religion, and in that we must ultimately find ourselves one. It has not yet dawned upon the world, but as with the ever-increasing light of truth men cast away their insularism and inherited prejudices, and as the great religious faiths in which the various sections of mankind are plodding onward, merge into one nobler and broader Way, our Faith will be one, and our Life and Hope and Purpose one.

There *are* differences now of faith and race and community, but they are the results of error and selfishness. We must admit that they exist, but we must try to overcome them—not compromise with them. They will only go gradually, but they must go, or the world will always be what it is now—a place of pride, disunion, oppression and trouble.

I notice at the top of your paper certain noble words of William Lloyd Garrison. Let me add to them in closing others of his, which seem to me to point the way for us as regards our proper relations with each other. "My country," said he, "is the world and my countrymen are my fellow-men." And if he had been an Indian, and living in India today, I feel that with an equal clearness and courage he would have said "and my community is the community of mankind".

Let me admit that differences exist, but let us not be content with them. Let us not rest until by universal consent the artificial barriers raised in darker ages of prejudice have been swept away. Then only shall we have the right to call all men our brothers, for while we sanction these differences we have no right to do so.

COCHIN NAIR BILL

(BY MR. N. V. SARMA, B. A.)

Our hearty congratulations are due to the people of Cochin, and no less to Mr. T. Vijayaraghava Achariar, its present Dewan, for having ushered in the Cochin Nair Bill. The Bill, viewed from the social and moral standpoint is far ahead of any social legislation existing either in British India or in any other Indian State. Compared with the existing marital custom obtaining among the Nairs the present Bill may be said to be revolutionary in character in the circumstance that it is designed to remove all the offensiveness of the existing custom by, as it were, a stroke of the pen. That educated Nairs have been tolerating such a custom even in spite of their education, has been a wonder to us. It is within our recollection what amount of opposition there was when Mr. (now Sir) C. Sankaran Nair introduced some years ago his Malabar Marriage Bill in the Madras Legislative Council.

The establishment of the institution of monogamy is the paramount object with which those who are responsible for the Bill seem to have started, and if the Bill with some modifications which we shall suggest presently, becomes law, we have no hesitation in saying that the formulators of the Bill will have received the amplest reward in the satisfaction that their labours have not been in vain.

There are several points which the Bill deals with. But, for our purpose, we shall take only the one which is calculated to improve and raise the moral and social standard of the society viz., its marital aspect. We are far from pretending that, by the mere passing of the Bill, the moral salvation of the people of Cochin will have been achieved. We only mean that, allowing for the faults of humanity, we may hope to realise the objects for which the Bill has been drafted. Coming to the Bill, chapters II, III, and IV deal with marriage and its attendant consequences. Confining ourselves to the performance of the marriage, but not to its consequences, we shall have to deal with only chapter II, and even here to section 4 primarily. If the intention of the framers of the Bill is to stop polygamy in the State, which we believe it to be, the clause prohibiting polygamy is not exhaustive in as much as it has left out of consideration a possibility of continuing polygamy without breaking the law of the land. According to the clause "no one having a personal law of his own allowing polygamy shall marry a Nair female while already married to a caste wife." The Tamil Brahmins living in Cochin and the Nambudiris have a personal law of their own and polygamy is permitted. The clause prohibits them to marry a Nair female. But, in the State of Cochin, there is another community called "Tirumulpad" to which also the Ruling House of Cochin belongs. They are Kshatriyas; but so far as their marriage custom goes they adopt the custom of the Nairs. Since the prohibition is extended only to Nair females, Tamil Brahmins and Nambudiris can very well take any number of wives from the Tirumulpad community. To us the

omission to include this community within the clutches of the law, seems to be rather unfortunate. We hope the clause will be so modified as to make it exhaustive. Next, in clause 5 dealing with dissolution of marriage, there is no provision for such in case the wife or husband becomes insane. Again the Bill does not provide any relief for a dissolution of the marriage if the husband or wife commits adultery, and to us it seems it is desirable, in the interest of future generations, to provide for a dissolution of marriage in case if either husband or wife is proved to be suffering from any venereal disease.

If these suggestions are embodied in the Bill before it becomes an Act, the Bill may be said to be satisfactory so far as the State is concerned. But until the Nairs of the adjoining State of Travancore and British Malabar develop a high social conscience or until similar legislations are carried through there the beneficial results of the Cochin Nair Regulation may not be prominent in as much as there are various possibilities of defeating the purpose of the same. Suppose a Brahmin of British Malabar having a caste wife marries two other Nair women one from South Malabar and another from Tirchar (Cochin) and lives in Ernakulam with all his three wives and children. The Cochin Nair Bill as it stands cannot touch a hair of his. If similar regulations were current in British Malabar and Travancore, such a state will be an impossibility. Perhaps it is pertinent to hope that the Nairs of British Malabar and Travancore will take a leaf out of the book of their brethren in the Cochin State and revolutionise their society by agitating to get similar laws passed.

THE PUNJAB CONGRESS ENQUIRY
CONCLUSIONS.

1. The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, and by reason of the cruel and compulsory methods adopted during the war, for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion by gagging the local press and shutting out nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab.

2. The Rowlatt agitation disturbed the public mind and shook public confidence in the good will of the Government. This was shared by the Punjab in a fuller measure, perhaps than elsewhere, because of the use made by Sir M. O'Dwyer of the Defence of India Act for purposes of stifling public movements.

3. The Satyagraha movement and the hartal which was designed as a precursor of it whilst they vitalised the whole country into activity, saved it from more awful and more widespread calamities, by restraining the violent tendencies and passions of the people.

4. The Rowlatt agitation was not conceived in an anti-British spirit, and the Satyagraha movement was conceived and conducted in a spirit entirely free from ill-will and violence.

5. There was no conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the Punjab.

6. The arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi, and the arrests and deportations of D. S. Kitchlew and

Satyagrah were unjustifiable and were the only direct cause of hysterical popular excitement.

7. The mob violence which began at Amritsar was directly due to the firing at the Railway overbridge, and the sight of the dead and wounded at a time when the excitement had reached white heat.

8. Whatever the cause of provocation, the mob excesses are deeply to be regretted and condemned.

9. So far as the facts are publicly known, no reasonable cause has been shown to justify the introduction of Martial Law.

10. In each case, Martial Law was proclaimed after order had been completely restored.

11. Even if it be held that the introduction of Martial Law was a State necessity, it was unduly prolonged.

12. Most of the measures taken under Martial Law, in all the five districts, were unnecessary, cruel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the people affected by them.

13. In Lahore, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Gujrat, Jalalpur Jattan, Lyallpur and Sheikhpura, there were no mob excesses at all worthy of the name.

14. The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre was a calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men, including children, and unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

15. The Martial Law Tribunals and the Summary Courts were made the means of harassing innocent people, and resulted in abortion of justice on a wide scale, and under the name of justice caused moral and material sufferings to hundreds of men and women.

16. The crawling order and other fancy punishments were unworthy of a civilized administration, and were symptomatic of the moral degradation of their inventors.

17. The imposition of indemnity and of punitive police at various places, notwithstanding exemplary and vindictive punishments meted out through nearly two long months, mostly to innocent men, and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions were an uncalled for, unjust, and added injury.

18. The corruption and bribery, that took place during Martial Law, form a separate chapter of grievance which could have been easily avoided under a sympathetic administration.

19. The measures necessary for redressing the wrong done to the people, for the purification of the administration and for preventing a repetition in future of official lawlessness are :—

- (a) Repeal of the Rowlatt Act.
- (b) Relieving Sir M. O'Dwyer of any responsible office under the Crown.
- (c) Relieving General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bowworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan, of any position of responsibility under the Crown.
- (d) Local inquiry into corrupt practices of the minor officials, whose names have been mentioned in the statements published by us, and their dismissal on proof of their guilt.
- (e) Recall of His Excellency the Viceroy.
- (f) Refund of the fines collected from people who were convicted by the Special Tribunals and Summary Courts; remission of all indemnity imposed on the cities affected; refund thereof where it has already been collected; and removal of punitive police.

It is our deliberate opinion that Sir M. O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bowworth Smith,

Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached, but we purposely refrain from advising any such course, because we believe that India can only gain by waiving the right. Future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the Officials concerned.

We believe that Col. MacRae and Capt. Doreton have failed equally with Col. O'Brien and others to carry out their trust, but we have purposely refrained from advising any public action against them, as unlike the others mentioned by us, these two Officers were inexperienced and their brutality was not so studied and calculated as that of the experienced Officers.

M. K. GANDHI.

C. R. DAS.

ABBAS S. TAYABJI.

M. R. JAYAKAR.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In these stormy days the throwing of oil on troubled waters is everyone's duty, and though I cannot hope that my little effort will accomplish much, yet I think it may do something.

In almost all the resolutions passed on the Khilafat question there are strong references to "the fanaticism of Christian clerics". Now this is not to be wondered at. Partly from the very brief way in which the telegrams come and partly from a lack of knowledge of the circumstances in which the speeches are made, such an impression among Mohamedans is almost inevitable, but I am certain it is quite erroneous. I was brought up in the atmosphere these speeches represent and know by report most of the men whose speeches are quoted and there is no word in the dictionary less applicable to them than "fanatics". Their attacks have nothing at all to do with religion but are directed against the Turk as such, and are founded simply on his reputation for cruelty to those under his rule.

Personally I think these strong speeches most unfortunate and believe they would not have been made, had the speakers realised the strength of Indian Mohamedan feeling. The trouble is that two things are being confused in India—the position of the Khalifat and that of the Turkish people. For the Turkish people is it to be wondered that resentment runs strong? They interfered in a quarrel that was not theirs and by the strength of their position prolonged the war at least two years, thus causing to the Allies at least a million extra casualties. But the Khilafat problem is quite a different thing. I believe I am correct in saying that very few present day Christians would wish in the least to lessen the prestige of the Khalifat. Christianity had its fanatical stages, but it has grown out of them centuries ago. The position of religious neutrality that our Government stands for, is recognised as the Christian one.

If this, which I devoutly believe is true, were realised, it would do a good deal to lessen the present tension.

Yours etc.

J. I. M.

FAIR PLAY FOR "NOBODY'S CHILD"

Fair play for the child born out of wedlock is urged by Ernest Freedand, Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Law of the University of Chicago Law School, in the excerpt and analysis of a report on Illegitimacy Laws recently issued by

the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The innocent child of unmarried parents is frequently condemned not only by the social sentiment but by the law of the land.

While the stigma of illegitimacy can be lifted only through radical changes in public opinion, everything within legislative power should be done, as Professor Freaund points out, to mitigate its hardship. The English common law, which regards the child born out of wedlock as the "child of no one", still prevails in some parts of the United States and deprives the child not only of a name but of the substantial rights of inheritance and support. Advanced legislation in some states has in recent years altered the common law by provisions more favorable to the child but the need for uniform legislation designed to protect rather than punish is evident.

Legislation bearing on the father's obligations has been particularly backward. In one State, laws enacted as far back as 1798 have remained practically unaltered, and these in turn are modeled on the English bastardy law of 1575. Six States and Alaska still have no provision whatever for compelling the support of a child by its natural father. Where provision is made it is in many cases entirely inadequate, for when the payments are not too low, the period of support is too brief, extending sometimes to the tenth or eleventh year. Legislation, the report suggests, should consider child labor policies by providing for support by the father up to the age when the child may legally go to work. In many cases no financial provision is made by law for the care of the child at birth and during early infancy. The high infant mortality rate among children born out of wedlock bears witness to the need for such provision.

A comprehensive scheme of reform in legislation affecting the child born out of wedlock should, according to Professor Freaund, consider the creation of an official guardianship, "in order to do full justice to the varying and developing circumstances of each case, and to standardize the legal duties of fathers toward the offspring." He recognizes, however, the limitations of the law, and estimates that a change in social conditions and social concepts is fundamental to success in making conditions surrounding children born out of wedlock approximate to those enjoyed by children of more fortunate birth.—*The Industrial Banner*, Toronto (Canada.)

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE.

The Bombay Schools Committee.

Sealed tenders will be received by the undersigned at his Office for the supply in the alternative for a period of one year or for a period of three years (the choice of the period to be finally fixed resting with the Schools Committee) from 1st May 1920, of School furniture comprising Section (A) wooden furniture. (B) Physical exercise articles. (C) Clocks (D) Drinking Vessels etc. on Wednesday the 7th April 1920 from 8 P.M. to 4 P.M. (B. T.). No tenders will be received thereafter. 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 and the rates for the two periods of one and three years should be shown distinctly.

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) from the 30th March 1920.

3. The person or persons whose tenders are accepted shall have to make deposits of Rs. 2000, Rs. 200, Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 for Sections 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.

5. There is no undertaking to accept the lowest tender.

D. G. PADHYE,

Secretary, Schools Committee.

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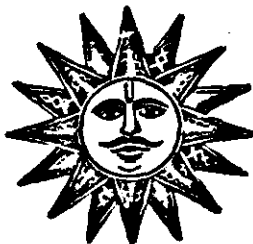
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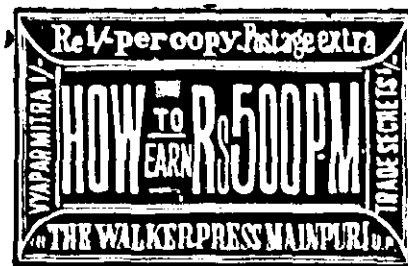
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1920. No 31.

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NOTES.

The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Reformer" will be Rs. 7-8-0 instead of Rs. 5 from the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound sterling instead of twelve shillings as hereto. We have struggled hard to avoid this step, but it has been forced upon us by inexorable circumstances. The enhanced cost of paper alone is sufficient to account for the increased subscription. We hope our subscribers will kindly realise our difficulties. All new subscriptions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1st April will be at the new rates. Attention is also called to our revised rates of advertisement. Those who are in arrears will please note that if they do not pay the arrears before the 30th April, 1920 they will be charged at the enhanced rates.

Future of Mesopotamia. It is announced that Mesopotamia would become an Arab State with Britain as its mandatory under the League of Nations. For the present, we can understand this only as meaning a Protected State. We agree with those who wish to confine British responsibility in that region to the narrowest limits compatible with the security of India, but if this is not to be, downright annexation will be in every way preferable in the interests of the people to the creation of a Protected State. A Protected State involves all the evils of foreign domination without the compensating effects of such domination, and is, therefore, wholly evil. Within the last few weeks, we have had two deputations, if we may so designate them, introduced by responsible citizens, bringing harrowing stories of oppression in some Indian States. These may or may not be true—they were certainly incredible—but the fact is significant. Such acts would be unthinkable if the position of the ruler depended, as it should, on the goodwill of his people and not a foreign power. We mention this here only to illustrate our point regarding the absolute desirability, from the point of view of both rulers and subjects alike, of either leaving them to settle their own affairs as best as they can or frankly to assume full responsibility for them. Power without responsibility is as

demoralising as responsibility without power. Double Government has been a curse wherever it has been tried, and we are afraid that the new system of mandatories is likely in practice to be nothing but the old system of protectorates.

The Indian Position in Africa: Mr. C. F. Andrews arrived in Bombay by the s.s. Karogola on Wednesday from South Africa and was interviewed on his arrival by the Associated Press. He left Durban on March 12th after meeting Sir Benjamin Robertson and placing his own statement on the Indian question before Sir Lange's Commission. He regarded the Indian situation in South Africa as very grave indeed on account of the Nationalist victories at the poll in the late elections and the reduced number of Unionists. The immensely increased Labour vote was also ominous. The gravest feature of all, however, was the intense racial animosity in the Transvaal. There the anti-Asiatic movement has been highly organised and financed. A league has been formed under the presidency of Sir Abe Bailey, called the South African League. This undertakes propagandist work on a very extensive scale. The sole object is the ultimate exclusion of the Indians from the Transvaal and from South Africa. Their activities have been now extended to Natal. In that province, however, racial feeling is not running so high as in the Transvaal. Mr. Andrews regarded the situation in British East Africa as grave also. The racial bitterness there is increasing. A cable received by His Highness the Aga Khan from London describes the East African question as being critically serious. It adds that if India does not take immediate steps to protect the interests of her people, that country will be finally lost to us. A determined effort, it is evident, is being made to oust Indians from the African Continent. It is a strange irony that this thing should happen so soon after the war in which Indians shed their blood in the cause of the Empire.

The Inter-Caste Marriage Bill: The *Gazette of India* of March 27 prints the report of the Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council on Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. We reprint it in another column, omitting the merely formal passages. The Select Committee, we are pleased to note, unanimously recommend that the Bill should be amended so as to provide that no marriage under it shall be legal unless (a) both parties thereto have attained the age of majority *viz*, eighteen years, and (b) the intending husband has at the time no wife living. Though the majority of the Select Committee are in favour of legislation at the earliest possible moment, they recommend that, in view of the fact that the Reformed Councils are so shortly to be constituted, the further consideration of the Bill should be deferred till the new Legislative Assembly meets in 1921. Opinion seems to have been divided as to the proper way of dealing with the question of inheritance and succession, but, we think, the majority recommendations on these points are quite equitable. Messrs. Patel, Chanda and Reddi append minutes dissenting from the course adopted by the

Committee of not incorporating the amendments into the Bill, and Raja Rampal Singh and Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, opposing its enactment. Messrs. Patel and Reddi also think that the Bill should not have been left over to be dealt with by the new Council. While we should have been pleased if the Bill with the amendments had become law this session, we are not sorry that it is to be brought before a more representative Council. The expression of opinion of so many members of the Select Committee, all the Hindu non-official members, the Sikh member, and the Burmese member, cannot but have a great effect on public opinion. No Mahomedan member has signed the report.

Mrs. Besant on the Reforms: Mrs. Annie Besant's speeches on the Reforms seem intended rather to hypnotise than to argue the public into the belief that they offer a readily workable plan for the ultimate introduction at not too distant a day of full responsible Government. We ought to say at once that we cannot condemn too strongly the offensive criticisms to which she has been subjected by some who ought to have a better regard for their own reputation, if not for the feelings of one who has in her own way—from which at many points we differ—sought to serve India with all her strength. It is extremely creditable to Mrs. Besant that she does not allow political hooliganism to deviate her course, but we wish that in her propaganda on behalf of the Reforms there was more of grappling with their realities than of glowing description of their possibilities. The Ministers who have to work the scheme will receive little help in dealing with realities by contemplating possibilities, and we think that any publicist who leads the public to believe that the Ministers are going to have a light task, is doing a serious disservice to the cause of progress. In our view, while the success of the Ministers, in the extremely difficult conditions in which they are placed, will be indubitably a proof of their possession of the highest kind of political capacity, their failure will reflect, and can reflect, only on the impossible conditions in which they are expected to succeed, conditions in which no British statesman would care to take office.

Reform Committees: The Government of Madras and the Government of India have followed the reprehensible policy of selecting from one section of Indian politics all the non-official members of the Committees formed to advise in framing rules under the Reform Act. The Government of Bombay have adopted the wise and statesmanlike course of making no party distinction in the composition of their Committee. In justification of the Government of India, Mr. Fisher, for the Secretary of State for India, stated in Parliament that it was reasonable to enlist the services of men who, while criticising certain features of the Reforms, promised sincere cooperation in working out the Act rather than those who denounced the Act as unacceptable and unworkable. This, we are sure, is not Mr. Fisher's personal opinion. The Liberal and Labour Parties would be glad to wreck any measure of the Coalition Government but we do not know if Parliamentary Committees are drawn solely from the Party pledged to support Government. It is obvious that unless there is a sufficient infusion of opposition views, Committees are altogether superfluous. Some Moderate leaders do not seem to be satisfied with a policy which would make them exclusively responsible in the eyes of the public for advising Government in the making of rules which are sure to fall short of public expectations. It is a commonplace that there

are several points in regard to which there is no difference between Moderate and Nationalist opinion—the residential qualification, for instance—and the Moderates would have been glad to have their expression of opinion backed up by their Nationalist friends. The shrewder Moderate leaders also feel that this obtrusive patronage of Government is not calculated to advance their position in the country and that Government would best help the cause of moderation by accepting the Moderates' suggestions publicly made in the Press and from platforms.

Non-Brahman Representation. We are glad to see that the non-Brahman party in Madras has taken Lord Meston's award in the right spirit. It is, of course, dissatisfied but it is not going to beat the air about it. It has decided to work on the basis of the award but it will strain every nerve to capture every seat in the constituencies. That is what Dewan Bahadur Theagaroya Chetty adjured it to aim at, though it may seem strange that the party which professed so much fear of Brahman influence, should confidently undertake so sweeping a campaign. It shows that Lord Meston was right in his reasoning which is already justifying itself. The Dewan Bahadur like the ghost in the play called upon his followers to swear that they would achieve the end. The reporters do not state whether the audience responded Hamlet-like to this theatrical appeal. However that may be, nobody, we are sure, will be more pleased than ourselves if the non-Brahmans win every seat in the Presidency thus disproving their apprehensions and the need for the reservation of seats. For, of course, it will be ridiculous to continue the reservation of seats when the non-Brahmans have shown themselves equal to capturing all or the large majority of seats in the Presidency.

Dacca University Act. The text of the Dacca University Act, as finally passed by the Imperial Legislative Council and assented to by the Governor-General, is published. The omission of an important feature of the scheme, on which the Sadler Commission had laid great stress, seems to have passed altogether unnoticed in the debates, which were of a most perfunctory character, in the Council on the measure. There was the less excuse for this oversight, as one of the members of the Sadler Commission, Professor Hartog, in a paper read on the 18th December 1919 before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, had pointedly called attention to the omission. He said: "I greatly regret to see that the new Dacca University Bill and statutes do not provide specifically for an Examinations Board of the kind we have recommended. I trust that the omission is only due to an oversight." We do not know if the attention of the Hon. Mr. Shafi, the Member in charge of Education, was called to Professor Hartog's remarks. Perhaps not, otherwise he would surely have referred to them in his speeches and explained why the Examinations Board had been omitted from the official scheme. The Hon. Member, we are sure, would not have allowed a criticism so weighty to go unnoticed even in his anxiety to expose the inconsistency or insincerity of those who while supporting the Lucknow compact demurred to communal representation in a University. That the non-official members too should have overlooked this point, is scarcely less astonishing. The following observations of Professor Hartog bring out briefly but clearly the Commission's purpose in recommending Examination Boards:

It is only by asking again and yet again the question 'What does an examination mean?' that it can be kept from seclorism. In order to ensure that such questions shall not be forgotten, we propose new machinery, a new Examinations Board, whose business it will be to act as the auditors of the

examination system and the wakeful conscience of the University in this matter; not an executive board, but an advisory board, with power to investigate examination results, statistically and in detail, and to publish for the information of the public typical examination answers. Such answers, I suggest, should be neither necessarily the best or the worst; average answers, and especially border-line answers, just enabling a candidate to pass, are what the educated public and especially the body of University teachers as a whole should see from time to time, in order that the exact significance of a University diploma may be brought home to them.

An Examination Board would be especially useful in a University where the introduction of the communal principle is likely to exert an influence towards the lowering of standards.

The Viceroy's Visit to Bombay: His Excellency the Viceroy paid an official visit to Bombay, arriving on the morning of Saturday the 20th and leaving on the night of Monday, the 22nd. The occasion aroused very mild interest in the general public. The Viceroy gave interviews to several gentlemen, mostly officials, and made himself acquainted with the important city developments in progress, by visiting several localities. Her Excellency evinced her keen interest in movements for the amelioration of women and children by visiting several institutions in the city.

The First Indian Chief Justice: It is announced that Mr. Justice Shadi Lal has been appointed Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court. This is the first time an Indian has been permanently nominated to the post, though there have been several instances of Indians acting as Chief Justice in the absence on leave of the permanent incumbent. We record the fact here with pleasure as the pulling down of one other invidious distinction in Indian administration. Mr. Justice Shadi Lal has had a brilliant academic and professional career and his elevation to the highest judicial office in the Province will go some way towards paving the way to the restoration of the sorely-tried self-respect of the people. We congratulate Government, the Punjab, and Mr. Justice Shadi Lal on the appointment.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation: The Bombay Municipal Corporation elected on Thursday Mr. Vasant Rao Dabholkar as its President for the current year by 32 votes against 26 recorded for the Hon. Sir Dinshah Petit. We do not know Mr. Dabholkar and Sir Dinshah, of course, occupies a recognised position in the public life of the country. But there has been an unwritten rule observed with reference to the Presidentship of the Corporation, that it should go by turns to members belonging to the principal communities. An attempt to get this rule abrogated by a resolution of the Corporation, failed only a few months ago. It was the turn of a Hindu this time, and the excuse for Sir Dinshah Petit's candidature seems to have been that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is due to arrive during the currency of this year's Presidentship. It is a very flimsy excuse, because it is obvious that it will make not the least difference to anybody except the person who happens to be President whether X, Y or Z happens to be the President of the Corporation. If Sir Dinshah had been elected, there would have been an end to all informal friendly understanding in Bombay public life which, already too much of a scrimmage, would have been reduced to a scrimmage. The result of the election shows that the majority of the members realised that, whatever temporary advantage might accrue from a departure from precedent, the permanent consequences of it would have been injurious

to public interests. We do not ourselves like the rule, but it should be openly abrogated if it is no longer to guide the choice of Presidents. This the Corporation had refused to do by a large majority quite recently. Mr. Dabholkar has been for many years a member of the Corporation, has had experience of the several duties which fall to members, and will, we presume, make as ornamental a figure as his competitor at the receptions to the Prince of Wales. True, he has no handle to his name, being neither a knight nor a Baronet, but "a breath can make them as a breath has made."

Sir Sivaswami Iyer's Unpleasant Experience. As we had referred to Sir Sivaswami Iyer's unpleasant awakening in the train in Burma last January, we should record its sequel. The Associated Press states that, "with reference to certain statements, which have appeared in the Press some time ago regarding the altercation between Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and Captain Childers in a railway carriage on the Burma Railway, we are authorised to state that the matter has been settled in a manner honourable to both the gentlemen concerned with the tender and acceptance of a suitable apology." The "certain statements" were made by Sir Sivaswami Iyer himself in a communication to the *Rangoon Mail* and not, as the message implies, by irresponsible persons without first-hand knowledge of the "altercation." We fail to see what there is of "honourable" in a man who wantonly insults a peaceful passenger because he is an Indian, and apologises when he realises that his victim is a late member of an Indian Government, a Knight Commander of the Star of India, and an Indian political leader of eminence, whose complaint no Government of an Indian province can ignore. As for Sir Sivaswami Iyer, his acceptance of the apology is in the unvindictive spirit of the Hindu gentleman who believes in the law of karma operating unerringly through eternity. Neither he nor his assailant--it is rather an assault than an altercation to be waked up in your bed-clothes at the dawn of day and ordered unceremoniously to get out--could have acted otherwise than they have done. We are sure that Sir Sivaswami Iyer had exacted an assurance, as Mr. Gokhale did in a similar case, that the Captain would not again behave rudely to an Indian passenger. While we should not carry personal grievances too far to the detriment of wrong-headed individuals, no opportunity should be lost of showing them that we owe a duty to our people.

The New Bombay Council. With reference to our remarks about the necessity of providing the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with suitable premises if it is decided to make the Town Hall the Council Hall, we understand that the Society cannot be ousted from the Town Hall as its tenure of the rooms occupied by it is not a matter of favour but of right. There is a growing feeling that the Government of Bombay have been as precipitate in recanting as they were in deciding on the Oval site. Impulsiveness is perhaps an amiable quality in individuals but it is not conducive to the growth of confidence in an administration. The temporary structure on a corner of the Oval would not have seriously incommoded anybody. The military authorities should have been persuaded to let the Cooperage on the other side of the road be used as a temporary play-ground by those who are using the bit of Oval as such. That, however, is now part of the history of Sir George Lloyd's Government. No announcement has been made as yet of what alternative site has been selected. There is obviously no time to lose, as the monsoon will not wait.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 4, 1920.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE KHILAFAT DEPUTATION.

It is never safe to assume the correctness of a telegraphic summary of an intricate discussion. Official summaries have to be treated with the same reserve as unofficial despatches. The detailed account of the reception of the Indian Khilafat deputation by the Prime Minister in London on the 17th March, issued by the Government of India is, no doubt, a fair and accurate account of the proceedings from the official point of view. But until we are in a position to check it by reference to an equally detailed account from the Indian Khilafat deputation, our comments on the official account are bound to be tentative and subject to revision in the light of more complete information. We feel it all the more incumbent on us to make this reservation as a perusal of the official version is calculated to leave on one's mind the impression that Mr. Mahomed Ali who was spokesman-in-chief of the deputation, came off decidedly second-best in his encounter with the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George has been from many years the ablest debater in England, and recently he has sharpened, developed and matured his powers in contact with the best minds of Europe and America. He seems to have exerted his great powers in the interview. Besides, he has the most recent and authentic information at his service. In point of natural capacity, Mr. Mahomed Ali need fear no comparison with any competitor. But he has been in internment during these five fateful years, and his sources of information have been limited, although the fire within him burns on that account all the more brightly. After making every allowance for this enormous disparity, however, it is not easy to believe that Mr. Mahomed Ali, who is not a novice in international politics, got himself cornered in the way the official account indicates and that he had to be helped out as well as possible by Mr. Synd Hussein on the point of the independence of Arabia. Many who are in deep sympathy and complete agreement with the efforts made to get the Prime Minister's pledge honoured not only in the letter but also in the spirit, felt that it was putting too a great a strain on Mr. Mahomed Ali to throw the chief responsibility of this weighty deputation on him before he had scarcely had time to recover from the effects of his compulsory isolation during the last five years. All the greater honour to him for undertaking without hesitation this onerous public duty.

Writing on this subject on the 7th March, we pointed out that a demand for the restoration of Turkey to the state which obtained before the war, was as impracticable as the demand to blot the five disastrous years out of Time would be. So far as we can judge, intelligent and well-informed Indian Mahomedans do not ask for it. As for non-Mahomedans, it is obviously im-

possible for them to believe in the face of the facts that Persia has entered into a Treaty with England and that Arabia has declared her independence, that the consensus of Mahomedan opinion considers the re-establishment of the Turkish Empire over all her old component territories to be essential to the prosperity of Islam. The official account leaves it in doubt as to whether Mr. Mahomed Ali made such a demand. He is said to have made it in the summary of his speech (though this is scarcely consistent with some of his admissions later) and the Prime Minister's argument was largely directed to show that this involved a differential treatment in favour of Turkey as against Germany and Austria which were co-belligerents with her. There are good reasons why the terms imposed on Turkey should be less onerous than those imposed on Germany. As the Prime Minister himself admitted, the majority of the Turkish population did not want war with Great Britain. Moreover, it is generally admitted that the Turk was a clean fighter unlike the Germans. If the Prime Minister's pledge is not kept in the spirit as well as in the letter, it will be treating Turkey with far more severity than Germany, the principal malefactor. We ought to say in passing that the argument that Germany invaded Belgium in the pursuit of "a national ideal" and that, therefore, her conduct is less reprehensible than that of Turkey which entered it because, being under pecuniary obligations to Germany, she could not help doing so, seems to us to be a very curious one. It means that a nation which wantonly wages war from motives of self-aggrandisement, euphemistically termed "national ideals," does rather a laudable thing as compared to a poor nation which joins it because she is obliged to do so. The course which Belgium chose was truly heroic and nobody would think of comparing the conduct of Turkey with that of Belgium. But most of us will have to be punished if not to be heroic is to be construed into a crime, and it is monstrous to wreak upon a tool, an accessory, at the worst, an accomplice, a sterner retribution than upon the principal criminal. The great reason for dealing with extra consideration with Turkey is, of course, as the Prime Minister recognised, that the Ottoman Empire has for centuries been the centre round which Islamic memories of greatness have crystallised, and the British Empire, following the inviolable Indian tradition inaugurated by the illustrious Asoka three centuries before the birth of Christ, respects the religious beliefs of all its peoples of whom Mahomedans form a large, loyal, and valuable section.

We are inclined to think that the official summary has, without the least intending it, stressed some of Mr. Mahomed Ali's incidental observations with a view to bring in relief the Prime Minister's dialectical victory. Reading between the lines, we are unable to think that what Mr. Mahomed Ali and the Khilafat deputation asked for is anything more than the strict fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge and the Moslem guardianship of the holy places of Islam. It is unfortunate that Mr. Lloyd George should have

found it necessary to appear to be on the defensive with a deputation which was really seeking only to strengthen his hands in giving effect to his pledge. The Indian public should concentrate on the pledge as all other matters are irrelevant. Is it giving effect to the spirit of the pledge to leave the Turk in Constantinople but under the perpetual intimidation of foreign guns? Has this been done in Berlin or Vienna? Then, why in Constantinople? In our opinion, this is worse than driving the Turk out of the city. Such a course will have the merit of straightforwardness which the proposed one has not. As regards Thrace, the Prime Minister seems distinctly to go back upon his pledge. He specifically mentioned Thrace as a territory which the Allies were not fighting to drive Turkey out of. Now he takes refuge in Census reports. Both the Turkish and the Greek Census of Thrace agree, he says, that the Mahomedan population is in a distinct minority. This has nothing to do with the question. The pledge, as Mr. Lloyd George told the House of Commons, was unconditional. Asia Minor was another territory specified in the pledge, and here, again, the Prime Minister seems to be hedging. It has been found, he said, that a considerable majority of the population of Smyrna was non-Turkish. Religion is the test in Thrace, race in Asia Minor. As to the latter point, all depends on what Mr. Lloyd George means by Turks. The Turks are a very composite people. In the strict ethnological meaning, the name is applicable only to the four million Turks of Anatolia. But these do not constitute all the Turks as the term has come to be generally understood. According to Dr. Gibbons from whose article in *Asia* we quoted in a previous article :

The dominant class in Turkey has been recruited through centuries from all the races of the Empire. Its blood is as much Christian as Mahomedan, and owing to the harem system there has been no opportunity for the development of any marked racial characteristic. In the Turkish administration ancestry counts for nothing. Christian or Jew may become Turk by professing Islam. One's origin is never held up against one and does not prejudice advancement.... The student of Ottoman history is profoundly impressed with the unique development of the Ottoman system. The way a dominant class was created and has been maintained, neither backed nor fed by a dominant race, is without analogy in modern history.

A SECOND COLLEGE FOR THE KARNATAK.

The Senate of the Bombay University at its last meeting resolved by a majority of 86 to 6 to affiliate the College proposed to be established at Dharwar by the Karnatak Education Society, provisionally for three years. The College will at present have only the two Intermediate Classes, and its limit of admission will be a maximum of 100 students in the first year class and 50 in the second year class. The Karnatak Education Society, it may be mentioned, is a well-established institution and has been conducting a very successful High School at Dharwar for several years past. The Society applied to the Syndicate of

the University last year to take steps to secure affiliation to the proposed College. A Committee of two members of the Syndicate, the Rev. Dr. Mackichan and Dr. Mann, visited Dharwar and made the necessary enquiries on the spot. They found the University requirements regarding building, library, equipment and staff fairly satisfied. It may be stated that the Society has secured the services of Mr. P. S. Katti, a Senior Wrangler of Cambridge, who, besides, has had teaching experience in England, as Principal, and both he and several other members of the staff, will receive small salaries somewhat on the principles of the Deccan Educational Society. The Syndicate Committee was of opinion that the financial provision for the College was not adequate, but it did not press this as an objection to the grant of affiliation, as it felt that the new institution will be able to attract sufficient support when it was started. The only objection came from the Principal of the Karnatak College established by Government at Dharwar two years ago. Principal Rawlinson thought that there might not be enough students for the two Colleges immediately and advised postponement of the application of the Society for two or three years. The Syndicate Committee, on the other hand, was of opinion that there would be 300 students requiring admission into the first year College class in Dharwar, and that, unless the Government College could take up that number, the University would not be justified in refusing affiliation to the proposed College. The Syndicate enquired of Government whether they would be prepared to make provision for 300 students—150 more than their College was admitting—and was informed in reply that Government did not expect that there will be need for such an increase, but should there be such an increase in the number of *bona fide* Karnatak students seeking admission to their College, they will be prepared to do so. The Syndicate thereupon recommended the Senate to grant the affiliation provisionally on the conditions mentioned above, in accordance with the recommendation of its Committee. Further correspondence would have meant that the college could not be started in June next, as the Senate does not meet till June.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar moved the resolution in the Senate and was seconded by the Hon. Principal Paranjpye. Both of them in their speeches explained the need of a second College at Dharwar and answered the objections that there would not be a sufficiency of students for two Colleges. Since the Government College was started two years ago, the number of High Schools in Dharwar and the neighbouring districts has increased from 12 to 18 and the number of students attending the Matriculation classes in these schools has doubled. Besides the 800 students in the Karnatak Schools, there are, it is computed, about 250 or 300 Karnatak students in the Matriculation classes in High Schools outside those districts. Out of these 1100 students, about 385, at a conservative estimate, are expected to pass the School-Leaving examination this year. In addition to these, about 90 or 100 students in the first year classes in the Dharwar, Poona and Bombay Colleges are likely to be

detained. Thus there will in all be about 475 men qualified to join a College. We have not taken into account students who, having failed in previous years in the Matriculation, will appear for the examination this year. Including them, it is a very safe estimate to put the number of students who will be eligible for admission to a College at 500. Now, all of these will not seek admission. A proportion will drop off, and at a rough estimate, based on the available statistics, the number of such may be taken at 75. There will remain 425 students or 225 more after providing its full quota of 200 to the Dharwar Government College. If the Society's new College gets its maximum of 100, there will be 125 still left who will have to seek admission in Poona or Bombay Colleges. Last year about 150 Karnatak students were admitted to the latter, but the tendency is for the number to diminish. We need hardly add that the Bombay and Poona Colleges will have no lack of students in their first year classes even if the Karnatak boys are all provided for, as they should be, in Colleges nearer to their homes. There is another point which should not be lost sight of. The establishment of the Government College has, as shown above, given a powerful impetus to education and we are sure that the influence of the new College, added to that of the Government College, will soon create a demand for fresh Colleges in other towns in the Karnatak which has so long been allowed, educationally speaking, to lie fallow. The Syndicate had no doubt all these considerations before it when it decided without dissent to recommend to the Senate the provisional affiliation of the new College.

It is to be regretted that the Director of Public Instruction should have felt it to be his duty to oppose in the Senate the motion for affiliation. It is seldom that the Hon. Mr. J. G. Covernton takes up an attitude which is out of touch with the prevailing opinion in the Senate and the fact that, on this occasion, he could not persuade more than half a dozen members to vote with him, is, on that account, the more significant. He had, to speak the truth, a very weak case. He was not in a position to challenge the figures adduced by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in support of the motion. He could only say that if there was need, the Government College would make provision for 300 first year students. He was not able to answer the argument that, assuming that the Government College took 300 students, it was still in the interests of that personal attention to individual students so much desiderated in our educational system, that there should be two colleges taking one hundred and fifty each rather than one taking three hundred. It is the complaint of the Sadler Commission that the method of "mass-lectures" is unsuited to the students who attend Indian Colleges in the two Intermediate classes. They have, therefore, gone so far as to suggest that these two classes should be constituted into a separate institution to be taught according to the methods obtaining in High Schools, in classes of not more than 50 students. The Karnatak Education Society

will charge the same fees as in the Government College and they are prepared to give any other reasonable guarantee that may be required of them to preclude absolutely even the bare possibility of unhealthy competition. Under these circumstances, as Principal Paranjpye pointed out, the two institutions are sure to operate as a healthy stimulus to the maintenance of each other's standard and efficiency. The Director of Public Instruction, referring to the inadequacy of the financial reserve at present provided by the Society, suggested that they would go to him (that is, to public funds) for a grant in a year or two. If they did, we can not see anything wrong in it. They are entitled to such support as Government usually extends to other educational institutions of the same class, and to ask for a Government grant is not the same thing as begging for private charity. In one respect, Mr. Covernton was—not a usual thing with him—grossly unfair to the promoters of the new College as well as to the proposed staff. He repeatedly spoke of the scheme as devised to provide work for the members of the staff by a group of men who wish to do them a good turn. We have no hesitation in saying that this was unbecoming a gentleman in the position of the Director of Public Instruction. As Principal Paranjpye said the proposed members of the staff of the new College do not suffer in comparison with those of the staff of the Government College; and we are sure, that some of them at least could have easily obtained admission to Government service if they had not, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, undertaken to serve in a private college on what is little more than a living wage in these days. The vast problem of Indian education cannot be solved unless hundreds and thousands of educated Indians come forward to serve the cause in the same spirit as these men.

Lala Lajpat Rai on Indian Women's Education.
Lala Lajpat Rai is contributing a series of articles to the *Modern Review* on "Social Reconstruction in India." In the third article published in the February number of that journal, he deals with the question of the position of women in India, and incidentally condemns the view that woman's education should be differentiated from man's. He writes: "I see no justification for the belief that the educational needs of men and women are so radically different as to require two entirely different kinds of education. It may be that the education of our boys is proceeding on erroneous lines and we are anxious to avoid the mistakes of which we have been guilty in the case of our boys. If so, we should be equally solicitous to educate our boys also on right lines. Our ideas of the educational requirements of our women should not be based on what we would like them to be—affectionate wives and good mothers only. We certainly want affectionate wives and good mothers, but women are more than that, just as men are more than affectionate husbands and good fathers. Just as a boy needs an education which will help his complete development to manhood, so a girl needs education which would help her complete evolution to womanhood. The same principle must guide the education of both, may be with minor differences in details. But to say that the two systems should be radically different is to display either prejudice or ignorance or both. What, however, is wrong with us, is that our ideas of education are not sound. The woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, resourcefulness, initiative, courage, economic independence and intellectual growth as man has. The needs of the Indian woman in this respect are exactly the same as those of the western woman."

JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND

We are requested to publish the following appeal issued by Mr. Girdharilal, Secretary of the above Fund.

In the last session of the Congress held in Amritsar, it was unanimously decided to acquire the site of the Jallianwala Bagh for a National memorial. This has since been done and an appeal has already been issued by the Committee appointed for this purpose for a sum of ten lacs of rupees, out of which about five and a half lacs is the price of the Bagh to be paid to the owners by 4th May next. Failing this there is the danger that the proprietors may not extend the time and thus the transaction will fall through, or they may demand still higher price, as the value of the land has increased very considerably of late. In any case it won't be creditable if higher price has to be paid for, and certainly it will be a national disaster if the Bagh is lost for want of funds.

In order to achieve this end, the help and assistance of every patriotic heart and well-wisher of the country is essential, as the collection of such a large sum of money is only possible if all contribute to the best of their power. It is highly desirable from a national point of view to have as many subscribers to this fund as is possible. Fully relying on your support, I request you on behalf of the Committee, to kindly send the highest amount you can as your own subscription, and also to please exert yourself in raising a large sum from your friends and relations. May I also suggest your forming Collection Committees of influential ladies and gentlemen in your town, and after realizing big sums from likely persons, to arrange for daily collection of subscriptions from door to door and from shop to shop. According to the manifesto issued by Mahatama Gandhi for observance of the Jallianwala Week, meetings are to be held in all places on 6th, 12th and 18th April next, but no hartals. I think it would be much better if an entrance fee of Rs. 2 or Re. 1 and annas eight per head is fixed for these meetings, which would result in a considerable sum being collected. Fancy (*maena*) bazars may be arranged for sale of such things as the ladies and gentlemen of your town may get ready and offer for this funds during this week, and I am certain that these sales will fetch a very large amount. Hardly fifty thousand is yet actually paid and you can well understand how strenuous efforts are necessary to raise such a heavy sum in so short a period. Pray do not take any promises. There is no time for these now. Actual cash payments at once are required.

Kindly pay all the money you collect to the credit of Jallianwala Memorial Fund in any of the branches of the Central Bank of India, Limited, or the Punjab National Bank Limited, and inform me accordingly to enable the office to issue formal receipts. You will be glad to learn that in response to the first appeal of the Committee in February last, some Englishmen also have sent subscriptions for this fund, and I trust a larger number will come forward to follow the example set before them.

ONE ON THEM.

A preacher conducting a mission announced that he would speak the next night on "Liars". The audience were requested to read up in advance the 17th chapter of St. Mark.

Next evening, before opening, with piercing glance, he inquired how many people had read the chapter.

A score or so held up their hands. At which he thundered:

"You're the very persons I want to talk to—there isn't any 17th chapter of St. Mark."—Smart Ones.

HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

The following Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid was presented to the Indian Legislative Council on the 22nd March, 1920 :—

We, the undersigned, Members of the Select Committee to which the Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid was referred, have considered the Bill and the papers noted in the margin, and have now the honour to submit this our Report

We have considered whether it would be desirable to limit the legislation now proposed on this subject either to the case of marriages between sub-castes only or to members of recognised societies who have declared in favour of marriage reform. Some of us would have preferred one or other of these alternatives, but the majority consider that such amendments would not afford an adequate solution of the problem before us and that it is necessary to legalise marriage between all castes, subject to the restrictions which we have set out below.

Though the majority of us are in favour of legislation at the earliest possible moment, we recommend that in view of the fact that the Reformed Councils are so shortly to be constituted, the further consideration of this Bill should be deferred till the new Legislative Assembly meets in 1921.

We desire to record our opinion that the Bill will need amendment so as to provide that no marriage under this Act shall be legal unless, (a) both the parties thereto have attained the age of majority, *viz.*, eighteen years, and (b) the intending husband has at the time no wife living.

With regard to the question of inheritance and co-parcenary rights in the joint Hindu family, our opinions are more equally divided. But most of us are agreed that in the case of a marriage legalised under this Act there should be an unrestricted right of partition in every member of the joint family, and that pending actual partition the rights of a member who has entered into a marriage to be legalised by this Bill should be confined to separate maintenance on the scale ordinarily applicable to the family.

Some of us are of opinion that the rights of all children by a wife of a lower caste should be left to be governed by the ancient provisions of Hindu law, but the majority of us feel that there should be no differentiation in this respect and that all children, whatever the caste of their mother may have been, should share equally both upon partition and upon intestate succession.

We are further of opinion that there should be no right of adoption by a widow of a different caste to her husband except upon his express authority in writing.

Having regard to the main recommendation we have made in paragraph 8 of our Report, we do not however think that anything would be gained by formulating specific amendments at this stage, and we therefore return the Bill to the Council for further consideration.

G. R. Lowodes.
V. J. Patel.*
V. S. Srinivasan.
S. N. Banerjee.
S. N. Roy.
K. Chanda.*
B. N. Sarma.
G. S. Khaparde.
K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar.*

MG. Bah Too.
Manindra Chandra Nandy.
Rampal Singh.*
R. N. Bhanja Deo.
G. M. Chitnavis.
L. M. Chatterjee.
K. V. Reddi.*
Sunder Singh Majithia.

*Subject to a note of dissent.

The 17th March, 1920.

CHRISTIANITY AND VEGETARIANISM.

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

As a sympathetic reader and subscriber to your paper, may I be allowed to remonstrate with you on the publication of the letter on page 368 of your current number just received?

I do not write this for publication, but ask you to refer the letter to some member of the Church Missionary Society in Bombay for further information. The only object of the writer appears to be to hold up these missionary ladies to the opprobrium of Indian readers who do not understand the facts of the cases referred to in China. As I challenge you to find in the whole wide world any body of people who, on the whole, are more earnestly engaged in Social Reform than Christian Missionary ladies, it is really a covert attack on your own sisters in God's work.

I am in no ways connected with the Church of England or any of its missionary societies myself, and differ from them on material points almost as much as you would, but that makes me feel that fairplay should be shown.

I believe you will find that if you inquire from the Christian Missionary Society or any one acquainted with Chinese religious sects of the day, that the "Vegetarians" are a particular secret society from whose ranks especially the Boxers were recruited, the vegetarian pledge being connected with some form of demon-worship. Whilst not taking the life of animals, there was no such objection to the lives of men. And you know how these secret societies are at the present moment at the root of the social disturbances and civil war now prevailing in China, where in some parts the whole country is exposed to terrorism from bandits and parties of disbanded soldiers, as well as contending troops representing the North and the South under organised government of some sort.

So that in asking the Chinese ladies to break the vegetarian vow, there would be a step towards human solidarity and true social reform, and not as represented by Mrs. Besant in this pre-war article exhumed by your correspondent. Many Christian missionaries are vegetarians themselves, and the circumstances in China need to be known before they are animadverted on in India.

Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH TAYLOR.

Calcutta, 10th February.

[The above letter was originally not written for publication. When we requested Mr. Taylor's permission to publish it, he wrote that we could do so after verification of his statements. We have not been able to do this, and we print it as the best way of having more light thrown on the question.—Ed. I. S. R.]

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am pained to see the way in which your Christian correspondents have tried to justify themselves against Mr. Labbebnaker Laxmidas who meant to do what was evidently a good turn to the Indian Christian community. He quoted extreme cases, it is true, but are not the missionaries whose responsibility is greater doing that very thing for the last hundred years and trying to misrepresent all things Indian as much as possible? It is indeed one more case of not trying to see the beam in one's own eye, while trying to see the mote in the eye of one's opponent. And again, though the cases he has quoted be extreme, do they not bring out the true

spirit in which much of the mission-work is carried on? Is not the same spirit prevalent in India too?

I once asked through the columns of this very paper one of the missionaries who had challenged one of my statements whether he could show even five per cent of those converts who had come from vegetarian castes remaining vegetarians to the end, and he had the candour to confess that perhaps it was not possible to say that even so few remained vegetarians to the end. I may go further and ask for one per cent, but I am afraid even that will not be found to be true. I have come across innumerable converts, but I have not found a single man who remained vegetarian to the end. The only persons that I found to be such were a few women in a particular Christian home. I do believe with Mr. Gopal Iyer that there are some like him, especially in the south of India, but their number must be infinitesimally small. The hundreds of Christians he is talking of are, in all probability, the descendants of those Christians who were converted by Robert de Nobili and his successors. They are vegetarians simply because they have kept their caste intact. May I ask him if there are such among the Protestant missions who have remained vegetarians like him for so many years, and even their children after them? I am afraid he will not be able to show many out of the Roman Catholic Church which was worked on caste-lines, and which therefore makes it possible for the converts to retain much that is good in their national customs. As for the Protestant system which in all probability makes it impossible for even one per cent of its vegetarian converts to retain this national heritage of theirs, viz, the belief and practice of *Ahimsa paramo dharma*, it stands self-condemned.

May I ask further through your hospitable columns, all those converts who like Mr. Gopal Iyer may have retained their vegetarianism for so long a period, to give their testimony in this respect as he has done, so that others too may find strength to do likewise and non-Christians may know that to be a Christian does not necessarily mean to be one who eats meat and drink wine as they think at present?

Yours truly,

MANILAL C. PARMAN.

[Mr. Manilal wishes us to print the following cutting from the *Christian Patriot* of the 6th March as part of his letter.]

"It has been reported in some papers that European missionaries in China are insisting that their converts who have been vegetarians should eat flesh. This does not come to us as a surprise at all, for such cases have not been rare in the past in our own country. The eating of flesh, especially beef, was put before the would-be convert as the supreme test and argument of your Christianity. It made it impossible for the Hindu to go back to his own caste. It was burning your boats behind you. This would account for the prejudice in the minds of Hindus even now that a Hindu who becomes Christian has done so to eat beef. Have we not heard of instances of Hindu boys forced after their baptism to live with the coachmen or the butler of the missionary and who, rather than endure such a humiliation and eat the food prepared by them, have gone back to their old caste and faith? It is good to remember the sage advice of the Apostle Paul who said that he would rather eat herbs than offend one of his brethren whose conscience revolted against flesh-eating."

SUBEDAR MAJOR APPAVU PILLAY'S GIRLS' SCHOOL.

(From our Bangalore Correspondent.)

The school was founded in 1872 by the late Subedar Major T. C. Appavu Pillay of the 36th Madras Infantry which was

located in the lines close by, chiefly for the benefit of the children of the Regiment and secondarily of the civil population in the locality. For the purpose of holding the school as well as the Upasana Mandir (i. e. Hindu Unitarian Church) which he had established in the Regiment, he constructed the fairly spacious building in which we are assembled, with the support of the Military Authorities who granted the site free. Before his death, the founder who was an ardent Brahmo (i. e. Protestant or Unitarian Hindu), transferred the said property to a Board of Trustees appointed by him from among the Members of the Brahmo Samaj, together with the attached dwelling houses and bazaar stalls a few yards close by, which he had constructed with the object of utilizing the rents therefrom for the purpose of maintaining the school. The school went on uninterruptedly for a period of 40 years but had to be unfortunately closed temporarily in 1911 owing chiefly to lack of funds to meet the cost, the income from the endowed properties having dwindled with the departure of the Regiment occupying the lines close by. After a lapse of about 5 years, the management of the Trust was transferred to the Bangalore Cantonment Brahmo Samaj and the school was reopened by that body on the 12th September 1916 as a free elementary girls' school for all classes of pupils who are composed chiefly of the depressed classes. The endowed properties have recently been somewhat improved so as to bring a permanent income of Rs. 25 to 30 per mensem and the school building itself has been improved by the construction of a compound wall in front, etc., at a cost of about Rs. 500 half of which has been promised by the Education Department as a grant-in-aid.

The expenditure up to date (including the improvements carried out to the building to the extent of Rs. 500) amounts to Rs. 1,262-8-10 against the receipts of Rs. 1,006-0-10 or an excess of expenditure of Rs. 256 has been incurred.

The number of classes maintained are five, (viz. the first 5 standards) and the languages taught are Tamil, Telugu and English. The number of pupils on the rolls is about 126 of which more than two-thirds are girls and the remainder are small boys who find it convenient to attend the school in company with their sisters. According to communities there are 55 high caste children and the remainder belong to depressed classes; of the children 86 are Christians and 2 Mahomedans. About 18 are children of Military men belonging to 81st Pioneers.

From what has been stated already, it will be seen that the school is in need of further financial aid. As mentioned in the printed notice for this meeting, the school is a monument of the loyalty, generosity and public spirit of a gallant Indian soldier who rose from the ranks. Although not gifted with much education himself, he gave his all for establishing the school, in honour of the Birthday of the late Queen Empress, with a view to impart education on liberal religious lines to Indian children irrespective of caste or creed, at a time when female education was not much thought of by Indians. With the ardent expectation of the institution being managed well and developed, he entrusted the endowment property to a Committee, consisting of gentlemen with broad views and progressive ideals. In spite of the long age of the institution, we have not been able to proceed further and develop this school into a higher grade. This is chiefly due to want of necessary funds to carry on our work. We intend to open a part-time class for grown up illiterate women, to enable them to devote their leisure hours in the day to the learning of S R's, Hygiene, and some manual work, such as sewing, knitting, embroidery work etc., lest those hours would be wasted in idle and frivolous talk.

It is now the turn of the public to give an impetus to the school by liberally contributing towards the annual expenses, not only to maintain it but also to effect improvements by the opening of classes in music, tailoring and such other arts which may be useful to the girls in their after life. We have also to seek the help of the Military Authorities to obtain for the school the piece of land on the west between the school and the bazaar stalls to be used as a play-ground.

SOCIAL REFORM AT PITTAPURAM.

On Saturday, the 20th March at 6-30 p. m., I had the pleasure of witnessing, at Pittapuram (Godavary District) the remarriage of Sreemathi Sreedevamma of Ellore with Sreeman Tikkani Raghaviah Naidu (Ry. Sub-Inspector, Nizam's Dominions), a nephew of the Hon. Mr. Tikkani Balaji Row Naidu. Messrs. Pillaruzetti Narayana Row Naidu, Sub-Judge, Vizagapatam, and Koka Subba Row, Ag. Dewan, Pittapur Estate, issued invitations for the marriage, which were heartily responded to by some of the members of the Audivelama Community, from which the bride and bridegroom come, and by some members of the Brahmo Samaj of Cocanada, Rajahmundry and Pithapuram.

The marriage was registered under the Civil Marriage Act, and was solemnized by Mr. V. P. Raj B. A. (Supt. Pithapur Rajah's Orphanage, and Registrar of the Brahmo Marriages) and by Mr. P. Lakshminarayana (Supt., Veerasalingam's Widow Home, Rajahmundry). After the function was over the guests were entertained to a cosmopolitan dinner, arranged by Mr. Koka Subba Row, through whose untiring efforts and enthusiasm the marriage was brought about. To his credit, it should be stated that he was responsible for the reclaiming of a helpless soul to a life of love and joy from life-long suffering and misery. I pray that this example may lead to similar marriages in the Audivelama community and in other Hindu communities, and that thus many a poor sister may be saved through God's grace and man's work.

Cocanada,
26.3.20.

T. V. SESHAGIRI ROW, M. A.
P. R. College.

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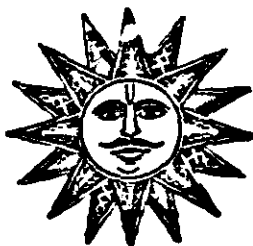
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 1920. No. 32.

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

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Erratic Reform.	The Ministry of Women.
India and Islam.	

NOTES.

Lord Sinha's Indiscretion. Lord Sinha's position in India and England, as a representative Indian, is so high that the country is entitled to expect him to be a powerful healing influence making for harmony among all sections and shades of opinion. That was the idea which Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Justice Kanade steadily set before themselves, and which every leader who looks beyond the futilities of the hour, ought to keep in view in order to promote the permanent interests of the country. Instead, Lord Sinha took the occasion of a dinner at the India Club in Calcutta on the eve of his departure *en route* to England, to preach the gospel of separation between Moderates and those whom he called Extremists. He gave as his reason for this calculated effort to perpetuate discord that there were fundamental differences between the two parties, and instanced their respective attitudes, or what he took to be such, in respect of the Punjab troubles and the Khilafat question. His lordship told his hearers that the Moderate party had suspended its judgment pending the Hunter Committee's report whereas the other party has had the temerity to start an independent investigation on the spot and to publish a report without consulting high officials. Lord Sinha's reference to matters which are *sub judice* has been answered by anticipation by the *Times* (London). As an interpreter of official intentions, Lord Sinha's authority, since it was found that the judicial safeguards under the Press Act, which he helped to pass, were illusory, has not stood very high. His last extraordinary outburst shows that his lordship has moved in a very narrow circle during his holiday in his native land, and that he has a gift for mistaking for facts whatever is needed to help out the exigencies of his argument. If his lordship had read Sir P. Sivaswami Iyer's address at the Moderate Conference held at Calcutta last December, he would have found that that very moderate Moderate went much beyond Pandit Motilal Nehru in his comments on the Punjab troubles. And this is true of several other publicists. As regards the Khilafat question, again, his lordship's attempt to identify Congressmen with the Khilafat extremists is grossly unfair. The

Calcutta Club speech, we are afraid, will not add to his lordship's reputation for far-sighted patriotism among his own countrymen, though, no doubt, it will evoke rapturous praise from those who like to see the lines of cleavage in Indian life emphasised and enlarged.

The Press Act. In depreciation of criticisms of the reply of the Government of India to a question in the Indian Legislative Council, that they did not intend to repeal the Press Act, proposed to consider Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's suggestions for its modification, the *Leader* of Aligarh states that Sir Sivaswami Iyer's suggestions were in the nature of "some more or less drastic amendments to the Press Act which would have rendered it practically harmless." The Moderate Conference over which Sir Sivaswami presided did not seem to take this view of his suggestion because it passed a resolution instructing its Council to do all that was necessary to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act. The *Leader* seems to suggest that Sir Sivaswami Iyer's suggestions were "the radical amendment" which the Conference asked for as an alternative to the total repeal of the Act. Is that so? Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his speech at the Press Act meeting last month, said that Sir Sivaswami's suggestions would make no difference in respect of the objectionable features of the Act. In view of our contemporary's description of them as "more or less drastic amendments which would have rendered it (the Act) practically harmless," the question is worth considering in some detail. Sir Sivaswami's suggestions were:

The manner in which the Press Act has been administered has brought into prominence the necessity for a revision of it on radical lines. I am prepared to concede that the provisions for security and forfeiture would serve a useful purpose in dealing with sedition more especially with Bolshevism at our frontier, I am inclined to think that the deposit of security should not be demanded in the first instance and should be called for only upon its being shown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forfeiture also should be made consequential upon an order of the court to be obtained by the Local Government on proof of publication of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfeiture are expressed in such wide terms that it has been found that the safeguard of an application to the High Court is practically illusory. An amendment of the Act on the lines here suggested would remove a keenly felt grievance and is especially necessary in view of the need for encouraging the growth of a vigorous and honest press under the new conditions of administration.

Sir Sivaswami does not say that the security should be called for only when it is established before a court that a newspaper has been guilty of seditious writing. "Abusing the liberty of the press" and "objectionable matter" are vague terms, and there is no reason why the Press should be placed at the mercy of such vague phrases.

Dr. Lankester's Letter : We print to-day a letter from Dr. A Lankester on "Christian Missionaries and the Punjab Excesses." Dr. Lankester's sympathies are well known and his observations demand respectful consideration. In passing, we may say that we look forward with much interest to his forthcoming work embodying his valuable researches on the prevalence and incidence of tuberculosis in India with special reference to Indian customs and habits. As regards the Punjab question, the Indian view is that there was no rebellion, and therefore, no need for the declaration of martial law; and that such discontent as there was, was due to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's mis-government. The Congress Committee's report proves that the mob in nearly every case became violent only after having been fired upon by the police or military. As the *Times* (London) pointed out, the Hunter Committee was not a judicial tribunal and it could only examine such evidence as was placed before it by the officials. Indian opinion asked for a Royal Commission but our missionary friends did not probably realise the importance of that demand. The shooting at Jallianwala, and the bombing from an aeroplane at Gujranwala, unarmed crowds which offered no resistance, are admitted by the officers who directed these operations. The English Press has not thought it an infringement of the British sense of fairplay to pronounce upon these episodes. As regards Dr. Lankester's last and most surprising para, would not the same principle require reticence regarding German, Turkish, and Bolshevik atrocities? For the rest we are prepared to take the view that the agents of martial law are less to blame than the civil Government which was responsible for calling them in, and even to say that the men at the head of the civil Government were themselves the victims of the bureaucratic system. The cashiering of General Dyer and the impeachment of Lord Unelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer will not make our sorrows less; they will only involve three more persons, their families and friends in anxiety and trouble, and we are sure that it is the very last thing the bereaved mothers and widows—made so by the operation of martial law—in the Punjab, would wish. Let us, therefore, concentrate our whole strength in uprooting the system under which such things can be; and let us hope that our Missionary friends will whole-heartedly join hands with us in this great task.

The Hon. Mr. Sastry and the South African Deputation : The Hon. Mr. Sastry owes it to himself to make a public statement of the circumstances in which he had to decline to go as a member of the Indian deputation to South Africa with Sir Benjamin Robertson. The explanation officially given in Parliament would lead to the impression that he shirked a responsible duty at the last moment when it was impossible to find a substitute. The *Indian Opinion* of the 5th March in expressing the great disappointment of the Indian community in South Africa at his not accompanying Sir Benjamin, states that the political situation in India demanded his personal attention and so he could not go to South Africa. Our contemporary adds: "There is a feeling—justifiable, we think—that the Government of India, and our own people in India, have shown indifference towards us to some extent; and we are not going to hide our feelings in the matter. The opportunity thus offered of sending a first rate Indian political leader to South Africa was a very fine one which should have been seized upon. The appointment of the Hon. Mr. Sastri was unique, and was an indication of the change of status of India in the Empire. What a pity the significance of the event was

apparently lost sight of!" We are sure that, when Mr. Sastry's reasons are published, it will be admitted by our countrymen in South Africa that he was actuated by the very highest motives in denying himself the privilege of identifying himself personally with a cause honourably associated with the names of Gandhi and Gokhale.

Good News if True. The *Englishman* gives currency to a report that the Secretary of State has postponed the introduction of the Auxiliary Force Bill on the ground that it is unconstitutional and illegal to conscript and to arm and train one community, the European and Anglo-Indian, alone. The paper adds that strength is added to the rumour because it is a fact that the Government, after insisting on the urgency of the Bill and declaring that it must be passed by April 1, has now shelved the whole matter. The result is that when the Indian Defence Force cease to exist, as it must six months after all the Peace Treaties are signed, the country will be deprived of 40,000 men organised for internal defence. The *Englishman* urges immediate agitation on the subject. If this report is true, as we hope it is, the Secretary of State has taken the right view of the question which has always been a source of irritation in this country. It is almost more important than the Reform Act even. We have no doubt that the *Englishman's* fears are groundless, and that, before the lapse of six months after the signing of the Treaty of Peace, an equitable way will be found of utilising the services of these trained men along with those of a suitable number of Indians. We are unable to understand what there is to agitate against. The European community have claimed that they are subject to an undue burden by being conscripted, and because the Secretary of State takes the same view, they are called upon to agitate! To train only one community to arms is a menace to all other communities in times of excitement.

Elementary Education in Indian States : A statement placed on the table in answer to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council, shows that elementary education is wholly or partially free in fifty-six Indian States, compulsory in six States and free and compulsory in five only. The States where it is compulsory but not free are Aundh, Gondal (for girls only), Morvi, Kapurthala and Mysore. The States where it is both free and compulsory are Kolhapur, Limbdi, Phaltan (compulsory in municipal areas), Barwani and Baroda, it is, we think, wrong in principle to make education compulsory without also making it free, and we are surprised to see Mysore in this category. It was proposed not so long ago to make secondary education free in that State, which would be strange if elementary education is not already free. We are inclined to think that the Government of India's statement in this respect—probably in others also—is inaccurate.

Erratic Reform. A valued upcountry correspondent writes: "About this time last year a notable intercaste marriage took place. It was registered under Act III of 1872. The invitations issued to guests showed that 12:30 at midnight was fixed for the solemnization of the wedding. In another case, 2 a. m. was fixed. Now another reform marriage has been announced. The marriage will be according to Brahmo rites and will be solemnised in a Brahmo Mandir. The invitation very strangely omits to mention the bridegroom's name. We can understand orthodox people and their ways. But it has become difficult to understand some of these reformers. They give cause to cavillers and critics of social reform and bring the sacred cause into ridicule with the public."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 11, 1920.

INDIA AND ISLAM.

India's relations with Greece and Rome in ancient times have been the subject of close study. Principal Rawlinson of the Karnatak College some years ago brought together in a single handy volume the main features of the early intercourse between India and these countries, as established by the research of classical scholars. Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar has published an important work exploring the intimate intercourse which existed in early times between India and Eastern Asia. India, China and Japan, he has shown, formed a single cultural group and was recognised as such. But the relations from the earliest times between India and Western Asia have remained practically unexplored. And yet there can be no doubt that here is a vast and fruitful field of research. The early intercourse between India and Persia has recently come into close scrutiny as a result of Dr. Spooner's theories on his excavations at Patna. But even scholars write and speak as if India and Arabia first came into contact with the Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the eighth century A. D. The reason for this indifference is twofold. In the first place, until the recent wave of nationalism swept over the country Indian Mahomedans cherished the same idea, and were indisposed to look for any less dramatic origin of Indo-Islamic relations. The second reason is that the early intercourse between Arabia and India belongs to the history of Southern India, which is still very much of a sealed book. To Mr. E. B. Havell belongs the credit of piercing through this general apathy and indicating that India and Islam stand much nearer to each other than is generally assumed. We have referred once before to his "History of Aryan Rule in India"* as the kind of synthetic Indian history which has been long and badly wanted by Indian thinkers and statesmen. Not the least important feature of this great work is the conclusive way in which it establishes that Hindus and Indian Mahomedans are not strangers and aliens but heirs to one common history, culture and civilization. "The conflict between Islam and Hinduism," Mr. Havell writes, "was chiefly matters of ritual, like the disputes of the Christian Church. On higher spiritual grounds the Brahman pandit and the mulla easily found a *modus vivendi*, for India was motherland to them both." Mr. Havell holds that the Prophet of Islam was not uninfluenced by Indian religious thought. He cites from Alberuni, the Arabian historian of the eleventh century, that "in former times Khurasan, Persia, Irak (Mesopotamia) Mosul, and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic." He points out that in the seventh century A. D., the psychological influence of Buddhism outside India, was less dependent upon its philosophical teaching than upon the depth of the religious fervour which the spirit of *bhakti* evoked, and

* George. G. Harrap and Co. London.

that the example of right being and right thinking which had been set by generations of the Buddha's disciples had been an inspiration to many religious teachers before the Prophet of Islam. He observes:

The spiritual impulse of which India had been the centre for over a thousand years was independent of dogmas and philosophies. It was borne along the highways of commerce, sea and land, to the remotest corners of Asia both in the east and west. And though the echoes of the debating halls of India may not have resounded upon the coasts of Arabia so clearly as they did among the hills of the further East the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead implicit in the theory of the One in Many was probably as familiar to the camel drivers of Arabian caravans as it was to students of China long before the Prophet raised the banner of Islam.

He incidentally mentions with some emphasis that the crescent moon, which Islam adopted as its emblem, is the ancient emblem of Hindustan. "Finally, under Turkish domination, the ensign of Islam because the crescent moon, Siva's bow, which had been the symbol of India—the Land of the Moon—or of India's holy land, Arjavarta, ages before the Prophet of Mekka was born." In this connection the following passage is interesting as, among other things, suggesting an origin of the name "India" different from that usually accepted.

India, says Hienon Tsang, was known as the Land of the Moon. He gives a mystical explanation of the term. But India, or Arjavarta, before the Buddha's time had been known as the land of King Soma, the Moon, and so-called on account of its supposed resemblance in shape to the crescent moon, or 'digit' of the moon, a symbol long afterwards used for the standard of Islam.

Even Mr. Havell, however, regards the Arab invasion of Sind early in the eighth century as the first physical contact of India with Islam. This is not correct. Islam first came to India not as conqueror but as missionary. Long before Islam, Arabia and India were closely connected by the golden links of commerce. Mr. Radhakumud Mukerji in his "History of Indian Shipping from the earliest times," notes that in very ancient times India had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula and in Arabia. It was, therefore, quite natural that when Islam rose, India should be the first country to which its missionaries should turn. And it seems to have been the only country to which a purely religious mission was sent, thus confirming Mr. Havell's view of the influence of Buddhism. The Travancore State Manual gives the following account of the earliest Mahomedan intercourse with India:

It was probably in the beginning of the 8th century that the Moslems of Arabia superseded the Greeks in their trade with the west coast of India. Their first arrival is closely mixed up with the tradition of Cheraman Perumal and his conversion. This last of the sovereigns of Keralam, so goes the story, was converted to Islam by the Mahomedan Missionaries who visited his coast, and embarked with them to Arabia to see the Prophet in person. On reaching his destination, he was so struck with the grandeur of the faith and the enthusiasm of the believers that he immediately despatched missionaries to his coast with letters of introduction to the Chiefs; one of them sent on his deathbed from

Zapher, was Malik Ben Habeck, who travelled from Oran-ganore to Quilon. He built a mosque at the latter place, settled as a preacher and undertook several preaching expeditions in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Havell describes at some length how the Mahomedan conquests became the conduits of Indian thought and culture to other countries.

It was in Mesopotamia, especially in the glorious days of Harun-at Raschid (A.D. 786-809), that the foundations of Saracenic culture were laid. The court language, etiquette, and literary accomplishments were borrowed from the Iranian branch of Aryan civilisation, in the centre of which the founders of the Abbasid dynasty had been nurtured. But all the scientific elements which formed Arabic scholarship and in later times made it famous in Europe—philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine—were in the eighth century borrowed directly from India. Through the Arab occupation of the Indus and the Euphrates valleys Islam was enabled to tap the inexhaustible resources of India, spiritual and material, and to become to agents for their distribution over the whole of Europe—a relationship which continued to exist long after the outlying territories of Islam in Europe had asserted their independence of the Khalifate of Baghdad.

The link, however, between Indian culture and the Arabs was soon severed. The Arabs in Europe founded schools of their own. And thus it came to pass that Arab, or Saracenic, culture, and that of Mahomedan India became distinct.

The Arabs never won for themselves a permanent political footing in India, nor did the western School of Islam ever take any strong hold upon the mentality or religious feeling of the Indian Musalmans before English teachers with little or no knowledge of Indian history undertook the direction of education in India. Fortunately for the British Raj Indian Musalmans in remaining true to their Indian Mother have proved true to themselves.

The meaning of this is that Pan-Islamism in India is the outcome of the teaching of English teachers with little or no knowledge of Indian history undertaking the direction of Indian education. The responsibility does not lie with teachers alone. Administrators too have had their share. Everything which helped to loosen the hold of Hindu influence on Mahomedan India helped to fasten the hold of Pan-Islamism on it. That the more far-seeing leaders of the two communities are now awakened to this danger, is due to providential causes more than to any deliberate policy. That, however, is a digression. If Indian Mahomedanism has been enriched by Hindu culture, it, for its part, has contributed equally largely to the enrichment of that culture. The late Mr. Ranade in one of his great addresses, delivered at a National Social Conference at Lucknow, summed them up in memorable words. More important, however, than all other contributions to the national culture is the contribution of Islam to Indian national character. The doctrine of Karma, it has been said, leads to fatalism. But fatalism is of two kinds: the active and the passive. If the Indian mind was prone to the passive kind of fatalism, Islam supplied it with the true corrective. In the words of Gibbon:

The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence: there is no danger where there is no change; they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.

Thus, it will be seen that Indian Mahomedanism has given largely to India while she has gained also largely from India. It is, as it is now, a striking expression of the genius of India and as such the heritage of all Indians without distinction of race or creed. It is because eminent Indians, Hindus and Mahomedans, realised this in the past that there grew up the spirit of comradeship between them evinced in so many battle-fields. Akbar, of course, was the Sovereign who sought most to consolidate this spirit, and with tremendous success. It was in his reign that the prowess and loyalty of Hindu statesmen and generals extorted from the Mahomedan historian, Badauni, the exclamation, half in admiration, half in disgust, "A Hindu wields the sword of Islam!" The fact is that it was as much his own sword as that of Islam that the Hindu wielded. If it were not so, he could not have wielded it with so much effect. The Khalifat question, from this point of view, is so far as India is concerned, the resumption of the old influence which this country exercised in moulding the thought and culture of Western Asia and through Western Asia of Europe.

"THE MENACE OF THE REFORMS."

A TIMELY WARNING.

In a character sketch of Colonel Josiah Wedgwood M. P., in the April number of *Modern Review*, Mr. Nihal Singh states that he (the Colonel) is afraid that the exaggerated importance that the measure (the Reform Act) attaches to Provincial Administration might menace the growing sense of nationality in India. He, therefore, warns Indians against diversion of their forces from National into Provincial channels. He exhorts them to send their best men to the Indian Legislative Assembly where they should use the right of interpellation to keep the officials in as effective check as possible. We are glad that Colonel Wedgwood has called attention to this menace of the Reform scheme in this country. It has always been present to our minds even to the point of obsession. In fairness to Government, however, it must be said that they have made no secret of their object in exaggerating the importance of Provincial administration, as previously they had exaggerated the importance of municipalities and Local Boards, in the scheme of constitutional reform. The ground plan of the present reforms was contained in a much-discussed paragraph of the despatch of Lord Hardinge's Government to the Secretary of State on the revision of the Partition of Bengal and the transfer of the Imperial Capital to Delhi, dated 5th August, 1911. It ran as follows:

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 this 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 ~~major~~ Government, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.

The phrases "self-determination," "making the world safe for democracy" and so on, which the War brought into vogue were not heard of at the time this despatch was written. These phrases had, in view of India's co-operation, to be embodied in a policy, and the Declaration of August 20th, 1917 was devised. We fancy that our readers have the same difficulty as ourselves in hunting out references, and so we quote the relevant part of the declaration.

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is 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. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.

It will be noted that this Declaration cuts the ground from under the assumption on which the idea of Lord Hardinge's Government in the paragraph quoted above, was avowedly based. It recognises the possibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes in the Imperial Legislative Council. And yet the Reform scheme of Mr. Montagu is in essential respects identical with that foreshadowed by Lord Hardinge, though no reference to the latter's despatch is made in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. The only difference is a subjective one. Lord Hardinge perceived in Provincial autonomy a means of keeping Indian hands off the ark of the Government of India. Mr. Montagu finds in it a means of educating Indians in responsible Government so as eventually to be able to control the Government of India. But motives do not count in public affairs. Only measures do. The exaggeration of the importance of provincial administration, whether for Lord Hardinge's reason or for Mr. Montagu's, is a menace to the growing sense of nationality.

We do not question Mr. Montagu's motives. Nor, in truth, is his scheme solely or chiefly responsible for the tendencies visible to-day in Indian polity. He had not a clean slate to write on. No reformer ever has. All the same, we think, he ought to have taken warning from Indian history as to the danger of letting loose the disruptive forces which were being

gradually brought under control. Perhaps, he was too preoccupied with his Parliamentary difficulties to think of Indian history. That excuse will not avail Indian reformers. What do we see around us? The Indian States are not to be interfered with and they are not to interfere in British Indian affairs. The woful results of this policy seem to be already beginning to be felt by the subjects of not one or two Indian States. Then, in the discussions on Mr. Patel's inter-caste marriage Bill, several Mahomedan members laid down the strange doctrine that Hindus and Mahomedans should not sit, debate and vote on measures relating to the social customs of each other. The time is not far distant when this principle will be sought to be applied to such subjects as education, sanitation and so on. In the proceedings on the Dacca University Bill, the debate largely turned on communal matters to the neglect of important educational issues. Not only that, but the Select Committee itself was composed on the understanding that the measure concerned only Bengal, and other provinces were not entitled to have any opinions on it. The same idea may be observed at work in political and social meetings. The steady exclusion of the English language in favour of the local vernaculars is its most prominent symptom. States, Provinces, Communities language groups, are seeking a separate evolution each apart from the other. National unity is no longer the watchword: popular education has become its serious rival. It is quite true that the earlier reformers left popular education too much out of account in their idea of national unity. Present day reformers, official and non-official, are, perhaps, making the contrary mistake. A middle course will, no doubt, be found, but it were to be wished that the country had not to make a long detour before finding it.

Of one thing we may be sure. If India had been left to herself, her line of constitutional development would have had no resemblance to the Montagu scheme. It would have occurred to no Indian statesman, conversant with the history and the tendencies of Indian national evolution, to conjure up a bogey in the shape of "responsible Government" and then, by way of laying it, to invent a system in defiance of every political theory—the crystallised experience of mankind. Theory apart, practical considerations alone suggest that when you set about reforming an existing institution, you should begin by reforming not its stronger but its weaker parts. Now, the provincial, especially the Presidency, Governments, are on the whole the soundest parts of the Anglo-Indian system. The one main reason of it is that they have their head-quarters in centres where public opinion operates on them. They are relatively to the Government of India in touch with the people whom they administer. The Government of India, on the other hand, is the weakest part of the Indian system. It ought to be the strongest part of it, for if Indian history proves one thing more than another it is that a strong Central Government is the sure

safeguard of the country's prosperity within and security against dangers from without. Owing to the weakness of the Government of India—its wooden, antedeluvian character, to use Mr. Montagu's own phrase—we have had in the last two years great causes for anxiety both in the internal situation and the external relations of the country. Thus much he who runs may read. And yet, while the Provincial Governments are to be overhauled out of all recognition, the Central Government is to remain not only untouched, but with its arbitrary powers appreciably strengthened. And this is reform! The Indian statesman would have proceeded in just the opposite way. He would have overhauled the Central Government bringing it within the sphere of popular influence and popular support, and contented himself with minor changes in the subordinate administrations. That would have accelerated the growth of the sense of nationality while the present scheme is, as Colonel Wedgwood truly says, a menace to it. The work of the past one hundred years will in large part have to be done over again when after the experience of a few years the country wakes to the fact that she is progressing backwards, not forwards.

The deliberate omission to extend the principle of popular influence to the Government of India and the refusal to incorporate a Declaration of Rights in the Reform Act, are the two vital defects of the scheme. We agree with Colonel Wedgwood that the best Indians should be sent to the Indian Legislative Assembly, but we do not think that the prospects of this being done are quite rosy. Farther, even if we send the best men, several of the members of the Government of India have reduced the art of giving evasive replies to questions to a fine art. Nevertheless, the attempt should be made. More than that we would urge the importance of doing all we can to bring the Government of India into the sphere of popular control by an early amendment of the Reform Act. It seems to be clear that, in the sphere of finance, some departments will under the Act be altogether excluded from criticism in the Indian Legislative Council though such criticism is permitted at present. In this respect the Act actually deprives non-official members of an existing right. It is obvious that we cannot get the best men to go into the Indian Legislature unless there is some more solid work to be done there than making speeches which do not affect the fate of any measure or resolution. Then, as regards repressive laws, the speeches made at the public meeting held on Tuesday to demand the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and those made at an earlier public meeting to demand the repeal of the Press Act, show a correct appreciation of the danger which these Acts constitute to progress. All Indian political parties are agreed on these two important matters. The Moderate party are as convinced of the necessity of the repeal of repressive legislation and the enlargement of the scope of popular influence in the Government of India, as the Nationalists. We trust that the Government of India and His

Majesty's Government will meet the united wishes of the Indian people, and thus ensure the opening of the new order of things in an atmosphere of complete goodwill and harmony.

THE OBJECT OF THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE.*

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR)*

Though English education had gone on for nearly a hundred years and the agitation for social reform and the Social Conference itself had gone on for thirty years, yet there were political reformers striving for complete self-government who still kept on saying that social reform was not necessary and that all that India wanted was political reform in the form of complete swaraj or self-government. They still maintained that if swaraj was granted social reform would be more easily accomplished than under the present circumstances. It was necessary, therefore, that that argument should be answered at the present moment when India was entering upon a new era and the new political reforms would give some power of responsible Government in the hands of the people. The object of the social reformers was to prepare the country effectively for the real form of self government whereby power in the hands of those of their people would be used not for the sake or interests of any particular caste, creed or class, but for the people and the masses as such, and especially for those who had been subjected for centuries to social inequality, social injustice and social degradation, as in the case of many, and particularly of the depressed classes. Just now people, who were speaking on public platforms and in meetings on democracy and on "government of the people by the people for the people," forgot that democracy was not a political but a social force, because even if complete self-government were wrested by them from what was called the bureaucracy, yet in politics, after all was said and done, political reform meant the exercise by a few of power of Government over the people. Every one could not become an administrator; few could become even voters, had a democratic social spirit, political reform was the exercise of power over others, and unless the persons exercising the power really sympathised with and felt for the masses and had a democratic social spirit, political reform would lead to hardships and sufferings and inequalities.

Social reform, on the other hand, meant feeling the burden of life, and in social reform every individual was invested with power over others and made to sympathise with the lot of others, therefore "government of the people by the people for the people" which was used on political platforms and which had become a shibboleth in these days, was attributed to Abraham Lincoln as a political phrase, but Abraham Lincoln had borrowed it from Theodore Parker, the real author of it, who was a social worker and a religious reformer.

*Summary of an inaugural address in Marathi delivered by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at the Provincial Social Conference held at Sholapur on the 3rd instant.

and therefore "government of the people by the people for the people" required for its basis social sympathy and a feeling for their homes and their communities that they must work to elevate and enlighten the masses and remove inequalities of those who were below them. Of what use was political power if in their homes and in their communities they did not allow widows to marry, kept women uneducated, and did not recognise equality of status of men in the case of women, or if they allowed the present caste restrictions to go on? That was not a democratic spirit and to say that politics and swaraj would bring the democratic spirit was only partially true, because the democratic spirit must also exist as a social force, otherwise swaraj would only mean the tyranny of a few over many for want of social sympathy and domestic reform. A great deal was being made at present of the Hindu-Moslem unity, but it was forgotten that what they recognised as Hindu-Moslem unity at present was really, so far as it existed, a result of the work of social reform social reformers and the Social Conference; because when social reform commenced one hundred years ago it commenced with the abolition of "sati" by law, but it was soon found that the mere abolition of "sati" was of no use unless widows, saved by the law, were also allowed to remarry. Therefore the Widow Remarriage Act was passed.

But then it was found that widows would not care to marry unless women were in the first instance educated. Therefore girls' education was taken up by social reformers. But then it was found that girls' education did not advance because of infant marriage. The question of the evils of infant marriage was next taken up. It was also discovered that girls' education did not advance because of caste customs. Social reformers then began their crusade against caste. Then it was that political reformers, who were social reactionaries began their crusade against social reformers and said that politics alone would save India. Then came certain political reforms, which were attended by the principle of communal representation which the Mahomedans demanded. Then the eyes of the political reactionaries were opened. The Mahomedans not only demanded communal representation but insisted that the depressed classes, who were one-fifth of the population of India, should not be regarded for political purposes as Hindus because they were outside the pale of Hindu society according to Hindu social customs and religion. Then the Hindu politicians, who were for political reform but against social reform, saw that caste was really a block in their way, and since then attempts had been made by them to unite Hindus and Mahomedans. One circumstance and another had no doubt promoted a feeling of unity amongst Hindus and Mahomedans. The depressed classes had come to the front because of the work of the social reformer, and the politician, however reactionary he might have been, had to count upon this force. Social reform had assisted political reform up till now and unless social reform was prosecuted with greater vigour than before, the new reforms would only result in failure. They all congratulated themselves upon the Hindu-Moslem unity at present, but it should be remembered that that unity had only begun and this beginning could not be regarded as one laid on sure foundations. It had been brought about by a number of circumstances more or less of a political character, and to make it a real and enduring force it must have a social and therefore suitable basis; and that was the object of this Social Conference.

THE BLIND RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

You may be aware that an association called the Blind Relief Association has been started for over a year. The aims and objects of the association are:—

1. To explain (a) by lectures aided by lanterns and charts (b) by the issue and distribution of handbills, pamphlets, books and other literature to the public generally, the nature and character of eye diseases, and the precautions necessary to avoid them.
2. To establish and help dispensaries, etc., for the treatment of eye diseases.
3. To train up and engage a staff of helpers for the treatment of eye diseases.
4. To provide free medical treatment and other necessary assistance to persons who are unable to pay for it.
5. To help persons who are totally blind or of deficient eye-sight to acquire literary and industrial knowledge and training, and to help them in obtaining employment.
6. To initiate, promote and advance measures, legislative or other, for eliminating as far as possible the causes of blindness.
7. In short, to take all measures necessary or desirable for preventing and curing blindness, and for ameliorating and improving the condition of persons suffering from blindness.

The Managing Committee consists of the following gentlemen who are influential and respectable citizens and have the welfare of the blind at heart.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, President.

„ Parshotamdas Thakordas, Sheriff of Bombay,
Vice-President.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Dr. B. P. Banaji.

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Mr. M. N. Chhatrapati. } Hon. Secys.

Under the auspices of the above association we have published a pamphlet called "Child Welfare & Infantile Ophthalmia" written by Mr. C. G. Henderson, I.C.S., the Collector of Bijapur who has done so much for the Blind in Surat, Ratnagiri, E. Khandesh and other places.

The Salvation Army at Ahmedabad has started a Branch and is treating eye-cases there; similarly at Bijapur, Malvan, Vengurla, Chiplun, Ratnagiri and Nandgaon, branches of this association have been started by the leading citizens of those places. A small eye dispensary will soon be opened at Balsar to treat eye cases. The Association also contemplates to undertake the examination of the eyes of school-going children and inmates of other institutions with a view to find out eye-defects and take remedial measures whenever and wherever possible. All this means very heavy expenses and we hope you will, by giving due prominence in your columns to this worthy cause, do all you can to secure it financial help.

I may here state for your information the fact that we have only about 16,000 (sixteen thousand) rupees on hand. It is hardly enough to meet the expenses of the work already undertaken.

We enclose by Bookpost our pamphlet to you along with our letters of appeal.

Imperial House,
Lamington Road,
Girgaon, Bombay.
31st March, 1920.

Yours faithfully,
M. N. Chhatrapati.
Abraham S. Erulkar.
Hon. Secretaries, B.R.A.

THE EDINBURGH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer* Bombay.

Sir,

In view of the difficulties which the students in India have encountered in obtaining accurate information regarding the courses of instruction given in the University of Edinburgh, as well as in other British and Continental Universities, the Edinburgh Indian Association has for some time past taken the responsibility of affording such information. During the War, for obvious reasons, this useful work had to be stopped, but now the Association has great pleasure in announcing that it is again in a position to give such help to anyone who may be willing to apply to it.

The object of the Association in doing this is not only to supply the fullest information regarding the courses of study, the nature of climate, the conditions of life, and the extent of annual expense, etc., but also to advise in each individual case as to the desirability or otherwise of coming to any one University in preference to other centres of education. Of late it has become a settled practice among the Indian students to flock to certain Universities for every conceivable subject and though in doing so they are only prompted by the well-established practice of the past, yet it is becoming clear every day that the steady and increasing aggregation of students in these centres is leading to the derivation of less benefit and more harm than was the case hitherto. It is therefore eminently necessary that the student who desires to go to these overcrowded Universities should obtain the fullest information regarding the educational facilities there, and, in view of the great congestion therein, consider the advisability of going to other centres, should these be in no way inferior to them; and the Edinburgh Indian Association is willing to afford all this advice.

It must be clearly understood here that, in undertaking this work, the Association is not setting itself as a rival body to the Advisory Committees which have been instituted in some parts of India. Indeed, such work was done by individual members in the past and the collective official action started some years ago was only due to the new conditions that had arisen in view of the increasing number of students that were, and still are, coming to this country every year.

And it is hardly necessary to mention that the Indians resident here are best suited for this task, as they alone can well estimate the requirements of the Indian students and their expectations.

All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association, 11 George Square, Edinburgh.

Yours faithfully,

11, George Square,
Edinburgh.

V. K. Parama Nayagam,
Hon. President.

THE KANARA DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is happy to note that Kanara has begun to show some signs of its life; so long it was fast asleep; now, as the clarion sound of duty blown up by its sister districts rings in its ears, it slowly rolls in its bed, and makes the Kanarites hopeful by giving them some unmistakable tokens of its awakening.

The advantages of holding a district conference are manifold; it creates, educates and enlightens the public opinion,

and makes the district firmer and more united in getting its grievances promptly redressed; and it is to the satisfaction of many that Kanarites have begun to feel the necessity of a district-conference, and have taken the preliminary steps to make it a success.

But I am afraid that Kanarites will be Kanarites and no better. I hope that all the sects and sub-sects in Kanara will strain every nerve to make the conference a successful undertaking, setting aside the communal prejudice raging among them. I appeal to my Saraswat, Gudamraswat, and Havik brethren to join hands to lift up the "neglected" district from the pitch of political and social degradation it has reached. To-day is not the time for quarrelling among ourselves; time has dawned when every Indian should show the spirit of co-operation, and Kanarites especially, who are known for their spirit of disunion, should forget their prejudice of caste and creed in making a united effort to place their mother district on the way to social and political reform.

Yours faithfully,

S. V. KAMAT.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

As one somewhat intimately acquainted with Missionary thought, may I be permitted to offer a reply to the criticisms which you have more than once expressed as regards the reticence of the Missionary body as a whole with reference to the Punjab occurrences.

I believe that this reticence has had its origin in one or other of the following considerations:—

1. The British sense of fair play and justice which refuses to pronounce upon a case while that case is under inquiry by a duly constituted tribunal.

2. The feeling that in all history chaos and suffering is the inevitable sequel of action which tends to set aside the normal forces of law and order. It was clear for all to see that passions were being aroused in a way which could only issue in conflagration. Martial law is not civilisation; it is the negation of civilisation, necessary though it be, when civilisation fails. It involves the placing of powers and responsibilities in the hands of soldiers instead of judges. This means inevitable risk of disproportionate or irregular action. However much we may grieve over the results, it was the martial law which was really responsible, rather than the individual upon whom, not by his own will, it fell to administer that martial law.

Let Indian politicians tell us what they suggest as an alternative to martial law, with all its terrible uncertainties and possibilities of excess, when once the normal forces of civilisation break down in an emergency. If they have nothing better to propose, let them be very cautious as to any action which may weaken those forces.

3. Far more than these, however, the great reason for Missionary reticence and the one with which I would heartily associate myself, is the strong desire that ill-feeling between race and race may not grow to bitter hatred but be quenched in love and mutual respect. While we deplore what has happened, we believe that the true way to mitigate its consequences is not by clamorous reprobation but by patient and loving service in the future.

With this view, Sir, I cannot but believe you also would agree.

Yours sincerely

Hyderabad. Deccan.
March 31, 1929.

A. LANCASTER, M. D.

II.

Our contemporary *The Indian Social Reformer* has such a reverent regard for all things Christian and its editor is such a true friend of all Christian missionaries that we are quite sure he will accept our earnest disclaimer concerning something that appeared in an editorial note of the *Reformer* of March 28. Trying to find an explanation for 'the reticence of Christian missionaries in India' concerning the Punjab excesses, our respected contemporary said:

"It had long been in our mind that the immense organisations educational and philanthropic, which they have established on the basis of large Government grants, may be one of the reasons. We do not say that any missionary who is at all faithful to Christ, will consciously allow such a consideration to control, much less not guide, his conduct. But human conduct is not always guided by conscious motives."

Lengthy comment is unnecessary, for we are quite certain that, neither consciously nor sub-consciously, have missionaries been influenced in their 'reticence' on this terrible subject by anything relating to 'Government grants'. We honestly believe missionaries have viewed the happenings of last April with a horror equal to that of Indians and that their 'reticence' has been entirely due to the fact that the whole question is *sub-judice*. This is certainly true of ourselves, as it explains also why for the present we make no comment on the Punjab Enquiry Report of the Congress Committee—*The Dnyanodaya*.

III.

Dr. Nicol Macnicol is well-known as a fair-minded British missionary, whose sympathies are all on the side of a righteous cause. He presided at the Temperance Conference in Madras and has hosts of admirers among Indians. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society, he made the candid confession that "we are far too ready to side with our class and let wrong remain unrighted." This complaint was pointedly made by the Indian public after the revelations were made in connection with the Punjab affairs. Dr. Macnicol does not shrink from calling a spade a spade, for he observed in a direct and straightforward manner, "We have far too much of the time-serving spirit. That is not the spirit of the Bible." We wish there were also other liberal-minded Englishmen to bring home this unpalatable truth to the European sojourners here. In the same spirit of perfect candour, Dr. Macnicol proceeded to lay: I think that those who say that we held our peace in the matter of the Punjab disorders in a way that was cowardly, have justification for their charge against us." We wish other Britishers also spoke out their minds as freely on the subject and thereby strengthened the impression in the Indian mind that the British sense of justice is not and cannot be dead. All honour to Dr. Macnicol for the balm he has afforded to the lacerated Indian heart by his words of sympathy, in connection with a subject which occupies such a large place in it.

— *The Bengalee*.

THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

The *Guardian* of February 13, publishes the proceedings of the discussion on the above subject at the Convocation of Canterbury.—Dr. Temple introduced the Report (No. 524) of the Joint Committee on the Ministry of Women. He was in agreement, he said, with the report now before the house that women should not be admitted to the priesthood, and yet his reasons seemed to himself not nearly strong enough to support the vigour of his opposition. Either they regarded the disciplinary injunctions of St. Paul and the customs of

the Church in previous ages as binding for all time, or that they were adapted for the times in which they were made, and could be modified to meet new conditions. He emphasised one of the paragraphs of the report, namely:—"We believe that the great extension of the scope of women's activities, alike in secular and religious matters, is itself fundamentally the product of teaching of Christ and His Church, and is due to the guidance of the Holy Spirit." There was nothing so lamentable as to discover any conflict between movements which plainly owed their real origination and their inspiring power to Christianity and the Church, and yet one saw this in many departments of life. He concluded by moving that the resolutions appended to the report be considered.

Dr. Sparrow Simpson said it fell to his lot to make a minority report. He confessed that he found the feminist interpretation of St. Paul singularly unconvincing. To interpret the passage about women keeping silence by aid of the passage about woman's prophesying was to interpret what was clear by what was obscure. The whole method was certainly unsatisfactory. He had inquired of the ancient Churches and the Roman, Greek and Russian were quite emphatic in maintaining the traditional view. But he felt as keenly as Dr. Temple that they should extend women's work in every possible way provided they did it within the limits of apostolic principle and worldwide Christian tradition. He moved the following resolution:

"That this House while regarding the admission of women to preach in the general congregation of men and women as being inconsistent with St. Paul's principle of subordination, approves of their admission to preach or pray in any congregation composed of women or of children, and would welcome this extension of women's ministry as being quite consistent with apostolic teaching."

The Archdeacon of Berkshire called the attention of the House to the second chapter of the First Epistle of Timothy and asked was it right or wrong that the principle of subordination, as stated by St. Paul, was based not on temporary conditions, but on fundamental facts, physical and moral.

The Dean of Lincoln thought they had heard too much of rules as principles. Were they going to be tied by the letter, forgetting that principles lay below? In his view, the rule of spiritual equality was plain. The question, "where is it going to stop?" was always an obscurantist argument. Having given instances of the valued work of women in varied fields of activity, the Dean asked, was work for Christ to be forbidden if proposed to be transferred into a building which they called consecrated, and could they refuse this work in a building dedicated to the very Lord Who was helping with His Spirit the woman outside? The great mass of women had no intention of asking to be admitted to the priesthood. Their good sense might be relied on to draw the line.

The Prolocutor then put the following motion:—

"That the resolutions appended to the report be now considered."

This was agreed to.

After the mid-day recess the House was addressed by the President, the Members of the Upper House being present. When they had withdrawn, Dr. Temple moved the first of the resolutions appended to the report:—

"That in view of the Apostolic teaching that women equally with men are members of the One Body of Christ, and partakers of the Holy Spirit, and in order that fuller use may be made in the Church's service of the gifts and experience of women, this House makes the following recommendation."

* That under conditions laid down by the Bishop of dioceses it should be permissible for women duly qualified and approved by him to speak and pray in consecrated buildings at services, or meetings for prayer, or instruction other than the regular and appointed services of the Church.

Canon Sparrow Simpson's amendment was then submitted with the deletion of the words "of subordination."

The Dean of Canterbury seconded the amendment. He argued that St. Paul's teaching was decidedly in favour of the old tradition. There were psychic and physical differences between men and women which might have led St. Paul to lay down this rule. If women had been admitted to Parliament and to the Bar it was because it could not be helped—practically the only way to prevent violence. He hoped the House would not adopt the resolutions.

The Bishop of Woolwich considered that as Canon Sparrow Simpson went so far as to wish to empower women to preach and pray in congregations of women and children, he might go a step further and include men.

A question was put as to the exact meaning of Canon Simpson's amendment.

The Prolocutor—It included the possibility of their speaking in a consecrated church.

The Dean of Canterbury—Then if that is the meaning of it, I withdraw from seconding it.

Dr. Kidd (Warden of Keble) urged that for the sake of maintaining unity and order we must recognise the spiritual equality of women with men; and Christian women must recognise that subordination of function was compatible with such equality.

Canon Aitken appealed to the House to do its best to make the ministry of women as effective as possible.

Canon Wood anticipated a great breach in the Church of England if the proposals were adopted.

After further discussion, Dr. Sparrow Simpson and Dr. Kidd intimated their willingness to accept part of the resolution with verbal alterations as an alternative to their amendment.

The Dean of Ely hoped the limitation would be adopted, and regretted the original resolution did not go further.

Several divisions were taken, and eventually, on the motion of the Dean of Canterbury seconded by Canon Maynard Smith, the following amendment was adopted by 49 votes to 47:

"That, in view of the statements of St. Paul on the subject, and of the uniform practice of the Church in the past, it is not desirable to grant the permission proposed in the resolution which has been before us."

This then became the substantive resolution, and was adopted by 46 votes against 45.

The rest of the resolutions then dropped, and the House adjourned.

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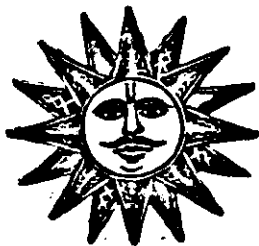
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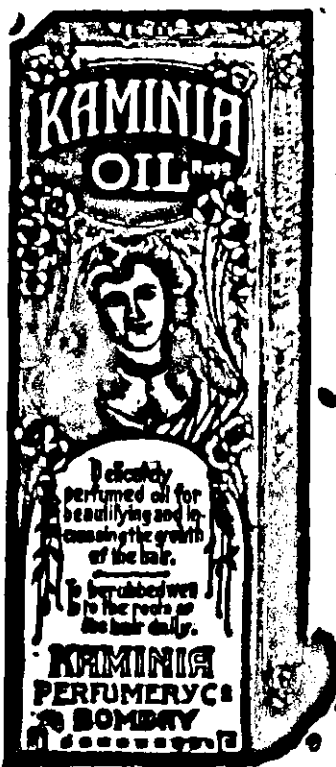
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Useful School Books. For Indian Students.	What is Wrong with Christianity in India?
The Poet's Message.	Dearer Newspaper.
	The Sheikh-ul-Islam.

NOTES.

Uganda replies to British East Africa: The British East Africa Economic Commission had damned the Indian settler as an immoral, dirty and altogether undesirable person to be got rid of by any means. The contiguous British Protectorate of Uganda has also had an Economic Commission, and the *East African Chronicle* of the 27th March quotes the following testimony from the report of that Commission to the good citizenship of the Indian. "The country owes much to the Indian trader, and we consider that a broad policy of toleration should be adopted towards him. He has shown energy and enterprise and has assisted in the opening up of the more remote districts. He is also of value as an agriculturist and his activities in this direction might well be encouraged." Our contemporary points out that the history of the Indian settlement and development in Uganda and British East Africa is practically identical and that the Indian communities of the two protectorates are not different peoples: they have opened up the country and been of vital necessity in its development in the one case as in the other; they have shown themselves as capable agriculturists in the one country as the other. Wherein, then, lies the difference? It lies in the type of white settler: Uganda, according to all accounts, has a superior type to that of British East Africa.

Mr. Devdhar on Social Reform: The presidential address of Mr. G. K. Devdhar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, at the Bombay Provincial Social Conference held at Sholapur, is a refreshingly outspoken utterance. We print the first part of the English summary of this able and eloquent address in this issue. Mr. Devdhar is a practical worker in several fields of social service and his enthusiasm especially for all causes which concern the elevation of women is unbounded. The presidential pronouncement at the Sholapur Social Conference will rank high in the literature of social

The late Dr. T. J. Scott. We are grateful to Mr. Willred Scott for sending on to us from America across the seas the last writing of his father, the Rev. Dr. T. J. Scott, which was addressed to this journal. We print the communication elsewhere. The late Rev. Dr. Scott was a regular and sympathetic reader of this journal for many years, and besides his new year greetings which never failed to reach us, he wrote to us often friendly words of counsel and appreciation, especially after his retirement from India. His heart was with India and her people, and India has lost in him a true and devout friend and champion.

An Eastern phrase for a Western fact: To the *Hindu Message* of Srirangam belongs the credit of inventing a new phrase. Being intensely Hindu, it dislikes the Western practice of "strikes." So it explains the delay in the publications of a recent issue as being due "to the simultaneous absence of a number of workmen at the Press," whose simultaneous presence is evidently necessary to bring out the paper! Verily, our *Varnashrama dharma* contemporary deserved better of its printers!

Useful School Books. We have received a batch of books for school children published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. They are printed in good type, on good paper, the illustrations are excellent, the general get-up leaves nothing to be desired. They are well adapted for use in schools. Their names and prices are as follows: *Indian Nature Myths* by Shevon Devi, price 8 annas, *Development of the British Empire* by M. Prothero, M. A. Revised edition Rs. 2., *Selections from Sanskrit Poetry* by P. V. Kane, M. A. LL. M. price Re. 1., *Pictorial Atlas of English History* By E. J. S. Lay 48 pages, 12 annas, *Middle School Composition by the Direct Method* By L. Tipping, M. A. 12 annas, *Macmillan's New English Readers Primer 1*, 4 annas, *Some English Usages for Indian Students* By H. G. Wyatt N. A. 12 annas, and *Selections from Sanskrit Prose* By P. V. Kane, M. A. Re. 1/8.

For Indian Students. The Bureau of Education has published a pamphlet (price annas 2.) compiled by Mr. R. K. Sorabji containing detailed information regarding the principal educational institutions in America and Japan. The number of students going to these countries for education is increasing, and the pamphlet is likely to be of use to them. Mr. Sorabji in a short introduction warns Indian students that they should have at the very least £100 per annum if they go to America or Japan. Another point to be borne in mind is that all teaching and lectures in Japan are given in Japanese, so that an Indian student should first acquire the language in that country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 18, 1920.

THE POET'S MESSAGE

At a public meeting held last Sunday under the auspices of the Students' Brotherhood of Bombay, the renowned Kavi, Rabindra Nath Tagore, delivered an eloquent and inspiring address which those who heard it will not soon forget. There was nothing original in the address in the sense that there was something in it which nobody had said before. The address was not practical in the sense that by scanning its sentences you can find a solution for the housing problem or the problem of the Council Hall or the problems presented by the scheme of constitutional reform. But it was both original and practical in the only and the highest sense in which an address of the kind can be original and practical, namely, that it left on the minds of those who heard it a very vivid impression of the duty that is laid on every one of us to cherish high aims which reach beyond our personal interests and not merely to cherish them as copy-book maxims, but to strive with all our heart and soul and strength to work them into the structure of the society of which we are members. This is the commonplace of moral text-books but the original and practical factor in the poet's address was that the personality of the speaker, the splendour of his imagery, his earnestness and sincerity, endowed this commonplace with life. The skeleton which scares the youth in so many text-books and sermons was clothed with flesh, its veins ran with rich, red blood, and it was as if it spoke and thrilled, and not the poet. This is the divine gift of the prophet in every age and Rabindra Nath is as all true poets are the prophet of his age and country. It is not the function of the prophet as it is of the statesman, the administrator, the political leader, to provide a working solution for the practical problems of the hour. Not only that, but nothing but disaster can ensue when the poet, the prophet and the great teacher, steps out of his sphere and undertakes to regulate popular movements. Instances of this are not wanting in contemporary history. Society at a particular time and in a particular country can assimilate an ideal only in a particular form and to a certain limited extent. The result of trying to force an ideal in its absolute form on a society which can take it only in weak solutions and small doses, has been described in memorable words by Burke in whom the vision of the prophet was combined with the insight of the statesman. And yet nobody who heard the poet's address could have failed to see that his puissant generalisations had a close bearing on all the fundamental issues which underlie the religious, social, educational and political problems of the hour. If the poet did not give us a key which will open every door, he gave us the steel from which we can forge such a key for ourselves.

The Poet's message consisted of a criticism and an appeal. He denounced in burning words the mental sloth which, in the garb of patriotism, would

keep India bound to the dead institutions of the past—caste, women's subjection, the rule of use and wont. He denounced the superficial view which, also in the guise of patriotism, made too much of the outward material aspects of western civilization, and failed to see the inward spiritual impulse which gave it its strength and immense energy. Matter is inert and all energy is manifestation of spirit. It follows on the face of it that the energetic civilization of the West is more spiritual than the inert civilization which that of the East has become. Many people mistake Rabindra Nath to be prejudiced against Western civilization. No greater mistake can be made. He intensely dislikes some of its manifestations, but no one has a truer and keener appreciation of its essentially spiritual character than the illustrious Indian poet. Western civilization is not merely and not essentially the exploitation of coloured races or the invention of infernal machines. The corruption of the best is notoriously always the worst, and these are corruptions of Western civilization. What Western civilization really and at bottom is, is the dauntless quest of Nature as illustrated by the discovery of the Poles and the conquest of the air, the quenchless ardour for truth as evidenced by numerous medical and scientific achievements, the unceasing struggle against evil and wrong, disease and poverty proofs of which abound on every side. When we think of its invention of poison gas, we should not forget its invention of the Braille alphabet.

The Poet brought this home to his audience in many a ringing phrase and, while condemning in scathing terms the corrupt developments of this great civilization, he exhorted his young hearers to understand and act upon its inner spiritual import. Be of service to humanity, he proclaimed, and humanity will stand up for you against the powers of darkness. Be true to yourself, give of your best, be not over-anxious as to what you get in return, above all, be gentle and strong and unafraid, and you will find salvation for yourself and your country and your people. With many of us who decry Western civilization, it is as often as not the story of the fox and the sour grapes. We would like to have all the advantages of its material and political power, but since we have them not and are perplexed as to how we can acquire them, we denounce them as unworthy of our wonderful spiritual civilization. As a matter of fact, the very dependence of the East is proof that it has lost its spirituality of which vitality and freedom are the surest signs. No nation submits its neck to a foreign yoke so long as it is possessed by the feeling that it has a mission and a message to mankind which it must accomplish and deliver, or die. The problem of India is ultimately in the heart and soul of Indian men and women. It will never be solved by extraneous crutches. "Take up your bed and walk" is, in effect, the poet's bidding to his paralytic countrymen. We can do so if we will to do patiently and persistently. And will is the concomitant of deep faith. The root cause of all our woes is that we have become a people of little faith.

Foreign domination, economic, intellectual and political, is a consequence not a cause. If we should be presented with the full apparatus of Government, the best and most urgent use to which we should put it, is to foster and multiply the well-springs of faith in ourselves.

It is the Poet's mission to make hundreds and thousands of his countrymen feel like himself. When hundreds and thousands of India's sons and daughters feel as he does, there will be a wonderful transformation visible on the face of society. The transforming power of a great affection is not a theory but a fact. We take the following not from a story book but from the greatest educational work that has been published in our time, Dr. Montessori's, on her method:

In an institution for deserted children, there was one extremely ugly creature, who had nevertheless greatly endeared himself to a young woman who had the care of him. This nurse one day told one of the patronesses that the child was growing very pretty. The lady went to look at it but found it very ugly, and thought to herself that daily habit soon accustoms us to the defects of others. Some time after this the nurse made the same remark as before, and the lady good-naturedly paid another visit; impressed by the warmth with which the young woman spoke of the child, she was touched to think that love had made the speaker blind. Several months elapsed, and finally the nurse, with a triumphant air, declared that henceforth no mistake would be possible, for the child had undoubtedly become "beautiful." The lady, astounded, had to admit that this was true; the body of the child had actually been transformed under the influence of a great affection. (The Advanced Montessori Method, chapter I, page 23).

Is it a vain belief that the face of this great nation will be transformed by the flush of freedom which is life, if the millions of her sons and daughters come habitually to feel as those present felt at this powerful lecture by our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore? Bombay is reputed to be a place given over to materialism, but the warmth and genuine cordiality of the welcome which all classes of our citizens extended to the Kavi, shows that she has a vision of deeper things. No doubt some came to see the winner of the Nobel prize, the Indian who has won appreciation in Europe and America, but not all or most. Especially the younger generations have valued the Poet's personality and his message as an abiding inspiration. In the years to come when the shades of the prison-house close around them, they will derive strength and hope and courage from the gracious memory of Rabindra Nath's presence and discourses among them.

Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,
And did he stop and speak to you,
And did you speak to him again?
How strange it seems and new!

MILLOWNERS AND WORKERS.

The diatribes in which some recent spokesmen of the mill owners of Bombay have indulged against the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee and its Chairman, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, are the best testimony

to the effective work accomplished by that organisation which was called into existence in order to coordinate several isolated efforts to deal with the situation created by the strike of mill workers in the beginning of this year. That great philanthropist, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, in his address to the Industrial Conference was very scornful of the "pseudo-philanthropists" who dared to meddle with a matter which concerned the mill-owners. The eminent social reformer, Sir Dinshaw Petit, in a speech in the Legislative Council was equally contemptuous of the "social reformers" who presumed to teach mill-owners their duty to their workers. And now that veteran politician, Mr. Rahimtoola Currimbhoy, has warned "amateur politicians" to desist from attempts in the future to obtain for the grievances of mill workers equitable consideration at the hands of their employers. It is this modest task which the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee endeavoured to do as soon as it was formed. Ten or twelve days had passed since the strike began and there were no signs of the workers and their employers coming to terms. The mill-owners had complained that they had no formulated demands of the workers to consider. The mill districts were picketed by the military and the police. The public was getting nervous and the press was insistent in its demands for an early settlement. In these circumstances, the Social Service League felt that it was bound to take action and it was soon joined by all the other small organisations which had been at work. The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee was formed with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as Chairman. The first thing it did was to call meetings of the mill hands at several centres with a view to ascertaining at first hand what the workers wanted done. Sir Narayan himself presided at the biggest of these meetings. In this way a list was made of the demands of the workers and this was forwarded to the Mill-owners' Association with a request that the Committee of that body should meet the representatives of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee with a view, if possible, to arrive at an understanding. This was declined by the Mill-owners' Association.

Mr. Rahimtoola said that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar asked for strike pay to be given to the mill hands on the ground that the strike was a lock-out. We do not think this is correct. The demand for strike pay was an item in the list of the workmen's demands. Neither Sir Narayan Chandavarkar nor the Committee expressed approval of it or asked the Mill-owners' Association to accept this demand. The circumstances in which the strike began were narrated by a mill worker at a meeting of the Labour Settlement Committee held after the first reply of the Mill Owners' Association was received, and were embodied in the second representation without any reference to the payment of wages for the strike period. Mr. Rahimtoola further said that the Labour Settlement Committee did not advise the strikers to go to work. On the contrary, at a meeting held to consider the reply of the Mill-owners' Association to the first representation of the Committee, Sir Narayan earnestly spoke to the representatives of the workers

pointing out the hardships to their families of their continued absence from work, and implored them to consider the question deeply. Their unanimous reply was that they were prepared to suffer any hardships. They urged that Sir Narayan should at once see His Excellency, but he persuaded them that this should not be done without giving the Mill-owners a chance to reconsider their decision. Sir Narayan's attitude throughout was that if the mill-owners only understood the circumstance they would be ready to meet their workpeople more than half way; and that it was the absence of the human touch between them that was responsible for the strike. He felt that the interests of the mill industry are the interests not only of the mill-owners but of the whole country, and that no solution of the labour trouble should be adopted which would have the effect of leaving behind it a sense of grievance or irritation on either side. If the mill-owners, or at least their spokesmen, were not obsessed by regard for prestige, they would see that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar by his intervention did a distinguished service as much to them as to their work-people. They would be grateful to him instead of indulging in abuse which but recoils on those who utter it. Mr. Rahimtoolla's tribute to His Excellency the Governor and to the police and military authorities was thoroughly well-merited. But would it be believed that the mill-owners did not originate or encourage the idea of His Excellency's intervention which, as Mr. Rahimtoolla said, brought the strike to a speedy end?

Mr. Rahimtoolla and others of his type will not understand if it was said that the intervention of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee was actuated by the highest considerations of humanity. But there are other reasons which they can not but appreciate. No one who saw the spirit of the strikers will agree that if matters had been allowed to drift the workers would have quietly returned to work. The warmth with which the news of the formation of the Committee was welcomed on all hands, testified to the relief felt by the public at an agency having at last come on the scene which might be relied upon not to allow things to drift. That this feeling was very largely due to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's being Chairman of the Committee, goes without saying. We repeat that the workers would not have quietly resumed work if the Committee had not been formed. They would have gone on till starvation stared them in the face. Perhaps, they would have starved to death peacefully, but the sight of their women and children starving would have driven them mad. And when men are driven to that limit, it is idle to hope that there will be no explosion. Men in that state of mind do not pause to weigh their acts. They see red. The foundations of society are loosened when a large body of men have no hope left on this side of the grave. Of course, the State is bound to protect property and life, but the State works through human beings. Soldiers and policemen are of the same flesh and blood as the workers thrown out of work. It is all right for Mr. Jehangir Petit to denounce trades-unionism, but if

workers may not combine by what right can employers do? We have not the least doubt that the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee, with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at its head, by facilitating the vigorous intervention of His Excellency, rendered a great service to the community. No one who is not blinded by passion and self-interest can fail to admit that fact. Sir Narayan and his co-workers are not in the least likely to be discouraged by what men like Mr. Rahimtoolla may say or do. The idea is preposterous. On the other hand, they are likely to be more strengthened in their sense of duty towards the workers when representative employers show themselves to be so deplorably indifferent to the spirit of the times. Mr. Rahimtoolla repeated for the hundredth time the cry of the inefficient employer that his workers are inefficient. Dupleix discovered that Indian soldiers under proper guidance were the equals of Europeans, and Clive put that discovery to excellent use. European employers of labour in India have repeatedly borne testimony to the high educability of Indian labour with proper encouragement and under efficient guidance. We can quote a number of such testimonies. If the Indian mill worker is a slacker, it is largely because the conditions under which he works does not conduce to energy and efficiency. After all, Mr. Rahimtoolla should remember that it is a bad workman who complains of his tools. In the present state of their helplessness and illiteracy, it will be criminal negligence on the part of the State and the public to leave these workers to fend for themselves. That way madness lies.

SOCIAL REFORM PROBLEMS I.*

(By Mr. G. K. DEVDHAR, M.A.)

Taking a rapid and impartial review of the situation we have strong grounds to be proud of our achievements in the past two generations. Time was when we used to be misrepresented, caricatured, abused, and painted in darkest colours, for our zeal and enthusiasm for social advancement, by those who opposed it in the name of religion and country. They charged us with impious motives and hostility to religion. This campaign of hostile and unfriendly criticism and vituperation lost its vigour. The Time-spirit was on our side. The operation of world forces, the spread of education and growing contact with western civilisation and culture, cleared the way and largely helped to remove the obstacles in our path. The advancing tide of nationalism controlled by rationalism, and the innate sense of human dignity and human justice asserted themselves. In order to judge whether our cause has lost or gained, we need not go very far. The history of social progress in Poona during the last forty years will afford ample testimony to our distinct advance in many directions. Though Poona is a centre of many educational and liberal movements, it has not yet lost its position as the

* From the presidential address delivered at the Provincial Social Conference held at Solapur in April, 1920. The address was delivered in Marathi. This is a full summary of it.

stronghold of conservatism and orthodoxy. I shall only instance four. Take the question of women's education. If one remembers the active opposition offered to the opening of a Girls' High School in the heart of the city, one would be astonished to see the very large number of girls and women attending schools and the Seva Sadan classes. Poona claims today the three biggest institutions in the country for the education of women and girls. These have become object-lessons, as is generally recognised, to the rest of the country in this direction. Secondly, take the cruel practice of shaving the hair on young widows' heads among high class Brahmins. This has practically died out, and one sees a large number of young unfortunate widows freely walking in the streets without being deprived of their precious hair. Thirdly, if you re-call the days about thirty years ago, it was very common to witness married couples when the boy was about 14 and the girl about 7. Now you can come across scores of strong young men determined to marry only after the completion of their education and acquiring the capacity to earn their living. Tens of unmarried grown-up girls are seen at schools where they learn to recognise their responsibility and to develop their physical and mental capacities. Fourthly the history of the upheaval in the orthodox society over the cup of tea taken by educated Brahmins at the hands of the Christian Missionaries in Poona about thirty years ago, is a very pleasing contrast to the large number of high caste Hindus openly participating in social functions attended by all castes and creeds. When one thinks of the large number of women of all castes, including the Brahmin and the Depressed classes in Poona, that marched in procession to the Municipal office to demand compulsory education for girls along with boys and deprecated the idea of first introducing boy's education in the city as the neglect of the girl's, it was a sight for gods. Are not these sufficient evidences and signs of progress? Is the society as orthodox as it was before? Is social reform as unpopular as it used to be? Are the reformers less religious today because of their zeal for social reform? Thus it will be seen clearly that social reform is becoming the accepted creed of the educated and a necessary attribute of patriotism or nationalism in the honest and truest sense of the phrase.

GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR REFORM.

If it be contended that the advance in social matters that has been achieved so far is at present confined only to the higher classes residing in urban areas mostly, the truth of this criticism must be readily accepted, because it was none of the fault of the Reformers, nor was it the inherent disqualification of reform. It was quite natural. This piece of just criticism, however, must lead us reformers to recognise fully our responsibility in this matter especially when we stand at the threshold of a new era of political reforms ushered in by the new Indian Reforms Act. His Majesty the King Emperor George V has, by his gracious proclamation, endeared himself to us all. We must gratefully acknowledge, further, the

arduous and disinterested labours of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and the many British statesmen and friends like Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir John Rees and others. We must not forget our deep debt of gratitude to our distinguished countrymen like Lord Sinha, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Mr. Bhubendranath Basu, His Highness the Aga Khan whose bold and vigorous advocacy of our cause helped to shed a great lustre on the name of our country. They all laboured hard and succeeded in giving to our vast masses a great opportunity to work out their real salvation and national destiny in shaping which political power is but a necessary important tool. This power must be used by those who came to possess it, to the greatest advantage of our people who have not come under the influence of advanced social and national ideas. The creed of social reform is equal opportunity to all to rise to the highest stature of manhood and womanhood. Its methods emphasise self-determination in social matters, self-help and self-restraint. In order to work out the ideal of national regeneration and social progress all along the line, and not in parts or compartments, we must put the true meaning and scope of social reform before the people laying special stress on the need for all-round progress, if we want to secure *true social well-being* and *not merely political advancement*, which is but a phase of it and not co-extensive with it.

NEED FOR ACTION.

Reformers had to engage themselves so far in many controversies concerning topics of social reform in order to clear their path which was beset with many difficulties. By means of adopting critical or negative methods of propaganda we had to push the cause of social advancement. But it was not enough. Many active reformers had to resort to positive or constructive plans of work to give a material shape to their ideas of recasting the social fabric or social institutions to suit the requirements of modern society and secure justice to men and women all alike.

CASTE.

Let us now take some of the urgent problems of reform that still need our earnest and continued efforts. The first and foremost is the all-pervading social institution of caste. This ancient but degraded institution has worked incalculable mischief in our society. It has torn the community to pieces and divided and sub-divided its interests and reduced to the lowest minimum the opportunities of wide social intercourse and communal betterment. Its watertight compartments have separated the important function of the community into narrow and selfish grooves. It has eaten the very vitals of the great Hindu race and sapped their social life. It has stopped the natural flow of energy and vigour into the veins of the nation, stunted natural growth, and considerably narrowed our outlook. It is the worst canker from which a society can suffer. This institution has no parallel in the world. The differences it has produced in the society and the social barriers it has raised have become permanent and have come to

obtain the sanction of religion as a condition of existence, brought on by Divine dispensation. The distinctions of differences that are observed in other countries or societies have nothing in common with Indian caste. In England for instance, we are told there are differences. But these are man-made and could be unmade by man. They have no religious sanction whatsoever. These social grades have their origin in differences in wealth and station in life. But as soon as these are removed by those who labour under them by dint of industry, ability, culture and enlightenment, they vanish like mist before the sun. Unless, therefore, caste is done away with or its barriers are pulled down, Indian progress will be almost impossible.

NATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND TEMPERANCE REFORM.*

(By THE REV. A. T. HOFFERT, BULSAR.)

Every true friend of India is interested in the highest welfare of the country and is willing to do all in his power to bring about greater national efficiency. In doing this he must oppose every agency that weakens and destroys the industrial, social and moral life of the country and do what he can to support every agency that strengthens and develops the nation to its highest efficiency. Let us consider some of the things or movements that are helping to make a greater India.

EDUCATION.

Education is the foundation for larger development and greater progress of the country. There needs to be greater extension of the educational system in order that the backward classes may enjoy the blessings that come to those who are being educated. There are millions of boys and girls in this country growing up without an education! There also needs to be greater educational efficiency. Many children who are now in school, for various causes, do not get farther than the first or second standard. There needs to be more and better trained teachers, and, so far as possible, the causes that keep pupils from school, or hinder their best work while in school, must be removed.

One of the causes that hinder the progress and development of education in India is the liquor traffic. Families and villages that are given to much drinking are little concerned for the education of their children. A great many children must be kept out of school to help to make a living for the family, because they have drinking parents. The money that should be used to keep the children in school is spent for liquor, and, in many instances, the father is made incapable for working because of heavy drinking. In Kansas City, Kansas, after the prohibition law was enforced and all liquor shops were closed, 600 boys and girls from

12 to 13 years of age attended public school for the first time. Eighteen more teachers had to be hired. An investigation was made to find out the cause of this sudden increase. It was found that these children had to stay home to help to support the family because their fathers were drunkards. After the saloons were closed the money they earned went to support their families and the children were sent to school. Farther more, the children of non-drinking parents are found to be brighter and more capable of learning than the children of drinking parents. Quite often the children of the latter also drink. Dr. MacNicholl of New York, after a very extensive investigation, states: "From 15 to 25 per cent. of drinkers, free from hereditary alcoholic taint, are dullards. From 53 per cent. to 77 per cent. of the descendants of a drinking ancestry are dullards." Again it was found that of 12,919 children from prosperous homes classed as dullards, three out of every four had drinking parents; and out of 8,198 dullards from poor families, 17 out of every 20 had parents who used liquor.

From the above it is seen that in villages and families where there is much drinking, the parents are not awake to the need of education for their children; that many children are kept from school because of the drinking habits of their parents; and that the children of drinking parents who attend school do not learn so well as the children of non-drinking parents. The suppression of the liquor traffic will remove one of the great obstacles to universal education in this country. Those who are in favour of education for the masses of India will do what they can help the temperance reform movement. Prohibition will make possible a more efficient educational system.

MORAL UPLIFT.

There can be no true development of India without growth in the moral ideals of the individual and the nation. Germany had wealth, learning and efficiency; but she was without moral ideals. She broke her agreements with other nations, defiled and tortured women and children without mercy and became, as it were, a nation of thieves and robbers! She forgot God and became drunken and immoral. So along with intellectual development and material gains in India, there must be honesty in all business dealings, truthfulness and usefulness in all personal and social relations, purity and love in the home, righteousness and justice with mercy in the administration of Government, a closer brotherhood among all classes and a greater reverence for God and His Word. The agencies and institutions that are working for these ends deserve the support of every true son of India, the things that are antagonistic to these ideals, he should oppose with all the strength that God has given him.

Drink is one of the chief causes of national decay and one of the greatest hindrances to the moral and religious development of the country. The moral and spiritual development of an individual who is a moderate drinker is at best greatly retarded, and those who are heavy drinkers soon become morally bankrupt. One of the first things that a drinking man loses is his moral sensitiveness. Some years ago the juvenile courts of

*The above article will appear in Gujarati in the Temperance Educational Number of the "Prakash Patra" for May. This 24 page issue will be well illustrated and together with it two or three Gujarati Temperance leaflets will be sent prepaid to any address for 1 anna in stamps. Address: Editor of "Prakash Patra," Bulsar.

New York City within a short time convicted six boys for burglary, two boys were found guilty of assault and highway robbery, and three boys were convicted of murder. "In each of these instances alcohol bore a conspicuous part in the family history. Hardly a day passes without its record of juvenile crimes." Why is it that jails are becoming empty and the prison population greatly reduced in the United States? Because the liquor traffic, the greatest crime producing factory in the world, has been put out of business. Religious workers and missionaries have found that drink is one of the greatest hindrances to their work. All who are concerned for the moral and spiritual welfare of India should not neglect to oppose the drink traffic, because, its removal means the removing of one of the greatest hindrances to the moral regeneration of the country.

HEALTH.

The death rate in this country is said to be twice as high as in England. Epidemics, such as cholera, plague and influenza sweep over the land and carry off their victims by the millions. The deaths among children before they reach one year of age is alarming, and is of no small concern to every true seeker of the welfare of the child. The lack of public sanitation in the villages, general ignorance of the means for the prevention of disease and for the proper care of the sick, poverty among the backward classes and ignorance among women of the proper care and nursing of children are some of the principle causes of so much disease and death in the country. What relation has the use of liquor to disease and health conditions in India?

Doctors tell us that the drinking man is not only more liable to be attacked by disease, but also, when he gets influenza or some other disease, he has less chances of recovery, than the total abstainer. According to the experience of the European Assurance Societies, at the age of 20, the total abstainer has the prospects of living 44 years more, an average of 64 years; the moderate drinker has the prospects of living 31 more years, an average of 51, which is 13 years less than the total abstainer; and the heavy drinker has the prospects of living only 15 more years,—an average life of 35, which is 29 years less than the average length of life of the total abstainer. People who drink are more liable to disease, and die faster than those who do not; such is the observation and experience of scores of life insurance companies.

Again, drink is partly responsive for the high death rate among children. From the results of an investigation by Prof. Demme of Bern, Switzerland, of twenty families, of whom ten were temperate and ten intemperate, it was found that out of the 61 children of the ten temperate families 50 were normal, and of the 57 children of the ten intemperate families only 10 were normal; there were 6 diseased deformed or otherwise abnormal children of the intemperate families while the abnormal children of the intemperate families numbered 23; the temperate families lost five of their children by death in infancy while 25 of the children of intem-

perate parents died in infancy. The innocent children must suffer because of the sins of the parents. Drink is in league with disease and death; those who are fighting the latter must also raise strong and determined hands against the former.

INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY:

In this time of high prices there is great need of larger production of food products and other necessities of life. This will do much to bring prices down and make living more tolerable for the poor. Greater productive ability in the individual workman and greater industrial efficiency in all mills and factories will bring about increased production and tend to lower prices. Agricultural and industrial education, more cordial relations and better co-operation between capital and labour, also more efficient organization will do a great deal to improve economic condition of India. Is drink an aid or a hindrance to the industrial efficiency of the country?

Drink reduces the amount of work and lowers the quality of work done by the intemperate workman. All will agree that this is true of the heavy drinker. But the moderate drinker usually feels that he can do more work by taking a glass of liquor daily. While he thinks he does more work, careful observation has again and again shown that he does less work than the total abstainer. In other words ten total abstainers will do as much work as eleven moderate drinkers. In forced marches the soldiers who were abstainers showed greater endurance than the men who drank. A correspondent wrote in the *Times of India* as follows on Prohibition in India: "I have had works in many places, some of the places have been a good distance from the liquor shop, others near by. The same men have gone from a "dry" place to one where liquor was within reach. What was the result—near the liquor meant irregular attendance, many quarrels, men did things they would not do when sober, they were less reliable and less efficient, earned less, saved less." Because drinking men are less efficient and less reliable than non-drinkers, and many industrial accidents are due to drink, scores of the leading industries of America—including the railroads—refused to employ drinking men. Industrial Prohibition came before national Prohibition. Besides, the drinking man after spending his money for liquor does not have sufficient left to properly feed and house himself and family and hence his work must suffer. These are sufficient reasons why those who favour industrial reform and greater industrial efficiency should become outspoken advocates of the temperance reform.

Greater educational efficiency, higher moral standards, better health conditions, greater and more efficient industrial development are essential factors in the moulding of a greater and a better India. Space forbids the mentioning of others. Just as drink is a hindrance to the best work of the agencies mentioned above, so practically every other agency that is working solely for the best interests of the country is hampered by the liquor traffic. All who have the highest welfare of India at heart will do well to join hands in a common cause against a common foe.

THE REWARD.*

They made not much of her going, the throng in the
crowded street,

There was little sign of their knowing she had passed
them on winged feet,

They had hardly heard of her presence, or her high,
unselfish song,

For the sorest ill is the sudden will of the victims
themselves of wrong.

How little they recked of Moses, the slaves whom he
slaved to free,

How the olden tale discloses the thing that must
always be,

Slave striving with slave, and scorning the word that
would bless them both,

For the bitter part in all saving art is the slave's own
selfish sloth.

Has ever a prophet spoken against the enthroned
abuse,

That his own heart was not broken by those whom he
came to loose?

They could help their oppressors rather than themselves
and their goods defend,

For the world is slow to rebuke a foe but swift to destroy
a friend.

Where yet is the State or Nation that gives not its
best to those,

Who merit its indignation far more than its open
foes?

Or the church, though it prate of Jesus, which does not
the Scribes prefer?

For the easy way is to fawn and pray, and stifle the
truths that stir.

Then wherefore the fuss and flurry, or wherefore the
thorns and the cross?

Were it not as well to be merry, and leave the world to
its loss?

What profit have all the martyrs of all their belated
fame?

For their very praise in the later days but hideth the
later shame.

What profit? The gain of living, for nothing but
this is life:

Who knows not the joy of giving himself in heroic
strife

Is a partner yet with the cattle, with less than their
calm content.

For a man must do something large and true or fail of
of a man's intent.

[* These verses were written in memory of Mrs. Frances Margaret Milne, a California poet and prophet of the people who passed on in 1910. We are obliged to the Universal Fellowship Press, Los Gatos, California, for sending them to us.—Ed.—L. S. R.]

And what is there more worth doing than to dream of
the days to be?

With a steadfast prow pursuing the quest of the
sunset sea,

To dream, and to dare, and suffer, as only the strong
souls can?

For the highest gain is the mood of pain, and the
martyr is still the Man.

They made not much of her going, nor much of her
high born song,

But here was the joy of knowing she had dared to defy
the wrong,

And the greater joy of loving, a loving by greed
unmarred,

For the heart of bliss is forever this that love is its
own reward.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH CHRISTIANITY
IN INDIA?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Mr. Manilal Parikh attempts a whimsical answer to this groundless question in the *Reformer* of November 23rd. He assumes that something is radically wrong and that missions as now carried on, "have blocked the way for the further spread of Christ's Kingdom in India," and that there is not any progress. But if he would study mission reports, and some of them especially, he would become aware of real numerical progress. Before the ink on Mr. Manilal's manuscripts was dry, converts were pouring into the church in one mission at the rate of five every hour of the year. And the church in Christendom was never more active in dynamic planning for the rapid and complete spread of the gospel into the entire world. An inter-church federation is out with a call for \$500,000,000 for co-operation. It is felt that nothing but a pure gospel of the Prince of Peace, can save the world. All this may seem strange halucination and very impractical to men of Manilal's vision. The one great active, leavening, illuminating, dynamic in the world to-day is the gospel of Christ. Rev. Mr. Stidger writing of the shuttle of missions says "It is being woven night and day across the Atlantic and across the Pacific by great ships bearing missionaries going and coming, furlough following furlough, after six years of service; term after term; leaving native land, children, memories, time after time until death ends that particular thread; crimson, gold, brown, white; the great shuttle of Love weaves the fabric of service across the seas as the ships come and go, bearing outbound and inbound missionaries to foreign fields." Missionaries know themselves to be fallible and are ready to adopt and adapt the best methods of evangelism, but their evangelism must be that of the New Testament. They are in all the world reaching and teaching the "good news of a salvation from sin according to Christ's command."

The writer whose article is here controverted seems to have very superficial and grotesque ideas of what Christian is in the principles and history. Christianity, however much it has been caricatured, and desecrated, in the past, is Christ and His word supreme love to God and love for neighbour as for self. This is the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of men now being advocated by true reformers in India, genuine proletarianism something desecrated by Mr. Manilal.

is I. Yes, Christ is Christianity. He said, "I am the Bread of Life, "I am the way, Truth and the Life." It is a gospel for "the poor", "the broken hearted," "the blind". Christ gave us the fundamentals, an epitome of all the law and all prophetic teaching—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind and strength, and thy neighbour as thyself. Evangelization of the poor is evidence of a true gospel. The early propagators saw this. Thus Paul: "You see your calling brethren how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called" "foolishness, weak and despised things of the world hath God chosen to confound the mighty," (1 Cor. I & II). So James "Brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of the world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom"—"If ye respect persons, ye commit sin". Jas. 25-9. Loving neighbour like self, is the "royal law" i.e., Love which is of the nature of God and the fulfilling of the moral law, worketh no ill to the neighbor." God's love is the type, "Brethren, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another." All this is the Christianity of the New Testament and we must get our Christianity there.

As to great names in the past—K. N. Banerji, Nilkant, Kali Charan Banerji and the rest, time will set in its true perspective names equal to these worthies. There are men in the Indian church to-day who stand for as much if not more than these great men did. A single illustration is one of my former students, Rev. J. R. Chitambar, M.A., who has been twice called to great church councils in America and who has addressed multiplied thousands in numerous audiences. He is now General Secretary of the Epworth League in Southern Asia. And all this writing about Christianity being proletarianized, denationalized, anglicised, as the work of missionaries, is groundless. Neither do we want a Hinduized Christianity. On the fundamental ground the missionaries are preaching the gospel in all the world, as commanded. There can be no Asiatic Christianity, although habits and methods of work in different countries may find place. Mr. Manilal and other croakers, must take heart and work away for a world Christianity—a race brotherhood. There can be no caste, but some social affinities can and should exist. A natural, selective affinity properly guided is right. This will group the community into matrimonial and neighbourly associations tending to a general, mental and moral uplift. Civilization is an evolution, that thus keeps lifting and grouping the best elements and thus elevates the race. And all this can exist with a substantial equality and brotherhood. A beautiful equation is made by James, "Let the brother of low degree, rejoice in that, he is exalted, but the rich in that he is made low."

T. J. Scott.

Dr. T. J. Scott passed away ten days after this was written. It is the last contribution of a great and noble soul, whose heart was in India. His son found the manuscript on the table and sends it on to its destination.

Wilfred W. Scott.
Jan. 28rd 1920.

DEARER NEWSPAPER.

The *Newspaper World* the price of which is increased this week from 2d. to 3d., gives a list of more than 50 newspapers and periodicals that have advanced this year—in many cases for the second time since the beginning of the war. The journal states that in view of the existing pulp shortage and the high and increasing cost of paper, a general increase appears inevitable.

THE SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM.

The reported arrest of the Sheikh-ul-Islam by the Allies evoked a strong protest from the Khilafat deputation in London. Indian Mussulmans, it was stated, are already deeply wounded at the arrest of their great divine, Maulana Mahmood Hassan, in the sanctuary of the faith at Mecca and deportation to Malta. The following from an account of a visit to the Sheikh-ul-Islam in Mr. Charles Roden Buxton's "Turkey in Revolution" (published by Mr. Fisher Unwin in 1908) describes the position of this Prince of the Moslem Church, and, incidentally, throws light on the relations of Shiaks and Sunnis in regard to the Caliphate.

We were a party of six, including an Armenian gentleman who had known the Sheikh-ul-Islam for many years. We drove up to a building near the Suleimanyeh mosque, a government office both in appearance and in fact. For whatever else the Sheikh is or is not, he is certainly a member of the Government, holding the portfolio of the Minister of Public Worship. He does not change with the rest of the Ministry, but otherwise he occupies the same position, and at the opening of the new Parliament he walked in with his colleagues, his long white robe and splendid yellow turban contrasting strikingly with the Civil Service uniform, gold embroidery and green sashes, of the others.

"The constitution of to-day," he began, after the first compliments had been exchanged, and while the coffee and cigarettes were being handed round to us—"the constitution of to-day is a different thing altogether from the constitution of 1876. That was a sham; its authors did not mean it to last. This is a reality. The people are ready for it, it will remain."

"But is a real constitutional government permitted by the law of Islam?"

"Permitted? It is more than permitted. The law of Islam is more liberal than the constitution itself."

"Then the influence of the Church will be in its favour?"

"Certainly. Our law, rightly interpreted, is in accordance with the principles of representative government. The wisest men, chosen by the people, are to direct the ruler, and if he rules without their consent he is going beyond his power. I go further, and say that, now that this principle has been embodied in the law of the constitution, that law itself is included in the law of Islam. It becomes binding upon those who profess Islam. Especially those who are called to lead, our *ulama*, are bound to help, actively in carrying out the constitution."

We turn to the question of equality, the main practical point at issue. Here, too, the Sheikh is firm and definite.

"The law of Islam enjoins equality—not that the people can regard a Moslem as in every way the same as a Christian, but political equality, equality before the law, we are bound to grant."

"But does not history show that this equality has been granted but seldom?"

"Yes, there is truth in that. In every religion there is the spirit of fanaticism, and that fanaticism may be used by a bad government, just as it may be prevented by a good one. Yes, certainly you may appeal to history. But—and the eyelids close up in that cent's but half a minute oil—'have not we also our appeal to history?' I have heard of

Christian nations putting their captives to the sword. I think I have read somewhere—have I not?—of the Inquisition in Spain. He listens, still with his slow smile to the interpreter. Then he becomes grave again. 'Yes; I know it well. Every religion has its fanatics. These deeds are not dictated by your religion; they are repugnant, I know, to the pure spirit of Christ. And we, too—may we not say the same of our and story of fanaticism?'

The Christian interviewers change the subject. We turn to the position of our host in the Moslem world—a delicate topic which one must not pursue too far. We are anxious to know his thoughts about the great heretical faction of Islam, the Shiabs of Persia, who have degraded the pure, cold theism of the Sunnis, and introduced something of the union of the human and divine into their reverence for Ali, and their passionate mourning for the death of Hussein.

'All these are of us,' he replies simply. 'True there are disagreements, but no deep gulf divides us. There is even a sense in which our communion extends more widely still; a sense in which whoever says 'God is one,' whoever divides not the essence into separate persons, is a true believer.'

'We are all, then, good Moslems?' says our companion, and the Sheikh is silent, neither denying nor affirming; but with the same slow smile upon his broad, dignified face.

Our companion wants to clear up one point before we go. The Shiabs are one with the rest of Islam; but do they recognise the Sheikh as their head? It is an awkward question; but the Sheikh is equal to it. He is a diplomatist.

'We do not think of such things,' he answers slowly and thoughtfully. 'You must remember that Islam is a democratic religion. We have no priests, properly so-called. We ascribe no sacerdotal power to the ministers of our Church. We have no hierarchy. I may know more than the poorest believer, but I am not above him in authority. No; I am lord neither of the Shiabs, nor of the Sunnis.'

The Sheikh-ul-Islam is the Minister of Public Worship, controlling, nominally, the exercise of all forms of religious worship, Christian as well as Moslem; though the institution of self-governing Christian Churches has robbed the former part of his duties of all real importance. Secondly, he is the official interpreter of the Sacred Law, which is, in strict theory, all law. He is a kind of Lord Chancellor. In this capacity it is his business to state the law when called upon to do so, he is a final court of appeal, as he was in the supreme instance, the leading case of the grant of the constitution. This power of his is in theory very far-reaching, and extends even to the deposition of the Sultan, if definite proofs are produced that he is of unsound mind, of depraved character, or of unorthodox opinions. But then the Sultan himself appoints the Sheikh-ul-Islam; so that we must accept the existence of two powers not merely co-equal, but each superior to the other—an idea at which the imagination of the European lawyer staggers.

But is the Sheikh something more than is comprised in these two offices? Is he an infallible Pope? Is he the "head" of Islam, and if so, in what sense? Can he go beyond the mere interpretation and declaration of the law, and alter, of his own motion, the course of government? Can he bind the consciences of the faithful all over the Moslem World? These questions I do not profess to answer. The answer may depend largely on the personality of any given holder of the office.

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Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharla, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

Current Accounts:—3% allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
 2½% allowed on Daily Balances from July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5% per annum.
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 For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA, Manager.

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Paid-up CapitalYen. 37,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,030,000

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NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
FOOCHOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINCHIKU	KEELUNG
TAKOW	TAIOHU	TAMSUI

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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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—Manager

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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. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ,, 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ,, 66,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. 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.

Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules 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.

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HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari Meshana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 60,00,000.
Capital Paid up ,, 20,00,000.
Reserve Fund ,, 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbaiker, Sar Subha, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaoker, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 500 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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Established 1880.

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Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

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Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

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I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17

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(REGISTERED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES' ACT OF 1913.)

At Bombay the 11th November, 1919.

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ISSUED CAPITAL —		4,00,00,000
PAID-UP CAPITAL... ..		60,00,000

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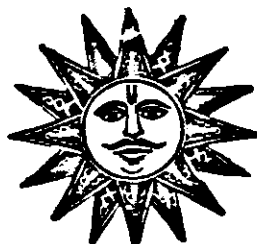
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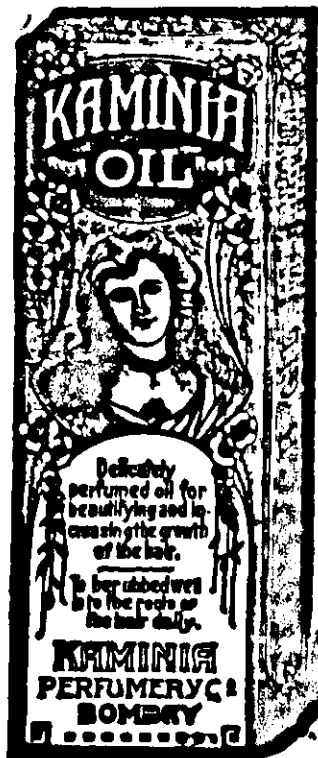
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BRANCHES: Baramati (Dist. Poona) Islampur (Dist. Satara.)

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy (Chairman), Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the Hon. Mr. Chaturbhaj Damaldas, the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, the Chief L. Ichalkaranji, G. K. Devadhar, Esq., the Raja Saheb of Malegaon, A. H. Byrt Esq., Nanabhai Tullackchand Esq. Share Capital (full 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 undersigned.

2 Current Accounts are opened for Co-operative Societies and institutions working for their benefit. Interest is allowed at 2 1/2% on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 25,000 and 2% on balances over Rs. 25,000.

3 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

4 Accounts are audited by a special Government Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

29-5-17. **VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.**

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office: EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1920. No. 34.

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

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NOTES.

A Hindu Afghan Envoy. As in the previous Afghan Mission to India, so in the present Mission now discussing the factors of an Afghan Indian understanding at Mussoorie, is included a Hindu, Civil Brigadier Niranjan Dass, Director of Taxation, in the Ameer's Government. The Government of India Mission consists of several Englishmen and one Mahomedan gentleman. We cannot help thinking that it would have been good policy as well as sound statesmanship to have included a Hindu in place of one of the Englishmen. Whatever the Government of India's own conception of itself may be, its weight and authority in the outside world will increasingly depend on the extent to which it demonstrably represents Indian (which is preponderantly Hindu-Mahomedan) sentiments and aspirations. If a Mahomedan member had been added to the Indian Peace Delegation, we would have been saved some needless agitation. The autocratic mastery of India is a pose which no longer strikes the imagination or appeals to the moral consciousness of civilised mankind. Dewan Niranjan Dass' ancestor is said to have settled in Kabul during the Governorship of Raja Mansingh whose brilliant conquest of that Kingdom was the occasion for Badauni's lament: "A Hindu wields the sword of Islam." At a social gathering at Mussoorie the Dewan sat apart, smoking a cigarette, at a separate table. This strict exclusiveness maintained for generations, is at once a testimony to the Dewan's tenacious Hinduism and a tribute to Afghan toleration.

India and Mr. Lloyd George: The *Challenge* takes such sound views on public questions that we are at a loss to understand how it came to write the paragraph in the issue of March 26th on Mr. Lloyd George's speech to the Khilafat Deputation. Our contemporary says: "Mr. Lloyd George addressed some very plain words to the Moslem advocates of Turkey in a meeting with their delegates last Friday. He spoke of the ready ear—far too ready in our opinion—which the Government had lent to India's protest, but declared that Indian

opinion could not divert the course of justice. With that deliverance we are in hearty sympathy, and Mr. Lloyd George might have gone even further in his very significant hint that Indian interference in matters outside India was scarcely required. We would do nothing to injure the legitimate feelings of Islamism, but when Islam pretends to the right to settle the fate of whole territories that have no significance religiously, and which, in addition, are inhabited by Moslems who have no use for the Indian solution, we believe it to be time that such a plain warning should be given, and, if need be, rammed home. With Indian aspirations we have every sympathy, but we do not want their intriguers here, and there are already some curious channels of expenditure which demand the attention of the authorities." We have read the official report of the Prime Minister's speech and we do not find any such hint as that referred to by the *Challenge* in the sentence which we have italicised. On the contrary, the Prime Minister in a previous speech on the same topic seemed anxious to impress on his hearers that the terms of Peace with Turkey had been greatly influenced on the side of moderation by regard for Indian opinion. Indeed, it would have been absurd for the Prime Minister, as it is for the *Challenge*, to tell India that "Indian interference in matters outside India was scarcely required," after engaging Indian men and resources so lavishly on the various war fronts! But political memories are notoriously short-lived, and England is evidently beginning to forget that India helped to win the war. By the way, what are "the curious channels of expenditure which demand the attention of the authorities?" Why not have named them?

Bengalis in Behar: In a leading article two weeks ago we called attention to the separatist tendencies visible in Indian public life and pointed out how, if timely measures are not taken, the Reform Act may prove a menace to national unity. A further instance of it has come from an unexpected quarter. The Bengalis domiciled in Behar are agitating for separate representation in the Provincial Council and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's paper, the *Bengalee*, is supporting them! "The Muhammadans" writes our contemporary, "are stronger by about half than the Bengali population, numbering 3,489,912 souls. But while the Muhammadans will have 17 seats, the Bengalis will have only one by nomination. If this proportion is to be worked out to its legitimate conclusion, so far as the Bengalis are concerned, they should have been given not one but eleven seats. It will thus be seen that a grave injustice has been done to the Bengali settlers who have been kept out of their legitimate due. Most of them are the owners of landed property, or are in Government employ and a considerable number have worked their way into the forefront of the legal and medical profession. It is idle to hope that their interests can be properly re-

presented by a solitary member who will owe his seat to the good graces of the Government in nominating him. If the Government really intends to do justice to their claims, it cannot do better than allot to them at least one seat in each division. The Bengalis are scattered in all the divisions of the province and it is but meet and proper that they should be given at least five seats in the Council to be filled by representatives hailing from the five divisions. We strongly endorse the claim of the Bengali settlers to increased representation, which is broadbased on the truest considerations of justice. It is inconceivable to us what special interests the Bengalis may have which are not shared by the native inhabitants of Behar. A claim of this kind emanating from a community which is one of the most politically advanced in the country, is deplorable. People who go from one part of the country to another, have no right to form a cove by themselves, instead of identifying themselves with the people. But even more deplorable is that this preposterous demand should find support from the *Bengalees*. Has our contemporary forsown all its old associations with Indian nationalism? Well may Indian Nationalism exclaim:

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
The sisters' vows, the hours that we have spent,
When we have chid the hasty footed time
For parting us—O, is all forgot?
All school-days' friendship, childhood innocence?

Lord Sinha's Indiscretion: Messrs. Kamat, Dalvi and Gadgil have rendered a public service in obtaining from Lord Sinha, before he left for England, the right version of what he said or intended to say at the Calcutta Club. We add the alternative because the *Bengalees* whose editor, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, presided at the function, represents Lord Sinha to have used the word 'co-operate' not only in its report of the speech but also in its editorial comments on it. The main point, however, is what his lordship meant to say. We may take it that he expressed his considered opinion when his lordship declared to Mr. Kamat and the two other gentlemen that he never said "do not co-operate with the Extremists." He said: "I am misreported. What I said was do not combine or coalesce with the Extremists, as long as their ideals and methods are different from your own." All sections of the people, added his lordship, "ought no doubt to co-operate." This is a perfectly intelligible and sensible proposition. It is, of course, a matter of opinion how far ideals and methods differ. So far as the two instances which Lord Sinha gave as illustrating the fundamental differences between the two parties, the consensus of opinion is that they do not stand scrutiny.

The Residential Qualification: The Western India National Liberal Association has addressed a weighty and well-considered memorial to the Secretary of State for India, praying that the residential qualification for candidates recommended in the three Western India provinces of the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bombay, might be disallowed. We showed in a recent article that the principle of such a restriction has been condemned by distinguished authorities and is detrimental to a sound system of representation. The *Citizen*, the newly-started organ of the Madras Liberal Association, discusses the question in its historical and legal aspects, and expresses the opinion that there is no justification in reason or principle for not adopting a

uniform rule for all India. "Residence as a qualification for candidates", says our contemporary, "is a thoroughly discredited principle and is particularly unsuited to this country at the present juncture. The limited amount of validity that there is in the principle of residence is not likely to be forgotten by the electorate even without an express restriction." We wish it had stopped there. The duty of an Indian publicist does not, in our view, extend to finding for Government a means of enforcing a principle, which he holds to be radically wrong, with the minimum of hardship to the people. If we think black is not white it is none of our business to suggest to Government that if nevertheless it insists on regarding black as white it might mix something with the black to make it seem grey. Our contemporary examines at length the various legal interpretations of the residential qualification and ends by suggesting a proviso to minimise reference to English cases in interpreting "residence." The one fact that emerges clearly from this disquisition is that any formula which makes the qualification real would be intolerable, while any other formula which makes it tolerable would amount to a legal fiction. This may not be objectionable from a lawyer's point of view, but such questions have to be dealt with on broad principles of statesmanship and in a manner intelligible to men of plain commonsense.

Minimum Wage Legislation: Commenting on the introduction of Minimum Wage Legislation in Ontario, the *Toronto Industrial Banner* observes: "As a means of making effective Minimum Wage legislation, the best course suggested is the appointment of a Permanent Wage Commission with subordinate wage boards for separate trades or occupations. These boards are composed of representatives of the employers, employes and general public. After careful investigation of the cost of living such boards recommend to the Commission minimum wage rates to meet the necessities of life and to maintain health and welfare. In the State of Massachusetts the decisions of the Commission are only recommendatory, but in the other States the decisions are binding upon employers. Those who have had experience in the fixing of minimum rate of wages recommend strongly that the carrying out of the decisions be made compulsory on employers. A flat rate per day should not be provided for all employments, but separate boards should set rates of wages according to the cost of living in given localities. Minimum wage boards are a splendid device to give the most defenseless workers an opportunity guaranteed by the State to express their will and conscience about their pay." The idea seems to be worthy of a trial in this country where Labour is largely disorganised and has no unions to uphold its interests.

Commercialized Vice: We owe an apology to Mr. D. Pant for the long delay in publishing his letter. The fact is that we could not quite understand what it is that he fights against. On the face of it, the letter seems to be a plea for prostitution, but on reading the letter many times over, we think this is not what Mr. Pant aims at. We understand him to urge that merely making commercialised vice penal will not put it down. This is a view which has adherents among those who are utterly opposed to prostitution. What is wanted, they say, is better education and better social arrangements. Merely to penalise vice will only drive it underground. There is force in this view.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 25, 1920.

MR. TILAK'S ELECTORAL PROGRAMME.

WHY CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC?

We have received from Mr. Tilak for publication a copy of a manifesto of what is called "the Congress Democratic Party" enunciating certain general principles and outlining a programme of work under the reform scheme. The Congress Democratic party, we are told, is a party animated by loyalty to the Congress and by faith in Democracy. Has the Congress no faith in Democracy? Or is there a "Congress Autocratic," or a "Congress Bureaucratic" party from which Mr. Tilak has deemed it necessary to distinguish his party? It is not consistent with the profession of loyalty to the Congress to adopt a course which suggests that adherence to that movement does not necessarily mean adherence to the principle of democracy. The public is entitled to know how far the contents of this manifesto have received the stamp of approval of the Congress, and how far it is a personal production of Mr. Tilak, which might pass off as a programme with the official sanction of the Congress, though it has not received such sanction. It is hardly likely that the word "democratic" has been interpolated in the title of the party through inadvertence or merely by way of supererogatory emphasis. Another point on which the public will be glad to have an explanation, is whether it is intended to bring this programme into operation immediately or fifty years hence.

WHAT IS ITS SOCIAL PROGRAMME?

The Congress Democratic party, we are told, "advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste and custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself, and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression." What precisely does this mean? Having regard to the fact that the boundary line between social and religious customs is notoriously indeterminate in this country, it is excusable for those who are not total strangers to Mr. Tilak's marvellous capacity for sophistry in such matters to entertain lively apprehensions as to the exact purport of these sentences. Does Congress Democracy believe in caste or does it not? It is significant that in the detailed programme in the manifesto, not a single head or measure of social legislation finds a place.

MORE MOSLEM THAN ISLAM.

The manifesto supports "the claims of the Mahomedans for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Mahomedan dogmas, beliefs, and the tenets of the Koran." A valued Mahomedan friend's mordant comment on this is worth quoting: "If Mahomedan dogmas and the Koran are the tests, the Khilafat question falls to the ground. These were settled in the life time of the Prophet several centuries before the Turks established themselves in

Constantinople or even in Asia Minor." Responsible and enlightened Mahomedans do not expect an international dispute to be settled according to the religious dogmas of one of the parties to it—and that, too, a defeated party who entered into a war in which he was not concerned. They also recognise that nothing is to be gained by ignoring the changed conditions of the twentieth century as compared with the tenth. All that they ask is that the settlement of the Turkish question should be substantially in accord with the Prime Minister's famous declaration two years ago. In this demand they have with them the strong support of every thoughtful and patriotic Indian irrespective of race and creed.

A STRANGE OMISSION.

The manifesto states that it is the intention of Mr. Tilak's party to have introduced in Parliament, "with the aid of members of the Labour Party," a new Reforms Bill establishing full responsible Government in India, including full military control, full fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. Meanwhile, it will work the Montagu reforms for all they are worth. And by way of sample, it offers a list of eleven subjects on which it appeals for votes for its candidates in the ensuing elections. Several of them such as the repeal of repressive laws, jail reform, retrenchment in military expenditure, recruitment of all public services by open competitive examination, free and compulsory education and so on, are commonplaces of every political gathering. One of the most important reforms which the National Congress has pressed forward since it came into existence has been left out of this list, namely, the separation of executive from judicial functions. The list, no doubt, does not profess to be exhaustive, but no one who had an organic view of administrative reform could have ignored even in a much less exhaustive list this subject which touches the administration of justice. The omission is due, of course, to inadvertence but inadvertence in regard to such an important question discloses lack of perspective and failure to grasp the fundamental principles of a sound administrative system. It may be said that the question does not lie within the competence of Ministers. No more do some others prominently included in this catalogue, such, for instance, as the repeal of repressive legislation, the nationalisation of railways, the creation of a citizen army, and the permanent Ryotwari settlement of land revenue.

NEGATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

This last, and the control of export foodstuffs by a tariff, are two original planks in this Congress Democratic platform. Did anybody ever hear of a permanent revenue settlement as a democratic measure? The whole trend of democratic legislation is to insist on the national ownership of land and of the right of the State, that is, of the community, to a large share of the unearned increment. But here is a party calling itself by the double-barrelled name of Congress Democratic which deliberately embodies in its programme a policy which is the most emphatic negation of democracy wherever it still

exists. The late Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt, at an early part of his public career, coquetted with the idea of a permanent settlement of land but eventually gave it up in favour of the rational idea of long term settlements, liberal allowance for the ryot's improvements, and the fixing of a moderate maximum limit on periodical enhancements. These provisions will give the ryot all the relief he requires while safeguarding the permanent interests of the nation. We can only explain the resuscitation of this idea in Mr. Tilak's programme as a device to catch the votes of the ignorant peasantry without any regard to political principles.

FISCAL QUAKERY.

The same observations apply with, if possible, greater force to the proposal of an export duty on foodstuffs. Even in the most intensely protectionist quarters, an export duty is regarded as an act of oppression. The father of the National system of Political Economy, Friedrich List, has laid down that prohibition of, or duties on, exports can only be thought of as exceptional things. If it is said that the measure is recommended not as one of protection but as a means of reducing prices, the answer is that the present high prices are not the result of exports from the country but of the inflation of the currency in most countries of the world including India. Further, an export duty on foodstuffs may have the effect of a further rise in prices, for foodstuffs are necessities and not luxuries, and the demand for them cannot be appreciably reduced by putting up prices. An elementary knowledge of economics is enough to show that an export duty operates in a totally different manner from an import duty. Apart from theory, however, what will be the effect of an export duty on food-grains? For a year or two after levying it, there may be a fall in prices, though even this is doubtful, as grains keep. After that, there is sure to be a contraction of the area under food-crops, which will be given over to more paying export crops. The extension of the area under food crops under the stimulus of the export trade, operates as a valuable stand-by to the country in times of scarcity or famine. The rains may fail or floods rise in one part of the country, and the exportable surplus in the others automatically flows towards the area in deficiency in preference to overseas markets. And is Indian Democracy going to follow such a churlish, not to say inhuman, policy as to refuse to fellow-nations the food which they need and can pay for, and which she can produce beyond her own needs?

A POLICY OF DISUNITING INDIA.

The Tilak electoral programme reveals a grievous lack of constructive statesmanship. It does more. It shows that if the party which has adopted it, gets the control of national affairs, the beneficent, nation-building work which has progressed during the last century, will be undone. We have called attention above to the significant omission of measures to give effect to the flamboyant declarations of the manifesto in regard to the abolition of social abuses and privileges. We have pointed out the utterly undemocratic character of the proposed land policy and to the charlatanism of the

fiscal policy foreshadowed in the manifesto. Two other items in the programme deserve attention. One is the declaration in favour of linguistic provinces. We are quite alive to the advantage of having one vernacular for one administrative area. But linguistic provinces, that is, the constitution into a single province of all people speaking the same vernacular, in other words, making language instead of administrative convenience the basis of main administrative divisions, is an anti-national policy. If all Marathi-speakers, all Hindi-speakers, all Bengali-speakers, all Telugu-speakers, and so on, are to be constituted each into a province of their own, the unification of India and a united Indian nation will become the wildest of chimeras. This is what the Tilak programme aims at doing. The sounder policy, in our view, is to have small sub-provinces, say, of an average of five millions of population each, and each of these small sub-provinces should as far as possible have only one vernacular. That is to say, there will be three or four Marathi administrative divisions, two Gujarati, perhaps ten or twelve Hindi, three Tamil, four Telugu and so on. These, while securing all the advantages of single-language provinces, will not lend themselves to the danger of linguistic provinces. Economic and other considerations will have to be taken into consideration in forming the administrative sub-provinces. We are not formulating a cut and dried scheme, but only indicating the outlines of one.

UNDERMINING ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The other item in the Tilak programme has a close bearing on this. It is the making of the vernaculars the medium of higher education. We believe that a good deal more than is being done might and ought to be done to raise the importance of the vernaculars in our system of higher education. But any attempt to undermine the position of English in that system will be fatal to national interests. That the Tilak party under the guise of improving the vernaculars contemplates an attack on what for want of a better term may be called English education, is evident. This is precisely what Lord Curzon was accused of doing and the Indian public will remember Mr. Gokhale's famous philippic against that policy. We do not think that the country will accept from Mr. Tilak a policy the suspicion of which roused it to vehement protest against Lord Curzon. The manifesto clears the air. It shows that the Tilak party—not the Congress—though it has assumed the name of "the Congress Democratic Party," believes neither in the principles of the Congress nor in those of Democracy. The name is evidently intended to conceal and not to reveal the true character of the Tilak programme. The Tilak policy is the quintessence of the narrowest kind of particularism. We do not think that the country wants back the rule of the Peishwas.

THE BOMBAY ELECTORAL SCHEME.

The scheme for the constitution of the Bombay Legislative Council and rules of election were published last week. The first point to be noticed is that no provision is made for the reservation of seats for

Marathas. The Joint Committee had left it for the consideration of the Local Government whether there should be any seats reserved for the Marathas in the same way as for the non-Brahmins in Madras. Evidently, a working definition of the term "Maratha" could not be found, and Government, perhaps, took the view that the franchises prescribed would secure for the Marathas adequate representation without any reservation of seats. We are inclined to believe that this is likely to be the case. The arguments against a reservation of seats are sound. A Maratha elected by a general electorate is likely, as a rule, to be a more capable and broad-minded person than one elected by Marathas only. Nevertheless we think that the reservation of one seat each in the Satara, Poona, Nasik, Ahmednagar, and East Khandesh districts all plural constituencies, would have given satisfaction to a large body of the public without materially affecting the interests of other communities. Bombay city will return 9 members, 6 non-Mahomedan, 2 Mahomedan, and 1 European. The 2 Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1 Bombay Trades Association, 1 Bombay Mill-owners' Association, and 1 Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, members will also be Bombay men. Thus Bombay will have 11 members in all. The other urban constituencies are Ahmedabad, Karachi, Poona, Sholapur and Surat. There is not a single urban constituency in the Southern division. A fairly good case exists for assigning one seat to Hubli which is a rapidly growing city. The Mahomedan community will have in all 27 members, 5 urban and 22 rural seats. As between Sind and the Presidency Proper, the members will be Sind 14, the Presidency 13. It is true that two-thirds of the Mahomedan population in this Presidency are inhabitants of Sind, but the Mahomedans in the Presidency proper are the more advanced. We doubt if Sind can find so many as 14 well qualified Mahomedan representatives. The possibility of inviting candidates from outside is prevented by the imposition of a special qualification requiring candidates in a communal constituency to have "ordinarily resided in such constituency for a period of six months" prior to the date of nomination. In the general constituencies, the possession of a place of residence suffices for voters as well as candidates. We hope Parliament will sweep away the residential qualification in the case of all constituencies.

The European community gets 6 seats: 2 communal, 3 Bombay and Karachi Chambers of Commerce seats, and 1 Bombay Trades Association seat. The European population of the Presidency numbers hardly 80,000 including troops, and 6 seats for it out of a total 86 members representing 20 millions of people is in all conscience excessive. Even 4—the number recommended by the Government of Bombay to the Southborough Committee—would be excessive. It should not on any account exceed that number. The Bombay and Karachi Chambers may elect 2 together or separately as they like, and the Trades Association is sure to get one, if not both, of the European seats for its members. Before leaving the subject, we should record our emphatic protest against extending the definition of European so as to include persons born or domiciled in the self-

governing Colonies which not only deny the vote to an Indian but would not even admit him into their territories except on restrictive conditions. The principle of "reciprocity" has been accepted at the Imperial Conference by these Colonies, and we are sure that they do not care to have this gratuitous concession. We emphasise our protest especially in the case of South Africa where Indians are not receiving human treatment. Parliament ought to see that this is a question affecting the self-respect of the Indian people. One of the two seats saved from Europeans should be given to the University in addition to the one provided for it. The graduates of 7 years standing probably number 7,000, and considering that they are the intellectual salt of the community, 2 seats for them is not excessive, while about 100 Sardars in the Deccan and less than 40 Sardars in Gujarat are each allotted one representative. We consider these Sardar constituencies absolutely unjustifiable. There are landholders outside the circle of Sardars who pay as much land revenue as these gentlemen, but they will have to take their chance in the general electorate. The distinction is particularly invidious in the case of Gujarat Sardars who have nothing historical about them, and are of less than 20 years' standing. Five seats are reserved for nomination of representatives of the cotton trade, the Anglo-Indian community, the Indian Christian community, the labouring classes and the depressed classes. We think the last three groups, should get at least 2 representatives each. The 2 Sardars' seats and the one remaining representative of Europeans, should be distributed among them. We also think that 2 seats should be reserved expressly for the Parsi community. They are sure to come in in sufficient strength through the city constituencies, but their great importance as a community in Bombay should be recognised by such express reservation.

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON EDUCATION.

On Friday before the last, the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, delivered an address on Education to an audience which filled the body and the galleries and overflowed into the verandahs of the University Convocation Hall. The poet had a touch of the influenza on the previous day, but he insisted on fulfilling his engagement and went through his address with all his accustomed fire and eloquence. The general principles which he laid down of a sound system of education, will command the approval of all thinking men. They were set out in the picturesque phraseology which comes so naturally to Dr. Tagore. His criticisms of the present system were, however, rather exaggerated. That English education in India was, and is still to a considerable extent, an exotic, with all the drawbacks of an exotic transplanted in an alien soil, is a fact which no observation is needed to perceive. The exaggeration, in our opinion, was in depicting the results and products of that education in the darkest colours not warranted by reality. With all its faults, our educational system has, in proportion to its scope and imitations, produced substantial results. Only the other day, Sir John Heaton speaking from his

many years' experience in the moffasil and the High Court Bench told us that, whatever else it might have failed in, our educational system has given the country an honest and able subordinate judiciary. We may resent that it should be subordinate, but the importance of capable and honest judges to the State, is not to be underrated. The system has done more, very much more. To it we owe that the dry bones of India have become instinct with life.

Then, as regards the medium of the English language, Dr. Tagore's strictures overshoot the mark. Nobody denies that the mother tongue is ideally the best medium of education, but the conditions of the country have to be taken into account. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it has been long our settled conviction that no other language, vernacular or classical, possesses the same advantage to Indians as the English language from every point of view. The English language and literature supplement our national culture at its weakest points. It provides the best medium of interprovincial communication, and it gives us the widest and the readiest access to the warm water of international life. Our vernaculars we should cultivate, but the vernaculars cannot take the place of English in any of these respects. While we would spare no pain to raise the position of the vernaculars in the Universities, we cannot contemplate without dismay the idea of their displacing English as the medium of instruction in them. And we would frankly say this: We are not as sure as Mr. Tilak, for instance, that it will always be for the good of India or the British Empire that the one should be a part of the other—the time comes when even parents and children find living apart the best condition for cordial relations—but we have no such doubt as to the abiding relation of India to the English language. The evolution of Indian culture will increasingly be through the medium of the tongue of Shakespeare, Milton and Burke, the language which Rabindra Nath Tagore himself uses with an intimacy of understanding possible only to one who loves it. The present reaction is a passing phase, as most reactions are. Our educational system needs reform: all systems do. But reforms should take into account and carefully conserve the vital parts of the current system. The medium of English is one of these.

SOCIAL REFORM PROBLEMS II

(BY MR. G. K. DEYDHAR, M. A.)
WOMANHOOD.

The next but equally important question is the attitude of mind regarding woman. Woman has in all countries, it is true, suffered from disabilities. But her lot in India is exceptionally miserable even to-day. The whole question centres round our attitude towards and our notions regarding her capabilities and her right to participate in the full life of the community. It is never contended that Indian women are dull or uncultured. They have enough and to spare of the natural intelligence and culture that comes of religious life and traditions. It was com-

monly felt, and that view still holds good, that the sphere of woman's influence should be restricted to domestic duties, and Nature had not intended her to go beyond that sphere. The Reformers, however, refuse to accept this view as being wholly correct. While they strongly urge on the devotion of woman to home and children, and want to give her the best available education and culture to discharge those very important and primary duties of a happy and progressive domestic life, they rightly desire to admit her into the true companionship of national and social life. In short they want that woman should be given the full rights and privileges of citizenship of a well-organised society. Though the orthodox view is gradually veering round to the necessity of giving education to woman to become a devoted wife and an efficient mother, it is still chary to recognise the wisdom of admitting woman to full citizenship. Look at the position of woman in England to-day. During the last one hundred years nearly, many large-hearted men and women worked very valiantly to improve her status and to secure for her the ordinary rights of citizenship. A systematic course of public education and free and full opportunities for work enabled women in that country to build their capacity as valuable workers in all spheres of public usefulness as also in domestic life, with the result that at the time when England entered the titanic struggle and she was compelled to send all her young men to the fighting line, she could do that because she had the women both young and old who readily came forth, to do the men's hardest jobs and to serve and thus save the country for which they were amply fitted by their previous training and liberty.

They made most cheerfully all possible sacrifices and underwent ungrudgingly the severest hardships in order to relieve men who were fighting for the safety of the nation. Thus fifty or sixty lakhs of women, bold and true, undertook all sorts of tasks some of which needed great intelligence, organising capacity, enterprise, endurance and daring. Their efficient participation in the successful and vigorous administration of the machinery of war, both at home and abroad, appealed to the imagination of the nation so powerfully that it converted to their cause the greatest of their opponents and made it possible for them to secure the vote for which they had been struggling for generations. In brief, many statesmen proudly declared that it was the women of England that won the great war. It is literally true, if closely examined. India fortunately has not to engage in any great war. But has she not the need for an army of social workers to toil in the various fields of national activity which is growing everyday? And the social reformer wants woman to be trained in her responsibilities by giving her education, freedom and liberty even of economic life if there be need for it. The sole crux of the position lies in the Indian attitude towards woman. We respect her but we do not yet trust her with larger powers and freedom. Whereas the English people did trust her and, therefore, they reaped the full benefit of their trust. That is a valuable lesson which we in India cannot

afford to ignore. Several western thinkers are of opinion to-day that woman by means of her special gifts and talents is destined to play a great part in the shaping of the world in the near future. If we in India desire to raise woman to her proper dignity and position, we cannot do that unless we educate her. For that purpose I would attach equal, if not greater, importance to the education of girls. Look at the unseemly controversy in Poona and the attitude of the extremists in proposing to make education compulsory for boys only, postponing the question of girls' education indefinitely and making it depend upon conditions difficult of achievement in the near future. I praise the efforts made by women who agitated against this injustice.

UNTOUCHABILITY MUST GO.

As regards the injustice done to the "depressed" classes, I am of opinion that a religion or a society that tolerates such palpable wrong to a large section of human beings needs to be vigorously purified. Look at Japan even for this and see what she did in 1870! One million of her forty millions of population were living in a condition in Japan similar to that of the "depressed" classes in India who form one-sixth of the population. They were called "Ita" and "Hinins". Japan removed all traces of social ostracism and made them equal citizens with the Samuri.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

If we thus want to secure the best conditions for our people to full growth, it will not be enough to effect an outward change. What is needed is the change of the inner man, the thoughts and the ideas that determine the outward form. In short, there is need for social evolution. In the words of Mr. Ranade, "the end (of social evolution) is to renovate, to purify and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect and elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers". If you read the book called "*Rural Reconstruction in Ireland*" it will be clear from the instance of Ireland how excessive importance attached to political questions tend to weaken the character of the people by making them less self-reliant and less efficient workers. The disproportionate interest in politics in Ireland created a disproportionate belief in political remedies. Sir Horace Plunkett tells the story of a peasant in the west of Ireland who ceased planting potatoes, on hearing that the Home Rule Bill of 1893 had become law. Spontaneous generation was but one of many improvements in the natural arrangement of affairs to be secured through this panacea. What use was there in practical efforts when in any moment the enactment of Home Rule might inaugurate a new Utopia? Let us all understand the true significance of political education and political advancement. Nothing could be more dangerous than the belief that politics and politics alone is the solution of the true national problem. No one would deny the importance of the political problem in regard to India. But it has limits and it is the business of the social reformers to set forth clearly those limits.

PROBLEM OF NATION-BUILDING.

The true problem of nation-building covers the whole task before the Reformers, in the direction of social or national reconstruction. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, as the General Secretary of the National Social Conference, has clearly defined the scope of social reform at the time of the last Conference at Amritsar by sending a message. When a stand is taken on that ground, our future programme of work must include all problems affecting the well-being of every citizen in whichever area he lives, whether in town or in village. I have dwelt at some length in my Marathi address on the needs of women in India to-day, and have outlined a practical scheme of work to be followed all over the Presidency in view of the needs of the special classes. We must establish Committees to continue the agitation to support the principle of the Patel Bill, to suggest improvements and also to formulate changes in the existing laws to remove the disabilities of women. As regards compulsory Primary Education for girls we can best realise the present disproportion by stating that the percentage of boys of school-going age to the total male population in the Presidency is 6.5. Whereas it is only 1.18 in the case of girls at schools to the total female population. All well-wishers of girls' education should be grateful to His Excellency Lord Willingdon in getting the principle of compulsory education for girls incorporated in the Madras Bill. The levy of a special tax for it will not be a loss to the people if they realise that it was the most profitable of national investments. Those who opposed the idea on financial grounds now, did scanty justice to the honesty of purpose when they ruthlessly criticised the opponents of Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill. Looking to the line of arguments these friends resorted to, I am tempted to believe that they must have been bureaucrats in their past birth. The age of consent should be raised as the limit of marriageable age of girls has gone up. Homes should be established for widows who desired to remarry on the lines of the one maintained by the Bombay Social Reform Association.

WIDOWS.

In the case of widows, however, who are not keen on marrying again I would urge on them that, in the place of domestic duties, they should undertake social service of various kinds for which suitable establishments like Seva Sadans, Widows' Homes, Vanita Vishrams, etc., should be founded all over the Presidency. Moreover, for women who are rendered homeless, there should be *Women's Homes, Refuges and Workrooms*, as in England and at a few places in India. Considering the appalling rate of Infant mortality in India, we should be grateful to Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford for the most praiseworthy attempts recently made, and for holding at Delhi in February last, a Maternity and Infant Welfare Exhibition and to Her Excellency the Hon'ble Lady Lloyd for holding a similar one in Bombay. In the proper solution of this problem, a great deal of attention will have to be given to the training of Indian women as nurses and midwives; still it is also necessary to establish in

many places *Infant and Child Welfare Centres* to give every kind of advice and help to mothers. I thank Her Excellency on behalf of this Conference for her most practical and useful efforts.

WASTE-CHARITY.

Speaking about the frightful waste of well-meant public charity in India. I have suggested methods of organisation and regulation on the lines of the "Charity Organization Society" of England. Out of funds thus received most useful and charitable institutions like "Orphanages," "Maternity Homes" and "Infirmaries" could be maintained by each district to meet the real local needs of the deserving and the helpless, and thus be self-contained. I call attention to the need for village sanitation and its systematic handling by men who are keen on rural reconstruction and praise the action of the late Miss Florence Nightingale for leaving in her will a sum of Rs. 8,000 for the improvement of sanitation in Indian villages.

LABOUR.

Social Reformers in England and other countries work for the systematic improvement of the condition of the labouring classes. I hope that mill-owners, Government and leaders of public opinion will succeed in securing one amicable and satisfactory settlement regarding the essential points concerning the moral, physical and material well-being of these classes. A systematic association with the work of such concerns of a representative of the men to advise the management and appreciate its difficulties, if any, as is done at Port Sunlight in England, will certainly do much good towards solving this problem.

To lessen the miseries and hardships of the struggling middle class in big cities I suggest the adoption of principles of co-operative movements in meeting their needs. Housing Societies, Store Societies, Milk Societies and Medical Relief Societies could be attempted on co-operatives lines as there are even in India to-day such models actually working. In conclusion, I appeal to the public not to rest satisfied with passing resolutions. Efforts alone, well-organised and intelligently pursued, would secure the end of social well-being. Let us learn courageously to combine and co-operate for a common cause, be prepared to suffer, believing that victory is ours in the end and rest satisfied that we have done our duty in the mission of our life which is to work for the good of humanity.

MR. DEVDHAR'S ADDRESS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Noticing the presidential address of Mr. G. K. Devdhar at the Shalapur Social Reform Conference, you call it "a refreshingly outspoken utterance" and say "it will rank high in the literature of social reform." Nobody will disagree with you when you say that "Mr. Devdhar is a practical worker in several fields of Social Service and his enthusiasm, especially for all causes which concern the elevation of women is unbounded." But you will admit that the merit of a presidential address is not to be adjudged by the

author's enthusiasm. May I ask you, sir, to point out in the whole course of the address one constructive suggestion, any adequate reference to the hundred pressing problems that have to be urgently faced or in fact anything at all that will give it a place among useful and informing social reform literature? I have read the address over and over again to find extraordinary merit: I admit I have failed.

Mr. Devdhar congratulates himself that he is not living in days when social reformers are caricatured or booted down. I am glad that his earnestness and practical sense can find unimpeded scope for good work. Only I wish he had not wasted his time and that of his audience and readers by supererogatory references to women's education, tonsure of widows, early marriage and such other questions which are bound to progress in the proper direction even without Mr. Devdhar's lecture. Every urgent question of social amelioration has been omitted to be handled while every secondary matter has been dwelt upon at length. It is pleasing, however, to know that the address is not an index to Mr. Devdhar's sense of practical social reform. I shall stop here for the present and time permitting and with your leave I shall later examine his address in detail to show where and in what measure he has failed.

Yours etc.,

G. S. RAJANAVAR.

Bombay, 18th April 1920.

[As we stated in a footnote, what we publish is an English summary of Mr. Devdhar's address which is in Marathi. Our correspondent will find no lack of practical suggestions in the Marathi original. As for his next criticism, it depends on the point of view from which one looks at questions whether they are to be regarded as primary or secondary. In our view, all the questions dealt with by Mr. Devdhar are of primary importance.—ED., I.S.R.]

COMMERCIALISED VICE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I read and re-read the article on "Commercialized Vice" published in yours of the 1st February and I could not help exclaiming, "God save us from our friends."

The subject is easy of solution if you take a practical view of it; but you are lost in the wilderness if you try to solve it by the method of "ifs," and "thens." It is a dangerous method which fails miserably when applied to social questions. The only sound maxim is "On to the guns"—go to the brothers, know some of these girls, their mode of living, their views on living, cultivate familiarity with the members of their family, etc., and you have then the materials before you to form a supply schedule. Having done that, try to form a Demand Schedule: study man as he is—a biped animal possessing the accumulated passions of centuries acquired from the time of the expulsion of the First Pair from the garden of Eden, consider the irresistible nature of desire when man simply becomes a dummy, the conscience is stilled and the brain does not work. With these forces gnawing at his heart and with not enough means to marry what is he to do? It is no good babbling out "Self-restraint." In the sphere of realities, it is better to give a strong curb to imagination.

An average man (mind you an average man forms a very very large proportion of humanity) is incapable of it (Restraint). So comes back the same question, what is he to do?

Though Nature meant every lad to have a lam, yet the present Economic structure of society cannot allow it. So there is only one reply to the question "what is he to do?"

Either he should satisfy himself by 'snatching' pleasure from family girls or he should 'buy' pleasure. Surely the first will undermine society and bring about the collapse of the family institution, while the latter does no harm to anybody if the buyers persistently keep in view the good old principle of *Caveat Emptor*.

To appeal to legislators to make this buying and selling of pleasure illegal is to misunderstand the whole question. If by a mere stroke of the pen this 'sale' could be declared against law, why should it not be argued that this legislation will operate as a restraint of trade? But those who have seen this 'legalised vice' conferring boon on many a girl who would have succumbed, had men not an outlet elsewhere, know full well the value of this vice.

To illegalise this vice would mean jeopardising the honor of every girl and therefore the legal machinery should not be put in motion to "stifle" it. What the legislators can do and must do is to change the one-sided legislation, that is to say, the same law should apply for the woman and the man who enter into a contract of pleasure. It is obviously wrong to put excessive restraint on the sellers of pleasure and not on the buyers of pleasure. In this case, it is not the supply which creates a demand; but the demand which creates the supply. And therefore we should chiefly concentrate our attention to controlling demand. This is exactly what the writer on "Commercialised Vice" in yours of the 1st February meant when she used the expression "been mopping up the floor instead of turning off the tap." And here it must be borne in mind that the complete turning off the tap is an absurdity and what we can do is to lessen the wastage by the aid of the Noble Science—the Science of Medicine. It is better to forewarn the people and thus forewarn them and therefore a policy of prevention should be adopted rather than that of cure. And this can be done by reading human nature. Man wants 'gratification' and being an intellectual animal studies future by the aid of the past and thus realises his inability to bear the strain of "an endless chain." He seeks his 'prey' and satisfies himself by paying in a civilised society and by force in a barbarous society. Take away his right of buying pleasure, he will get it by persuasion or by force. The soaring high prices set as a deterrent on marriage, and so to maintain the purity of the married life market girls are needed indispensably. And that it is why I agree in toto with the remark quoted, viz, "It has been said with justice, that it is true that prostitutes must exist in order to preserve the purity of other women, then they should be given a highly honoured place, as one who sacrifices her very self for the good of society."

If this idea could only be pressed on the legislators, then the evils arising out of the Commercialised Vice will end for "the vice of secrecy (which) stamps this vice as shameful" will be torn and men will view the thing right. How truly it is said, "evil rarely assumes such inveterate and perverting form, as when it is shrouded in obscurity and veiled by a hypocritical appearance of innocence." Let this vice be exposed to daylight, let the free air play on it, let it flourish in open quarters, let there be periodical medical examinations of girls who thus will exercise great caution in selecting their 'mates for a night'; and this vice will be transmuted into a strong fortress of the monogamous society.

Remember it is only in the dark streets that the bacilli of evil attain their full growth; and that "Liberty is still the best remedy for the temporary excesses of liberty."

In order to control demand, a definite programme should be laid down on Sex-Education. The following programme taken from "Sex" by Geddes and Thomson would be found useful.

(a) Developing of motor activities, (b) Developing all forms of education which fill the mind with noble examples, (c) Teaching that Sex is a sacred thing and not a shameful thing, and (d) Teaching botany and natural history and thus making clear that "For him to whom sex is impure there are no flowers in nature."

In order to increase the marriage rate, Sex-parasitism must be lessened. If women can supplement the family income by legitimate means, there would be a corresponding less burden on the earning member and more of home comforts.

I have here entirely kept out of account the following :

- (a) The swerving from the right path of the married couple; husband and wife both;
- (b) The 'bachelor's (?) and 'maids' (?);
- (c) Widows and widowers, and
- (d) Unnatural vices.

Remember legislation against Commercialised Vice will fail as miserably as it has failed against unnatural vices, and moreover it will swell up the ranks of seducers.

The Punjab Association Club, Lahore. } D. PANT.
14th February, 1920.

THE CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

A MANIFESTO.

We have received the following manifesto from Mr. B. G. Tilak for publication :

The Congress Democratic Party, as the name denotes, is a party animated by feelings of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Mahomedans for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Mahomedan dogmas and beliefs and the tenets of the Koran.

This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of man-kind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister-state with every other partner in the British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth and effective retaliation whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for enforcing the peace of the world, integrity of states, freedom and honor of nations and nationalities and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government and claims for the people of India on the principle of self-determination the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It regards the Montague Reform Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defect by introducing with the aid of the members of the labour party and other sympathisers in British Parliament at the earliest opportunity a New Reform Bill for establishing full Responsible government in India including full Military control and full fiscal freedom and an exhaustive declaration of rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and ener-

getic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watchword will be "Educate, Agitate and Organize."

This party proposes to work the Montague Reform Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full responsible government, and for this purpose it will, without hesitation, offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will.

Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the party platform will contain the following planks but it does not profess to be exhaustive :-

IMPERIAL.

1. Repeal of all repressive legislations (a. g. Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arms Act etc.); the introduction of trial by a jury of one's own countrymen especially in cases of offences against the State; the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences and jail reform with the view of placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain.

2. Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial, a fair share of the fruits of labour, a fair minimum wage, reasonable hours of work, decent house accommodation and adjustment of relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose.

3. Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessities of life by tariff or by other methods with a view of reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies.

4. Promotion of Swadeshim and Development of Indian Industries by all recognised methods including State subsidies and protective tariff.

5. Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working.

6. Retrenchment first and foremost in every department especially in the Military expenditure and taxation when imperative or desirable but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals so that the burden may be proportionate to the means or wealth of the taxpayer.

7. Creation of a citizen army, officered by Indians, naval, aerial and military education; commissions for Indians in all military services without racial discrimination.

8. Recruitment of all services by open competitive examinations in India.

9. Promotion of national unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India, betterment of relations between followers of different religions, and especially a Hindu Moslem Entente.

10. Readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis.

PROVINCIAL.

1. Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the provinces.

2. Permanent Ryotwari settlement on the basis of an equitable assessment.

3. Village control over reserved and protected forest in regard to pasturage, fuel, dealwood, and use of minor products.

4. Absolute prohibition of Veth, Bugar and Sarbarai.

5. Education through the vernaculars as high as possible.

6. Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex and special contributions and increased grants-in-aid

from state funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately.

7. Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and judicial powers.

8. Abolition of drink.

9. Extension of the franchise without sex distinction.

10. Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a minister of health.

11. Carrying out of departmental reforms already enumerated and approved by popular opinion, e. g. Agricultural development, extension of irrigation, the co-operative movement, Industrial and Technical Education suitable to the needs of the country—organised medical relief and encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine.

Upon this programme the party appeals for votes and support for candidates pledged to these principles with the fullest confidence of receiving an enthusiastic response so as to ensure victories in the coming election battles.

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A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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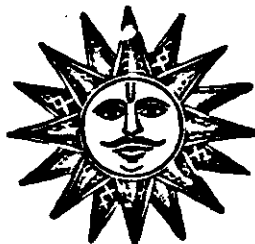
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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

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NOTES.

Indians in Burma: We commented last week on the absurdity of the demand by Bengalis domiciled in that province for separate representation in the Behar Legislative Council. We heartily associate ourselves with the following forcible observations which appeared in *Young India*, edited by Mr. Gandhi and published at Ahmedabad: "We have absurdities enough in India in communal representation being demanded by other small groups because the principle has been conceded in the case of Mahomedans. But when the cry for communal representation comes from Indians in Burma, the absurdity becomes criminal. We understand some Indians of Rangoon have pleaded for communal representation in the Burmese Council to be formed under the reforms. We do hope that the demand will be withdrawn before mischief is done. The Burman will have every right to resent any such separate treatment of Indian settlers there. We are in Burma as guests of the Burmese for their and our mutual good, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be our first consideration. As a friend correctly points out, the Indian demand would be like Gujratis or Marwaris claiming communal representation for themselves in the Bengal Council. Surely, Indians of Burma would have a right to enter the Burmese Council, only if they by force of ability and service can command the Burmese vote. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims in India which are against our interests, are bound to guard against desiring rights in Burma in conflict with the interests of the Burmans. And yet that is precisely what lies at the bottom of this demand for communal representation by Indian settlers. We, therefore, trust that wiser counsel will prevail and that we shall hear no more of communal representation for Indians in Burma."

Christian Missionaries and the Punjab Excesses: It is clear that, with increasing knowledge of facts, a strong feeling is growing among Christian Missionaries as to the unchristian barbarism of the Punjab excesses, and we trust that means will be found of communicating this to the authorities in England who are now considering the

action to be taken on the Hunter Committee's report. For this reason, we welcome Mr. Fraser's letter printed in another column. We are not surprised that Mr. Bosworth Smith's conduct moves him to indignation. The following deposition is taken from the Congress Sub-Committee's volume of evidence.

"The statement of Gurdevi, aged 40 years, of Manianwala, Tahsil Khangah Dogran, District Gujranwala—

One day, during the Martial Law period, Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the males of our village of over 8 years at the Pucca Dak Bungalow, which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. While the men were at the Bungalow, he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women who met him on the way carrying food for their men to the Bungalow. Reaching the village he went round the lanes and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village *Daira*. The women folded their hands before him. He beat some with his sticks and spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly uncovered the faces of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his own stick.

He repeatedly called us she asses, bitches, flies and swine and said: "you were in the same beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the police constables." He gave me a kick also and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms round the legs while being bent double.

This treatment was meted out to us in the absence of our men who were away at the Bungalow."

The Government of India and University Reform: The Calcutta University has addressed a strong representation to Government deprecating piecemeal legislation with reference to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, and requesting it, first, to have an estimate made and the funds provided before undertaking legislation to give effect to their proposals. The Registrar, writing on behalf of the Senate, observes: "The Commissioners have recommended that the existing Colleges should be broken up each into two divisions; what now constitutes the first and second-year classes will (with or without school classes attached) be transformed into Intermediate Colleges, while the present third and fourth-year classes will become constituent colleges. The Senate do not, at this stage, wish to pronounce an opinion on the question, whether this scheme is on academic grounds desirable, and whether such partition may not mean in many instances the abolition of the third and fourth year classes. The Senate wish now only to lay stress on the fact that the Commissioners themselves have pointed out that this will completely

dislocate the finances of every existing Institution, and they have furnished estimates, necessarily very rough, of the sums which will be required to effect the transformation. It is inconceivable, in the opinion of the Senate, that any responsible public authority (unless it intends to destroy suddenly the present system) can embark upon such reform, without investigation of the funds which will be required and which must be supplied before the change can be accomplished." In this connection, the *Bengalee* calls attention to the statement of the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Indian member of the Executive Council of the Bengal Government, presumably in charge of Education, in a recent speech. The Maharaja said: "The position of the Education Budget so far as Government is concerned is by no means satisfactory, and I fear it is going to be more unsatisfactory, when the financial settlements, arising out of the reforms are a *fait accompli*."

Total Prohibition in America: The January number of *Social Hygiene*, the quarterly journal published by the American Social Hygiene Association, New York, has an informing article by Miss Cora Frances Stoddard. She points out that those who regard the total prohibition movement as too sudden to be permanent, are wrong. The evolution of the anti-alcohol movement, she says, has proceeded for 145 years along perfectly clear and definitely marked lines of purposes. Briefly the stages are these: Opposition to drunkenness; moderation or abstinence in the use of distilled liquors, followed by moderation in the use of fermented beverages; total abstinence from personal use of all alcoholic beverages; restrictions on the liquor traffic; prohibition of some part or whole of the traffic; local, state, and national prohibition. This process may be and will probably be, as she says, shortened in other countries by the wider knowledge of the twentieth century of all aspects of the alcohol question and by observation of existing national experiments. The example of the United States will be one of the most important factors in this process of nationalisation. In view of the fact that all sections of Indian opinion are agreed that the alcohol question should be one of the first questions to be taken up for reform in the new Legislature, Miss Stoddard's article is well worth reading as a historical presentation of the progress from early stages of the total prohibition movement in the great Republic.

The English Public School in India: Attempts to transplant the English Public School into India are proving abortive. Newington in Madras had to be closed under painful circumstances with which the public are familiar. The Hastings High School, started five years ago in Calcutta for the benefit of children of the well-to-do classes, is in a bad way and the proposal to extend the experiment for two more years meets with opposition. The *Bengalee* writes: "Five years must be held a sufficiently long period to judge of an experiment. The verdict of the public is that failure is writ large on the whole institution, which the Government has gratuitously fastened upon the tax-payer. It is strange, therefore, that a provision has been made in the last Budget to the tune of fifteen thousand rupees for a Head Master of the School. We think it will be sheer waste of money to pay such fat emoluments to the head of an institution which serves no useful purpose whatever. More than a lakh of rupees has already been thrown away and it is neither proper nor reasonable that further good money is to be wasted on a project which has already turned out an abject and unmitigated failure. As the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Koy who called

attention to the subject in his Budget speech, pertinently observed: "A tree is known by its fruit. The boys who are being educated in the school have so far become neither fish, nor flesh nor good red herring." Why then is the institution to have a prolonged lease of existence?"

What is Truth? The *Indian Witness*, a Christian Missionary journal published in Lucknow, asserts in its issue of April 14th that "the boasted union of Hindus and Mahomedans seems more in the imagination of its advocates than in the actual relations of these communities. Both are divided among themselves on the questions at issue and are not likely to agree." On the other hand, the *Harvest Field*, also a Missionary organ, published in Mysore city, observes in its current number: "Among progressive Hindus the Christian as well as the Mahomedan is welcomed in all that pertains to the progress and prosperity of the fatherland. A marked change has taken place in the relations between non-Christians and Christians." The difference between the two views can be explained only by a difference in the angle of vision. It is curious that the Lucknow paper should assume the role of doubting Thomas, considering that the Congress-Moslem League compact—a landmark in history—was arrived at Lucknow which is also the home of Maulana Abdul Bari who shares with Mr. Gandhi the honour of bringing the Hindu-Moslem understanding to its present stage.

Eastern and Western Civilization: In his letter which we print to-day Mr. Sadanand says we identified the state of inertia which is the present day condition of India with Indian culture ignoring its essential and deeper aspects. What we actually said was: "Matter is inert and all energy is manifestation of the spirit. It follows on the face of it that the energetic civilization of the West is more spiritual than the inert civilization which that of the East has become." We were not speaking of Eastern culture deep-rooted in time but of the current Eastern civilisation. Mr. Sadanand's quotations from our previous articles show that we are not inappreciative of the deeper aspects of Indian culture. Then, as regards his objection to the statement that all energy is manifestation of the Spirit, this is surely an idea familiar to Indian religious culture. Siva has his terrific and benign aspects. The Gita demonstrates that the cosmic power is both destructive and creative, frightful and friendly in its several aspects. This is one of the deepest truths of that culture, which we, its inheritors, have forgotten.

Silver in India: With reference to the remarkable discovery of silver lode near Tata's Iron and Steel Works Ltd., an Associated Press correspondent who interviewed the Managing Agents of the Universal Ore Crushing Co. was able to obtain the following further interesting particulars. The Silver lode has been found in the Singhbhoon district, nine miles from Haludpur, Bengal Nagpur Railway, about 167 miles from Calcutta. Messrs T. M. Dowling Co. Managing Agents of the Universal Ore Crushing Co. hope to get to Calcutta 2000 oz. of silver to start with early in May. The output will be increased every week—and it is anticipated that Rs. 45,000 worth of silver will have been brought to Calcutta from the mines by the end of May. The discovery has been made in course of experiments made by Mr. Labell on behalf of the Universal Ore Crushing Co. The present discovery is the result obtained by the remarkable process for crushing ores for which Mr. Labell has got a patent.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 2, 1920.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

The decisions that the Conference of Prime Ministers at San Remo are reported to have reached, seem to be dictated more by the ambitions of the Powers which participated therein than by due regard to their consequences in Asia. These, however, are not final. The draft Peace Treaty will be presented to the Turkish delegation early next month, and we daresay any objections which that delegation may urge, will be considered, though it is improbable that they will lead to any material abatement of the sacrifices which Turkey will be called upon to make. It is as well to make up our minds that the final terms are likely to fall short of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge and the reasonable demands of responsible Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan publicists in India. The truth is that Europe has taken advantage of the association of Turkey with defeated Germany to carry out her age-long desire to turn out the last remnant of an Asiatic, non-Christian Power out of Europe. The protest against the employment of black troops in Europe though, when France was in imminent peril, these very black troops were welcomed with exuberant gratitude, is another proof that religious, race and colour prejudices are the most effectively operative part of European mentality at the present day. These prejudices are carefully clothed and concealed in the garb of civilisation and humanity, but these trappings deceive nobody except, perhaps, those who wish to deceive themselves. It cannot but be that an exclusive white Europe must needs stimulate a movement for an exclusive brown Asia and black Africa, and that, instead of nations, we shall have in future whole Continents organising themselves against one another. The politician, however, does not take long views. If he did, he will not be Prime Minister.

We much regret that the Government of India have applied the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the province of Delhi. Only one meaning can be attached to this step. It is well-known, that Lord Chelmsford's Government fully share the Indian point of view and have done their best to persuade His Majesty's Government to do likewise. Mr. Montagu has also fought for the full recognition of Indian sentiment in regard to Turkey. In these circumstances, the Government of India's action can only mean that they feel that the case has gone against them and are taking precautions against any upheaval of public feeling. So long as there was a chance of their strong representations on behalf of Turkey influencing the decisions of the Peace Conference, there was the probability that the excitement in India would die away when the terms were announced. We regard the action of the Government of India to be more ominous than the

reports of Reuter of the fate of Turkey. The attitude of the Afghan Amir, childish though it be in its bumptiousness, is a disquieting factor so far as the illiterate masses of Indian Mahomedans are concerned. In a recent speech, the Amir told his subjects that, in the event of the Peace Treaty being unfavourable to Turkey, the Mahomedan population of India had resolved to quit the country and that the Hindus had also resolved to follow them; His Highness naively offered a welcome to these three hundred and odd millions of intending emigrants to his extensive and fertile country. The Amir's Intelligence Department being so inventive or so stupid, it behoves the Indian press to inform him that it is extremely unlikely that there will be any appreciable strain on his proffered hospitality.

While we recognise these disquieting factors, we nevertheless feel that this is a time pre-eminently for a policy of patience and conciliation and that resort to repressive measures adds greatly to the difficulties of the position of those who are labouring, not without effect, to steady public feeling which is, undoubtedly, uneasy. Precautionary measures are necessary but repressive measures should be avoided. Repression is not prevention but provocation; it is punishment in anticipation of the offence; it is a sign of fear not of self-confidence; it is exhibition of nervousness at a time when, an exhibition of cool collectedness is the greatest statesmanship. We, therefore, most earnestly trust that the Government of India will not proceed further with repressive measures. There are forces at work which, if left to their own unembarrassed operation, will relieve the situation of its disturbing factors. Many of the most convinced and effective leaders in this process, are averse to publicity. There are, however, times when publicity is a duty. This is one of such. There is a time for speaking and a time to be silent. This is not the time to be silent. If half-a-dozen or a dozen of those whom we know to be profoundly dissatisfied with the trend of events, will but boldly speak out, they may incur much temporary unpopularity, but they will do the greatest service to the country by helping it to form a right judgment on the confused issues placed before it. Their position has been made well-nigh impossible by well-meaning enthusiasts who, in their laudable anxiety to take the people with them, have not been careful to keep apart the political and religious aspects of the Khilafat. The combination of politics and religion is a high explosive more dangerous, as a rule, to friends than to opponents. But the situation has to be faced courageously. Meanwhile, we think it our duty to point out that the extravagances of some of the prominent advocates of the movement, are causing acute apprehension in the minds of its non-Mahomedan friends and sympathisers. In the best interests of Hindu-Mahomedan unity, which we value as much as anybody else, we ought to say that exaggerated expectations such as wholesale emigration or "non-co-operation" can but end in disappointment and disunion. We understand that the Central Khilafat Committee will

shortly meet in Bombay. We take this opportunity of urging upon that body that non-Mahomedan co-operation will be most readily obtained and most easily retained by keeping the Turkish question as clear as possible of purely religious issues and by directing our appeal to the heart and conscience of humanity. Our object should be to create a world-opinion in favour of our just claims by exposing the falsehoods of our opponents and by placing the facts of the situation before all nations.

BOLSHEVISM.*

We have received a booklet entitled "Bolshevism, the Dream and the Fact" by Mr. Edmund Candler. The author says that it is the purpose of his book to answer the following questions: How did the Bolsheviks come to deserve this name? What did they set out to do? What have they effected? What would happen to us all if they were able to bring about the world revolution at which they are aiming? How is it that the saner folk of the countries they have ruined have not been able to hold them in check? The reader who likes to form his own independent judgment on facts and not to have his judgment formed for him by an author who professes to answer questions, will not fail to see that some of these questions are excellent illustrations of the logical fallacy the classical example of which is "Have you left off beating your mother?" We commend this pamphlet to our readers as being on the whole a fair-minded presentation of the official view of the great social and political phenomenon of our times known as Bolshevism. It is written in the spirit of a scientific enquirer combined with that of a political pamphleteer who, while at liberty to treat of Bolshevik ideals as liberally as he liked, was bound to find that in practical working they have been hideous failures. Hence the sub-title "The Dream and the Fact." Now, every one knows or ought to know that the Tsarist regime in Russia was a byword for autocratic tyranny and corruption quite as bad as if not worse—because more efficient—than that of the Sultan of Turkey, though, for reasons into which we need not enter here, the latter got all the abuse and the former was an honoured ally of Republican France as well as of Imperialistic Germany and latterly also of constitutional England. The Tsarist regime collapsed like a pack of cards under the weight of its own sins. A war is the most searching device for finding out a nation's sins. Then rose a man called Kerensky whom the Allies hailed as a great deliverer, but who seems to have been the modern counterpart of Rienzi. Kerenski's regime was overthrown by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. The Allies thereafter subsidised Koltchak, Denikin and other anti-Bolshevik leaders. For several months the world was fed with messages of the impending final triumph of these leaders. At one time, they were just on the point of taking Petrograd. At another time, Moscow was within an ace of falling into their hands. But these things did not happen. What happened was that the Bolsheviks

were able thoroughly to beat their enemies assisted though (or because) the latter were by foreign powers. Then Mr. Lloyd George, that wonder fully inspired British statesman, discovered the truth: "You can't fight an idea by steel and lead, you can't crush Bolshevism by force of arms." It is all very well for a paper statesman and strategist like Mr. Candler to write that "surgery might have saved the body politic (of Russia) if only the Allies had seized the opportunity to operate at once." It was a great mistake and, according to all accounts, it was against Mr. Lloyd George's better judgment, that the Allies, and Great Britain in particular, undertook to bolster up Denikin and Koltchak. Mr. Candler depicts these men as great idealists who failed because they were not well-versed in the arts of politics. History will judge them as persons who sought the help of foreign gold and foreign guns and foreign troops to dictate to the Russian people the form of Government that would be best for them. We confess we do not see the consistency of those who can find no language too strong to denounce Lenin, as a traitor on the assumption that he had been bribed by Germany, but who see no wrong in Denikin and Koltchak being subsidised by the Allies. It is but fair to Mr. Candler to say that he is not one of these. He has the candour to acknowledge that Lenin was an altogether different type of a man. He writes:

But we must give Lenin his due. None of these impressions of the man and his motives are correct. He believed in himself and his cause. He is a single-minded, fanatical idealist with an impracticable ideal. As for his pacifism, time has proved his iron will in war. He made terms with Germany because peace at the moment was essential for the intrigues by which he was preparing for the great class war. Lenin for the moment served Germany, but it would be the greatest mistake to think of him as a tool in her hands, as nothing more than a corrupt agent suborned by the love of gold. Lenin used Germany and her gold but he had no love for her . . . And in the end he tricked Germany by undermining the morale of her Army and preparing the way for her collapse. The poison with which the Germans treacherously infected Russia through Lenin re-acted upon themselves.

If it is true that Lenin prepared the way for the collapse of Prussianism, he did a great service to the Allies who were intent on doing the same thing. And it is true. General von Hoffman was reported to have said that Foch might think himself the conqueror of Germany if he liked, but that the real victor over her was Lenin. The fact is that Bolshevism is not the invention of Lenin or any man. It is the inexorable product of the economic system which dooms the millions to a life of ill-requited toil in order that a few thousands may revel in luxury. Germany was not the only country where this system existed though there it was worked with German thoroughness and became something of a fetish. The Allies, wished to win the war and yet cling to the system which culminated in the war. This is impossible. You cannot control cosmic forces according to your own convenience. The war was one of nations outwardly, it was really a war of ideals. The common people who gave their lives in thousands and millions

* The Oxford University Press, price 15 annas.

would never consent any longer to slave for the profiteers whom the war helped to double and treble their fortunes. Bolshevism is a drastic remedy for a dangerous disease. Neither capitalism nor communism is the true solution of Europe's economic problem. The Allies are finding this out for themselves as regards capitalism. Lenin has been doing the same as regards his communism. The distinguished American publicist, Mr. Norman Hapgood, has an informing article in the current number of *Asia*—which is a Russia number—in which he honestly attempts an estimate of the Lenin regime "nothing extenuating nor ought setting down in malice." That he does not believe in it himself, goes without saying. He is glad that the Allies have changed their policy and he observes that Lenin too has gradually modified his. He points out that Lenin is a practical man as well as an idealist, and he will give up much to have his experiment continued. Here are some of the modifications Lenin has adopted under the stress of practical considerations.

Communism denies the right to land. But the peasants demanded land. And they got it.

Communism denies unusual rewards for directive ability. To-day the Soviet Government is offering large salaries to skilled technical industrial directors.

Communism denies private exploitation of resources. The Soviet Government has offered great concessions to capitalists in return for aid in building railroads.

Communism would place industry under democratic control. The communities of ignorant peasants and workmen that took over factories in 1917 and brought chaos, have been supplanted by skilled technical directors.

And, finally, communism would abolish a bourgeoisie. Bolshevism, indeed, swept away the old bourgeoisie. But to-day, a new class of property holders has already sprung into being.

Mr. Hapgood traces the "nationalisation of women" story to its origin, and shows how, knowing that it was false, it was utilised by the enemies of the Bolsheviks to discredit them. Mr. Candler, we see, is silent about it, although he dwells in detail on the nationalisation propaganda of the Bolsheviks. As for atrocities, the reader who wants to know them in their true perspective, should read Mr. Candler's book and Mr. Hapgood's article together. The latter admits there were atrocities. But while Mr. Candler calls the leaders fiends in human form, Mr. Hapgood observes: "That brigands were at large in Russia there is no doubt, that their power became greater as the situation became worse is clear; but to charge the original Bolshevik leaders with low motives is simply to prostitute our own minds." We shall deal in another article with that part of Mr. Candler's pamphlet which relates to India.

THE PROBLEM OF MISSIONS IN INDIA I.

(BY THE REV. WILBUR BRENNER STOVER.)

In the discussion of the question of Missions in India, which has been introduced into the *Indian Social Reformer*, there is much that can be said on both sides, in the saying of which, the greatest

frankness and candidness is essential. Mr. Manilal Parekh is to be commended for the frank and candid way in which he has approached the subject. It is one that very greatly interests missionaries. It is interesting to all reformers, to all who seek the higher welfare of all the people in the land, to all Christians.

I fear we must all agree that the number of proletarians is too great. Of simple hangers-on, even one is too many. The word proletariat is French, with its given meaning: "The indigent class in the State." In ancient Roman usage it meant "A citizen of the lowest class, who served the state, not with property but only by having children; hence, a common person." The proportion of common people who make up the Christian fold, and who look to the Mission for promotion is too great. All know it would welcome any suggestion of an adjustment leading to a more independent life of the community, both temporal and spiritual. The utter need is the only excuse of the missionary for becoming often too helpful to many of those by whom he finds himself surrounded. He endeavors honestly to get something done. He is here for work. He is willing to work. He is no stranger to sacrifice, though he rarely ever speaks of it to any but his most intimate friends. When he finds himself surrounded by people, the great majority of whom are the common people, what else can he do but preach the Gospel to them, even as to others? If he fail to do so, he could hardly be said to walk in the footsteps of the Master, of whom it was said "the common people heard him gladly." And when we admit that the greatest number of converts come to the Church from the common people, we admit a truth common in history from the time of our Lord Jesus until now. And while this is true that the larger number is from the common people, yet it has been stated that the per cent of higher caste people accepting Christ and becoming Christian is larger than the per cent of the common people who do the same. Per cent of course, is reckoned on the community from which they come.

We must admit that very often when a man becomes Christian he materializes. By this I mean to say that he begins to think more of material things than he formerly thought. Formerly, very often it was not his part to think, but merely to do the work assigned to him. Now he thinks, and becomes a better or worse citizen, according to circumstances. The blame for this sort of materialization must be thrown not so much on to the state into which he has come, as on to that from which he has escaped. In the same way many persons from certain Czar-ridden countries come to America and develop into anarchists—and America is the best country in the world!

We heartily endorse the remark that a true Church of Christ cannot be formed without suffering and even martyrdom. With a Christian Church in a Christian land, it is different. There ideals are different, they are much higher. But in a non-Christian land it is true. Over and over does the missionary tell his people "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the

Church." Frequently does the preacher impress the words of the Master, "If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me." And I have this hope for myself, and this confidence in the Indian Christian Community, that if the severest test should come, even as it has come to many others, that very very many should make the supreme sacrifice, and give their lives as a witness to their faith rather than deny the Master and live.

Again I take pleasure in finding much to uphold the soundness of the Hindu heart. To accept truth and reject any caricature of that truth, to accept a high standard of ethics and refuse to compromise that standard, to put little value on a tradition that has nothing to recommend it but the fact that it is traditional, these are characteristics of soundness of heart wherever found.

But I fear I must differ from any brother who expresses the thought that no more great souls are coming forward to openly follow Christ as in former days. I think this opinion is dangerously pessimistic. Greatness is not usually ascribed to men until late in life, after they have proven themselves, or even after they have passed away. I confess I am optimistic in this as in other matters, for I incline to the idea that when this age has passed away, history will show its great minds as in any other age. When James G. Blaine died, men said that the last of America's great statesmen had passed away. But Roosevelt followed, and he was greater than Blaine. It may be that Mr. Parekh himself is one of the great men in the making, though he cannot but feel that I am flattering him when I say this. I do not mean it as flattery. The great men of the present time will be known in the years which are to follow, and no age passes without developing a modest share of them.

The marriage question among Christians is purely a personal matter. If the contracting parties are well pleased, others usually are. Doubtless there are exceptions, but I have never personally known or even heard of a case where a missionary pressed a convert of high caste to marry a convert of low caste. If such an arrangement be made by the voluntary choice of the parties concerned, and they are mentally well adapted the one to the other, the missionary will not likely object to the wedding, but he has neither reason nor need to plan such adjustments. What we missionaries would like of our fellow Christians, those who come from high-castes are, not that they should become like low caste converts at all, but that they like ourselves, should play the part of the big brother, and help those who are down to come up higher.

As to eating or not eating a flesh diet, the brief of the whole question, as viewed from the Christian standpoint generally, is summed up in the words of Scripture: "For the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

CIVIC BIOLOGY.*

Messrs. Clifton F. Hodge and Jean Dawson have in their book named "Civic Biology" (Ginn and Co., Boston) analysed man's duty in civic co-operation, in Health problems, for greater production, for the conservation of forest resources, for the study of birds, animals and insects and for the protection of such as are friendly and for the extermination of those enemies of mankind like rats, mosquitoes, disease Bacteria, insect pests etc. and for the culture of Bees and insects friendly to man. One wonders whether such a systematic adoption of Civic Biology will be possible in this country.

In India, we are suffering enormous losses—in destruction of natural resources, in unfruitful labour in damage to property, in preventable disease, due to lack of proper civic organisation. What the authors, Messrs. Hodge and Dawson, say, apply with particular force to India. "One ignorant or careless member of the community may kindle a forest fire or clear a watershed that will cause a water famine over an extensive territory. He may permit insects or vermin to breed, or allow fungi and bacteria to grow, that will cause great damage to property and disease and even loss of life among his neighbours." In America, rats are said to cause a loss of 500 millions dollars annually. The loss on agricultural products and household properties caused by insect pests is estimated at 1,500 millions of dollars annually. We can easily imagine how many times more must be the loss in India which seems to be the favourite home of rats, insects etc. The loss in India due to white ants and rats alone can be put at crores of Rupees. While we tolerate where we ought to control or exterminate such injurious forces, we take no steps to save those species of great value in birds, in game birds, in animals and in plants and trees.

The time has therefore come in the interests of the body politic to create in the minds of the younger generation a spirit of keen enquiry and research into the things round us. Let therefore young boys develop their own hobbies and study a few typical problems that affect the life of the community. In the book, we are given illustrations of two boys raising their own crop of bushels of nuts like walnuts etc, of a boy having killed 10,211 flies in a day, and again of a normal school class surveying mosquito-breeding places and collecting mosquitoes. We have often read in the American papers of boys competing to rear the fattest pig or the most milk-yielding cow or the most woolly sheep or raise the largest number of fruit in his garden. In India such things are still to be. Let therefore the young men take to the study of such problems. In the words of the authors, "copy into a note-book the names of all the birds, insects, fishes, trees and so on which you want to study. Make observation throughout the year, the study of habitats, the struggle for life as seen in dense wood, the migration of birds and recognition of trees, birds and common plants." The main laboratory for this course is the out-of-

doors—the yard, garden and orchard, streets and roadsides, pastures, fields, woods, streams, lakes, hills and swamps (I might add, sea coasts). Thousands of interesting things are happening out there all the while and it is there the students must go if he would really learn his lessons." And then there are the insects with their larvae and pupae dealing destruction to man, fruits, trees, etc. Thus we find the book is teeming with suggestions on birds, bird study, tree study and civic forestry, on fruit and nut trees and herbs planting, on the Biology of agricultural production including cows, sheep and poultry and honey-bee culture and on the problems of Fish and Fishing. Likewise, we are given suggestions regarding the mosquitoes, flies, rats, fungi, animal parasites like mites and ticks, and on the destruction of poisonous reptiles. Most of these have already been adopted in America by young and old and, as a consequence, they have not only an Arbor Day but also an Apple Day and a Bird Day. The authors suggest even a Fishes Day. There is no reason why we should not have such days for the culture and protection of plants, trees and Birds. Some Governor or Governor's wife who is keen on any of these problems, can call for a Day to be fixed for some such beneficent purpose on a wide-spread scale. It is time we have an Arbor Day when all would plant trees. That Day might include the planting of timber trees or trees for adorning one's garden or landscape, of fruit trees and plants and might include sericulture and Honey Bee culture. A Cattle Day might be started for cows, bulls, sheep, horses etc. Likewise the Fishes Day. Why not a rat Day or mosquito day?

There is no other way of arresting the indifference to the destruction of natural resources of trees, etc. and of enthusing people into following some useful tastes or hobbies. As has been said by J. A. Thomson in his Introduction to science: "From man's first emergence, perhaps, the herbs and the trees, the birds and the beasts sent tendrils into his heart, claiming and binding kinship." The State too has a duty to perform in this matter. Instead of hampering and annoying people by having tree taxes and by inventing new taxes like percolation taxes, it can borrow a leaf from the ways of the Canadian and U. S. A. Governments. "The National Bureau of Forestry and your State Forester print a number of practical bulletins and forestry leaflets, which may be obtained gratis or at cost. These will give directions for gathering, storing and planting different tree seeds and even young seedling trees may be obtained in State or (in Canada) from provincial departments of forestry. *Since the planting of trees is an important public service, States are beginning to pass laws exempting land so planted from taxation. Massachusetts and New York exempt for thirty five years all lands on which not fewer than twelve hundred trees are planted to the acre. (Italics mine).*

It is to be greatly hoped that in the new Era of Education, arising whether as a result of the Sadler Commission or of the Reforms, the young men will be trained in the field of naturalistic knowledge and

research and ample scope and encouragement will be afforded to them. Is it too much to hope that, at least, in the University of Benares, situated as it is on the lovely banks of Mother Ganges and commanding as it does a wide area—thanks to the munificence and generosity of H. H. The Maharajah of Benares—a spirit of such scientific enquiry and research and of healthy rivalry and competition to raise cattle and grow trees and study insects or birds, will prevail amongst its votaries? All through India, tanks and ponds are there waiting for fish culture and study of fishes, lakes waiting for young and old to boat, and row and to angle for fish, our wealth of bird life and insect life waiting to be preserved or studied, hillsides and plains waiting for tree planting or pasture raising, valleys for fruit trees growing and our vast sea-shore for the study of sea life. It is thus the nation will become healthier and happier and richer too and science also will receive a sounder footing. While concluding, the writer may, with pardonable pride, mention that he is fond of planting trees and has himself planted trees that, whenever opportunity occurs, he is fond of climbing up hills and hillocks or rowing in lakes and that he has observed, though on a small scale only, the ways of birds and ants—which last have afforded him considerable amusement.

T. S. K.

A Railway Disaster: At about 2-30 a.m. on the 26th instant, a serious collision occurred near Mewa Nawada station, on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, near Moradabad, between the No. 3 up Allahabad-Dehra-Dun Express and a goods train. Three bogie carriages caught fire. It is feared that the loss of life has been serious, and it is reported that fifty passengers have been killed and fifty injured. Particulars of the accident show that she ran into the rear of a goods train standing outside Mewa Nawada station, four stations beyond Moradabad at 2-30 a.m. on Monday morning. The passenger engine was badly damaged and one brake and four third class bogies were smashed and burnt. The casualties are estimated at about 107, viz. 50 killed and about 57 injured. They include one brakeman killed and one fireman injured. The driver escaped. A preliminary inquiry took place on Monday.

The Triple Anniversary of Buddha: The Mahabodhi Society celebrates to-day (Sunday the 2nd May, 1920,) the Holy Baisak celebration of the thrice sacred festival of the 2544th anniversary of the Birth, the 2509th anniversary of the Attainment of Buddhahood and the 2464th anniversary of the Maha-parinirvana of the Tathagata Sakya Muni Gautama Buddha, at the Theosophical Hall, College Square, Calcutta.

Repatriated Emigrants: A Government of India Press Note states: The following particulars regarding the repatriation of Indian emigrants who are entitled to receive free or assisted passages back to India are published for general information. The S. S. "Sutlej" arrived from British Guiana at Calcutta on December 21st conveying 867 repatriated emigrants. The S. S. "Ganges" arrived at Calcutta on March 7th conveying 871 Indian emigrants from Trinidad. The Fiji Government reports that 960 emigrants have applied for repatriation and that a ship has been chartered which was expected to leave the Colony in March. No definite news has yet been received from Jamaica or Surinam, and the Government of India are making further enquiries in the matter.

PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE, SHOLAPUR.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Provincial Social Conference sat till late in the night of Saturday the 3rd of April 1920. After the presidential address, three resolutions were put from the chair and unani- mously carried. The first resolution recorded the deep sorrow of the Conference at the death of Lady Chandavarkar, who had greatly helped the women's movement in the coun- try. This resolution was passed in silence, the whole assembly standing. The second resolution thanked His Majesty the King-Empress, Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha for the Reform Act, which was sure to afford great opportunities for the promotion of social reform. The third resolution approved of the Amritsar Conference Resolution which aimed at widening the scope of Social Progress in all directions.

ABOLITION OF CASTE.

The fourth resolution, which was moved by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale of Satara, was as follows:—

"In the opinion of this Conference the institution of caste is detrimental to social solidity and national progress, and therefore it urges all to make every endeavour towards its abolition."

Rao Bahadur Kale in a few words emphasised the neces- sity of abolishing the caste system in the Hindu Society, which was responsible for so many evils. Mr. M. D. Altkar of Bombay seconded. The resolution was carried.

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

The fifth resolution ran as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this Conference the compulsory primary education of girls is an urgent necessity, in order to begin the programme of the all round progress of Indian womanhood, and it urges on all local bodies, Government and the public at large, to work strenuously and earnestly to achieve this end."

The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, in moving the resolution, said that the question under discussion was of supreme importance in that it has thrown on the people the responsi- bility of educating themselves. Just as food and water were necessary for the upkeep of the body, so also, education was necessary for the improvement of the human mind.

After being duly seconded and supported by Messrs. Kanitkar Kothari and Bagade the resolution was carried.

IMPROVEMENT OF VILLAGE LIFE.

Next, the following resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat and supported by Mr. B. M. Sane was passed:—

"In the opinion of this Conference the various items of improvement in village life, such as suitable education, sanitary improvement, better medical relief, supply of cheap stuffs, child welfare and economic betterment deserve to be attended to, and it recommends that the establishment of co-operative credit societies will largely facilitate rural improvement in the directions mentioned above. It therefore appeals both to the Government and the people to vigorously push on the co-operative movement."

CIVIL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.

The following resolution was put from the chair and carried:—

"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has come when the legal disabilities and disqualifications attaching to women in the Hindu Law, as administered at present, lead- ing to social injustice, should be removed and with that view, a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed, with power to add to their number, the Secretaries

of the National Social Conference being ex-officio members and the Secretaries of the Committee; Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt. (Chairman), the Hon. Mr. G.K. Parekh, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the Hon'ble Principal R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. K. Natarajan, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale of Satara, and Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Nilkanth of Ahmedabad.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSITION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Next Mrs. Besant moved the following resolution:— "In the opinion of this Conference the most effective remedy to improve the position of the Depressed Classes is the removal of untouchability as it stands in the way of their social, moral and intellectual progress." Mrs. Besant, in moving the resolution, said that in the Madras Presidency, where she lived, and especially on the West Coast, the treatment given to the members of the Depressed Classes was very shocking. Many of the public roads were closed to them. If any member of the Panchama community happened to pass by a public road by ignorance or oversight, he was subjected to very harsh treatment at the hands of the so-called higher castes. It was a scandal that some human beings should be treated in this way. Concluding, Mrs. Besant said: "Whenever we speak to an autocrat we should be courteous. We should not order them to do such and such a thing. They too are the sons and daughters of the same mother. The land is theirs as well as ours. Whenever we meet them, whether it is in the Council or in our common work of public utility we should meet them as brothers and then and then only our work of political regeneration will be smoothly carried out." The speaker was loudly applauded when she finished her speech.

Mr. Jannadze Dworkadas seconded the resolution which was unanimously carried.

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN.

For want of time the following resolutions were put from the Chair and carried with acclamation:—

1. "That in the opinion of this Conference more liberal and adequate facilities should be given to girls and women for their higher education by the establishment of Anglo-Vernacular Schools upto the fifth standard at the headquarters of the district, and additional high schools in prominent places in the presidency and adequate hostel accommodation for women students for the development of full social life in colleges where they are admitted."

2. "That in the opinion of this Conference and in view of of the recent awakening among women, women should be granted the franchise if they satisfy the ordinary qualifications of a voter."

3. "That in the opinion of this Conference the improve- ment of women should be helped by the establishment of institutions like the Seva Sadan, the Vanita Vihar, the Shrivikasram, etc. so as to enable them to secure full facilities of useful and practical education, etc."

4. (a) In the opinion of this Conference facilities should be given to widows for remarriage and widows' homes on the lines of the one maintained by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association should be started. (b) In the case of those widows who do not choose to marry, ample facilities should be given to them for training in practical and useful ways for which institutions should be started.

WATER CHARITY.

5. "That in the opinion of this Conference the present methods of charity should be improved and the money at present wasted in feeding and supporting the idle and undeserving beggars should be utilised to start in every

district town on an organised basis charitable institutions like orphanages, homes for the homeless, refugees and infirmaries to provide for the needs of the really helpless and needy section of the population.

PROPAGANDA AND LABOUR.

In view of the work that is contemplated to be organised by the National Social Conference all over the country, by appointing a Council of about a hundred leaders of social reform, the Conference resolved that associations should be started in various districts of the Presidency to help in the propaganda of social reform.

7. The Conference resolved that in view of the present and growing unrest among the labouring classes, attempts should be made by the employers of labour, Government and leaders of public opinion to bring about a satisfactory settlement with regard to the following urgent needs of labour (1) Hours of work, (2) surroundings of work, (3) housing, (4) wages, (5) technical education, (6) hours of child labour and their education, (7) hours of women labour and their special needs, (8) compensation for injuries and participation in profits, (9) means of improving their health, (10) adequate facilities for sports, physical exercise and enlightenment and social life, (11) establishment of a provident fund or pensions, (12) co-operative institutions for the redemption of old debts and the supply of cheap capital and clean and good foodstuffs.

CHILD WELFARE.

8. Resolved that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford and H. E. the Hon'ble Lady Lloyd deserve the best thanks for their most praiseworthy efforts in educating public opinion regarding the means of infant and child welfare for which they organised at Delhi and Bombay respectively most successful exhibitions to spread useful and beautiful ideas with a view to the reduction of infant mortality and the Conference recommends that similar efforts should be made to start centres of infant and child welfare in as many places as possible.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

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

As a missionary, may I say how thoroughly I believe we deserve not the gentle criticism you have meted out to us, but the severest condemnation for our moral hebetude in the matter of the Punjab atrocities. Once General Dyer had given the evidence, the crime of massacre was proved up to the hilt, whether it was he or the civil authorities that were guilty. But we should have known it from the beginning if we were living amongst the people for the sake of the people, and should have proclaimed the facts as such. We have lost, and deservedly lost, the confidence of the people by our contemptible ignorance and inaction. And we are blood-guilty in that we have by our silence condoned the crimes committed in the Punjab.

But the silence over the Amritsar massacre is not to my mind as astounding as that over atrocities such as those committed by Mr. Bosworth-Smith, Mr. Wathen, not a missionary, spoke out, and Mr. Andrews who does not live in the Punjab, and some missionaries, showed sympathy with the people. But our body was silent as against machine-gunning villagers, thrashing school boys chosen at random, and worst, insults to women. I cannot conceive how any missionary living near a district in which such things were done could avoid his duty of making inquiries and protesting against such crimes, especially if he belonged to a free nation himself.

The plea has been advanced that the brutality saved a greater conflagration and so many lives. It may have done so for the time being, but I do not believe that brutality ever yet was really even expedient in the long run. Germany has not proved it so, nor Turkey. But even were it expedient it is none the less evil, and no missionary should excuse it on such a ground. True, in the New Testament, we are told that judicial and judicious murder to save other lives is wise, but it is Caiaphas and not Christ that says so; and the adoption of his principle crucified Christ.

I believe our silence in this matter has crucified the son of God afresh and put Him, through us, to an open shame.

As to the punishment of the arch-criminals, your attitude as voicing Indians is right and noble, but those of us who belong to the race that is guilty must use our best endeavour to wipe the stain from our shield, and to endeavour to exact such punishment as may serve as a deterrent for the future.

Kodaikanal,

Yours faithfully,

22nd April, 1920.

A. G. FRASER.

IS WESTERN CIVILIZATION SPIRITUAL?

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

I yield to none in my appreciation of the energetic aspect of the western civilization, especially its greatness actively dominant in social and political life and in science and art. I am also only too painfully conscious of the present-day inert aspect of the Indian civilization. And further, I do feel with you, that, as you observe in your thought-provoking article on "the Poet's Message" in the *Reformer* of the 18th instant, "the root cause of all our woes is that we have become a people of little faith." (Italics mine) Foreign domination, economic, intellectual and political, is a consequence, not a cause. That being so, at the present time, when in the domain of Indian politics, we shall be passing from a stage of mere criticism to one of some responsibility, the problem of the relative value of the western and Indian civilisations loses its academic aspect and becomes a question of practical and national interest. It is certainly to be guilty of "little faith" to identify the state of inertia which is the present-day condition of India with its accompaniments of mental and moral sloth with Indian culture, ignoring its essential and deeper aspects. The vital problem in India is not so much political as it is cultural, the real task, before political and social reformers being one of rehabilitation of Indian culture, shorn of its dead forms to suit modern conditions. The alleged *raison d'être* of all foreign domination is the "cultural superiority" of the dominating power and its duty to raise the ruled to the cultural level, religious, moral and intellectual of these world rulers. The moral is obvious. Either the claim to cultural superiority of the west which alone can morally justify Britain's denial of political liberty to India, until she has submitted to the process of being westernised and made "civilised," according to western standard of culture, is true; or it is all only a cover to the economic and political exploitation. Truth is a jealous mistress and facts cannot be both ways. Personally I hold that racial, religious and political causes are at the bottom of the attempts at the cultural conquest of India. And if in the pursuit of the phantom of political liberty which the Reform scheme may seem to promise, we fail to make Indian culture

*Vide your remarks in your article on "the poet's message" *Reformer* page 522 col 2.

the standard of our national progress, we shall only be the unwitting instruments of denationalisation of the people and our country. The living force of Indian culture amongst the masses of India who form the major population, in spite of its lack of ostentatious manifestations, is so throbbing with energy that decades of foreign rule have still failed in forcing its culture on them. The English-educated Indians are the only sure tools that can effectively, though slowly, help in the west's cultural conquest of India.

To return to the question of relative value of the western and Indian civilizations, my task is made easy by agreement between us on the question of the superiority of spiritual force to material force. The fundamental characteristic of a spiritual civilization is its enthronement of the ideal of service and sacrifice as the law of Being and the repudiation of all ideas of self-aggrandisement in whatever form. It is no exaggeration to say that India is the only land where this ideal of service has been and continues to be a living force in its many walks of life. Life was taught to be regarded and has come to be regarded as a mission of service and sacrifice as the true ways of worship of the Lord or the Divine Self, the goal striven after being the attainment of Peace and Good-Will on earth. The acceptance of this ideal itself would account for the absence of energetic manifestations in India as it excludes competition or the struggle for existence which underlies most of west's energetic activities. The mere fact that a civilization is energetic in its expression is no criterion of its spiritual character. Even brute force, as for instance, militarism, is energetic in its expression. To concede that all things that are energetic are spiritual is akin to subscribing to the fallacy that "all that glitters is gold." Judged by the criterion of its harmony with its religion—Christ's Gospel, the western civilization certainly cannot lay any claim to be spiritual, for it cannot be denied that irreligion is one of the chief cankers that is eating into the vitality of the west. If western civilization is to be judged by the fruit it has borne, it is difficult not to agree with Mr. George Peol's statement (the Future of England" 169) that in Europe History and Homicide are undistinguishable terms and that the unfolding of the Christian religion in the west has been an unparalleled record of fighting and slaughter aiming at worldly triumph or with the great sociologist Mr. Benjamin Kidd's approving comment thereon that civilization has not yet arrived, for that of the west is "as yet scarcely more than glorified savagery. But bloodshed is not all. For it is unsoiling and unboned when compared with some things which have gone on in peace."

To digress here a little, I have many a time asked myself the question, if Christ comes on earth again, where will he find recognition and acceptance? My answer has been, decidedly in the East. As regards the West's attitude, though the analogy is not on all fours, I cannot help taking for its answer what the Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan wrote of Mr. Epstein's statue of the "Risen Christ" as applicable to my question. The Rev. Father wrote:—

"Some one has observed that if Christ should cross the threshold we should kneel down and revere Him but let me add, if Mr. Epstein's horror in bronze were to spring into life and appear in a room, I for one should fly from it in dread and disgust lest perhaps he might pick my pockets or worse do some deed of violence in keeping with his Bolshevik appearance."

On this, you rightly observed, in your interesting and instructive article on "Art in Religion" in the Reformer of 25 March:

"Surely if Christ came today, He would not be found in the drawing room which the Rev. Father denounces with such knowledge and acceptance but in India, Egypt or in Bolshevik Russia where there are so many weak and outcasts. What the Rev. Father's soul yearns for is not Christ, but the fashionable padra—such as a Society lady will be proud to exhibit in her salon."

Kindly forgive me, if I am doing you an injustice. But what similarly your soul yearns for, confining myself to your article on the "Poet's Message" is not so much the beauty of spiritual culture which the western civilization is lacking as its chief characteristic but the beauty of material from which the west in its energetic aspect presents. I recognise the

need for India's assimilation of the energetic—the better—aspect of the western civilization but the ground work of all progress in India must be based solely on Indian culture alone.

Before concluding, I must also take exception to your saying "With many of us who decry western civilization, it is as often as not the story of the fox and the sour grapes. We would like to have all the advantages of its material and political power but since we have them not and are perplexed as to how we can acquire them, we denounce them as unworthy of our wonderful spiritual civilization."

The western civilization in its present grossly materialistic form stands self-condemned and does not need the Indian to join in the outcry against it. There is a slow reaction against the allegiance to material power in the west which is sure to gather momentum with the advance of times. Let us not, Indians, in our reaction against the inertia and the sloth of ours commit the mistake of "hitching our (Indian's) wagon" to the waning star of western materialistic cult which is bound to be suicidal. India must make her choice between the spiritual and materialistic cultures. Her own culture is a spiritual one and the message she has to deliver and the mission she has to perform, are, as they ought to be, spiritual in character. And the sooner the English-educated Indians recognise this the better, for then they will be working in harmony with and not in opposition to, the great dynamic power that is in the hands of the masses of India to whom, Sir George Birdwood pays the deserving tribute of being "the caskets" in which Indian culture is preserved in its purity. Let us, for goodness sake, outgrow our "little faith" and realise in our heart of hearts "the power of Truth (true culture) that is in the hands of great masses of our countrymen and use it well for the glorification of God and not for self-aggrandisement."

S. SADANAND,

Bombay, 21st April 1920.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Reformer" will, be Rs. 7-8-0 instead of Rs. 5 from the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound sterling instead of twelve shillings as hereto. All new subscriptions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1st April will be at the new rates. Those who are in arrears to whom reminder cards are sent on the 1st May will please note that if they do not pay the arrears before the 30th May, 1920 they will be charged at the enhanced rates.

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12 months Deposits received at 5% per annum. Long and Short period Deposits received at rates to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted.

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA, Manager.

25-2-17

THE BANK OF TIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 37,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	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. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ,, 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ,, 66,00,000.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules 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,

Manager.

15-1-11.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar. Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 1897

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Naysari Meshana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 60,00,000.
Capital Paid up ,, 20,00,000.
Reserve Fund ,, 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Somaldas, C. I. E., Chairman
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadaa, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalker, Sur Subba, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 500 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. 5 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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. BUNDLE,—General Manager. 15-4-12.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)
Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 48,000,000.
Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 23,100,000.

Head Office:—Yokohama.

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Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and Interest is allowed at the rate of 3 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

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I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17,

Post Box No. 406, Clive street, Calcutta

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA. LIMITED.

(REGISTERED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES' ACT OF 1913.)

At Bombay the 11th November, 1919.
REGISTERED OFFICE.

7, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	Rs.	5,00,00,000
ISSUED CAPITAL		4,00,00,000
PAID-UP CAPITAL		60,00,000

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

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Sir Hukamchand Sarupchand, Kt., Banker, Indore.
Seth Sitaram Kisondayal Podar of Messrs. Cheniram Jearaj.
Seth Dulichand Ramkuwar Dalmia of Messrs. Mamraj Rambhagat.

Seth Kedarnal Bhuramal Ladya of Messrs. Gulabrai Kedarnal.

Seth Lachhmandas Harakchand Daga, Munim of R. B. Bansilal Abirchand.

Seth Shivnarayan Bakshiram Nemani.

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Hansraj Pragjee Thackeray, Esq.

Umar Sobani, Esq.

M. S. Captain, Esq.

Ag. Secretary Bisheshwar Nath Bhargava, Esq. B. A. LL.B.
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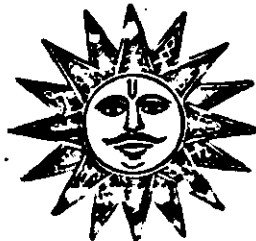
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Sir S. L. Batchelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. H. G.
Wall, M. V. O., Col. R. H. Forman, B. A. M. C., P. M.
O. Co. Brigade, Lieut. Col. G. H. Bull, M. D., I. M. S.,
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BRANCHES: Baramati (Dist. Poona) Islampur
(Dist. Satara.)

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj
(Chairman), Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the Hon. Mr.
ofalubhai Samaldas, the Hon. Mr. O. V. Mehta, the Chief
L. Ichalkaranji, G. K. Devadhar, Esq., the Raja Saheb of
Malegaon, A. H. Byrt Esq., Nanabhai Tullockchand Esq
Share Capital (full 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 undersigned.

2 Current Accounts are opened for Co-operative Societies and
institutions working for their benefit. Interest is allowed at
2 1/2% on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 25,000 and 2% on
balances over Rs. 25,000.

3 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies
in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the
Register, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

4 Accounts are audited by a special Government
Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are
published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

20-5-17. **VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.**

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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.

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22-6-19.

THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1920. No. 36.

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

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NOTES.

Englishmen in India and the Punjab Excesses: General Dyer of Jallianwalla fame has had to resign his command. He told an interviewer in England that

it was his "horrible and dirty duty" to give order to fire at Amritsar. If he had done wrong, he should be court-martialled. Instead he had been ordered to go, although he had not been told to resign his commission. While the authorities were twelve months in deciding about him he had only thirty seconds to decide at Amritsar. He declared that every Englishman in India approved his act and emphasised that if he had not fired, his little force would have been swept away. He stated that the Hunter Commission consisting of three (four?) white men of whom one had no knowledge of India and three Indians had apparently condemned him. He considered he ought to have an opportunity to defend himself.

The General told the Hunter Committee that he had a "horrible duty" to perform. He has now realised that it was also a "dirty" duty. Before the Committee, he rather boasted that "he had thought about the matter and don't imagine it took me more than 30 seconds to make up my mind as to what my duty was." In London it was rather in a tone of self-pity that he says "he had only thirty seconds to decide at Amritsar." It would be time when we have the report and evidence of the Hunter Committee before us, to go into these discrepancies. But there is no need to wait till then to refute the General's assertion that every Englishman in India approved of his act. The Rev. A. G. Fraser's letter which we published last week shows that there is at least one Englishman in India who does not approve of the act. As a matter of fact there are several others who do not approve of it and our complaint has been that they had not spoken out as they should have. However that may be, the following emphatic repudiation by the *Times of India* relieves us of the necessity of dwelling further on this painful matter. Our contemporary wrote in its issue of the 6th instant under the heading "A Libel":

Brigadier-General Dyer is reported to have declared that every Englishman in India approved his act. This is a lie. We have met no Englishman in India, official or non-official, who approved his act; on the contrary wherever this tragedy has been discussed, in whatever society, we have heard nothing but loathing of the horrible circumstance which has linked the slaughter of the Jhallianwallah Bagh with the name of an Englishman. We have not met a single Englishman or a single Englishwoman who does not feel a sense of irremovable shame both at the tragedy of the Jhallianwallah Bagh and at the excesses which were committed under the martial law regime in the Punjab. Brigadier-General Dyer says he should have been given an opportunity to defend himself: nothing said in condemnation of his action surpasses, or could surpass, that which he has said himself. We ardently wish that the Punjab disturbances could have been considered as a whole, with all the facts, so far as they can be gleaned, before us. But Brigadier-General Dyer has himself made that impossible by his attempt to mislead the British public in anticipation of the publication of the report. To allow his statement to stand without immediate repudiation might be to associate ourselves inferentially with it; that we will not do, particularly in justice to the large circle of Englishmen and Englishwomen who equally reject his declaration with scorn and anger.

The Dharwar College: We are glad to learn that Government have accorded their approval to the resolution of the Bombay University affiliating the Dharwar College.

Non-Mahomedans and the Khilafat Question. Referring to Maulana Shaukat Ali's declaration that whoever is not with him and his co-religionists of his way of thinking is against them, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the much respected editor of the *Modern Review* writes in the current issue of that Journal: "I do feel for Turkey and the Moslems. I have never sought and never received any titles from Government. I have never sought election to any legislative Council, nor would do so in future, though I have been pressed to do so. I have never been an office-seeker. So there is nothing along these lines that I have to give up. As regards non-payment of taxes, I do not intend to go so far if the Khilafat agitation fails. I do not believe in verbal heroism and verbal indirect menace; and, hence, what I will not do; what I think I should not do, I would not seem to be willing or ready to do." He goes on to say; "As India is a land of many religions, would it be right, would it be expedient, would it be safe to tacitly lay down the principle that, whenever the men of any particular faith felt sorely aggrieved by anything done, or left undone, or contemplated by the British Government so much so as to resolve to resort to non-payment of taxes if the grievances were not redressed, the followers of all the other faiths should also have recourse to the same expedient, on pain of being considered enemies by the aggrieved sect! I think not. Such a principle

might lead us in great confusion and endless inter-sectarian misunderstanding, squabbles and worse. It would also be a great tyranny..... The advice to give up posts in the police and military services has been probably given on the assumption that it would not be necessary to act on the advice, based on the anticipation that full justice would be done to Turkey and the holy places of Islam. But a resolution should take all contingencies into account. If Indian Moslems and non-Moslems are to cease generally to be police men and soldiers, some thought ought to be taken as to how the honour of women, and life and property are to be safeguarded; for an upheaval of feeling which is sure to accompany the steps recommended in the resolution, may probably unhinge the minds of many Indian and non-Indian persons who are not angelic in character. Has such thought been taken?"

Mr. Horniman's Externment: We can hardly think that Mr. Montagu is discharging his constitutional responsibility as Secretary of State when he tells the House of Commons that the Government of Bombay passed the order of externment on Mr. Horniman and that they may keep their order in force, so far as he is concerned, as long as they like. The appeal to the House of Commons to trust Sir George Lloyd, whose popularity in the House is very evident, is not an argument. Mr. Montagu ought to take the responsibility upon himself if he agrees with the Government of Bombay, or if he does not, he should revoke the order. The comments of the *Citizen*, the organ of Madras Moderate opinion, show that in this matter a section of Moderate opinion, at any rate, is as emphatic as Mr. Horniman's personal friends and admirers. Our contemporary observes:

It was a very objectionable answer that was given the other day by Mr. Montagu to the questions put by Mr. Ben Spoor and Colonel Wedgwood about Mr. B. G. Horniman's deportation. Not a particle of justification has so far been made out for that tyrannical act and every time an attempt is made to explain it away, a fresh cause for offence is given by the authorities. The Governor of Bombay undoubtedly deserves great credit for the qualities of skill, sympathy and ability which he possesses in ample measure. But Sir George cannot of course be given a *carte blanche* and his general reputation cannot be allowed to cover individual acts of maladministration which must, under any decent system of Government, be scrupulously scrutinised. He cannot escape the responsibility for his acts, and it is mischievous to seek to save him from just criticism and condemnation in the House.

The assumption that Mr. Montagu took the line he did in order to save Sir George Lloyd from criticism, is hardly correct. Mr. Montagu really sought to shelter himself from criticism under Sir George's reputation with his late colleagues in Parliament. This kind of cover, however, seldom avails except as a temporary expedient. The Governor of Bombay may well complain that he is left exposed by his constitutional superior in a position where he cannot defend himself.

The Residential Qualification: The *Citizen*, the well-conducted new weekly journal of the Liberals of Madras, gently rebukes us for overlooking in our comments last week on its article on the residential qualification, the distinction between requiring such a qualification for candidates to the Legislative Councils and the voters who elect them. Our contemporary seems to think that while such a qualification is

unjustifiable in the case of candidates, it is justifiable in the case of voters. It seems to think that until the qualification is discarded in the case of voters as well in Europe, we in India should be content to find some legal fiction which, while seeming to impose such a qualification, will in effect not do so. We would remind the *Citizen* that such devices have been fruitful sources of litigation in the past. As, however, our contemporary calls for a precedent, we are glad to furnish one, though we are not sure whether it will consider Canada as well qualified to furnish precedents as Europe. The *Industrial Banner* of Toronto, received the week before last, commenting on some impending legislation in the province of Ontario, observes:

Working men and working women generally will be pleased to know that they are not going to be deprived of their franchise because economic necessity forces them to move from one electoral district to another just before a Provincial election. In the past, thousands of the workers of the Province have been disfranchised because they had moved into a new electoral district and their names did not appear on the voters' list in that district. The condition of voting was that they must stay in the district where they were registered. This was absolutely impossible in case of miners, railwaymen, and other workers, and the Labor candidates were the chief losers owing to the defective legislation. The Act will also provide for the taking of the votes of citizens invalided in our hospitals, and in many other ways will serve the interests of democracy to a greater extent than the present Elections Act.

A Moderate Protest: Criticising the policy adopted by the Government of India and some provincial governments (but not Bombay) of selecting exclusively from the Moderates their advisory committees relating to the Reform Regulations, we observed that thoughtful Moderates did not appreciate being made responsible in the eyes of the public for conclusions in which theirs would not be the deciding voice. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that the Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikary, Mr. P. O. Mitter, Mr. A. Suhrwardy and two other members of the Committee of the Bengal Legislative Council, forward on the suggestion of the Governor for the purpose of advising the Government regarding the rules of election under the Reform Scheme, have issued a statement, that their Committee was not consulted by Government regarding some of the matters that find a place in the Government's final draft election rules. While some of the matters were never placed before the Committee the recommendations of the majority of their Committee had not been given effect to in certain matters and that the scheme as a whole, and some of its most important provisions by themselves, were never placed before the Committee. The Government of Bengal has queer ideas of co-operation with non-officials.

A Disingenuous Plea: Sir Joyson Hicks cannot be congratulated on his reply to Mr. Bennett's just protest against the policy of repressing Indians out of East Africa. He writes in a letter to the *Times* that if India is to have self-government, she must at least permit it to the other members of the Empire. She will soon be free to make rules with regard to the influx of say, negroes from Zambesi to Bengal and Bombay, but she cannot claim to dictate a different policy to Africa. British East Africa has declared in favour of being a white land in a similar way to Australia and New Zealand. The dishonesty of this reply lies in implying that negroes from Zambesi have declared in favour of British East Africa being a white man's land. Would India be free to declare in favour of being a brown man's land which no white man may enter? Are Indians negroes from Zambesi?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 9, 1920.

PROGRAMMES.

MR. TILAK'S MISSTAKE.

The Tilak programme has been swept out of the field. There has been virtually no answer to our criticisms of it. The *Mahratta* of Poona, while professing great indignation, describes the pompous document on which the Congress Democratic party was to go to the voters, as mere jottings-down by Mr. Tilak of ideas as they flitted across his brain. The *Bombay Chronicle* likewise concedes all our points while doing its best to make the process as little unacceptable as possible to Mr. Tilak. There is no need for us to go over them again but, in view of the criticisms of a correspondent, who is apparently in Mr. Tilak's confidence, in the *Bombay Chronicle*, we may call attention to a few facts. The charge of personal antipathy cannot lie against this journal which, notwithstanding longstanding differences of opinion on social and political questions, went out of its way to deprecate criticisms of Mr. Tilak on his return from England, and pleaded for an opportunity being given to him to give proof in India of the moderation which marked his public utterances in England. As regards our criticism of the item in Mr. Tilak's programme of ryotwari permanent settlement, the correspondent alleges that land can be made to pay in ways other than the harassment of periodical assessments. All taxes have to be assessed and it is the first canon of taxation that the assessment and collection of taxes should be made as little harassing as possible to the tax-payer. We indicated in our article how this can be done in the case of land revenue without relinquishing the rights of the community. As for making land pay in other ways, that is to say, indirectly, it does not evidently occur to the correspondent that it is all the same to the ryot whether he pays directly or indirectly, and that it is more straight-forward to take the tax from him as land tax than to pretend to give him a permanent settlement while devising means of defeating it by an indirect process. No intelligent ryot will, we are sure, like to be bamboozled in this way. This apologist of Mr. Tilak has given away the case of his political leader by this naive admission. We hope that the ryots will take note of his unabashed avowal of making promises to the ear while breaking them to the hope. The correspondent may be also reminded of the strenuous opposition of the Bengal zemindars to the proposal in the draft of the last Income Tax Act to levy income tax on their non-agricultural incomes. They contended that their whole income should be treated as agricultural and as coming under the terms of the permanent settlement, and they won their point. As regards our criticism of the proposal to levy export duties on food-stuffs, it is no use arguing with a correspondent who rather prides himself on his innocence of economic doctrine. Still, he might

have remembered that the army in Mesopotamia is almost entirely Indian, that it would have had to be led if it had remained in India, and that it is a poor kind of patriotism which would tax the lood of an army out of whose achievements in the war it seeks to make the most capital. The Indian army will not thank Mr. Tilak for this proposal, if his commentator correctly represents his intentions.

THE MADRAS MANIFESTOS.

So much for Mr. Tilak's programme. Since writing on it, we have come across some other programmes. Chief among them are those of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, the Madras Nationalist Association, the Madras Liberal League, and Mr. Gandhi's programme for the All-India Home Rule League, of which he has accepted the Presidentship. It is interesting to note how the Madras Provincial Congress Committee deals with the question of land revenue, in view of Mr. Tilak's offer of a permanent settlement to the ryots. We take the following from its manifesto:

A very important item in the Congress programme will be the evolution of an economically sound land revenue system. The Congress Party will seek to give all ryotwari owners statutory and judicial protection, to make the demand of the State on land definite and place it under statutory control. It will consider it as one of its most important duties to give substantial relief to the smaller landholder by materially lightening the burden he has now to bear.

This is the language of persons who feel some responsibility for what they are promising and who have bestowed some study on the questions of which they are treating. The same care is discernible in the statement regarding Hindu-Mahomedan relations. "The Congress Party stands for the promotion of cordial relations between the Hindus and Muslims in all national concerns." The Madras Congressmen do not profess to have assimilated the dogmas of Mahomedanism and the doctrines of the Koran, and are careful to prefix the adjective *national* to the concerns in which they stand for the promotion of cordial relations between Hindus and Mahomedans. We are sure that thoughtful Mahomedan leaders will appreciate the difference between the well-weighed statement of Madras Congressmen and the wild promises of the Tilak manifesto. The Madras Congress Programme refers in the same judicious spirit to the question of high prices. It says:

Realising the extreme hardships and privations which the abnormal rise in the price of all articles and particularly of the necessaries of life, inflicts upon poor people who form the bulk of the population of the country, the Congress Party will seek immediate measures for the investigation of the causes of the rise and for the application of effective remedies for remedying the evils and alleviating the sufferings.

The Madras Congress programme, it is clear, is the work of men who have coherent ideas on the subject of administration. The Madras Nationalist Association follows the Madras Congress programme, but it lays stress on freedom in contrast to participation of power as being the leading idea of its policy, and refers in this connection to a leading article which appeared in the

Reformer some weeks back on the antithesis. *New India*, Mr. Besant's paper, is inclined to be contemptuous of the Madras Nationalist Association as a makeshift growth, but Mrs. Besant's National Home Rule League was not the product of a long evolution, and in Madras, especially, politicians require to be reminded of the futility of the pot calling the kettle black. The *Citizen* of Madras commenting on the Madras Nationalist Association's programme, resents the suggestion that the Liberals care more for power than freedom. It observes:

They (the Liberals) believe that the successful working of the Reform Act is secured only in an atmosphere of liberty. This is a fundamental rule of political action and we can only explain the gross misrepresentation indulged in by Nationalists by a desire on their part to prejudice the public mind by raising a false issue. The Liberals, however, believe that freedom could be secured gradually by utilising the opportunities given by the Act.

The first sentence in the passage quoted above does not seem to fit in with the rest, but let that pass. Our contemporary forgets that the freedom that is asked for is nothing new, that it was enjoyed by the country not quite fifteen years ago when there was no talk of responsible Government. It is a strange doctrine that under the Reform Act we should gradually secure what, without it, we were in the full enjoyment of in the lifetime of those who are not as yet arrived at middle age. The Madras Nationalists could not have looked for a more thorough justification of their attitude. That the Madras Liberal League's programme, so far as it goes, is a model of its kind, goes without saying. The League counts among its members many of the most experienced public men in the province whose only defect is that they do not seem to realise that it is at least as much necessary to understand and attempt to meet the point of view of the more advanced politicians among us as to understand and seek to co-operate with officials in promoting the interests of the country. We especially commend the part of the programme relating to education as being the soundest of any in the manifestos we have been noticing. The Madras Liberal League will give a large place to education in its programme. It will advocate free elementary education from the beginning and the introduction of compulsory education with all practicable regard to the circumstances of the parents as soon as such a step may be permitted by the supply of trained teachers and suitable, though not needlessly costly buildings. It will support the introduction of compulsory elementary education as the opinion of local bodies who may be satisfied that conditions are ripe for such a course. The reorganisation of higher education so as to bring it within the reach of very poor and make it more practical will also claim attention, in the sphere of higher education, the need for the creation of more Universities on the lines of the modern Universities of England and especially for the establishment of one in the Northern Circars will be recognised. Medical, Engineering and higher technical education will have also to be promoted.

MR. GANDHI'S ENCYCICAL.

We welcome Mr. Gandhi's entry into the arena of practical politics. Politics, of course, is no new field to him. In South Africa he fought for the rights of

Indians in a manner which drew the attention of the whole world to their wrongs. The conditions of the problem are vastly different but the problem itself is not essentially very different in India. In South Africa, Indians are a small community wedged between the powerful and prejudiced white population on one side and the backward native African population on the other. This position constrained them into unity and Mr. Gandhi was able to direct their political energy into the channel of his choosing. In India unity has to be evolved without the help of such extraneous pressure as was available in South Africa. British rule is, of course, a great unifying force, but of late, as we have had occasion more than once recently to point out, it has somewhat forgotten its mission and given its support to movements which have the effect of encouraging the fissiparous tendencies which lie so near the surface of Indian social life. With true insight Mr. Gandhi has perceived that what is most urgently needed is the multiplication of unifying agencies among us, and the bridging of the gulf between the educated classes on the one hand and the masses of the population on the other. The statement which he has issued on his assuming the presidency of the All-India Home Rule League is an encyclical rather than a programme. A position of isolation, whether splendid or squalid, has like other mundane things its advantages as well as its disadvantages. If, on the one hand, it enables one to take a detached and whole view of affairs, it, on the other, deprives one of the opportunity of testing one's views on the touchstone of life which, after all, is the true test of their soundness. Every great leader must serve a term of probation alone with himself but unless he emerges from his retirement to give to the world the fruit of his contemplation, his isolation is without aim or purpose. And, after all, Mr. Gandhi's position in Indian public life has not been one of complete isolation. He has no doubt not joined movements which have for their object the extension of political rights, his practical bent of mind inclining him rather to approach politics through the avenue of actual, acute, grievances. In his present manifesto he has rather launched into speculative fields, and has laid before the All-India Home Rule League four main objects for the advancement of which he proposes to use that organisation. These are Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem unity with special reference to the Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* and a linguistic redistribution of provinces. One may not accept Mr. Gandhi's special views of Swadeshi; we have had occasion not long ago to point out at some length that the implications Hindu-Moslem unity reach for deeper into social life than Mr. Gandhi is willing to allow; the Khilafat has been or will soon be settled and its future will depend more upon its own merits and upon the needs of humanity than upon the protests of Indians; we hold that the conditions favourable to the acceptance of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India, existed in much larger measure under the Moghul Empire than in British India when all the omens are in favour of English becoming, as it has done to a large extent already, the common medium of educated

Indians all over the country; we consider the principle of linguistic provinces as thoroughly anti-national, and we showed in a recent article how the advantages of a one-language province can be secured without the evils of a system which makes the boundaries of a province conterminous with those of a language. In all these matters, therefore, we differ more or less from Mr. Gandhi. But we recognise in them all the central principle of unity, which gives these four apparently unconnected topics coherence—unity as between the different races of India, unity as between the masses and the educated classes. The one point overlooked in this fourfold programme is the vital need to India of looking beyond herself—the great truth proclaimed by Rabindra Nath Tagore that Indians must live for mankind if mankind are to respect India.

BENGALIS IN BEHAR.

With reference to our paragraph entitled "Bengalis in Behar" in the *Reformer* of the 25th April, Mr. Mathura Nath Sinha, Secretary of the Bengalee Settlers' Association, and High Court Vakil, Patna, sends us a cutting from the *Behar Herald* of the 24th April, which, he says, will help us to see the question from the point of view of the Bengalees in Behar. The gist of the *Behar Herald's* contention is that "in no other part of India has the Government placed, on linguistic and religious distinctions, any considerable section of its subjects under so many disqualifications as it has unfortunately done the Bengali-speaking residents of Behar." The religious distinction, our contemporary suggests, is with reference to Mahomedans in whose case no differentiation is made on account of the province of their origin. In other words, a Mahomedan has the same rights and privileges whether he a Native of Behar or a Native of Bengal. In the case only of Hindus, a distinction is made, unfavourably to the Bengali, in the matter of appointments in the public services and in that of admission to and facilities in educational institutions. These are the two specific grievances, mentioned by our contemporary, though there is a general allegation that politically-minded Beharis look upon and discriminate against their Bengalee countrymen domiciled in the province as aliens. The *Behar Herald* in a subsequent issue, commenting on our paragraph, puts the matter in a nutshell. Says our contemporary:

The question here is not of the Bengalees forming a cove by themselves but of certain dominant classes of the province trying to debar them of all civic rights and treating them as aliens. That is a tyranny which no class of people, whatever their strength or advancement will tolerate, and so long as the tyranny persists we shall be nursing the forces of disruption.

The *Modern Review* for May also has an editorial note with reference to our comment. Our valued contemporary, however, prefaces its statement with the important declaration that its objection to separate representation is so strong and deep-rooted that

if the home of our ancestors and of ourselves and our own domicile had been situated in the administrative provinces of

Behar and Orissa, not only would we not have claimed or agitated for such representation but even if given the right we would not have exercised it.

In the face of such an emphatic declaration, its subsequent arguments lose much of their force. Their purport is that the bulk of the Bengalees in Behar and Orissa are not immigrants from Bengal, permanent or temporary, and that their presence in those provinces is due to the administrative accident of the Bengalee districts of which they are natives having been included in the territories comprising Behar and Orissa. In other words, they are in the same position as the people of North Kanara in this Presidency, which till the middle of the last century was a Madras district. In support of this contention, the *Modern Review* quotes from the last Census Report of Bengal, Behar and Orissa as follows:

In Behar and Orissa it (Bengali) is spoken by 2,295,000 or 6 per cent of the total population, the border districts of Purnea, the Southal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum accounting for over nine-tenths of the total number.

In another part of the Report it is stated that the number of Bengali emigrants in Behar and Orissa was only 165,000 while those from the latter provinces into Bengal were eight times as many and numbered 1,252,000.

This aspect of the question was not present to us when we last wrote on it. But we cannot see that it makes any difference, though undoubtedly it shows that the Bengalees in Bihar and Orissa are not treated as they are entitled to be in all respects. The respected Editor of the *Modern Review* is, as we have seen, of the same opinion. As regards the two specific instances adduced as proofs of the policy of differentiation against Bengalee citizens followed by the Local Government, the first, namely, preference of Beharis in the public services is, perhaps, actuated by the same reasons as that on which preference is shown to non-Brahmins in Madras and to Mahomedans elsewhere, namely, that they form a relatively backward section of the community requiring special encouragement. Apart from that, we are unable to regard exclusion from the subordinate posts in the public services as a serious or a real disadvantage to advanced communities. At the same time, we think that the invidious distinction made against Behari-Bengalees in educational institutions is nothing short of a scandal. Educational institutions, especially those which impart higher education, should be open to all comers on their merits, even if they be not natives of the province or even of the country. Education has everything to gain by such broad-minded liberality, while placing restrictions on admissions (except as regards numbers) is deliberately to lower educational standards. A resolution brought some years ago in the Bombay Legislative Council to place a limit on the number of students from other provinces admitted to the Engineering College at Poona, was defeated by a large majority and the attempt has not been repeated. There are students in our Colleges, Arts, Law, Medicine, Commerce and Engineering, from all provinces, and they are absolutely on the same footing as regards scholarships and prizes as Bombay students. We commend to the Government of Behar and Orissa the example of Bombay as one worthy of imitation. We

we are sure that nationalists like Mr. Haman Imam, Mr. Sa-bidanda Sinha, and others will gladly lend their support—indeed we think, they should take the initiative—to get the present narrow policy in this respect radically altered. That is the line in which, we think, Behari Bengalees should go to work, and not in asking for special representation in the Legislative Council. From the practical point of view too, they would derive no advantage from having five or half-a-dozen members in the Council. By working with and through Behari leaders of light and leading, they will ensure not only for the literary classes but for all Bengalees the goodwill of the Beharis. While, by adopting the line of separate representation, they will antagonise them with the result that they will be able to achieve nothing, as their representatives are sure to be voted by the indigenous majority. The danger will then be that the handful of Bengalees in the Council may be forced by their position to seek the support of officials against the popular party. It is the part of wisdom and foresight to avoid getting into such a position at all costs.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES* I.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.)
A POLITICAL PROBLEM.

I have heard and read it said that this problem of the depressed classes is a religious problem and that, therefore, any Government which interferes with it departs from the principle of religious neutrality. The cry of "religion in danger" has become a catch-cry in India to prevent all healthy progress. In the present case as in other cases it is a hollow cry raised by the bigotry of vested interests. The problem of the depressed classes is essentially a political problem, and it cannot cease to be that merely because somehow religious considerations have come to be involved in it. It is a political problem because it concerns vitally the free rights of citizenship of the depressed classes. For, what are the civil disabilities imposed for centuries on those classes in the name and under the pretext of religion? On the ground of untouchability they have been excluded from public roads and streets, public markets, appearance in Courts of justice, public temples and other places of worship and employment in public offices. Now, these are all rights of a civil nature and no religion ought to be allowed to prevent their exercise by any human being. Nearly thirty years ago the late General Booth, Chief of the Salvation Army, visited India when the Indian National Congress was in session. He was so touched by the degradation to which the depressed classes were subjected that he sent a wire to the Congress to take up their cause. The Congress replied to him that the question was religious, not political, and that therefore it did not come within its sphere as an entirely political organisation. Mark how the logic of events has since then

forced the Congress to admit in essence that the problem is political and affects the rights of the depressed classes as citizens. In 1917 the Congress admitted the problem into its programme of resolutions for the first time because a large mass meeting of the depressed classes over which I presided at Bombay demanded that by a letter addressed to the President of the Congress, Mr. Montagu was then in India to judge and frame a scheme of responsible Government. That was a psychological moment and the Congress graciously recognised the rights of the depressed classes. Last year the Congress emphasised by a resolution the need of elevating the status of the depressed classes. It is because the problem is political that the British Government in India, and some of the Indian States, have taken it up in right earnest. The Government of Bombay under Lord Sydenham and more particularly under Lord Willingdon has done much to remove the civil disabilities of the depressed classes. Military careers have once more been thrown open to them and the members of the depressed classes supplied during the last war not an inconsiderable number for the Army, in the hour of the Empire's need. The depressed class regiments have fought in all the theatres of the war and acquitted themselves creditably. The Bombay Government has thrown open all public schools to the depressed classes and inaugurated a system of special scholarships for them. It has also begun to give a half expenditure grant to houses working for the education of the untouchables. It has appointed a highly educated member of the class Professor in one of its Colleges. As a direct result of the Bombay Government's recommendation, some men of the depressed classes have been appointed members of district and local boards.

THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

Let me turn now to the work of the Government of Madras to solve this political problem. It is in the Madras Presidency, in the Travancore and Cochin States that the condition of the depressed classes has been more acutely degraded and inhuman than in other parts of India. Struck by that, the Government of Madras in the early sixties of last century devoted its attention to its amelioration. When the late Sir T. Madhava Rao went to Travancore as Dewan, the British Resident, supported strongly by the Madras Government pressed him to accord to the depressed classes in the State the ordinary rights of humanity and citizenship. I have had through the kindness of a friend once an opportunity to read the official literature on the subject. I wish it was published instead of being pigeon-holed, a prey to rust and moth. The literary grace, the noble sentiments, the farsighted statesmanship, and British love of fairness which breathe in every line of the minutes and the letters of the British Resident of Travancore and of the Madras Government of that time make it an instructive reading. Unfortunately it fell foul of the liberal policy of the Madras Government and consequently in the policy of the Indian States concerned, though the *Madras Mail*, the *Madras Times*,

* Presidential address delivered at the Depressed Classes Conference, held at Kanyakum, Cochin State, on the 2nd May 1920.

and the late Dr. Duncan as Director of Public Instruction of Madras kept on pressing the urgency of the problem on the lagging attention of Government. Since Lord Willingdon assumed the reins of that Government he has brought the problem to the front, given it a new life that its political character demands. He has nominated a depressed classes gentleman to his Legislative Council. He has appointed a special officer to concert measures for speedy improvement of their condition. Following Lord Willingdon's example, and the lead given by the Government of Bombay, the Government of the Central Provinces has made arrangements for the education of the depressed classes.

INDIAN PRINCES.

Some of the more enlightened Princes have actively taken up the problem. The Baroda State's Compulsory Education Act has brought the children of the depressed classes in line with those of the higher castes. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, whose recent address pleading for the rights of the depressed classes deserves to be widely read, your own Maharaja who has opened public schools and roads to those classes in his State, deserve our warmest expressions of gratitude. It is idle, then, to say that the problem is religious and social. It is a political problem. The right of the depressed classes to free access to public schools, public roads and streets, public markets, courts of justice, public temples, &c., for its enforcement by Government depends on the same grounds of political expediency on which *suttee*, *thuggi*, *dharna* have been penalised by the State as offences in spite of religious considerations.

RELIGION NOT IN DANGER.

But even as a religious problem the cause of the depressed classes is the cause of the Hindu religion. That religion in its best aspects for centuries has been struggling to elevate their social and political condition. Buddha admitted their members as his disciples on terms of perfect equality with his disciples from the higher castes. Shri Shankara fell prostrate before a Pariah and saw God in the guise of a Chandala in a dream at Benares. The saints of the Bhakti school admitted Mahars, Chambhars and Pariahs into their fold and fought hard for the depressed classes. And now with the liberalising forces of the British Government the problem is leaping to its full light.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM.

Thanks to that Government, it has become more than ever before an all-India problem. The curse of untouchability prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable and some even unseeable by the higher castes. And this degradation has been imposed by these castes of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed, on 30 per cent of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindu, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity!

THE PROBLEM OF MISSIONS IN INDIA II.

(By THE REV. WILBUR BRENNER STOVER.)

And the question of sin also arises, and the relation of the Mission to the poor man who commits the deed. It is an old question. To draw the line between justice and mercy is a delicate matter. Yet every Missionary and every Preacher of the Gospel is called upon sooner or later to do it, and sometimes frequently. One dare not wink at sin. One dare not forget to be merciful. A discipline that exalts righteousness must be maintained. If there is no different attitude towards sin after one accepts Christ, there is something wanting. Sin is sin, and whatever right steps can be taken, not forgetting to be merciful, to show the sinner the exceeding sinful nature of sin, to keep the Church pure, to put a premium on keeping free from sin, it would seem ought to be taken. When those who are guilty are manly enough to confess and make good the wrong done, they usually find among Christians a warm and welcome right hand of fellowship. The relationship of master and servant is likewise an old question. The servant should serve his master in a way worthy of a good servant, and this service not only to those who are good and gentle, but to the master who is harsh and demanding. The master on the other hand should not despise his servant, because before the Lord they are brethren. Paul sent Onesimus back to his master, with the apology that now he had become a Christian, kindly receive him in service once more, but as a brother. A little brother, no doubt, but a brother nevertheless. If I may refer here to my own experience, I may say that I have on various occasions sent men back to their masters, or persuaded them not to depart when they were about to run away. More than that, through an Aid Society, I have lent men money to help them pay their masters according to promise, and not neglect to do so. On the other hand I have helped men to get out of the hands of masters and money-lenders who were from year to year getting the poor fellows into tighter quarters, from which they could not possibly extricate themselves. It is a mistake to think that missionaries as a body have set themselves to violate any teaching of the New Testament Scriptures. Suppose they would do so, or suppose they had a mind to do so, the Churches at home would not tolerate for a day such missionaries on the field. And some of these churches in other lands have so good a conscience on the master and servant question, that long years before Government made any law with respect to slavery they decided that no member should hold slaves, and if they had slaves they should set them free. Failing this, such members would be no longer held as member.

Again and again do we preach the words "Prove all things, hold fast to that which is good." Whether a thing is English or Japanese or Indian is not the question in my experience, but whether it is good. Has it been proven? What fruits grow on the trees? I have been thinking that missionaries, especially of

late years, have lacked nothing in praising the good traits of character they find in non-Christian peoples, also in seeking out and marking excellent teaching in non-Christian books. But I certainly think it unfair to missionaries as a class to depreciate them because of the record of certain German missionaries in India. They might as well say all statesmen are rascals because of the unfortunate record of recent German statesmen or say that honesty and integrity have disappeared from the world because those traits were sadly lacking in Germans of late years.

In summing up, I might say that the correspondence has maintained two points: first, that the present missionary system tends to produce weaklings only, and second, the remedy is boycott. I am not surprised at the latter, for it is the spirit of the present time to boycott what does not appeal to us. But what brought the system? Was it not to afford a place of refuge, where persecution could not come to those who dared to become Christians? And is not the system now maintained in part, so that all may the more easily get together in daily prayers? Perhaps the system has served its time. Perhaps some other system has greater merit. We would all like to hear suggestions for something better. We are all ready to see something better which proves success. We are planning for agricultural schools where perhaps every student may be required to work in the field as many hours as he sits in school each day. We are talking of industrial schools on the same line. We are arranging for inter-denominational Girls High Schools and Boys Training Schools. We want the school or the plan or the system which will lead our people in the most rapid manner possible, to become a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-expanding Church.

We have not reached the ideal. Meanwhile, what shall we do? I look upon Mr. Bryan as a great American, but one who made a great mistake when he resigned his high office of Secretary of State because President Wilson would not agree with him. There is, I think, a better plan than that. As followers together of the Lord Jesus Christ, we must work out together the problem before us. It is a great problem, it is inviting, it challenges all my strength. I must need associate myself with others who also accept the challenge of the problem. Unless I have proven to myself and others that I have the Spirit of God leading me more than all the others, I have no other choice. I may differ from the others on many points, I agree with them on many more.

After all, it seems to me that it is not the system specially which is to blame, nor yet is success assured by any system. If we live close to God, and maintain a sympathetic relationship with people, we are sure to be successful in Christian endeavour. Sympathy, my brethren, sympathy and affection for one another, of all who love the Lord and seek to follow Him, this is the unquestionable need of the hour.

MADRAS NATIONALIST ASSOCIATION.

We have received copies of the programme of the Nationalist Party of Madras to which we refer in our leading article. The following introduction is prefixed thereto:

It is not desirable, even if it were possible, to make a complete documentary synopsis of the attitude of any political party on all administrative and legislative questions that may be taken up in the future. It is enough to deal with the immediate future.

Nationalists and Moderates have differed vitally in many matters, and the former propose to take up for solution, first, those questions on which they have laid greatest stress and as to which they have emphatically differed from the Moderates.

The formula that can best express the distinction between the immediate programme of the Nationalists and that of the Moderates is the one suggested in the pages of the *Indian Social Reformer*, viz., Freedom *v.* Power. The Nationalists consider freedom of person, and of press and association as the essential primary requisite, and consequently more important than participation of political power, as long as the Central Government entirely, and the Provincial Governments in all vital matters continue irresponsible.

The national will having already with practical unanimity expressed itself in respect of the legislation required for safeguarding such freedom, the Nationalists consider that these matters should be pressed forward first and disposed of, before new political issues and corresponding vested interests assert themselves and before new parties arise and complicate the situation.

The Moderates have no constructive programme with regard to "Freedom" legislation. They simply seek to divert attention from it and offer what they deem a constructive programme on other matters, only feebly referring to the former now and then, the motive being to avoid a conflict with the Bureaucracy. The Bureaucracy too, will naturally be inclined to assist this diversion of attention, by even now placing before the country such bills as involve new issues, so as to divide the people into parties and destroy the present unanimity in regard to the vital questions affecting the freedom of person and press. Rules may also be so framed as to render the Nationalist programme extremely difficult. Yet the Nationalists will pursue their path undaunted.

The special programme herein sketched out and the successful waging to the battles involved appear to be enough work and more, for the immediate future.

As regards the special programme of the Nationalist party in the legislature, it is apprehended that the Moderates, if returned, will not take the responsibility of immediately initiating such measures and undertake the necessary conflicts, and would if the country should support such a programme, rather leave it to be fought out by the Nationalists, if they do not as a body actively oppose it.

It may be thought that the Nationalist programme here sketched out does not come entirely within the province of the provincial legislature. However a close perusal of the Reforms Act would show that provincial legislatures have some powers in these matters subject to previous sanction, the asking for which by resolution would bring up the issues clearly. Moreover, the country should not allow itself to be too much obsessed by the present division of functions. The return of Nationalists to all the provincial councils will greatly strengthen agitation in England and India, in respect of all matters wherein

agitation has to be strenuously continued notwithstanding the present Reforms.

The latest resolutions of the Congress conclusively show that it is the general opinion of the country that none but Nationalists should be returned to the central Indian legislature. This being so, it cannot return a different party to the provincial councils. Such a course would greatly weaken the hands of the Nationalists in the central legislature. It would be suicidal as their predominant existence in the provincial legislature is absolutely essential to the carrying out of the programme herein set out in consonance with the feelings and requirements of the people. Even in the central Governments, the strength of the Nationalist party in the provincial councils will materially affect the policy of the Government of India, especially in regard to the exercise of the extreme powers of certifying or vetoing measure adopted by the popular party.

The Central Council of the Nationalist Association confidently expect the electorate and the general public to appreciate the programme herein set out in which are placed in the forefront those measures which relate to personal liberty, and liberty of speech and of public meeting, especially in the light of the knowledge acutely brought home to us by the history of the Punjab atrocities, proving how weak and delusive is the law prevailing in this country in relation to the protection of our primary rights. The Council earnestly and confidently appeal to the country to spare no pains to elect only Nationalists as the people's representatives.

T. PRAKASAM,

C. VIJAYABAGHAVACHARIAR.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR,

President.

Secretaries.

MR. GANDHI'S MANIFESTO.

It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of my life for me to belong to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. But after careful deliberation and consultation with friends I have joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President. Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any political organisation and that if I did, I would lose the position of splendid isolation I enjoy at present. I confess that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the same time I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was, I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organisation that I could utilise for the advancement of the causes in which I had specialised and of the methods which experience has shown me are attended with quicker and better results than those that are usually adopted. Before joining the League, I endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in such close contact as with co-workers in the Bombay Presidency.

The causes referred to by me are Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem Unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* and a linguistic redistribution of the Provinces. I would engage the League if I can carry the members with me in these activities so that they occupy the largest part of the nation's time and attention.

I freely confess that Reforms take a secondary place in my scheme of national reorganisation. For I feel that the activities chosen by me if they could but absorb national energy, would bring about all the Reforms that the most ardent extremists can ever desire, and so far as the desirability of full self-government at the earliest possible moment is concerned I yield to none in my desire to hasten our progress. And it is because I feel that the progress towards self-government can be best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All-India Home Rule League as a party organisation in any sense of the term. I belong to no party and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am

aware that the constitution of the League requires it to help the Congress, but I do not consider the Congress as a party organisation, even as the British Parliament though it contains all parties and one party or other dominating it from time to time, is not a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to moulding its policy and I would endeavour to so mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its non-party national character.

This brings me to my methods. I believe that it is possible to introduce uncompromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country. Whilst I would not expect the League to follow me in my Civil Disobedience methods, I would strain every nerve to make truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Governments and their measures. I do not wish however to develop the theme any further. I would rather let time solve the many questions that must arise from the bald statement I have made. My purpose just now is to demonstrate the propriety of my action or the truth of the policy herein adumbrated but to take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite criticism of the programme herein set forth and any suggestions they may wish to make for the advancement of the welfare of the League.

M. K. GANDHI.

PRICE OF NEWSPAPERS.

Much prominence is given in the French newspapers to the serious position of the Press created by the shortage of paper. The *Matin* states that a large number of newspapers are threatened with extinction. It points out that the price of paper has increased ninefold since 1914, and that the limit has not been reached by any means.

Some time ago the Press Office was formed with a view to pooling and rationing paper according to circulation, but several of the leading newspapers refused to enter the combine, so the bureau is about to be dissolved. Newspapers must now fight their own battles and many of the lesser dailies and evening papers are expected to succumb. Other newspapers are doubling their present price.

Social Reform and Mr. Tilak. Commenting on the declaration in favour of the removal of social disabilities based on caste and custom in Mr. Tilak's manifesto, the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta shrewdly observes:—"The inclusion of social reform in the manifesto means, if it does anything, that social reform is already a power in the land. It is not without significance that an opportunist like Tilak does not dare go to the country for vote without declaring himself a social reformer. He came into power by opposing social reform. To retain that power he now finds it necessary to support what he once so bitterly opposed. Evidently social reform has gained."

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Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 37,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,030,000

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FOOCHOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
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Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up....." 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund....." 66,00,000.

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Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.

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The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

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Capital Paid up....." 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund....." 12,50,000.

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Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth,

Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunesirao R. Nimbalker, Sar Subha, Baroda

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Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

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chwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco,

Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoseki, Singapore, Soerabaya,

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approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 6 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000; provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

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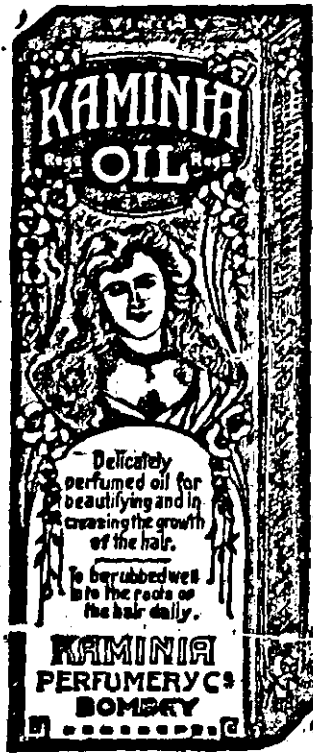
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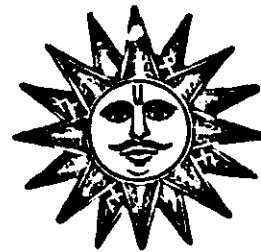
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1920.

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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.

Sikh Representation in the Punjab Legislative Council: The process of baggling into which communal representation has degenerated has not been better illustrated than in the representation of the Sikhs to the Government of India which has provided 10 seats in the Punjab Council to be filled by election by Sikh electorates. The Sikhs claimed 19 seats alleging that as they had been promised communal representation on the lines accorded to the Mahomedans in provinces where the latter are in a minority, that promise extended not merely to the principle of the representation on a scale in excess of their numerical strength, but also to representation on the precise scale adopted for the Mahomedans. The Sikhs went on to urge that the Lucknow compact (which they expressly repudiated), gave to the Mahomedans of Bihar and Orissa (who were nearly in the same numerical proportion to the total population as the Sikhs in the Punjab) 25 per cent. of the elected seats in the Council of those provinces. In view of the past history and present importance of the Sikh community, and of its military services, this percentage, the Sikhs claimed, should be further raised in their case to 33. They proceeded to indulge in a little bit of bazar bluff. They said that, without communal representation, the Sikhs could by their voting strength get 14 or 15 seats in open non-Moslem constituencies and that, since communal electorates debar a community from participating in general electorates, they would be sheer losers and not gainers by the adoption of communal representation unless they were given at least 15 seats. The Government of India, in their reply, point out that 10 seats represent a proportion in excess of the numerical strength of the Sikhs, that any further addition to the number can not be made without unfairly encroaching on Hindu representation, and add that, if the Sikhs seriously think that they will fare better without communal electorates, Government will be glad to revise their scheme in the light of that opinion, "it being understood that the resultant delimitation of the constituencies will be made only on grounds of convenience and equality of size and not with an eye to the electoral

advantage of any community." It remains to be seen what the Sikhs will have to say to this fair offer. It is curious that in all these communal demands, not the least thought is given to the unfairness of depriving the Hindu community of its due proportion of seats. The Hindus are the largest community in India and any scheme of reform which involves palpable injustice to them, is bound to fail. If the Councils do not in their composition fairly represent the effective strength of public sentiment in the country, they will be devoid of moral force. Nobody has suggested as yet that there should be communal representation on the Press in India, that no community should be permitted to conduct newspapers except in strict proportion, both as to number and ability, to those of other communities. The newspapers will create and propagate the public opinion which the Councils cannot ignore. And public opinion nowadays is not only the public opinion of one country but of the whole civilized world.

The European Association and General Dyer: We are sorry to see that the Bombay Branch of the European Association has seen fit to address what is in effect a remonstrance to the *Times of India* against its outspoken repudiation of General Dyer's claim that every Englishman in India approved of his action at Amritsar. We do not know what other nationalities besides the English, the European Association represents, and in what proportion. It is obvious that the weight to be attached to the opinion of the European Association will largely depend on the extent to which it represents the opinion of Englishmen as distinguished from other Europeans in which category our late enemies, the Germans, cannot be refused a place. For the rest, the European Association overlooks the fact that we have General Dyer's own statements before the Hunter Committee and that no one could put a better complexion on one's actions than their author. The Secretary, Mr. Cameron, writes to our contemporary: "Without entering into the merits or demerits of General Dyer's reported statement to the *Daily Mail* representative in England, my Committee think that comments on the lines of your leaderette in question are apt to give a false impression to the public. My Committee, as representative of European interests in this Presidency, consider any such comments or judgment on matters of public interest which are still *sub judice* may prejudice the mind of the public before the evidence of the Hunter Commission is before them. My Committee think that all reasonable Indian opinion will agree with them that until we have the evidence before us, no responsible individual or public body should commit themselves to a judgment. English justice has gained for itself a fair name all the world over, and my Committee submit that the bulk of Englishmen in India will as heartily deplore the opinions expressed in your leaderette as they would do any similar attempt publicly to approve of a matter which is of great

public importance and which is still *sub judice*. When the evidence is before the public, both Englishmen and Indians will doubtless speak their minds. Until that time British justice demands that the public do not sit in judgment on a public servant be he English or Indian." The *Times of India's* prompt and emphatic repudiation of General Dyer's preposterous claim has had an exceedingly happy effect, as also the letter from the Rev. A. G. Fraser which we published a fortnight back. We print to-day another letter from a Christian Missionary gentleman the Rev. Edward Thompson of the Wesleyan College, Bankura. We are glad to know that other protests are preparing. Are tradesmen and planters the only Europeans in India and is no weight due to the men who are here not to make money but to preach the gospel of Christ Jesus to the people?

Protection of Women Factory Workers: A strike of a new kind has taken place in Madura. The women workers in the Madura Mills have struck and Sister V. Balammal who has gone down from Madras to help them, sends us a communication from which, we gather, that the grievance of the women there is that they are treated badly by the man who is set to supervise their work. Their demand—they number 700—for a woman supervisor is reasonable. In Bombay and other centres of factory industry, there are complaints that conditions are such as to place a premium on loose-living. Evidently such complaints are not peculiar, as we find among a number of suggested draft amendments to the Criminal Code, proposed by the Social Service Council of Canada, one which makes it an offence punishable with imprisonment for a person to "seduce or have illicit connection with any woman or girl previously chaste and under the age twenty-one years who is in his employment, or who, being in a common, but not necessarily similar employment with him is, in respect of her employment or work under or in any way subject to his control or direction, or receives her wages or salary directly or indirectly from him. Proof that a woman or girl has on previous occasions had illicit connection with the accused shall be deemed to be evidence that she was not previously chaste." This amendment, says *Social Welfare*, was actually passed by the Canadian House of Commons last year, but the Senate, while not venturing to delete it, introduced a proviso which would have made it unworkable. The Bill fell through, but it is to be introduced again and the well-organised Social Service League Societies of Canada are determined to get them passed.

Indians in East Africa: His Highness the Aga Khan has received a cablegram from the Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeewanjee of Mombasa, one of the East African Indian delegates now in London, stating the interview of the delegates with the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, has not been satisfactory and fearing that, notwithstanding the strong efforts of the India Office, the questions at issue may be decided against Indians. If the Imperial Government allow this to be done in deference to the interested clamour of a section of the white men in East Africa and against the publicly expressed convictions of the best and most experienced Englishmen in that Crown Colony, it will give cause for wide-spread discontent and resentment in this country. All political parties in India should send a combined representation to the Imperial Government pointing out the danger of sanctioning repressive measures against Indians in a Crown Colony and one, too, which they have done so much to develop.

Anarchy in Ireland: A Reuter's telegram says: "Murders and outrages in Ireland grow more terrible every day. The vendetta against the police is becoming intensified. The Lord Lieutenant and the executive officers are virtually prisoners in the country they are governing. They are only able to leave their retreats in armoured cars. The situation is far worse than it was a month ago. The release of the hunger-strikers has added fresh fuel to the murder campaign. In one day during past week fourteen brutal outrages occurred. Hundreds go unrecorded. The loyalists are so terrified that they suffer in silence. The Sinn Feiners daily hold courts and inflict sentences. A number of correspondents confirm that the situation of the loyalists beggars description. Numbers are fleeing the country. Meanwhile forty-two hunger strikers were released from Wormwood Scrubbs yesterday and thirteen from Cork Gaol."

Freedom or Power? Commenting on the manifesto of the Madras Nationalist Association, the *Servant of India* says the literary subtlety of this journal suggested the formula "Freedom versus Power" for the purpose of distinguishing between the standpoints of Nationalists and Moderates. The distinction, as a matter of fact, was drawn by Lord Acton between the English and Continental ideals of constitutional reform in the eighteenth and greater part of the nineteenth centuries. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's objection to the incorporation of a declaration of rights in the Reform scheme on the ground that he would have no limitations on the power of the Legislature, marked the Moderate party as the party mainly concerned with participation in power.

Sir J. O. Bose's Researches; Dr. A. D. Waller F. R. S., Director of the Physical Laboratory at the University of London, recently wrote to the "Times" suggesting possible sources of fallacy in Professor Bose's demonstration of the growth of plants by means of the crescograph, and his letter was followed up by another, written by Professor Bayliss, F. R. S., who suggested that Professor Bose should consent to a test in a laboratory in the presence of scientific men in order that a demonstration should be given to show "that what is recorded is in truth a physiological change and not due to the effects of heat or physical phenomena." In response to this suggestion Professor Bose agreed to have his crescograph set up in Professor Bayliss' laboratory at University College and invited Professor Starling and Professor Oliver of the same College and Lord Rayleigh from the Imperial College of Science to be present at the demonstrations. As the result, evidently of this demonstration eight Professors of University College, London, and the Imperial College of Science including Lord Rayleigh, published in the *Times* dated 3rd May, that they are satisfied that Sir Chandra Bose's Crescograph correctly records the growth of plants.

The late Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya: We much regret to record the death of Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya M. A., O. I. E., for many years first member of His Highness the Maharaja's Council and the first Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University. He was a frequent and valued contributor to this journal. Public life in Mysore is much the poorer for his loss.

Indian Delegate to Inter Allies' Conference:—It is understood that Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy is to be one of the non-official delegates to represent India at the forthcoming Inter-Allies' Financial Relations Conference to be held at Brussels.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 16, 1920.

BOMBAY REVISED REGULATIONS.

In the *Reformer* of April 25th we noticed the draft regulations published by the Government of Bombay relating to the franchise and electorates for the new provincial Legislative Council. A revised version of them has been published, and we notice two important changes. The one relates to the Sardars constituencies in the Deccan and Gujarat. In commenting on the two seats reserved for these constituencies, we pointed out that there were persons who were quite as important landholders as the Sardars, who were not given the franchise, while it was conferred on those on whom the Government had chosen to confer the dignity of Sardars—so that these two constituencies were purely Government creations. This anomaly has been sought to be removed in the revised regulations by adding to the Sardars in the two divisions, persons who are "sole alienees of the right of government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village situated within the constituency." This to some extent removes the objection we had raised, but it still remains a question why these "alienees" should be accorded preferential treatment over land-holders who pay assessment to Government. We are of opinion that there are no grounds for differentiating between landholders at least in this Presidency, but if there is to be a separate constituency for the bigger landholders, the right rule is that proposed for Sind, namely, all land-owners who either pay, or are alienees of land assessable at, Rs. 1,000 or any less or greater sum, as land revenue.

The second change in the revised regulations is retrograde. In our article on the draft regulations first published, we called attention to the difference in the residential qualification prescribed between communal and other constituencies. In the case of the latter the candidate has to be a voter in a constituency and the qualification for a voter is that he should have a place of residence therein. In the case of communal constituencies, however, a special qualification was introduced, namely, that the candidate should have ordinarily resided in such constituency for a period of six months prior to the election. We pointed out, with special reference to Mahomedan constituencies in Sind, the hardship which this involved in finding suitable candidates. The revised regulations make the six months' ordinary residence applicable to general as well as communal constituencies by an ingenious device. This is a definition of "communal constituencies" inserted in the revised regulations. A "communal constituency" is defined as meaning a non-Mahomedan, Mahomedan or European constituency. The Government of Bombay must have been at its wit's end when it thought of including non-Mahomedan constituencies among communal constituencies. The phrase "communal constituency" has acquired a fixed meaning in Indian constitutional

terminology as a constituency exclusively confined to voters belonging to a single community. It is so used in the Montagu-Chelmsford report and Southborough Committees' report. The Government of Bombay force it, for reasons which we can but dimly gauge, on non-Mahomedan constituencies consisting of Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Jews, Anglo-Indians and, in fact, of all communities except Mahomedans and Europeans. We trust that the Secretary of State and Parliament will strike out this illogical extension. "Ordinary residence of six months in a constituency" is the residential qualification in its most absolute form. We had thought that the Government of Bombay was disposed to be more liberal, but we were mistaken and we can only hope that Parliament will come to the rescue of this Presidency in this matter. Since the above was in type, we have seen a further scheme in the *Times of India*. In it, communal constituencies are styled general constituencies instead of, as in the previous draft, communal being included in general constituencies. We also notice a mention of Maratha constituencies. The public have not as yet been told what these are to be. The whole thing seems to be in a state of confusion. Parliament, we trust, will be able to evolve some order out of this chaos.

REPORT OF THE CHEMICAL SERVICE COMMITTEE.

One of the suggestions of the Industrial Commission was the appointment of the Special Committee to inquire into the desirability of having a Chemical Service for India. Indian resources are not fully developed and the first step towards their full economic utilisation was to create an organisation to undertake research and analytical work. It was suggested that the Government help which the country wanted for the advancement and creation of industries should be given through the medium of chemical research institutions in the country. Professor Jocelyn Thorpe was appointed President of a Committee in which Sir P.C. Ray was the only Indian member. This Committee has just published its report. It is a very carefully prepared State document, drawn in a very liberal spirit. But it is to be regretted that the committee has approached the whole subject in a very prejudiced and biased frame of mind. That chemical research is seriously wanted in India for development of her industries is true but that it could only be done by a Government organisation—the Chemical Service—was a conclusion which could not be accepted without going into greater searching enquiry than the committee seem to have done. At the beginning of the report we are told that "a large proportion of the written evidence is so definitely in favour of the formation of a chemical service" that they have no hesitation in recommending the creation of the service. The so-called evidence is not given with the report, though we find from Sir P. C. Ray's note of dissent that very high authorities in the country, both Indian and English, are strongly opposed to such a service.

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the higher castes, according to this political leader, are exempt from that impossible condition of wholesale saintliness!!

In the fifteen years since the foundation of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India the situation has remarkably improved. As a result of the vigorous educational and propagandistic activities of the society there have sprung up hundreds of schools for D. C. children. All Municipal, Local Board, and Government schools have been practically thrown open to them. As a result of the activities of the D. C. Mission more than 2000 depressed classes children are being instructed in the Society's own Schools in the Bombay Presidency and thousands are under instruction in public schools. From the schools and hostels of the Society hundreds of boys have gone out and are earning their livelihood as carpenters, painters, tailors, mechanics, teachers and clerks, in different places in the Presidency. The Theosophical Society's work in this connection in Madras has been a fruitful one. The education work of the Brahma Mission of Bengal to the depressed classes—the name is now changed into Brahma Mission to Backward Classes—has succeeded in carrying the light of knowledge to thousands of Namasudra homes. This class of the depressed stands on a footing of its own even among those classes. There are many university men among them. Some occupy very high and responsible Government posts also. They may fitly be termed backward instead of depressed, a name which they rightly resent. The Arya Samaj, especially in the Punjab, has improved the social and religious condition of lakhs of Meghas—the depressed classes of the Punjab, by carrying on the work of *Shuddhi* or Purification among them and raising them to the status of the Aryas. What the Mysore, Travancore and Kolhapur and Cochin states have begun to do for the uplift of the depressed classes in their territories is matter of very recent history. The result of their work will be watched with the keenest interest by all interested in the elevation of these classes.

SELF HELP.

The depressed classes thus awakened to a sense of their degraded condition have not been slow to make efforts to improve it themselves. Thus they have started numbers of small and large institutions among them. They hold meetings, carry on discussions, and pass resolutions; and although there is a good deal of talk, it is not altogether without effect. During the last fifteen years they have started in Bombay at least four newspapers, and one in Hyderabad (Deccan), three of which, though shortlived, have helped to create an awakening among them to no little extent.

PUBLIC SYMPATHY.

Some of the higher classes too have not been slow to give their sympathy in an unstinted manner, to this national cause. All genuine men who count for anything in the country, who regard politics as only a branch of reform have come forward, for one reason or another, to help institutions started to promote the welfare of the untouchables. The Indian National Congress of 1917

under the Presidency of Mr. ... tion, calling upon Indians to ... nchability under which those ... untouchability Conference ... under the distinguished presi ... Rao Maharaja showed in an unmis ... conscience of the higher class ... the grave injustice to which consc ... they had subjected the depressed s ... several political and social conferent ... ve met and ... passed resolutions on lines of the Congress with the result that a large number of the untouchables have attended these conferences as delegates—a thing unheard of, nay even undreamt of, just a few years ago.

THE NEW REFORMS.

The coming political reforms assure to those classes communal representation. The best of those reforms is that they give the power of vote to the classes hitherto regarded as the dumb millions of India—to the village ryot, to the wage-earning labourer in towns, and to the depressed classes. As the demand for educated men of these classes to serve on the reformed councils increases the supply of them is bound to be greater. The sense of responsibility and dignity which will thus be created among the representatives of the depressed classes is sure to result in a rapid and healthy growth of education and social and political status of this long neglected community. Whatever the effects of the new political reforms may be, it may safely be predicted that within a few years hence the phrase "depressed classes" will become meaningless and will fail to describe adequately the position of the classes to whom it is at present applied. That I consider a great achievement for a true Indian nationality, due to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Truly a new epoch opens for India's people, not for India's castes, if only because the classes hitherto ignored are enabled to find themselves on their own legs.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

While there is no doubt whatever the political emancipation of the untouchables will result in the betterment of their social and economical condition, this speed of their all round progress will be considerably accelerated if the problem of untouchability is tackled as whole and not in a piecemeal manner as is being done now. The policy of starting separate Schools for their Children should now be given up. Such schools do more harm than good from the larger and national point of view. They only assist to perpetuate the condition which it is the object of the Depressed Classes Missions to remedy. Opening hostels for really capable and persevering young men and girls of the untouchable communities and training them there as missionaries to work for the uplift of their brethren is another sure means of improving their elevation. Government and bodies working for the uplift of untouchables should give scholarships to deserving students to go in for secondary and higher education. The very sight of educated men and women in these communities will be a great incentive to others to take to education. The unfortunate tendency

observable among educated and well-to-do men of this class to keep aloof from their castes is fatal to their progress and should therefore be given up. Vigorous attempts should be made by missions to the depressed to improve their social and religious condition by means of puranas, lectures, kirtanas, lantern lectures, and temperance and purity propaganda. These Missions should foster and encourage the spirit of self-help and active co-operation among them. Social gatherings and dinners in which members of the depressed classes can meet on terms of equality with those of the higher classes should be frequently arranged. The problem, though it has a political aspect, is really like some political problems a socio-religious one, and it should be the aim of all workers to show both by precept and practice that they are in earnest and their sympathy for untouchables is not due to the desire to make use of them for selfish ends. The teaching of Buddha, Namdeo, Takaram, Chaitanya and other religious seers should be not only preached to them but like Eknath acted upon. Above all, if there is an exhibition of thorough sincerity and active co-operation and not of mere verbal patronage on the part of the educated classes to their lowly born brethren, the solution of the untouchability problem will be an easy one and will not take long to achieve success. The problem is of a very long standing and it will tax the capacity and patience of both the higher and the untouchable classes to bring it to a satisfactory end. Let all, therefore, who believe in the principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man work strenuously and hand in hand to achieve the end which certainly is worth all the trouble they can take over it.

I cannot conclude without a warm acknowledgment to Christian missionaries who have been the pioneers of the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes since the advent of the British in India. Last but not least of all, I express our profound sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of the Cochin State and his Dewan for having harnessed themselves to liberal solution of this national problem.

RANDOM NOTES.

It was feared by those competent to express an opinion on the subject that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission might almost get broken on the rock of finance. That this is also the opinion of the Senate of the Calcutta University is evident from an Associated Press telegram which states that in the course of a pointed note to the Government of India the Senate insists that the cost of reconstruction, both initial and recurring, should be ascertained with some approach to accuracy and suggests the appointment of a committee to investigate the financial aspect of the scheme proposed by the Government.

A veteran publicist of Madras often used to say that the elementary teacher of the aided Schools gets less pay than his syce or cook. This caustic remark of his has

had the desired result, for one is pleased to know that the Salaries Committee has generously recommended that Rs 30 per mensem should be the minimum pay of a fully qualified teacher in an elementary school. One other interesting recommendation of the said Committee is that University degrees should not be prescribed as a standard or passport for the purpose of entry into Government Service. If this were to become a general rule in the Madras Presidency, the veteran publicist referred to above would have scored another victory from beyond the grave. But I find that two of the Indian members of the Committee have written separate notes dissenting from this conclusion of their colleagues.

There seems to be a great spiritual awakening among the teachers of elementary Schools in England. The following concluding remarks are taken from an extract from a leading English newspaper:—"The religion of the teacher is spontaneous in England; it has grown up unheeded, unvalued, like Christianity in its prime; its power, already great, is not known even to those who exercise it; but it is making the best of our future. It may be that out of our elementary Schools real religious art and ritual will arise; already they are churches of a faith peculiar to the modern world, and one which gives it its best hope of excelling the past; a faith in the young as beings, not vials of wrath, but children of God for whom we desire a better chance of realising their divinity than was given to us." Incidentally, let us Indians be a little more careful in future before indulging in such sweeping remarks as the East is "spiritual" and the West is "materialistic."

Mr Statham, a much respected officer of the Madras Educational Service, speaking the other day under the auspices of the Poor Schools Society started by Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, pointed out that firms and factories should form a valuable source of assistance, financial and otherwise for the upkeep and spread of night Schools. He gave his own experience as a student of a night School and "cooly" in a go-ahead paper manufactory and printing firm in England and said that that firm maintained many night Schools to impart education to its employees. When he became a "cooly" (very few Englishmen in India, by the way, speak so freely in public) after he left the university in a big firm in England, what struck him most was the passionate desire of the labourers to uplift themselves as far as education went.

The Madras Government is to be congratulated on its selection of an energetic Labour Commissioner in the person of Mr. Paddison who is reputed to be a very sympathetic civilian keenly interested in the elevation of the Depressed Classes. He has since published a comprehensive and useful survey of the Depressed Classes who are officially divided into (a) Aboriginal and hill tribes, (b) criminal tribes, and (c) Untouchables. The question of the amelioration of untouchables is a much larger problem than that of either aboriginal or

criminal tribes. They form about 17 per cent of the entire population of the Presidency and in some districts, the report says, the proportion is naturally higher. The present writer happened to accompany the renowned Indian Poet and Mr. C. F. Andrews to Palghat, the gate of Malabar, in the course of their South Indian tour last year. While driving through the town with a student, Mr. Andrews was surprised at a request from his neighbour that he might be allowed to get out and walk and rejoin him later on. This English gentleman was still more surprised to find when his companion returned that his reason for descending was that, owing to his caste, he was not allowed to pass through a particular street. Mr. Paddison's reference to this and similar instances of untouchability are indeed painful and distressing reading. It was Swami Vivekananda who first in the course of his wanderings as a monk called Malabar "a huge lunatic asylum."

But, unfortunately, the demon of caste untouchability is not confined to Malabar. It has invaded even the most unexpected quarters. An instance in point is the Madras Brahmana Child-widows' Hostel. The Inspectress of Schools, of course an Englishwoman, in charge of this interesting educational experiment was "specially summoned by the Viceroy to explain why this hostel was exclusively reserved for Brahmins." Her brief answer that child widows young enough to benefit by secondary education existed only amongst the Brahman community is far from convincing. At any rate it has not convinced a large body of self-respecting non-Brahmins of the Madras presidency. What the non-Brahmins object to is the obvious injustice involved in the expenditure of the tax-payers' money on an hostel "exclusively reserved for Brahmins." Mrs. Drysdale's "brief" answer to the Viceroy's question is another illustration of your contention that English ladies, as officials in India, are more prone to bureaucratic ways of thinking than many a bureaucrat among the Englishmen in Indian service.

The present writer remembers *New India's* characteristic outburst when the *Reformer* ventured to remark that the cry of "National" education is one of the shibboleths of the day. In making an appeal for funds the high priestess of the "national" education movement says that with the changes made in the Reform Act, placing Education in the hands of Indian ministers, the attitude of the Society (the S. P. N. E.) to the Government must be necessarily altered and that ~~warm~~ co-operation seems likely to take the place of aloofness on one side and suspicion on the other. We welcome this remarkable pronouncement as a first instalment of her healthy and significant politico-educational "climb-down."
N. L.

The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Reformer" will be Rs. 7-8-0 instead of Rs. 5 from the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound sterling instead of twelve shillings as hereto. All new subscriptions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1st April will be at the new rates. Those who are in arrears to whom reminder cards are sent on the 1st May will please note that if they do not pay the arrears before the 30th May, 1920 they will be charged at the enhanced rates.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

As a missionary, I am glad Mr. Fraser has spoken out. The Punjab happenings have given missionaries grave searching of heart. Many have refrained from expression, because the matter may be supposed to be *sub judice*, pending the Hunter Report. Others are impressed by the passionate conviction of Europeans in the Punjab that Amritsar was a massacre which prevented a massacre, which would have included Indian Christians. Remembering the ferocious excesses of the mob, one cannot dismiss this conviction as unnatural, even though one does not share it.

Nevertheless, whatever the Hunter Report may say, some things have become clear. Massacre is the only word in the English tongue which fits what occurred at Amritsar; its callous sequel, of a field of maimed humanity left untended and unthought for, will distress many of us as long as memory remains.

Some missionaries have spoken. I have said what I could, in two numbers of the *Methodist Times*; but this will reach hardly fifteen thousand readers, unless other papers see fit to quote. I know that other protests are preparing. But missionaries feel humiliated by our disorganisation and our separation from each other, which have prevented us from speaking as a body. It was a calamity during the War that we had no means of expression. It is a greater calamity now.

Bankura,

5th May, 1920.

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD J. THOMPSON.

MR. TILAK'S MANIFESTO.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Anent your leader on "Mr. Tilak's Electoral Programme," permit me to point out the unconscious injustice which you do Mr. Tilak and the party with which he is associated in Indian politics. With all his faults, Mr. Tilak is a leading Congressman, actively engaged in its activities and any reflection on him must necessarily react on the Congress party. But at the same time, I promise you my cordial agreement wherever any reflection on Mr. Tilak is well-merited, for criticism and that of a healthy and sympathetic character, cannot but be productive of good. A public man must be thick-skinned, if he wants to lead a public life and do any useful work. Personally, I cannot help feeling that Mr. Tilak's manifesto does not rise above the level of a party political stunt.

To return to Mr. Tilak's manifesto, I should have thanked you sincerely, if you have attacked it, on the fallacious basic principles underlying it, instead of concentrating your powers of criticism on the questions of details. The manifesto is the weakest from my viewpoint not so much in its particulars as in its principles. But here, I shall confine myself to pointing out the instances of unjust and carping and not healthy criticisms in your leader.

Firstly, as to your objections to the nomenclature of the party being Congress Democratic, as by implication, disputing the democratic character of the Congress, the criticism comes with ill-grace from a member of the Liberal party, the leading lights of which are seceders from the Congress, simply because they cannot have their views compulsorily accepted by the Congress as its view. Mr. Surendranath

Banerjee, the doyen of the moderates speaking on the occasion of the farewell party to Lord Stuba in Calcutta, took the public into his confidence and that of the Moderate party and said that the reason why he and other moderates did not attend the Amritsar Congress and the Bengal Provincial Conference this year at Mymensingh, was that the organisers of the Congress and Conference did not undertake to promise the acceptance of the Moderates' view of Reform Act and other public questions. My reply to your enquiry as to whether there is a "Congress Bureaucratic" or a "Congress Autocratic" party, from which it is necessary for Mr. Tilak to distinguish himself, is in the affirmative. With all respects to many men good amongst the Moderate party, I must say that the Moderates who are anti-Congress and still all the same claim to be Congressmen for purpose of controversies, must answer to the label of the "Congress Autocratic" alias "Bureaucratic party."

As regards your criticisms on the social programme, the attribution of marvellous capacity for sophistry to Mr. Tilak, ill-becomes a member of the Moderate party, though not in your personal or journalistic capacity, for as a Moderate you live in a glass house and mere stone-throwing can be played by either side. It does not tend to the purification of public life to call into question a publicist's personal motives. I see no nightmare as you seem to do, in the statement the Congress-Democratic party "advocates the removal of all civic, secular or social disabilities based on caste and custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself and the right and duty of the State to protect it from aggression." The meaning is clear. It means that while the party will strive to abolish the rigidities and severities of caste system, it shall not help to enthrone the tyranny of the right caste system. There is much in our caste system that has got to go but there is also much in our religious customs and practices that deserve to be retained.

As to your next criticism that the manifesto is "more Moslem than Islam," permit me to point out that all that is meant to be conveyed by the manifesto is that Indian Mohamedans' religious sentiments should be respected in any treaty concluded with Turkey and nothing more. All that the party asks is, as you yourself put it, "that the settlement of the Turkish question should be substantially in accord with the Prime Minister's famous declaration two years ago". Your criticism is on the face of it too far-fetched to redeem refutation.

As regard the omission of all mention of the separation of executive and judicial functions, as you yourself admit, after all it is only an "omission" and is too weak a stick to minimise the party's usefulness. As regards your criticisms of the programme of control of export of food stuffs and a permanent Ryotwari settlement of land revenue, both are subjects on which there is ample room for legitimate differences of opinion. Considering the overburdened character of the present-day land revenue settlements in India, which impoverishes the ryot beyond any hope of recuperation, a permanent ryotwari settlement in the immediate future should go a long way towards alleviating the distress of the control of export of foodstuffs and has also the same merits of being a drastic remedy required to meet a drastic situation in our country. Mr. Tilak when he speaks of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, does not imply he aims at making language the basis of main administrative divisions. Since you are not formulating a cut and dried scheme yourself, why not give the benefit of the same privilege of indicating the broad lines of policy to Mr. Tilak also. As regards undermining of

English education, there are, in my opinion, stronger arguments for the undermining of English education than of Vernacular education, which the policy of making English British has wrought in this country.

Bombay 27th April 1920.

S. SADANAND

[The Reformer belongs to the party. It is not responsible for what Mr. Banerjee or any other Moderate leader may say or do. For the rest, we do not deny that there may be differences of opinion. We merely stated what we thought of some of the points. Ed. T. S. R.]

COMMERCIALIZED VICE.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I crave the hospitality in a short space of your columns for the following few lines.

Man is neither angel nor brute, but in him, there are both. A real reform is achieved by awakening the divinity, the angel and by checking the brute, the baser feelings in him. Every reform, therefore, is a double process of education and compulsion of education to call forth what is noble and beautiful in him and legislation to check and to curb what is baser in him. This is true as regards the commercialized vice, as regards the evil of drink. Education is a slow process of development. Education can do therefore very little good to those unfortunate victims of commercialized vice, with whom custom has become other nature. Only those victims driven to this ugly institute either by force or by bad circumstances can be saved by education and by friendly help and advice. We cannot save them all, even though we wish it. If we are really sincere, we must make serious efforts to see that this ugly institute does not get fresh recruits. We must study how and where these unfortunate girls are recruited. Primary Education should be made compulsory in those parts for girls. Social Reformers should educate public opinion there against this evil. But legislation is quite necessary. No prostitutes should be allowed to buy or keep a protegee. "No man or a woman should be allowed to buy or to sell a girl for immoral purposes." If we want that this institute should really disappear from our country, we must undermine it by stopping this fresh recruiting.

The same is the case with the institute of Sadhus and Bairagis. How and where they recruit small boys should be first studied. Primary Education should be made compulsory. Public opinion should be created against this evil. But legislation is quite necessary. No boy should be allowed to be made a Sadhu or Sanjals or a Bairagi. If he wants to be sadhu or so, he may go into that order when he attains the age of understanding.

No Sadhu should be allowed to buy or to keep with him a boy child for making him Sadhu. It is a happy sign of the time that the national energy is being centred round a child.

If we are really patriots we must see that no child falls a victim to either of these institutions.

Tardeo, Bombay,
27-4-20.

KANKAR K. G.

INDIAN RIGHTS IN BURUNDI.

Conquered East Africa—now renamed Tanganyika Territory—is held in joint possession by the Allies, and Great Britain exercises mandatory powers of administration. That is not to say that it occupies a place in the British Empire similar to B.E.A., or Uganda, or any Crown Colony; it cannot be said to be part of the British Empire at all. It is

necessary to recapitulate this well-understood position because according to news from Bukoba, the Administrator and local political officer there appear to be exercising powers in excess of those which should be contemplated in a mandate. They propose to move the Indian Bazaar in Bukoba at the Indian expense from its old-time and present site after the pattern mentioned by Prof. Andrews in his adaptation to African affairs of the Biblical story of Ahab and Naboth's vineyard. The Bazaar, of some fifty shops surrounding a large and well-kept square, occupies an elevated position in the town, and one so desirable that Europeans have cast covetous eyes on it. The Administrator, therefore, has expressed the intention of taking the place from its lessees and occupiers, and reserving it for Europeans, dumping the Indians upon another site. This alternative site is a parcel of low-lying unhealthy swamp land which lies between two rivers—truly a generous offer! The cost of the removal, to come out of the pockets of Indian shop-keepers, is estimated at £30,000. The cost to them in danger and sickness on the new site selected for them will be greater, for human life cannot be estimated in mere terms of rupees or the new coinage. The Secretary of the local Indian Association wrote pointing out this burden upon the community, some of whom, after struggling through lean years of war, are too poor to finance the removal of their shops, and the Administrator replied in a letter, not receding from his position that the bazaar should be shifted, but promising consideration of the points raised. In a further letter the Secretary suggests that as finances warrant, the shopkeepers will put up better buildings on the plots they now occupy, providing that their sites be made freehold. The Administrator's answer to this reasonable proposal is not yet to hand. Meanwhile we would point out to H. E. that it is the admirable practice of Great Britain in victory to respect contracts entered into innocently by her subjects with the fallen Government before occasion arose for war. This Bazaar site, we believe, was leased by the present Indian occupiers from the German Government long before the war and when there was no thought of war. The then Kaiser in an interview with H. E. the Aga Khan, in the year 1900 wished to make it a condition that Indians settling under these circumstances in German territory should become German subjects. This proposal was directly refused by the Aga Khan, and the Indians of Bukoba—the Bazaar shops are largely owned by Mombasa merchants—retain to this day their citizenship as subjects of the British Empire. These facts are recorded in the Aga Khan's book "India in Transition." Even did Britain enjoy full possession of the land conquered from the Germans her policy would have been respect for areas in it held by British subjects, and we can less conceive the authority of an Administrator under a mandate to alter that policy. Germans themselves, so current gossip runs, have been in places allowed to return to their ex-German holdings now in British hands. What then of the British Indians at Bukoba? —*East African Chronicle*, Nairobi.

THE FIRST KANARA DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

The Secretary, Kanara District Conference wires as follows from Karwar under date 15th May:—"Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President-elect of the first Kanara District Conference arrived here. Received enthusiastic ovations along the way from Hubli to Karwar. Carried in grand procession through tastefully decorated streets amidst *bande mataram* cheers. Before dispersing Sir Narayan thanked vast concourse in stirring Konkani speech in the Market Square. Great enthusiasm prevails in town. Sittings commence to-day afternoon."

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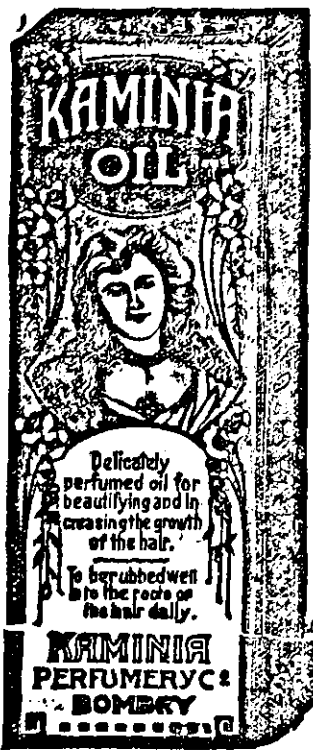
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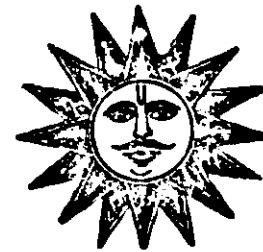
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“I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard.”
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Awakening of the Karnatak: The Karnatak Districts of the Bombay Presidency, which had rather been left out of the main currents of Indian thought and life, are awakening to the need of bringing themselves abreast of the Presidency. Within the last three years, two Arts Colleges have been started at Dharwar as well as several new High Schools in the adjoining Districts. The school-going population has nearly doubled. But there are other evidences to show that the Karnatak is fully resolved to rise to the height of her opportunity. The first Kanara district Conference was held a few days ago at Karwar under the presidentship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, himself a native of the district. The first Karnatak Conference was also held this year at Dharwar with Dewan V. P. Madhav Rao in the chair. Both these Conferences were according to all accounts a great success. The central idea of Mr. Madhav Rao's presidential address was the formation of a British Karnatak Province by putting together Coorg and the other Kanarese speaking districts of Madras and Bombay with Dharwar as capital. In our opinion this would be altogether a disadvantage to the Kanarese speaking people. It is the example of the neighbouring non-Kanarese population that has stimulated them to the recent public activities. Apart from that fact, the first question Mr. Madhav Rao's proposal raises is, why are the Kanarese speaking people of Hyderabad and Mysore to be left out of the grandiose scheme? Is it that they do not need the benefit of the linguistic province or that the linguistic province will be no good to them? Is Madhav Rao prepared to support, if not to inaugurate, a movement on the part of these people to throw in their lot with the new linguistic province? The second point is why should it be assumed that in the districts in which Kanarese is spoken at present it will continue to be spoken always? Mr. Madhav Rao, doubtless, knows that there has been a struggle for existence among competing vernaculars and that, as a consequence, some vernaculars have been able to extend their area of prevalence at the expense of others. Take the case of Kanarese itself. At a Bombay Consultation dated January 31, 1870, the East India Company decided to publish a code of laws and these were ordered to be translated into

Portuguese and Kanarese. “The preference given to Kanarese over the other vernaculars then in vogue in Bombay” writes Mr. P. B. Malabari in his “Bombay in the Making,” “is explained by Mr. Edwardes by the fact “that the early population of these islands was to a large extent of Southern or Dravidian origin.” The proposed linguistic province will merely arrest the normal evolution by which India, in the course of her long history, has been progressing gradually towards her national necessity of a common language.

The Reformer's Heresy: The *Janmabhumi*, an English weekly published in Masulipatam, devotes a leading article in its issue of the 13th May to the topic of “linguistic provinces” in the course of which, referring to our often expressed opinion as to their anti-national character, it asks, “Who has ventured to repeat this heresy in recent years except the *Indian Social Reformer*?” We have advocated a good many heresies which those who opposed them in the past have now found necessary to emblazon on their programmes. The peculiarity about “linguistic provinces” is that the idea was itself a heresy till Lord Hardinge's Government took it up as a means avowedly of maintaining the Central Government in India as a close preserve of the bureaucracy. The sixty millions of Mahomedans are organizing themselves into an all-India community with Urdu as their language. The four million Indian Christians are doing the same with English for their common language. Neither of these communities care for “linguistic provinces.” The idea of “linguistic provinces” is thus essentially a Hindu idea like caste, and just as much fissiparous. It is this inveterate tendency to raise barriers between kindred peoples that makes the Hindu community so politically helpless notwithstanding the enormous weight of its mass. Is it not strange that a people whose religious philosophy provides the world with the most emphatic testimony to the unity of the manifold, should have for its main practical activity the mutilation and multiplication of the one into many?

The Janmabhumi's Candour: The *Janmabhumi*, however, deserves credit for its candour in stating its reason for the “linguistic province” idea which, as we have more than once pointed out, is advocated less with an eye to administrative convenience than with one to what may be called national appearances. To have English as the *lingua franca*, in our contemporary's view, “will ere long disorganize Indian nationalism and make India the outhouse of England.” It adds: “We shall never consent to make India the bond-slave of England—always bearing the badge of servitude in the tongue that it speaks and the word that it writes.” This is curious language for a journal which is written, and very well, too, in the English language. The United States has not become an outhouse of England nor her “bond-slave”

because it has adopted English as the national language. Take the case of South Africa and Canada, both bi-lingual dominions. Or take the case of Wales, the illustration employed by the Calcutta Universities Commission. We never said that the vernaculars should be neglected. On the contrary, we have laid stress on their being given more encouragement than at present in our educational system, especially, in the higher stages. The *Janmabhumi* is evidently enchanted by the existence of two thousand castes and as many hundred languages in the country. We are not. "The variety and richness of Indian civilization and Indian culture," writes our contemporary, "would disappear if the different types of Indian character were all thrown into the seething cauldron and a new, a uniform, a made-to-order cast of racial character arose out of the process." We would better appreciate the "variety and richness" of Indian civilization if they did not lead to demands for communal representation, to Brahmin—non-Brahmin controversies conducted not exactly in cultural terms, or to Behar-Bengali, Andhra-Tamil, Telugu-Uriya, Madras-Mysore, Gujarati-Dekhani amenities. Uniformity is not colourless, as our contemporary seems to think. The sky is uniform but no one who has gazed upon the sun setting on the Back-Bay in September will call it colourless. We are sure that even in Masulipatam God often makes Himself "a golden rose of dawn," though unheeded by our contemporary. "Detach one stone or displace it," writes our contemporary, "and the whole edifice falls to the ground." But Nationality is not a stone building but the living rock and the metaphors applicable to it are not those of the mason but the geologist. The statesman and the patriot, moreover, are not to be guided by the jargon of the artist and the architect. The secession of the Southern States would certainly have added to the colour scheme of North America but Abraham Lincoln thought that the State could not permit it without bringing desolation on itself.

Freedom or Power? We pointed out last week that the antithesis between Freedom and Power as ends of constitutional reform, was no invention of ours but had been brought out by Lord Acton in his essay on the French Revolution. The *Citizen* of Madras not only repeats the mistake of its Poona avatar, the *Servant of India*, but in addition preens itself on the unanswerable character of its objection. "Our unanswerable, and, as we consider it to be, unanswerable objection to this facile phrase," it writes, "was that it is an essentially false one, an arbitrary and artificial distinction, in as much as Freedom and Power are not mutually exclusive, antagonistic or destructive and in as much as the very Power which the Liberals are credited with trying to wrest from an unwilling bureaucracy represents, in our humble opinion, but so much Freedom gained for the country as a whole." In view of this misconception, let us requote the passage from Acton which is an unanswerable answer to the *Citizen's* self-complacency. "The purpose of all Continental Governments, framed on that pattern (the French Republic of 1791)" wrote that great historian, "is not that the people should obtain security for freedom, but participation in power." The *Citizen* points out that fifteen years ago we had the deportation regulation of 1818, and asks if, in view of that fact, we would still say that the freedom we ask for is but the freedom we enjoyed a decade and a half ago. But the deportation regulation was an obsolete thing 15 years ago, and we certainly wish it will always be so.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in Cochin: Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was invited to preside over

the Pulaya conference in Cochin. We reprinted the Presidential address in the two last issues of the *Reformer*. A correspondent writing to the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta gives the following interesting particulars of Sir Narayan's memorable visit: "Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of Bombay was escorted at Shoranur by the members of the Calicut Brahmin Samaj and they alighted at Ernakulam railway station by the mail on the 1st instant. There was a large gathering awaiting his arrival. He was garlanded on alighting by Sadhu Sivaprasad and was received by Rev. Petros, B.A., B.D. and the Dewan Peshkar of Cochin State and was taken in a Government motor car to the guest house where he stayed. On the 2nd he presided over the Pulaya Conference and read out an instructive speech for the social amelioration of the Pulayas. A Malayalam translation of it was rendered by Sadhu Sivaprasad, sentence by sentence. Mr. Rama Iyer and Mr. E. Raman Menon also spoke at the Conference. A Pulaya boy was given Rs. 10 by Sir Narayan for reading a poem. After the passing of resolutions a grand procession of 5000 Pulayas and other respectable gentlemen headed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar marched through the prohibited streets up to the gate of the Fort. At British Cochin he spoke on Social Service on Monday evening; it was well attended. He was followed by all Brahmo friends and the Dewan Peshkar as far as Shoranur and he left for Bangalore on the 4th amidst cheers and heart-felt prayers for long life and prosperity."

Influence of English thought on Indian Women: Sir Theodore Morrison delivered recently an address on the influence of English thought on Indian women. In it he said: "Modern India had received two characteristic ideas from English literature, namely, the idea of freedom and a new conception of the relation between the sexes." Commenting on this the *Indian Messenger* remarks: "Sir Theodore reads Modern India aright when he says that the idea of freedom and a new conception of the relation between the sexes are two characteristic ideas imbibed from English literature. The influence of women on Indian character has always been great and there is no reason to think that the influence of the educated women will be less. With a firm faith in the healthy influence of the educated Indian women, the Indian reformers have striven hard for the spread of female education in the country. As large numbers of Indian women like Indian men are brought under the influence of English literature and their ideas, through vernaculars, filtrate to the masses, the speed of nation-building in India will be greatly accelerated."

Nobody's Child:—A Reuter's telegram states: The House of Commons by 117 votes to 9, passed the second reading of the Bill providing for the registration, at the time of birth, of the alleged father of an illegitimate child. The former will be required to confirm or disprove his paternity and in the former case, he will be required to submit an offer for the cost of maintenance of the child, which will be duly embodied in the order. The father may also be ordered, before the birth of the child, to support the mother until and including confinement. The maximum affiliation order is fixed at forty shillings a week. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, introducing the Bill, said that the infantile mortality among illegitimate children was 201 per thousand, compared with 90 per thousand children born in wedlock. The Home Secretary objected to the Bill. He said that Government hoped to establish a Committee to consider legalised adoption in Great Britain.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 23, 1920.

THE PEACE TREATY WITH TURKEY.

On Saturday the 15th instant, the Government of India published a summary of statement regarding the terms of Peace with Turkey. We give below the principal conditions which have been communicated by the Allies to Turkey so far as they relate to her territorial possessions.

(1) The frontiers of Turkey will be as already demarcated, and where necessary revised by a Boundary Commission to be created. According to this delimitation Turkey will include the Constantinople sector of Thrace and all the predominantly Turkish areas of Asia Minor.

(2) The right and title of the Turkish Government in Constantinople will not be affected, but the right to modify this provision will result in the event of the failure of Turkey faithfully to fulfil the Treaty.

(3) A Commission of the Straits will have authority over all waters between the Mediterranean mouth of the Dardanelles, and the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus, and of the waters within three miles of each of these mouths; also on the shores to such extent as may be necessary. The duty of the Commission will be to ensure freedom of navigation in these waters in peace and war.

(4) A scheme of local self-government will be drafted for Kurdistan, including provision for the protection of Assyro-Chaldean and other minorities. The League of Nations will decide later whether Kurdistan should be granted independence of Turkey, if it be proved that separation is desired by the majority of the Kurdish people.

(5) Certain portions of Smyrna are formed into a separate unit to be administered by Greece. The suzerainty of Turkey is to be continued for a period of years till the autonomous State of Smyrna decides its own destiny.

(6) With the exception of the Constantinople sector Eastern Thrace is ceded to Greece, provision being made for the local self-government of the Town of Adrianople.

(7) Certain portions of the Armenian Districts of Turkey are added to the existing Armenian Republic, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in certain districts being referred to the arbitration of the President of the United States, whose decision will be final thereon and on any stipulation regarding Armenian access to the sea.

(8) Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine are provisionally recognised as independent States, subject to administrative advice and assistance from a mandatory Power until such as they are able to stand alone. The mandate for Syria has been entrusted to France and those for Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain. The mandate for Palestine will include provision for giving effect to the declaration of November 8th, 1917, regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jewish People.

(9) The Hedjaz is recognised as a free and independent State. The Sherif of the Hedjaz undertakes to assure free and easy access to Mecca and Medina to Muslim pilgrims of all countries.

(10) Turkey relinquishes all rights and titles over Egypt, the Sudan and Cyprus.

(11) Turkey recognises the French Protectorate over Morocco and Tunisia.

(12) Turkey renounces her claim to certain islands in the Aegean.

To this summary of the Peace terms is prefixed a message from His Excellency the Viceroy to the Mohomedan people of India exhorting them to accept the Peace terms 'with resignation, and fortitude' and to keep their loyalty towards the Crown bright and untarnished, as it had been for so many generations. There is no doubt that Lord Chelmsford keenly feels that the terms of peace should be as exacting as they are. His Excellency no doubt speaks of these decisions as being "in full accordance with the high principles which have been applied in the Peace Settlement of all other Powers lately at war with Britain and her Allies." This, of course, he was bound to do in loyalty to His Majesty's Government. Many people, in a position of more freedom, may question both the statements. Prof. Keynes in his book on the Peace terms with Germany has shown that the principles which they illustrate are neither high nor creditable to the Allies. And, notwithstanding the elaborate official statement appended to this summary of the Peace Terms with Turkey, we venture to think that the Turkish terms are even more unprincipled than those of Germany. There is nothing in the German Treaty corresponding to the distribution of the territories of Turkey under the guise of Protectorates and Mandates and so on, to various European nations who cannot and do not intend to assimilate with the population of these territories, and whose object, therefore, can be only one of exploitation. These published terms leave the sad impression that the high professions of the Allies at the commencement of the war had no root in their deeper consciousness. Nevertheless, we hope with His Excellency the Viceroy that the Indian Mahomedans will accept—not these terms—but the situation created by them with fortitude and determination to retrieve it as soon and as much as possible. The one Mahomedan State in Europe has been sent out of it practically bag and baggage but we do not think that Europe on that account has been made the more safe for Christianity. On the contrary, the nations of Europe seem to be in high revolt against the essential doctrines of that religion. We should look forward with much hope of success to an Asiatic propaganda in Europe comprising the great truths of religion. These, after all, may prove to be the salvation of the European Continent which nominally professes Christianity, but really worships the Mammon of wealth and power.

COMMUNITY SERVICE.

AN APPEAL TO INDIAN CHRISTIANS. (By MR. J. N. SINGH.)

Let us begin by defining Community Service. Community Service is an effort to seek the good of one's fellow men in uplifting them—it is social service of the highest type. George Eliot has said, "Important as it is to organise and direct the industry of the world, it is more important to organise and direct the

leisure of the world." Maeterlinck observes, "It is the way in which hours of freedom are spent that determines, as much as war and labour, the moral worth of labour." This is the key to Community Service. Its object is to bring people together in healthy recreation and friendly communion, to make them understand one another and be mutually helpful to the common cause leading on to a common goal. In Community Service, mental, physical and social developments are sought.

We have seen how in the war zones where Community Service rendered by various institutions and individuals has created a bond of goodwill towards one another, irrespective of caste or race or creed. Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Sikhs, all mingled together, both in work and in play to an extent never dreamt of before. This was because there was one common goal in view—the crushing of the Prussian heel of Militarism, which had become a world menace. It was higher than the skies, it was wider than the seven seas; nay, it was deeper than our pocket-books. It needed co-operation to overcome the danger.

In America the War Camp Service had an army of its own, which included 2,700 trained workers and about 60,000 volunteers, song leaders, club managers, committee hustlers, church workers, Christian Endeavours and Epworth Leagues. One Sunday evening the writer was asked to speak before a Christian Endeavour Society which entertained soldiers' and sailors every Sunday in New York City. It was the most splendid bunch I had ever come across. On enquiry, I found that these young folks visited hospitals, prisons and the East side slums of the great cosmopolitan city of New York, where Italians, Poles, Irishmen, Russians and other people live. I had many opportunities of visiting similar places during my stay in America.

There are fifty different races in New York. The American Community Service has opened recreational centres for these foreign-born citizens, educational classes, and their children are allowed to mingle freely with the Americans. They share their amusements and participate in their social life. Clubs are formed to bring them together, dramatic performances and lectures given to which the parents are also invited. There is a wide difference between the parents and the children. The latter speak fine English while their parents are unable even to say "Yes" or "No." The American people have a great problem before them of educating these races and cultivating in them high ideals of national life.

Christ, our Master, says, "How can you love God whom you have not seen, if you love not your brother whom you have seen?" These words bring back to memory the picture of the New York slums where so much of this community work is being done. Great men and women live with the poorer classes and are thereby able to help them. They find it easier to meet the needs of these poor people by so doing. Employments are secured for these people, cheaper houses where they can live comfortably, Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s opened for them, not to speak of

churches, co-operative societies, etc. Every one of these social service workers feels that it is his or her duty to help these people.

NEEDS OF INDIA.

At the present moment our Motherland is passing through a very critical period of transition. The younger generation is thinking of high ideals. It is also a thing of our glorious past, our ancient civilisation. Let us encourage them in these thoughts. But, the question arises, does India not need anything? The answer is, yes. To-day as a nation, we are certainly not perfect. We need to develop in many directions. As Mr. Gokhale once said: "There is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. On every side whichever way we turn only one sight meets the eye, that of work to be done: and only one cry is heard, that there are but few faithful workers. The elevation of the depressed classes, who have to be brought up to the level of the rest of our people, universal elementary education, co-operation, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry, higher education of women, spread of industrial and technical education, building up the industrial strength, promotion of closer relations between the different communities—these are some of the tasks which lie in front of us, and each of them needs a whole army of devoted missionaries." That gives in a nutshell what India really needs now. What are we doing to uplift our country? Do we adequately realise what a grave question we have to solve in this problem of beggary? Thousands of helpless men, women and children are crying for help. Are we doing anything to make their lot more endurable? We, who call ourselves the followers of Christ, certainly have a great deal to do. We should not be content with just preaching the gospel of Christ. Let us think seriously how best we can solve some of the glaring needs of our country.

METHODS OF WORK.

In Community service, it is necessary to organise clubs, recreation grounds, social rooms, classes, lectures, concerts, etc. Evening classes are needed to educate the poor in different directions. Games, concerts, socials, lectures on sex and social hygiene should be held wherever possible. Public meetings are always great centres of education; we exchange ideas while listening and talking. We should collect all possible literature on the above subjects and place it within the reach of all classes. True, the Y. M. C. A. and similar institutions are doing their utmost in most of these directions, but their burden is already very heavy. Let us give them our help ungrudgingly in any way that we can.

Let us follow the ideals of our great national Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, whose motto is "Plain living, high thinking."

Oh, God, give us men and women of such noble aspirations, to whom it is a joy to serve their Motherland. Jesus was a man of the common

people and he never deserted their cause. Can we afford to do so?

God, give us men. A time like this demands.
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands
Men, whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men, whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men, who possess opinion and a will;
Men, who have honour, men who will not lie.

THE LEAGUE OF LIBERAL BRAHMINS.

(BY A NON-BRAHMIN.)

A league of liberal Brahmins, as they call it, has been brought into being in Madras. The very idea underlying such a league is absurd and revolting to the non-Brahmins. It involves the assumption that the Brahmins are superior to the other communities and that the other communities evince a desire to be taken into the Brahmin community. Social reformers in India want to demolish the highly artificial and irrational caste system, while the league wants to perpetuate it. Social Reform aims at the education and elevation of the backward classes, and its ultimate goal is the recognition of the equality of all communities. It is not a lip recognition that is wanted but a recognition in acts such as inter-dining and inter-marriage. A necessary preliminary to such a recognition is the education of the communities who are lower down in the social scale. There is no denying the fact that the Brahmins as a class are more educated. This is accounted for by the fact that for centuries they were the repositories of learning in India. It is not because the other communities have no brains. Their education began only much later. There are several communities that have made wonderful progress in the past few years. The Nayars and Thiyyas of Malabar are instances in point. They are, or will soon be, in point of education on a par with the Brahmins. They have also begun to assert their equality with the Brahmins. Other communities that are in a backward condition are making rapid progress and before long the caste system, which has even now become highly artificial, will cease to exist.

But this league bodes ill for the future. If this league were to succeed, which I am sure it will not, in converting high-minded and cultured men of other communities in India, it would be the greatest calamity that would befall the nation. It would mean the removal of the best men of those communities and their consequent weakening. These men will be despised by those communities and they in their turn will naturally lose their sympathy for those communities also. These converts thus transplanted into the Brahmin community will soon acquire their prejudices, their artificial ideas and standards and the cleavage between Brahmins and non-Brahmins will ever widen. But these are imaginary fears. For no self-respecting non-Brahmin will aspire to this enviable position or brook the impudence into which these Brahmins have betrayed themselves inspired, of course, by the High priestess of Theosophy.

The need of India is not for more Brahmins but for

less of them. Again why do they add insult to injury by the conditions they have prescribed for admission into that community? How are the non-Brahmins who eat flesh and drink liquor worse than the Brahmins who do the same? Let them not trouble themselves about this imaginary grievance of the Non-Brahmins. A better occupation for the Parishad will be to purge their own community of these undesirable elements. I have known several Brahmins who eat flesh and go to liquor shops and drink in open day light. The Brahmins who have fallen into these evil habits are worse than Parayas according to Sastras. Why don't these men follow the sastraic injunctions and excommunicate them?

The caste-system of India is irrational and highly detrimental to the progress of India. One can understand the four varnas of Bhagwad Geeta. "Serenity, self-restraint, purity, wisdom and belief in God" may be the inborn qualities of one man. So also a man may be lacking in initiative and may be fit only to serve by his inborn nature. Men of these different types we see everywhere. But when we try to classify and label them—one a Brahmin, another a Vysia and a third a Sudra—even on this rational basis, we realise its impracticability. If it be the intention of the Dharmic Brahmana Sanga to classify the Hindus on this rational basis of the Geeta, let them first of all pick out the Brahmins in their own community. We don't want to become Brahmins. This condescension of "the gods on earth" is most silly and an insult to the non-Brahmins.

I believe it is mainly due to the non-Brahmin movement of South India that social reform looms so large in the political programme of some of the Nationalist leaders who are known to be exponents of the *Varnasrama Dharma*. Perhaps it may be only a strategic move to gain non-Brahmin votes. I have always regretted the attitude of the non-Brahmin leaders of South India in political matters. The non-Brahmin movement has come to mean anti-Home rule movement. This attitude, I believe, is due more to the hatred of the Brahmin leader than to want of sympathy for the Home-rule movement itself. This attitude has alienated the sympathy of many non-Brahmin Nationalists, in fact of the whole of the younger generation of non-Brahmins from the non-Brahmin movement.

The fear of the non-Brahmins, that political freedom will put power in the hands of the Brahmins and that they will abuse it to promote communal interests, is the cause of the contention that social reform must precede political freedom. This is an unnecessary fear. Granting for the sake of argument that Brahmins gain power and that they abuse it to promote their communal ends, we must be prepared to accept the lesser of the two evils and to fight these tendencies out as we fight against the present bureaucracy. So let the non-Brahmins make common cause with the Nationalists who work for the emancipation of India from political serfdom.

I wish that the Brahmin politicians who unwillingly reveal their caste prejudices could subordinate their

communal interests to the highest good—the good of the people. The love of your own community must lead you to love other communities as well. A Brahmin aristocracy is as nauseating to the people as the British oligarchy. So Brahmin leaders, either give up your caste prejudices or at least keep silent on questions of caste. A leader, to deserve the confidence of the people, must be conscientious, disciplined and self-sacrificing.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICA:

Seventy-five institutions of higher learning in the United States are appealing for popular subscriptions so that they may meet the expense of enlarging and improving buildings and other facilities, made necessary by the great growth in attendance, and the expense of increasing salaries of instructors, which in many cases have not been raised proportionately with the cost of living. The aggregate of all the contributions sought is in excess of \$200,000,000. The methods used by the institutions in their campaigns for funds is in many cases similar to those of the Red Cross Liberty Bond, and other war "drives" the committee in charge allots to certain cities and districts the quota of the total fund that the local workers should strive to obtain, the size of the quota being determined by the number of alumni, the size of the population, etc., of a district. Meetings are held, reunion dinners of alumni are arranged, many letters are sent, and a constant stream of articles is supplied to the daily press.

Five of the largest institutions in the country—Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Northwestern, and New York University—are engaged in campaigns, and the total sought by these five universities alone is \$70,700,000. Northwestern seeks \$25,000,000, Harvard already has promises of \$12,000,000 toward her desired fund of \$15,250,000, Cornell's goal is \$10,000,000, Princeton desires \$14,000,000, and New York University has set \$6,450,000 as her minimum. Boston University wants \$10,000,000. The University of Pittsburgh intends to raise \$16,000,000 in the next five years. Oberlin College of Ohio is to raise \$5,285,000, and ten other colleges are campaigning for individual funds of \$3,000,000 each.

Although Columbia University, of New York City, has announced no plans for a campaign for funds, her President, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has intimated that money might be sought for the completion of the institutions building programmes. Two of Columbia's associated institutions, Barnard College and Teachers College, are appealing for funds. Teachers College seeks \$3,000,000, of which \$1,500,000 is to be used for a new library building, and the Alumnae Committee of Barnard asks \$500,000 to complete the \$1,000,000 endowment fund.

Sums sought by the smaller and specialized institutions range down from the \$8,000,000 sought by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to the \$10,000 to be raised by Fordham University of New York

City for a memorial to its graduates who perished in the war. Joining, too, in the campaigns are some of the women's colleges, including Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr and Smith College. Phillips Exeter Academy and Andover Academy also are on the list.

Three of the institutions that had planned elaborate campaigns for large endowment funds received large sums under the will of Henry C. Frick. To Princeton was left \$10,000,000, Harvard received \$5,000,000, and \$5,000,000 also was bequeathed to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Massachusetts "Tech" also has received in its campaign promises of large sums from T. Coleman du Pont, the ammunition manufacturer, on condition that specific additional sums be subscribed by others during the campaign.

By far the largest sum is sought by Northwestern University in Chicago. Her goal is \$25,000,000, including \$10,000,000 for new buildings and an endowment fund for their maintenance. Intended expansion of work is to be covered by a fund of \$11,000,000, and the remaining \$4,000,000 is to be used in carrying on the present curriculums. The scale of professors' pay at Northwestern will be increased.

The second institution on the list in point of amount sought is the University of Pittsburgh. The campaign managers assert that their campaign for \$16,000,000 is a "quiet continued quest." This year it will ask for \$1,500,000, with \$1,000,000, each year thereafter until the goal is reached. For general endowment \$3,925,000 is to be used, with \$2,200,000 for new buildings. The alumni also are seeking \$300,000 for a building of their own.

Third on the list is Harvard, with \$12,000,000 already subscribed toward its goal of \$15,250,000. One of the aims of the campaign was the creation of an endowment fund of \$12,000,000 to provide an annual income of \$600,000 to increase the pay of all professors. An increase of 20 per cent already is in effect, and an additional 30 per cent, making a total increase of 50 per cent, will be granted when the entire fund of \$15,250,000 is made up.

Harvard intends to set aside \$1,000,000 in a mobile fund, "to be kept unpledged to meet opportunities which arise for special work for the obtaining of exceptional teachers." The income of a similar fund is to be used "for salaries of teachers in the Dental School, 80 per cent of whom are now unpaid." Additions to the staff of the department of chemistry will use up the income of another million, and \$250,000 is to be used for salaries of instructors in physical education. The university also has pointed out the need of \$1,000,000 to complete the fund for the Graduate School of Education, and \$1,000,000 for new chemical laboratories.

When the bequest of \$10,000,000 to Princeton was made by Mr. Frick the campaign for \$14,000,000 lagged, but it regained its impetus when campaign committees pointed out that both sums were needed to carry out the plans of the trustees. The original estimate of the needs of the university, made before the death of Mr.

Frick, called for \$24,000,000, but it was decided to ask in the campaign only for \$14,000,000. To the end of January the subscriptions were \$4,600,000 or about 30.2 per cent of the entire fund. This fund will be put to many uses in the university, and \$2,000,000 will be set aside to cover immediate increases in the pay of the members of the teaching staff.

An intensive campaign to raise \$10,000,000 for Cornell will begin soon. Half of the sum is to be put into a general endowment fund and the other half will be used for increasing the pay of professors. This city's quota is \$4,000,000.

Another campaign for \$10,000,000 is that of Boston University. It will use \$6,000,000 for general endowment and \$4,000,000 for new buildings. It is the last of the larger endowment fund campaigns and probably will not start intensive work until the Harvard campaign is out of the way.

N. H. M.

The Calcutta Coroner on Rash Driving: The Coroner of Calcutta has been indulging in a bit of much-needed plain speaking on the rapidly growing risks in big cities of peaceful citizens and their wives and children being murdered in the public highways by reckless drivers of various kinds of vehicles. In the course of an inquest touching the death of an Indian who lost his life as the result of a tram accident, the conductor of the car stated in his evidence that the deceased attempted to board a car in full motion, slipped and had his skull smashed. The Coroner disbelieved the conductor's evidence and remarked that "it was a matter of common knowledge that there was a tendency on the part of taxi and tram car drivers to drive too fast, especially when the traffic was not heavy." The Coroner went on to add, says the *Indian Mirror*, that these accidents would cease only when people took the law into their own hands and lynched the culprits who showed such a supreme disregard for human lives.

Proposed All-India Students' Institute: We welcome every increase in the number of all-India movements and institutions. It is with special pleasure, therefore, that we notice that at a Conference, attended by representatives from all Provinces, and held in the Calcutta Town Hall in December under the presidentship of Mr. N. A. Dravid of the Central Provinces, it was resolved that an all-India Students' Institute be established. The central idea, we learn from the prospectus, is to have self-contained organisations in different Provinces and Presidencies with branches in the districts wherever possible. Such organisations should have their own constitution and office-bearers and the work should be conducted on lines suited to the requirements and resources of each locality. It is also proposed to have a central organisation to ensure co-ordination among the organisations throughout the country. To assist this will be started, as soon as possible, a fortnightly journal devoted to questions affecting the interests of Indian students in the country and abroad. We wish the movement success.

The Bombay Child Welfare Exhibition: Her Excellency Lady Lloyd presided at a meeting on Thursday at which the report of the operations of the Bombay Child Welfare Exhibition was read, showing an addition of over nine lakhs of rupees to the funds of the movement. This highly successful result is due largely to Her Excellency's great capacity for organisation and zeal for the children. The prizes in the Pearl Necklace Lottery were also drawn at this function.

EASTERN AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In writing on "Is Western Civilization Spiritual?" appearing in the *Reformer* of the 2nd instant, my chief object was to draw pointed attention to the fact that the Indian problem which the country has to solve, if it is to occupy a useful place in the comity of nations, is mainly cultural and not political or social, as the terms are used to denote the present day respective movements in the country. What I pleaded for and what I still wish to plead for is that while we shall assimilate the energetic aspect of western civilization, we should make Indian culture the basis of all progress and refuse to implant in an uncongenial soil as that of India the exotic plant of materialism, which underlies the whole structure of the west.

It is on that account, that I deliberately put it in my article that you are, for all practical purposes, identifying the state of inertia that is the present day condition of India with Indian culture ignoring its essential and deeper aspects. While writing I was conscious of the fact that your exact wording was "the energetic civilization of the West is more spiritual than the inert civilization which that of the East has become" and to be precise relied for my statement not on that particular passage you have quoted but on the whole tenour of the article, especially with reference to Indian culture. If I revert again to the subject, it is because I wish you to face the issue in its entirety, which has a practical value in the present stage of our progress, and say whether the Indian problem is not mainly cultural and the efforts of political and social reformers should not be to rehabilitate Indian culture to suit modern conditions. While not unappreciative of the deeper aspects of Indian culture, I am afraid, you are not prepared to make it the basis of progress.

There is a wide-spread mistaken impression that to rehabilitate Indian culture is, as it was effectively put to me, to learn to live on two annas or nothing a day, that is to lapse into a stage of inertia, making virtue of a vice. But that is not so. Priestcraft, social tyranny and poverty are no more the aspects of Indian civilization than the invention of diabolical engines of destruction is the aspect of western civilization. The Gita which you approvingly cite as an authority, lays down that not only men shall not escape from action but they should with strong body serving mind shall give up their mortal powers to worthy act not seeking gain. Action as the watchword of Indian religion and it urges us to make Love (and all true Love is unselfish, and it cannot apply to the love of our own self, which is selfish) the motif force of all action, while the west does not make it the motif force of action, but is grossly individualistic.

If India has a message to deliver and a mission to perform it is in the field of Religion. There can be no merit in India trying to specialise in materialistic progress as West has done when the West (and the World) needs most the soothing balm of Religion which alone can harmonise the apparently self-contradictory contrasts the cosmic power presents in its manifestations. Canon Hensley Benson writing in the *Contemporary Review* many years ago summed up the need of the west end of the century when he said: "The effect of civilization (western) has been enormous to stimulate human desires. Great as are the benefits of civilization, they are attended by this formidable circumstance that the manufacture

of new appetites proceeds at a much swifter rate and the result is the accumulation of discontent. Now it seems evident that anarchy has followed in the wake of social and political changes which have had the effect of withdrawing large sections of the people from the influence of religion. No doubt there are many tendencies and conditions making for anarchy but surely the great parent cause to which all the rest are subordinate is the disappearance over large areas of civilized areas of the religious bases of morality. We do not realize the magnitude of the peril. The diffused material comforts of society throws a veil over the ulcer that is eating its vitals". (Italic mine). This was written over a decade ago. Then the west has not tasted the fruits of its philosophy of materialism as the war has ripened into. Then Bolshevism has not convulsed Russia and threatened to convulse the rest of Europe and Asia, as it now threatens to do. Do we now at least realize the magnitude of the peril that threatens west imminently at this very moment and that would certainly be at our door also, in all its forms. Our ancestors freed religious thought and we have a wonderful religion. In the west society always had freedom. Both have to benefit by each other. They will have to be supplementary to the culture of the other. But I must repeat it is a suicidal policy we are pursuing when we run after western institutions as the bases to mould our national life. It is cultural suicide which is worse than homicide. I have faith and hopes of the masses of my countrymen. But I feel despondent of the educated classes. I am myself one of them, and so are many of us, but that is no reason, we should be wanting in the humility to recognise the fault in us. This article would have served its purpose, if it causes introspection in the minds of its readers. Let us think as we really can and we shall be saved. I am for liberty to think and speak, for liberty in dress, food and marriage and in every other thing so long as we do not injure others and are sincere and earnest.

Before concluding permit me to point out that I do not deny that all energy is manifestation of spirit. What I deny is that all energy is spiritual. It is true Shiva which is only a synonym for cosmic power has both terrific and benign aspects. But once the cosmic power is subject to limitations of spirit and matter, it has to be viewed ethically.
Bombay 5-5-20. S. SADANAND.

THE LATE MR. NANJUNDAYYA.

Mr. Nanjundayya held the first place in our academic world, not only by virtue of the honours he had obtained from the University, but also by reason of his wide and deep converse with the master-minds of the two hemispheres. He was truly a scholar to the end of his days with a passion for books and with an inborn partiality for the delights of the inner realms. French as well as Sanskrit, literature as well as law, philosophy as well as fiction, economics and politics as well as ethnography and sociology,—in fact, all branches of the "humanities" received his glad tribute and gave him in return that elevated and comprehensive outlook upon life and its problems which distinguished him so markedly from the rest of our elite. Nor was he an intellectual hedonist—pursuing the shapeless creations of thought and fancy in order to evade the living enigmas of the world—although one cannot help wishing that the conditions of life had been such as could have drawn out more from a mind so well-informed and so cosmopolitan in its interests. Be it noted, at the same time, that he could not be the literary impostor who will go on spinning yarn endlessly never troubling himself about the need for thought-stuff. He recognized the claim that the mother-tongue has upon every educated man, and wrote the first book on letter-writing, the first treatise on economics and the first popular exposition of every-day law

in Kanada. These, and his various public addresses and papers, besides the ethnographical sketches, show that his love of books was only part of his love of the living man, and that he read only in order to be able to instruct others. His was no ill-digested learning and he had, indeed, too fine a sense of humour to degenerate into a pedant. His unfinished study entitled "*The Anglo-Indian Empire*"—among other things—shows that he was an independent mind and one that was keenly alive to all the implications and side-issues of a theory or an argument. The booklet is full of interesting observations on our present day political and social conditions, and they show that—conservative as he appeared to be—he had not closed his eyes against the many defects, both glaring and veiled, of our national character and institutions. He could not fail to remember that every question may have two or more sides, and he was as judicious in choosing words as in forming opinions. In the domain of pure belles lettres, his chief work is a small volume of translations into English of some select poems of Victor Hugo. Competent judges have pronounced it a creditable performance; and the message of enlightened resignation and lastly inspired calm held forth in "*Tears in the Night*" must have deeply appealed to Mr. Nanjundayya:

"We have in our hearts the darkness of hate,
And the light of love.

Being eternally shows its face double,
Bad and good, ice and fire;
Man feels all at once spirit pure and flesh dull;
The gnawing of the earthly worm in the midst
of darkness,
And the kiss of God.

The tree Eternity lives without top and without roots,
Its branches are everywhere, near to the worm, reaching
To the grand gilded star;
Space sees growing without end the branch Number,
But the branch Destiny, sombre vegetation,
Fills the man affrighted.

Let us no more doubt, but believe and fulfil the command
Of our faith, humble, soaring, distracted.
Let us be the immense Yes."

—The Karnataka, Bangalore.

TIME TO SPEAK

For various reasons, Christian missionaries have refrained from expressing their feeling regarding the Punjab atrocities. Among these reasons was the fact that they are here, not to interfere with political questions, but to teach and exemplify the Christian religion. The suggestion that, as many of their institutions receive government grants, therefore they refrained from speaking their minds, is untrue as it is unjust. Probably most of them have awaited the report of the Hunter Commission, which, for some reason, has not yet been published; though they were pained by the findings of the Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress.

Some missionaries, however, are outspoken, especially Dr. MacNicol and Dr. A. G. Fraser, who are protesting in the severest terms against the reticence of missionaries and the wrongs they should condemn. Now that General Dyer has attempted, in London, to defend his conduct, and has claimed that his action "was approved by every Englishman in India," no intelligent Christian can be silent. True, the crisis must have been great and may have justified the proclamation of martial law; but did it warrant the order and brutal measure that followed? Long ago, Lord Roberts declared that such methods only resulted in a reaction upon the perpetrators and an aggravation of their loss. The evidence, however, of inhumanity, particularly in the ruthless destruction of women and children in the Jallianwala Bagh, cannot be ignored. Much as we appreciate the protection and administration of the British government, we earnestly hope that this blot on her escutcheon will soon be removed.—*The Indian Witness*.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE BOMBAY SCHOOLS COMMITTEE.

Applications stating name, age, race, religion and national qualifications and previous experience are invited to reach the undersigned by the 15th of June for the following posts on the establishment for the Medical Inspection of Bombay Municipal Schools to be now placed on a permanent basis:—

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Bombay Municipal Offices, D. G. PADHYE,
15th May 1920. Secretary, Schools Committee.

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WANTED a smartha brahmin virgin widow of Telugu community to marry a widower aged 40. Correspondence strictly confidential. Apply to:— R c/o Sub-Postmaster, Dowlatabad (Saleum Dt.)

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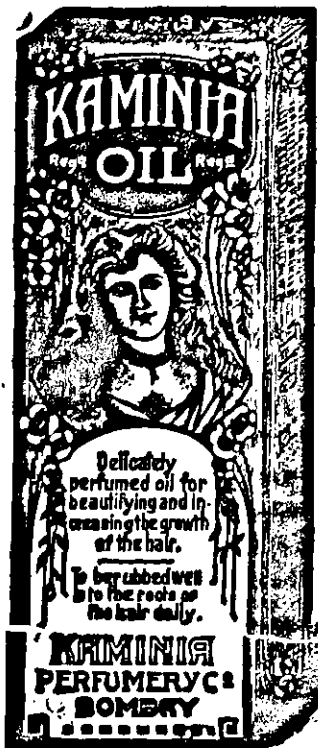
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L. Jhaikaranji, G. K. Devadhar, Esq., the Raja Sahab of
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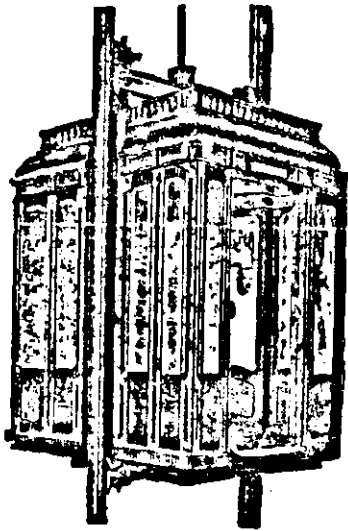
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Office—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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Vol. XXX.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1920.

No. 39.

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

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The New Age.

NOTES.

The New Age: We reprint with pleasure an excellent article which appeared on May-day in the *Challenge*. Our contemporary's observations have a profound significance to us in India, even more profound than to the people of England to whom it is primarily addressed. We are very much more a nation of the old type depicted by our contemporary—a tenement building with many storeys but no stair case. These storeys are our castes. There are far too many men of little faith among us who ask whether the putting up of stair-cases in this tenement will not destroy it. They will do well to heed the *Challenge's* answer: "Transition from the old way to the new is fraught with danger. Power will be given before perspective has been attained; there will be a sudden rush and a blind retreat. Honest hearts that are short of faith will try to put back the clock and close the gates, but nothing in the end can stem the coming of the age."

Bengalis in Behar: The *Behar Herald*, the organ of the Behari-Bengalis, explains that what they asked for was not communal representation but a minimum of five Bengali members in the new Council. "If this was realised by general election, well and good; if not, their case is that the deficiency should be made good by persons returned by themselves and not nominated by Government." This is a demand for what may be called conditional communal electorates, and, in principle, it is not different from or less objectionable than communal electorates pure and simple. In fact, it is a question whether it will not on the whole be fairer to the general electorates to grant communal electorates outright to the Behari-Bengalis than to hold it in *terrorem* over their heads in case they do not return the requisite number of Bengalis. It is true that Government recognise them as a separate interest by assigning a single seat for nomination from among their number, but Government are consistent in doing so, as Government have always maintained that the numerous separate interests in

the country are irreconcilable with the principle of parliamentary Government. The *Herald* persists in speaking of the Behari-Bengalis as "a persecuted minority." We pointed out in a previous issue that one of their two grievances, that relating to scholarships, is a real one, but that hardly justifies the imputation of "persecution" against the native Beharis or Government.

In the same vein of self-pity, the *Herald* proceeds to lament the downfall of Behari-Bengalis. It writes—

In all that constitutes a healthy and progressive national life, the Bengali-speaking Beharis are steadily losing whatever ground they might have acquired at one time. There are very few of them now of any note in the field of politics and social work. This demoralisation is the direct result of the persecution to which they are subject. Behar is indebted to them for many things, good and great. As lovers of the province and true nationalists, we cannot watch without emotion this deterioration of a vast community numbering as many as the population of some of the smaller European States for the sake of whom we went to war. If the process of disintegration is allowed to run its full course, it will be disastrous to the best interests of the country. The question is not one of a few posts more or a few posts less in Government service. It is one which threatens to bring about the political annihilation of an important limb of the community.

We are fairly sure that the *Herald* takes an unjustifiably gloomy view of the outlook for its constituents. As Bacon observes, men who have achieved a certain position in life, are apt to be envious towards new men when they rise. "For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye that, when others come on, they think themselves go back." This is as true of communities as of individuals. It is perhaps an optical illusion of our contemporary's caused by the progress of the Beharis who have hitherto been behind the Bengalis in education and public spirit.

There is one passage in the *Herald's* comments which goes to the root of the matter. Our contemporary writes:

So long as we keep up the division of India into provinces, we do not see how we are introducing anything new if we provide for communal representation in provincial councils. The provinces are more or less separate racial or linguistic units. There are many thinkers who would go so far as to carry out the linguistic and racial division of provinces to its utmost logical conclusion. Whether this be right or wrong, it is clear that the lower we go down the rungs of the administrative ladder, the greater is the attention we find paid to local and sectional interests. There must be in all countries, much more so in a continent like India, an endless number of these jarring and conflicting petty interests. True statesmanship lies in allowing these local discords to be

restricted and settled within the four corners of the particular areas concerned. If the Biharees, Hindi-speaking or Bengalee-speaking, are ever to take their proper place in the great partnership of Indian nationality, they must present themselves with their differences compromised, or left behind at home. If this be a truism, it leads to the other truism, that there must be a venue for settling these differences, which in the present case must be the provincial council.

That is precisely where we differ. Provinces ought not to be racial or linguistic units. Everything that tends to make them so, should be strongly resisted as laying the axe at the root of the sacred ideal of Indian unity.

A Christian View of Linguistic Provinces: We are not, after all, the sole opponents of the fantastic scheme of linguistic provinces. The *Standard* (Madras), the ably conducted organ of the Indian Roman Catholic community, takes the same view as ourselves. The Roman Catholics are the most conservative section of Indian Christian community, and our contemporary's opinion is, on that account, the more significant. The *Standard* observes:

The Karnataka Conference is typical of the movement of reaction which, as we pointed out last week, acts as a drag upon the progress of India. Here is an assembly of Indian politicians asking for the institution of a Karnataka province which would include all the Kannarese speaking people of the north. Apart from the practical difficulties e.g. the fact that a large proportion of Kannarese speaking people are to be found in the native state of Mysore, the policy of dividing up India into "linguistic" provinces, is distinctly reactionary. In the classic land of internal divisions, the statesman-like policy would be to limit and neutralise these divisions as much as possible. Ours is bad enough, but if on the top of it we are to have provinces and the peoples of India divided off from each other by linguistic barriers, the national unity of India may become more of a dream than ever before. What is wanted is to make the people of India forget as much as possible the differences that exist among them. The division of India into linguistic provinces is the best way of reminding people of these differences and of giving them a longer lease of life than they would have if left open to the corrosive influences that work for progress.

Indians in Burma: We ought to say that we entirely dissent from the views expressed by Mr. Desikachari, a High Court Vakil of Madras, domiciled at Kalaw, Burma, in his article which we publish in another column. If Indians are in Burma as fellow-citizens and not as exploiters of the people of Burma, they should be content with serving the common interests of Burmese and Indians alike without seeking special representation for themselves. They must encourage and foster Burmese leadership, instead of seeking it for themselves. We regret to have to say that the reports which we hear of Indians in Burma is not always to the credit of the motherland. We entirely agree with Mr. Gandhi that India, which gave her religion to Burma, will not tolerate any exclusive or selfish dealing by Indians by way of taking advantage of the relative backwardness—which so often means no more than lack of worldly wisdom—of the people of Burma. Mr. Desikachari's view that Indo-Burmans must command a political status in the province through the Legislative Council in order to establish cordial relations with the Burmese, is fallacious. Indians are more likely to seek social fellowship with Burmans if their own political status depends on the goodwill of the Burmese. Mr. Desikachari speaks, without intending it, the language of the white exploiters in Africa. At the same time, we join with him in protesting against invidious differentiation against Indians in Burma.

Random Talk on Education: Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar who recently resigned the Advocate Generalship of Madras, to be free to enter politics is a publicist whose utterances deserve attention. We are sorry, therefore, that his speech at the Ganjam Students' Conference, as reported in the *Hindu*, seems to have been characterised by some random statements. One of such is his confession that he has changed his mind about the position of English in our educational system. His present view is that it should be made a second language. As Mr. Iyengar holds at the same time that a sound knowledge of English is essential to Indian students, we put him the following question: The vernaculars have been second languages for years, and notwithstanding the advantage they enjoy as the languages spoken by the students in their homes, it is complained that they have not received sufficient encouragement. How does Mr. Iyengar expect English as a second language to be taught even as well as the vernaculars are at present? We require clear-thinking in education above all things.

Reservation of Maratha Seats. We publish in another column Sir John Heaton's award regarding the reservation of seats in the Legislative Council for the Marathas in this Presidency. Eight seats are to be reserved for the Marathas, two in Bombay city, and one each in Thana, Poona, Ahmednagar, Nasik and Ratnagiri Districts, all of which are Maratha centres. The eighth seat will go by rotation to Sholapur, Kolaba and West Khandesh. The interesting part of the award is the withholding of such reservation of seats in Satara, where the Marathas are in a large majority and in East Khandesh where they constitute a large proportion of the population. The award, in our opinion, is a just and equitable one, and adds greatly to Sir John Heaton's high reputation for clear-headedness and impartiality.

Women's University Settlement. We strongly commend the appeal published in another column for funds to provide a permanent Home in Bombay for the University Settlement for Women. Many women students in the Bombay Colleges, who come from the mofussil, find a congenial residence in the Settlement, without distinction of race or creed. An institution such as this is an urgent necessity in this city where none of the colleges provide hostels for women students. We hope the appeal will meet with a ready and generous response.

Andhra-Uriya Problem: We call attention to the suggestive article which we reprint from *Humanity* (Berhampore). The effect of the Utkal movement on the relations between the Andhras and the Uriyas of Ganjam, is deplorable. At the same time, it behoves the Andhras in Ganjam, as the more advanced community, to act on the motto of *noblesse oblige*.

The Poor Schools Society, Madras: This Society, whose report for 1919 has been received, seems to be doing excellent work. It conducts a Day School and 22 Night Schools in Madras and its suburbs, has organised lectures on sanitary, religious and social subjects and is actively associated with the Boy Scouts movement. A pleasing feature of the work of the Society is the co-operation of persons of all castes and creeds in all its various activities. The report states that the Society is contemplating the establishment of a small colony for Panchamas under the support and guidance of its President, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 30, 1920.

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ON THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

THE ENGLISH WAY.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffer. Here the Commons stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.—Macaulay's Essay on "Lord Clive."

Macaulay goes on to contrast this English way of dealing with its delinquent instruments of Empire with that adopted by France in the cases of Labourdannis, Dupleix and Lally. These men were disgraced, humiliated, and they died of broken hearts. The Commons of England, on the other hand, Macaulay adds, treated Clive with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. "They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from these principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy." It is recorded of Bismarck that he once observed that he had wasted many years of his life by believing that the English were a great people. This must be the experience of many persons who take the English at their own valuation. They have great qualities: but the qualities which they are apt to lay most stress on as the principal sources of their national greatness are, some of them, not great qualities at all, judged by intellectual, moral or spiritual standards. And, if the facts were analysed, it will be seen that these qualities have not contributed to their greatness any more than the spots on the sun contribute to the effulgence of that luminary. The verdict of the House of Commons on Lord Clive's administration, has been extolled by Elphinstone as "worthy the best days of Roman Senate." And this is quoted with approval by Arbuthnot who holds at the same time that "the fraud upon Omichand was not only morally a crime, but, regarded merely from the point of view of political expediency, it was a blunder of the kind which, if it had been copied in after times, would have

deprived our Government in India of one of the main sources of its power—the implicit confidence of the natives in British faith." English writers pretend that it is incomprehensible to their minds how Orientals entertain what seem to them contradictory beliefs in matters of religion. The Oriental, on his part, is at a loss to understand how Englishmen reconcile their high-flown denunciations of oppression by other nations with their own palliation of similar acts by their own instruments. The Roman Senate in its best (or worst) days did not profess the religion of the Sermon on the Mount; its own motto, as truly illustrated by Calvary, was that the safety of the State was the supreme law. Indian history, as written by Englishmen, is full of instances of Indian Generals, who did precisely what Clive was convicted of doing, being branded as blackmailers, brigands and freebooters. But Clive himself ranks in their pages among the great Empire-builders.

LACKING COURAGE OF CONVICTIONS.

This somewhat lengthy prelude has been necessitated by the anxious desire to impart as little bitterness as possible to our comments on the despatch of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, embodying the conclusions of His Majesty's Government on the report of Lord Hunter's Committee upon the disturbances which occurred in the Punjab and other parts of India in the early part of last year. One is not bitter because the Ethiopian cannot change his skin nor the leopard its spots. It helps one in the same way to remind oneself in perusing this extraordinary document that no more is it possible for a British Government to get over its inveterate tendency to compromise with crime in the instruments of its imperialism. Those who like to do so may applaud the practical good sense of the findings which, while laying down general principles in uncompromising language, not only refrains from applying them in the two cases to which they ought pre-eminently to be applied, but actually goes out of its way to indict irrelevant, undeserved and palpably forced tributes to the two men whose moral, though not technical, responsibility for wrong-doing was greater than that of any of their subordinates and instruments. This despatch is conspicuously lacking in the courage of its convictions. The only courage it exhibits is a sort of perversion of that quality in antagonising the almost unanimous verdict of Indians, partially voiced in the minority report of the Indian members of the Hunter Committee, regarding the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the incompetence of His Excellency the Viceroy. The fulsome tributes to these two official personages is the fly in the ointment of Mr. Montagu's despatch: one wonders however they got into it. They are not only utterly irrelevant to the subject-matter of the despatch, but, in the light of the severe censure implied in the officially decorous paragraphs on the features of the martial law administration which have been most denounced by Indian opinion, they may seem to have been written by Mr. Montagu with his tongue in his cheek. This, of course, is not to be expected of His Majesty's Secretary of State, and our

conjectures as to the occurrence of these tributes in a despatch the tone of which, on the whole, is far from complimentary to the objects of them, is that some one who cannot be denied, penned these tributes and flung them at Mr. Montagu with the injunction that he might say what he liked as to the occurrences in the Punjab, but that he should see that these were lodged in at some part of his pronouncement.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S DUTY.

Lord Chelmsford is not a big enough statesman to be at the helm of Indian affairs in a time of severe trials such as we have had to pass through, but he is every inch of him an English gentleman, and we doubt if his lordship would care to regard the full confidence formally expressed in him at its end, as exonerating him from the severe censure, implied in the body of the despatch, of the measures of his Government and the mistakes—misconduct—of some of his principal subordinates; and as relieving him from the duty which such censure would have laid on him had it stood alone. In our opinion, the expression of the full confidence of His Majesty's Government in such a context can have no serious significance. This is clear from certain passages in the despatch, which strike a note of peremptoriness unusual in communications from Whitehall to Delhi. His Majesty's Government in forming their conclusions have not thought it their duty primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret in similar circumstances. This does not mean that blame is not to be apportioned to individuals or that they are not to be visited with penalties for their misdeeds. The duty of seeing that the disapproval of His Majesty's Government of certain orders and punishments are unmistakably marked by censure or other action which may be necessary, is expressly and emphatically laid upon Lord Chelmsford's Government. We think, and His Excellency himself cannot but feel, that this task can be better discharged by a Viceroy unembarrassed by any laches of his own in dealing with the disturbances of last year.

GENERAL DYER, THE MINOR HERO.

His Majesty's Government do not mince their words in condemning General Dyer's actions at Amritsar and they approve of the order of the Commander-in-Chief dismissing him and declaring that he is unfit for further employment in this country. In our opinion, it is a mistake to press for any addition to or enhancement of the punishment meted out to the General. True his offence was heinous, but his part in the catastrophe was all the same a minor one as compared with those of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford. In his evidence before the Hunter Committee, which unfortunately for himself the General has since somewhat tried to gloss over, he frankly explained what was in his mind in acting as he did. We say that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy and that of the Viceroy, were primarily responsible for the idea by which the mind of this soldier of little judgment, was so powerfully obsessed. The General's conception of the situation which he found himself in, and of the rights of the Indian subjects of His Majesty, with whom he had to deal, were not his original inventions, but were clearly absorbed from

those who were placed in the highest positions in the Punjab and in India.

THE O'DWYER REGIME.

The best proof of this is Sir Michael O'Dwyer's approval of the Jallianwala massacre without waiting to know the particulars of it. We are sure that Sir Michael would have thought twice before asking his Private Secretary to telephone or telegraph his approval, had he felt that he had above him a Viceroy who would call him strictly to account. In fact, Lord Chelmsford has himself publicly declared that he had let it be known to Local Governments that he would support them in all their measures to deal with the disturbances of last year. His Majesty's Government abuse the English language when they speak of the impression of Sir Michael O'Dwyer being set against educated Indians as having been "engineered". If there was any "engineering," it was done by Sir Michael himself as shown by the violent speech which he delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council and for which the Viceroy had to apologise for him the next day. One has only to go into the Punjab for a few days to realise that it is the nearly unanimous conviction of Indians of all creeds and shades of political opinion that it was Sir Michael O'Dwyer's fixed policy to crush out independent public life in the province. (The Government of India virtually admit this when they observe in their despatch to Mr. Montagu that Sir Michael O'Dwyer wished to exclude political agitation in order to facilitate his recruiting and war-loan campaigns.) In the face of such a singular consensus of opinion in a province where religious and sectional cleavages are severe, the declaration of His Majesty's Government is not entitled, and ought not, to carry weight with the public in England. However, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's career in India is closed and but for the uncalled-for, inappropriate and irritating encomium passed on it over Mr. Montagu's signature, we should not have cared to refer to it at all here.

THE VICEROY'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration that spread the embers of the discontent in the Punjab which the passage of the Rowlatt Act, in the face of a strongly united Indian opposition within and without the Legislative Council, and by an entirely English voting majority, fanned into a flame. If the Rowlatt Act had not been passed, or if it had been passed in a form which secured for it a modicum of Indian support, there would have been no disturbances, or if there were some, they would have been of a vastly less serious character. Lord Chelmsford's obstinacy—that of a weak man who dare not recognise his mistake—was responsible for the form and manner in which the Act was passed. Even after several months, the Government of India had not, at the time of their writing their despatch on the Hunter Committee's report, discovered who was responsible for handing over the situation in Amritsar to the absolute sway of General Dyer. No stronger proof of the slackness and incompetence of an administration can be imagined.

THE NEW BOMBAY ELECTORATES.

Last week's Bombay Government Gazette prints the draft rules and regulations which have been submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council, relating to the constitution, functions, and procedure of the Bombay Legislative Council, the

Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. Those for the Bombay Legislative Council are virtually the same as those recommended by the Government of Bombay, which have been noticed in these columns. The most important change in the Government of India scheme for Bombay is the addition of an electoral qualification based on receipt of wages. This applies only to Bombay city and includes every one who is in receipt of a monthly wage of not less than Rs. 40 on account of employment as a manual worker in a textile factory within the city of Bombay. It is impossible to understand why men getting the same wages in an Ahmedabad mill should not be given the franchise; or for that matter, why textile mills should be singled out for this distinction; or, indeed, why a man earning Rs. 40 by any other form of labour should not have the same privilege as that accorded to manual labour. We quite understand that the line has to be drawn somewhere, but it is quite as easy to draw it at some logical point than at an illogical one. There is no special virtue in proceeding on lines whose only distinction is their arbitrary character. It cannot certainly be claimed that a manual worker in a textile factory earning wages to the extent of Rs. 40 a month can be matched in electoral capacity only by a manual worker in other factories or a non-manual worker in a textile factory and in other walks of life, who gets an income of Rs. 2000, the minimum assessable to income-tax which is the only other qualification based on income. It is to be hoped that the Secretary of State will see his way to substitute for this rule another less palpably inequitable. The rule as drafted seems to make the wages franchise depend too much on the discretion of the managers of textile factories. This is a point which should be looked into.

Two other peculiarities of the Bombay rules are (1) the requirement of six months residence in a constituency for candidates and (2) the freedom of the voter to accumulate all the votes in a plural constituency on a single candidate. We have protested against the residential qualification as retrograde, and we can only repeat it again. We refer in an editorial note to the reservation of eight seats for Marathas. It should, however, be noted that the draft rules provide that no seat will be reserved if the constituency is already represented by a Maratha member or if there is no Maratha candidate. The meaning of this we take to be that if a Maratha candidate gets in the ordinary way, there will be no second seat reserved for another Maratha in any of the seven plural constituencies. The Marathas may get all their eight seats in the ordinary course. In which case there will be no reserved seats. This should be made clear by substituting for the phrase "already represented by a Maratha member," some formula which would leave no doubt as to the case of a Maratha member elected in the ordinary way at the same election.

Of 102 elected members in the Legislative Assembly (the lower or popular chamber of the new Indian Legislature), Bombay will send 16. The electoral qualifications are payment of land revenue assessment to the amount of Rs. 75, or of income-tax, for general constituencies. The large class of owners and

occupants of houses in the large towns are altogether left out. The Jagirdars and Sardars get the franchise on the same terms as for the Provincial Legislative Council, and so do the Europeans and the Indian Merchants and Mill-owners. The University and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce are left out. The non-inclusion of the latter is of no moment as the two Europeans elected are almost sure to be members of the Chamber of Commerce. The non-inclusion of the University is a grave injustice to the educated classes who, after all, are the moving spirits in public life in any country. On the whole, the franchise for the Legislative Assembly is conceived in an illiberal spirit. The 16 members from Bombay in the first Indian Legislative Assembly will include 7 non-Mahomedans from the city and districts, 5 Mahomedans, 2 Europeans, 1 Indian merchant, and 1 Mill-owner. There will be 33 elected members in the Council of State, of whom Bombay will elect 6 in the following proportion: non-Mahomedans, 3, Mahomedans, 2, and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce thus gets direct representation in the second Chamber of the Indian Legislature, whereas the University is left to content itself with the inclusion of past and present membership of the Senate as one of nine categories of qualifications. The other qualifications are payment of land revenue to the amount of Rs. 2000, or of income tax on an income of Rs. 30,000, or past or present (non-official) membership of a Legislative Council, presidentship or vice-presidentship of a City Municipality or district board or the titles of Shams-ul-alam and Mahamahopadhyaya. The University should, we think, be made a separate constituency sending its own member. The Fellows will have absolutely no chance amidst the eight other categories.

THE INDIANS IN BURMA.

(By MR. P. C. DESIKACHARI B.A., B.L.)

It is an irony of fate that our leaders, however eminent they may be, proceed to condemn, in strong and unmeasured terms, certain movements and organizations without getting first-hand knowledge of the prevailing conditions and without taking pains to study the problems demanding immediate attention. This tendency in our leaders is all the more regrettable as there are interested people always on the look-out to exploit the possibilities of such condemnatory utterances by our eminent men. One is tempted to ask Mahatma Gandhi whether he studied the conditions of the Indians in Burma before stigmatising the demands for communal representation of Indians in Burma as a criminal absurdity.

The Indians in Burma are in a peculiar position, which can only be thoroughly understood by a long sojourn in the province and by intimate association with Indians in various walks of life. It must not be understood that there is an Indian problem of the type we have in the British Colonies. At the same time no pains should be spared to invite the attention of the Indian public to the existence of an Indian problem which, if not solved at the outset, threatens to assume serious proportions menacing the cordial and brotherly relationship between the Burmans and

the Indo-Burmans. Of late the cry has been raised by the Burmans against the Indo-Burmans and a tendency is discernible in Burman advanced circles to work out the principle of "Burma for Burmans" in such a way as to create a feeling of dislike towards the Indian. Closely associated with this movement is the agitation for the separation of Burma from the rest of India. The political, military and financial considerations against the separation and isolation of the province are patent to every thoughtful mind and the agitation for separation may be dismissed as chimerical without further comment. But the psychology of the minds of the leaders of the movement ought to be taken note of in dealing with the Indian question in Burma. The Indian settlers in Burma are described to be the guests of the Burmese and if that view is accepted as the correct one, there is no other alternative for the Indian settlers but to leave the province in response to the wishes of the leaders of Burma who have raised the cry of "Burma for Burmans", a cry which savours of the anti-Asiatic cry in the Colonies. It is incumbent on all the Indians and Burmans who have the welfare of Burma at heart, to start a counter-movement with a view to inspire a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood between the Indians and Burmans. This object cannot be attained unless the Indo-Burmans command a political status in the province commensurate with their strength and importance. Unless the Indian settlers in Burma are assured of a place in the Councils of the province, they are not likely to be treated with consideration by the Burmese leaders under the popular regime to be gradually introduced in the province. Burma is a sparsely populated province with immense possibilities. The country has to be opened out and without a large influx of men from other places it is not possible to work up the industrial and agricultural resources of the country. Our Burmese friends would do well to remember that, in their own interests, they ought to prefer the Indian settlers to those of any other nationality.

There is another aspect of the question looked at from the Indian point of view. The Indian settlers have been induced to come down to the province in the hope of receiving equality of treatment and for several years they have had nothing to complain of. But of late years when it is too late to retrace their steps, the Indian settlers feel that differential treatment is sought to be meted out to them. The Indians, who have taken to Government service, are at a peculiar disadvantage. They are seriously handicapped in the matter of promotions and the Indians in service are as a rule condemned to a life of accountants and minor ministerial officers. It is incumbent on the Government, which has induced the Indians to enter service in the province by holding out prospects of equality of treatment and opportunities, not to mar the careers of Indians in service by introducing discriminating conditions by written or unwritten rules as regards the encouragement of Indians in service. It must also be understood that the Indians are an important community in the province and the benefits of service ought not to be denied in future to the sons and dependants of the Indian settlers who may seek service under the Government or public bodies.

The Indians have got a stake in the country and the interests of the trading and the banking Indian communities ought to be properly safeguarded. It would be criminal folly to be carried away by fictitious considerations of putting on appearances of unity or by pseudo-political or humanitarian platitudes. It would be in the interests of both the Burmans and the Indo-Burmans to agitate for separate representation of the Indian communities in Burma. If the Indians do not demand adequate representation, they would find in the long run that they are exposed to the risks and dangers to which an alien community, without political recognition and political safeguards, is exposed under a popular form of Government in their adopted country. Burmese leaders will do well to remember that there is no vital conflict of interests between the Burmese and the Indian settlers and any separate representation of Indians on the Councils would be a source of very great strength to them in espousing the popular cause, in demanding a more popular form of Government and in striving for the early attainment of the goal held out to them by the memorable pronouncement of the 20th August 1917.

SOCIAL REFORM IN GANJAM DISTRICT.

In many respects Ganjam is a backward District. Its population is rent in twain and is segregating into two camps whose hostility is on the increase because of race animus. The Telugus (Andhras) and Orias (Utkals) of Ganjam lived together for centuries in love and amity. It was in 1902 that an agitation was started for the amalgamation of the Oris portion of Ganjam with Orissa proper. Ever since then the two races drifted apart. The movement could very well have gone on without one people learning to hate the other. But as somebody observed, political life is impossible without importing passion into it.

How to kill this race animus should engage the earnest attention of all Ganjam Social Reformers. Among contributory causes may be mentioned (1) Competition for appointments, (2) Government patronage and (3) race superiority.

Before the advent of the Utkal Movement, we had in this District in official circles, the Brahmin and non-Brahmin feeling created or rather fanned to flame by some Naidu Shirastadars. We used the expression 'rather fanned to flame' because even before the advent of Naidu Shirastadars there had been the standing policy of Government "Preference given to Non-Brahmins." After the Utkal Movement the Non-Brahmin movement has been on the decadence as the Government had to encourage a more backward people, even the Orias. There is one ugly feature of official patronage which is causing much heart burning. Telugus are compelled to learn Oris, but Orias are not asked to learn Telugu. Where there are two languages it is but fair that the people are asked to learn both the languages. Government influence should be felt both ways.

The head and front of the Oris's grievance against Telugus is that the latter are arrogant and lose no opportunity of insulting Orias at every turn by calling them less civilized. Each race has its own merits, peculiarities, even angularities and no good is served by any particular race claiming superiority of civilization. The Utkal movement has done one great good to Ganjam Orias. It has spread English education among them more than ever before. Women are kept behind Purdha. In matters of social reform on such questions as caste, early marriage, compulsory widowhood, the political agitators are not educating the public mind with liberal ideas.

Now turning to social reform among Telugus of Ganjam, it is gratifying to observe that some good work has been done. Gumsar took the lead in widow marriage movement. The first Brahmin to marry a widow was from Aska. The first agitators in the cause were from Russalkonda. The foremost agitator in the social reform cause even to this day hails from Gumsar Division. Mr. Kopergam Bismamarty of Aska who has been associating with the social reform cause ever since its inception in the district has recently taken a precie-

cal step and that of a radical sort by marrying a widow who had been a Christian for 25 years. Three young men of prominent houses have married girls who attained puberty and of these three two are barristers. A goodly number have gone on foreign travel and one of them is an Oriá Zamindar. There is also one intercaste, one inter-racial marriage. Much ground has still to be covered. "Varasulka", the practice of buying bridegrooms in the marriage market is as bad as ever. Compulsory widowhood is ruining many young widows.—The *Humanity*, Berhampore (G).

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY INFANT WELFARE SOCIETY.

FIRST STEPS TAKEN,

The promoters of organized Children's Welfare in Bombay having first, and with notable success, concentrated upon the task of securing the essential public support, are engaged now upon the necessary preliminary steps toward establishing their working machinery. The Infant Welfare Committee has been meeting as required, and already important practical measures have been adopted. A meeting of the Infant Welfare Committee was held at the Secretariat on May 20th, there were present: Her Excellency the Hon. Lady Lloyd in the Chair, Lady Reed, Dilshad Begum, Mrs. F. S. Taleyarkhan, Sir Temulji Nariman, Dr. Sandilands.

After reading a detailed report from the Selection sub-Committee on the qualifications of various candidates for the post of Superintendent of the Bombay Infant welfare Centres it was decided to offer the appointment to Mrs. Rosselet. Mrs. Rosselet is an Associate of the Royal Sanitary Institute London, holder of an hygiene Diploma, and a fully trained Nurse who has been teaching and Nursing in India for the last seven years, and is at present engaged in the Army Nursing Service at Nowshera. This lady is to proceed at once to England in order to study the latest Infant welfare methods at first hand. She will return to Bombay to enter upon her duties in the autumn.

The Committee is meanwhile making arrangements for acquiring new premises in various quarters of the City, providing an adequate number of trained Indian Workers for the fresh Centres, and perfecting the framework of the extended scheme, so that all may be ready to start immediately after the arrival of the Superintendent. The funds collected will meanwhile be securely invested by the Hon. Treasurer in consultation with the Committee's financial advisers. Details as to the investments will be published shortly.

THE CHILD WITHOUT PLAY.

Plenty of room for dives and dens (glitter and glare and sin!)

Plenty of room for prison pens (gather the criminals in!)
Plenty of room for jails and courts (willing enough to pay)
But never a place for the lads to race; no, never a place to play.

Plenty of room for shops and stores (Mammon must have the best!)

Plenty of room for the running sores that rot in the city's breast.

Plenty of room for the lures that lead the hearts of youth astray.

But never a cent on a playground spent; no, never a place to play!

Plenty of room for schools and halls, plenty of room for art;
Plenty of room for teas and balls, platform, stage and mart,
Proud is the city—she finds a place for many a lad to-day,
But she's more than blind if she fails to find a place for the boys to play.

Give them a chance for innocent sport, give them a chance for fun—

Better a playground plot than a court and a jail when the harm is done

Give them a chance—if you stint them now, to-morrow you'll have to pay

A larger bill for a darker ill, so give them a place to play.

DENNIS A. MCCARTHY
in the *Social Welfare*, Toronto.

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

May we bring to your notice the needs of the University Settlement which has been working in Bombay since the year 1896? The Settlement supplies a hall of residence for women students of all races and creeds who live together within the unity and equality of a Christian home. It is run by a staff of British College women who share the lives and interests of the students in their charge. The Settlement also provides a centre where Indian and English ladies can meet for friendly intercourse, lectures, musical evenings, etc. The members of the Settlement staff give lessons in English, piano, violin and fine arts and all fees earned thus are paid into the Settlement Funds. The house which the Settlement now occupies has been sold by its present owner and unless permanent premises can be obtained, the hostel work of the Settlement will have to cease. This means that a number of women students, averaging 25, attending the Grant Medical and other colleges, who have so far lived in the Settlement, would be without hostel accommodation. If the present shortage of accommodation in Bombay is taken into consideration, it will be seen how urgent the need is.

Until permanent accommodation can be obtained, it has been decided to carry on the work in two flats which have been obtained in Rebsch Street, but this means a rental of Rs. 1,025 per mensem from June and such an outlay cannot be continued indefinitely.

Will you help us by contributing liberally to the following objects:—1. To secure a house in which the work of the Settlement can be permanently carried on and increase the funds for its upkeep. 2. To complete the fund which has been started for a holiday house for women students and other Indian ladies at Jahbordi, where nearly two acres have been given by Government for this purpose. This land is in a beautiful situation near to the sea and there is an urgent need that funds for the building should be collected as speedily as possible owing to the great difficulty experienced both by students and other Indian ladies of moderate means in finding holiday accommodation.

The present appeal is issued in the hope of raising two lakhs. All donations or subscriptions should be sent to H. H. Combert, Esq., Hon. Treasurer, at the "Times of India Office," Bombay. We, the undersigned, appreciating the value of the work which the Settlement does in Bombay, earnestly ask for your help.

Signed:—

May Procter (*Chairman*).

Lillian Reed.

Susan D. Brooke.

Alice Crump.

Nancy Clayton.

Kathleen Tulloch.

Evelyn C. Gedge (*Warden*).

Susie Sorabji.

G. Maharaj Singh.

Ruby Navalkar.

Aileen Tibbatts.

Edith Mansfield.

Mangorabai M. Medhavi.

RESERVATION OF MARATHA SEATS.

SIR JOHN HEATON'S AWARD.

The accompanying award, given by the Honourable the acting Chief Justice Sir J. J. Heaton, who was appointed to arbitrate as to the number of seats to be reserved for Maratha and allied castes in the Provincial Legislative Council, is published for general information:—

I heard the various gentlemen who appeared on the 27th April.

The facts I have to deal with are—

(i) it is decided that the Marathas are to have certain seats reserved for them ;

(ii) the word Maratha includes all the Castes or Classes enumerated in page 143 of the Southborough Committee's Report, and may, I understand, include some others also.

I am not required to express any opinion on either of these matters.

It is settled that in certain constituencies the Maratha Candidate who obtains the largest number of votes shall be elected, whether or not the votes he obtains are enough to entitle him to election in the ordinary way. My task is to determine which these constituencies are to be.

There is before me a list of the constituencies and the number of members for each,—some are single, some multiple constituencies.

The determination to allot to the Maratha a certain representation is a device or abnormality, a variation from our idea of a normal election. It is necessary, I understand because of the ignorance of the Marathas, their want of power of co-operation and their susceptibility to outside influences. This is a basic assumption, something I am not at liberty to question. A device is useless unless it is effective. In order to be effective this device must secure for the Marathas a substantial representation on the New Council. I decide that eight seats is a substantial representation.

But it is not only a device, it is an experiment and should, therefore, furnish clear results ; so that in the future election arrangements may be made in the light of ascertained facts, not of mere conjecture. For this purpose I decide that it is desirable to leave to absolutely free election a multiple constituency in which a distinct majority of the population is Maratha. This will test the basic assumption and show whether the Marathas are so incapable of co-operation as is assumed. For this purpose I select the Sitara District.

It is also in my opinion desirable to have normal elections in another multiple constituency where the Marathas are a large proportion, but not a majority, of the population. For this purpose I select the East Khandesh District.

I therefore decide that there shall be special Maratha representation in the following constituencies :—

Bombay City North	...	...	One representative.
Bombay City South	...	...	One "
Thana District	...	...	One "
Poona District	...	...	One "
Ahmednagar District	...	...	One "
Nasik District	...	...	One "
Ratnagiri District	...	...	One "

This leaves one seat still to be provided and this must be from single member constituencies. It will be interesting and useful to watch the effect of this arrangement in single member constituencies. I decide that at the first election, the Sholapur District shall return a Maratha ; at the second election the Kolaba District ; and at the third election the West Khandesh District. After that there will be a Parliamentary enquiry, the results will have been observed and there will be material by which to regulate the elections of the future.

(Signed) J. J. HAZARD,
Arbitrator.

Bombay, 28th April 1920.

THE NEW AGE.

The May-day of Labour is the heyday of promise. There are among us still the quasi-contented and the long-suffering who will see the banners flying in the summer wind and the sober crowds marching past, and turn a little peevishly to their neighbour at lunch : " I can't think what more those Trade Unionists want. They've got wages up so high you can't afford to employ men. I wanted a little job done the other day and" We all tend to grow a little conservative in our anecdotes, and the ordinary man has been not unreasonably perturbed by the industrial chaos ensuing on the declaration of world-wide peace. If we stand still and watch only the present scene, we repine and do nothing. But if we look back and forward, we see a movement which sweeps us on with the clumsy surge of a crowd in motion, and even though we owe no allegiance to the Labour Party, its May-day is a reminder that we are moving on to a new world.

There was an old idea that has served many a sober and faithful generation, and it pictured each nation as a tenement building with many storeys but no stair case. Each family lived either on one level or another, and all its neighbours must needs be on the same level. The babes were born by chance into the upper, middle or lower floors, and must find their friends and make their life within the restrictions of their level. It seems foolish in these latter days to suffer a self-imposed loss of freedom and companionship. But the brewer had his floor, and the bricklayer another, and the butler lived between the two and respected himself for being different from both. So accustomed did the world become to this voluntary isolation that contentment became a virtue, and progress was a parallel crawl along the difficult levels that never met. The " stations " in life became termini. It seems difficult now to combine this plan of life with the old story of fishermen and tax-gatherers and tent-makers, but the human mind finds it easier to accept the settled conditions of everyday life and distort a gospel to fit them than to allow the good news of an ideal to break down in an instant the walls of established society. There was a brave and simple spirit in the old times that did something to compensate the world for the hunger and injustice of this life of limited opportunity, and in our comfortable moments now we are heard to murmur " the world went very well then."

But May day brings summer, and we treat the spring of the year but shabbily if we do not listen to its message. The new idea that blows about with the banners, and is trying to make itself heard in the harsh voices of the speakers in the parks, is the open promise of the world. It looks for a land of equal opportunity, where the babes are born on one level, but may reach any other level, where poverty shall not handicap merit and ability. If all men have a living wage and a decent home, if education holds open the door as wide to the manual worker as to the more fortunate citizen, then it matters not where the babe was born ; the promise of life is before him. Equality can never be attained ; it would be a dull desert of mediocrity. Equal opportunity is the ideal. It is far away but the very desire for it brings it nearer. Life will never be easy ; it is still to be a climb from cradle to desk and desk to chair. There will be losses and stumbles, and we shall sometimes falter and ask ourselves the doubting questions of little faith. " Was it really wise to make education so free and general ? Should all these people have the vote ?" But the new ideal shines still along the track. All the children of God should have a chance to know the riches of the life He has given them.

The gates swing open very slowly, but the child of 1950 is to have his chance. We are committed to the material framework of life. His father is to have a living wage, his mother to rule over a house of space and sunshine, he himself is to explore the treasures of knowledge. The transition from the old way to the new is fraught with danger. Power will be given before perspective has been attained; there will be a sudden rush and a blind retreat. Honest hearts that are short of faith will try to put back the clock and close the gates, but nothing in the end can stem the coming of the new age. The Church has taught us that we are all children of the same wise Father, and cannot any longer be a separative force. She has awakened to the cries of those who ask for Life, and will teach them for how much more they should struggle than wages and houses alone. The age of equal opportunity shall bring her untold gain. Too long have the clergy been a caste, exotic in their parish, thinking in levels, tenacious of the past. She will gain a priesthood from the highways and hedges and all experiences shall enrich her ministrations. The Church is now to be the head and focus of this new hope and May-day one of the days when she shall remind us that the world moves on to heights untrod and all men are to be as one flock with a single shepherd,
The Challenge—London,

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE BOMBAY SCHOOLS COMMITTEE.

Applications stating name, age, race, religion and national qualifications and previous experience are invited so as to reach the undersigned by the 15th of June for the following posts on the establishment for the Medical Inspection of Bombay Municipal Schools to be now placed on a permanent basis:—

- (a & b) Two Assistant Medical Inspectors (male) of qualifications not lower than those of Sub-Assistant Surgeon or L.O.P.S. (Bombay) salary Rs. 75 - 5 - 125 plus Rs. 30. Carriage allowance p. m. besides War Allowance Rs. 20 p. m.
- (c) One Assistant Medical Inspectress. Qualifications and salary same as for appointments (a) & (b).
- (d) One English knowing clerk (a lady preferred) attached to the Medical Inspectress. Salary Rs. 60 - 8 - 45 - 5/2-50 plus Rs. 15 Carriage Allowance plus War Allowance Rs. 20 p.m.

N.B. All these office holders shall be full timed servants devoting their whole time and attention to the duties of their offices and shall be debarred from private practice.

Bombay Municipal Offices, D. G. PADHYE,
15th May 1920. Secretary, Schools Committee.

WANTED a smārtha brahmin virgin widow of Telugu community to marry a widower aged 40 Correspondence strictly confidential. Apply to:— R c/o Sub-Postmaster, Dowlatabad (Salem Dt.)

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Rates of Inland subscription inclusive of postage Per annum..... Rs. 7-8-0. In advance.

Foreign Subscription inclusive of Postage, one pound Sterling per annum.

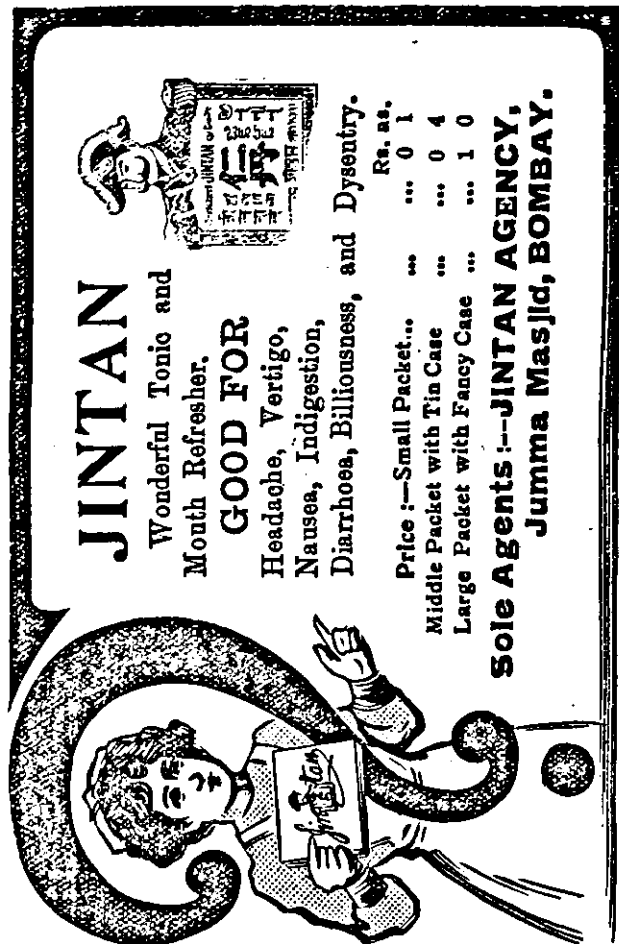
Single copies of the current year can be had at 4 annas each and any back copies at 6 annas each.

Contract Rates for Advertisements.

Number of insertions.	1 Inch.		2 Inches.		3 Columns.		4 Columns.		5 Columns.	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
13	15	0	25	0	38	0	50	0	95	0
26	25	0	38	0	56	0	95	0	136	0
52	38	0	56	0	95	0	136	0	255	0

Usual advertisements at As. 4 per line for the 1st insertion and As. 2 per line of succeeding insertions

Advertisement charges are strictly payable half-year or yearly in advance.



JINTAN
Wonderful Tonic and Mouth Refresher.
GOOD FOR
Headache, Vertigo, Nausea, Indigestion, Diarrhoea, Billiousness, and Dysentery.

Price:—Small Packet... .. 0 1
Middle Packet with Tin Case 0 4
Large Packet with Fancy Case 1 0

Sole Agents:—JINTAN AGENCY, Jumma Masjid, BOMBAY.

A NEW BOOK.

Religious Life of Brahmarshi Sasipada, the well known Social Reformer of Bengal.

By Satindranath Ray Choudhary, M.A., L.L.B.,
Double crown 16 M.O. pp. 102.
PRICE ANNAS EIGHT.

Reads like a novel, though full of real incidents extending over half a century. Study it once and you will learn how to live well in this world of sorrow & troubles. Highly spoken of by thoughtful men. Apply to the Secretary, Devalaya, 210/3/2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

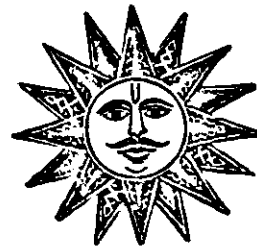
- Batilwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.
- Batilwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 2 each bottle of 100.
- Batilwala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.
- Batilwala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.
- Batilwala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.
- Batilwala's Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth
- Batilwala's Ringworm ointment for Ringworm Dhobitoh etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or from
Dr. H. L. Batilwala Sons & Co., Ltd.
No. 12, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:—“ Doctor Batilwala Dadar

Saffron? Saffron?? Saffron???
If you wish to buy genuinely pure and best Saffron it is
SUN

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SAFFRON

ONLY

It has been largely used by Jain Temples, Maharajas, Curbers, Hakims and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75 year and is well known for its purity and genuineness.

S. NARAEN & Co.,

17-2-18

21, Humnum Street, Fort Bombay.

THE BANK OF TIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the
Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 37,500,000
Reserve FundYen. 7,030,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	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 Ra. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund „ 66,00,000.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

“Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules 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.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.

Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 1897

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari, Meshana, and Surat

Capital Subscribed.....Ra. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up „ 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund „ 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman
Sir Vishaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratan Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadao, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalkar, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vishaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, 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. 5 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.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. BANDLE,—General Manager, 15-4-12.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)

Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 48,000,000.

Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

Head Office:—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies at Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Changchun, Chi-Nan, Dairen, Fengtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kaiyuan, Kobe, London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoeki, Singapore, Soerabaya, Sydney, Tientsin, Tokio, Tsingtao.

Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 4 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, 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.

N. IGARASHI

Post Box No. 207, Hornby Road, Bombay.

I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17,

Post Box No. 406, Clive street, Calcutta

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

(REGISTERED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES' ACT OF 1913.)

At Bombay the 11th November, 1919.

REGISTERED OFFICE.

7, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.

	Rs.
AUTHORISED CAPITAL	5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	4,00,00,000
CALLLED UP CAPITAL	60,00,000
PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. Rs. 59,00,042 8-0.	

HEAD OFFICE.

7, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.

LONDON AGENTS.

THE LONDON COUNTY WESTMINSTER AND PARR'S BANK LIMITED.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Interest allowed at 2½ per cent. per annum on DAILY BALANCES up to Rs. 1,00,000. From 1st January to 30th June interest at 3 per cent. per annum is allowed on sums over Rs. 50,000 provided the balance does not fall below that figure. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 3 half-yearly.

FIXED DEPOSITS: Received for one year and for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK: Interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

LOANS AND CASH CREDITS: are granted on approved Securities at favourable rates.

SHARES AND SECURITIES: purchased and sold. Banking business of every description transacted.

A. B. OLIPHANT.

14 3-20.

Ag. Manager

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Authorised Capital...	Rs. 1,00,00,000
Subscribed Capital...	" 1,00,00,000.
Paid Up Capital (30-12-19)	" 49,90,000
Reserve Fund	" 14,00,000

Head Office:—Alice Building, Bombay.

Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Basar, (3) Share Basar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharis, Karachi.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

Current Accounts:—3 % allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
2½ % allowed on Daily Balances from July to December.

12 months Deposits received at 5 % per annum.

Long and Short period Deposits received at rates to be ascertained on Application.

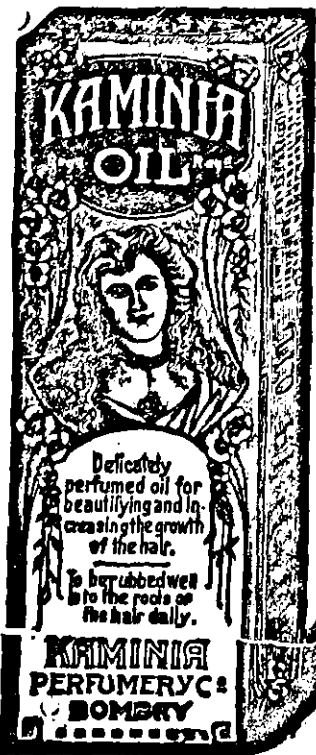
Every kind of Banking Business transacted.

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.
Manager.

25-2-17

A Lady's Best Ornament is a Glorious Head of Hair.



A profusion of rich, soft silky, lustrous, wavy hair—where's the woman who would not like that?

There's only one oil that makes such hair and it's the far-famed

KAMINIA OIL
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Invaluable for ladies, and just as much for Brain-Workers and Students.

Heated head cooled, aching disappears and dandruff becomes a thing of the past. Added to all these it possesses a beautiful fragrant smell.

For superiority, awarded a Gold Medal at the Mysore Exhibition, and in great demand all 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 only once; and like many people you will prefer to use also always. Price per bottle, Rs. 1. V. P. Charges 6 annas extra. Price for 3 bottles Rs. 2-10. V. P. charges 14 annas extra. Sole Agents:—

Write now, Do not delay
The Anglo-Indian Drug & Chemical Co.,
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Rajas, Maharajas and Men of opulence.

ANANG PRABHA YAKUTI.

This nectre-like "Yakuti" possessing marvellous merits, is prepared from ambar, musk, and best richest and choicest vegetable drugs. It possesses magic power of destroying urinary disorders and of increasing blood in the body in considerable proportions. It refreshes memory, strengthens the body and destroys the constipation. In short it makes the man free from his every complaint of brain, body and heart; and marvellously it enables the man, however disabled and aged he may be, to enjoy the worldly pleasures.

This wonderful 'Yakuti' is not only used in good quantities by many officers of this state, but by the Rajas Maharajas, Zamindars, Amceers and such other men of noble birth residing abroad. They have expressed their entire satisfaction for it and on their pressing demand for putting this "Yakuti" before the public, the same has been done by us to honour those worthy persons. We strongly recommend the nobility and the Gentry to make use of this "Yakuti" which works like a charm and whose effect is lasting. Try once and be happy for ever.

Price Rs. 10 (ten) only per box of 30 pills.

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Head Office:—Jamnagar, Kathiawar, (India.)

Branch:—No. 187, Kalbadevi Road,

24-8-1919.

BOMBAY.

mitsui BUSSAN KAISHA, LTD.

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TELEPHONE

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"Kinzoku." **Hornby Road, Fort,**

No.
292 & 293.

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Available from Ready Stock.

Exporters of:—

Manganese, Chrome, Mica, Copper Ore, Lead ore and all
Kinds of Minerals.

FURUKAWA & CO., LTD.

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The Largest Manufacturers
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OWN MEMBERS OF THE
 ELECTRIC BARE COPPER CONDUCTORS,
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All our wires are made in accordance with the standard of the British Cable Makers' Association and are tested and approved by leading firms in India.

SOLE AGENTS IN INDIA AND BURMA.

R. D. TATA, & Co., LTD.

NAVSARI BUILDINGS, FORT, BOMBAY.

Clean
 Wholesome
 Intelligent
 Entertainment
 IS A GREAT STEP
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SOCIAL REFORM.

When deciding on a
**PLACE OF AMUSEMENT TWO
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Should at once leap to the mind,

THE EXCELSIOR
 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.

A

Great Cinema Masterpiece

is shown,

Both theatres are near the Bori Bunder

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EXCELSIOR SYNDICATE.

The Pioneer of Bombay's

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Best Portland Cement.

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Guaranteed to pass the British Standard and all Engineering Specifications.

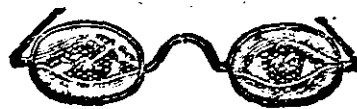
It is absolutely uniform and most finely ground, which means economy in use and strength in constructional work.

TATA SONS Ltd.

Agents, The Indian Cement Co., Ltd
Nawari Building, Fort, BOMBAY.

Works at Porbunder, Kathiawad.

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by SCIENTIFIC REFRACTIONISTS of 26 year
experience, FREE OF CHARGE, you cannot do better
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PHIROZE M. DASTOOR & CO.

The leading firm of Oculists, Eyesight Specialists
Manufacturing Opticians and suppliers of the
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"KRYPTOK"

(Invisible one-piece bifocal lens.)

Toric, and all kinds of lenses.—Cylindrical, Sphero
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With 26 Years' Practical Experience.,

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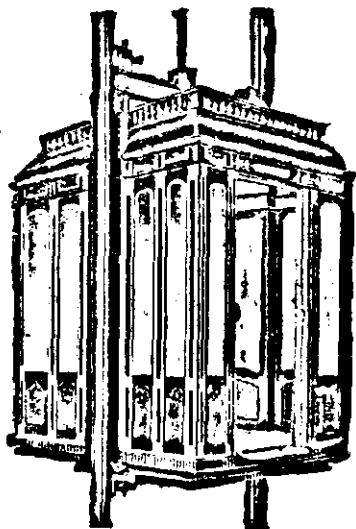
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No. 40.

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

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NOTES.

A Plea for Perspective: Commenting on our suggestion that, in view of the disorganisation of religious thought in Europe, we should look forward with much hope of success to an Asiatic propaganda in Europe comprising the great truths of religion, the *Tribune* (Lahore) observes: "Not for the first time has the question of christianising Christianity been thus prominently raised. But the point in this case is that even if the propaganda succeeded it would bring no consolation to Turkey or Asia. To lose freedom and political power in Asia and then concentrate attention on the great act of converting Europe to religious truths is no part of the scheme of Asiatic federation." This, no doubt, is the practical, commonsense point of view, but may not even journalists occasionally look a little deeper into the processes of history? Every great empire clothes a vital idea helping on the upward evolution of humanity. What is the vital idea for which Asia stands? Clearly it is the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. Turkey, as representing Asia in Europe, must hold the same idea in an intensive form. If the Turkish Empire has ceased to be, or been incapacitated from being, the vehicle of this great idea, Asia (and Turkey) must devise a more effective means of fulfilling their world mission. And would not the great act of converting Europe to religious truths, be the most effectively practical way securing freedom and political security in Asia?

Which or That? The *Madras Mail* argues that the deprivation of Turkey of large parts of Thrace and Asia Minor is not a violation of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge given in consultation with the Allies. That journal observes:

The Prime Minister said:—"Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." That which qualified the whole pledge. Mr. Lloyd George was not asserting, as Mr. Yakub Hasan made him assert, that Thrace was predominantly Turkish in race. Obviously, the Prime Minister limited the pledge to those portions of Thrace which had a Turkish majority in the population.

The *Madras Mail* presumably knows the usages of the English language. If the meaning of the pledge were intended to be what the *Mail* says it was, the Prime Minister would certainly have used *that* and not *which*. This is an elementary rule which one learns in the lower forms of a school. "Which" in such a context has a coordinating sense, and the clause introduced by it has a merely parenthetical effect. Where a relative clause is definitely restrictive, as the *Mail* says it is in this case, "that" is the pronoun which an English Prime Minister would use. Apart from that, does the *Mail* think that pledges by a British statesman to a large section of His Majesty's subjects should imitate the ambiguity of the Delphic oracle? In a previous issue, that paper had headed an article on the same subject as "the apotheosis of a pledge," which denotes a mentality not distinguishable from that of the German Chancellor who deprecated attaching too much importance to "a scrap of paper." The pledge was understood to mean that the whole of Thrace and Asia Minor was intended by Mr. Lloyd George's words. The distribution of considerable portions of the two provinces among non-Mahomedan nations, is a distinct breach of the pledge which no quibbling can palliate.

The Anti-Asiatic Movement in Africa: We are often assured that the movement to exclude coloured races from South and East Africa is not due to racial or religious prejudice, but to purely economic reasons. These economic reasons themselves are of the flimsiest character. But that racial and religious prejudice is at the back of the economic reason, is clear from the statements of two clergymen, the one in East Africa, the other in South Africa. The *East African Chronicle* quotes the following from the report of the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Cyril Bardsly. An unnamed missionary in Uganda is cited as saying:

Pan-Africanism is not very far off; the seed is already sown; and then the eternal problem will assume terrible proportions, unless the native has an education which will build up character and not turn out a babu class such as is causing all the trouble in India. Ethiopianism is coming up steadily from South Africa, Mohammedanism is striving to come down from the north, and both in practice, if not theoretically, are anti-white.

Before the South African Commission on Indian grievances, Mr. Viervagal representing the Transval Church, referred to

The danger of Mahomedanism upon the religion of the people. When Mahomedanism took a hold among the people it was almost impossible to do successful work among them mainly because the Asiatics were so lax in their morals. The experience of the missionaries was that not only was Mahomedanism gaining ground among the natives but it was furthering Ethiopianism. Finally he desired to emphasise that the national existence of the whole white people was threatened by the Indian menace.

Most impartial persons will think, on the other hand, that, from the point of view of coloured races, the European menace is a very real one, while the Indian and Ethiopian menace to the European is remote, it not fanciful.

Indians in South Africa: We deal in a leading article today with the recommendation to encourage "voluntary repatriation" among Indians in South Africa. The following very pertinent comment thereon of the *Hindu* (Madras) will be read with interest: "In the brevity of Reuter's cable, it is difficult to gauge the significance of the interim report of the South African Commission recommending that the Union Government should facilitate the return of such Indians as desire to come back to India. It is said that a considerable number of them desire to return and the Commission's proposal is tailed with a proviso making the repatriation contingent on the possibility of employment in India. As we have pointed out before, the problem in South Africa is not the willingness of Indians to return or their ability to find a living here; it is not even merely the definition of their rights to trade and own lands in the colony, for which the Commission was originally appointed. The most important point to be settled is whether the Indian naturalised in South Africa has no right to its citizenship, to equality with the white citizen. We are not sure if the interim report is not an indication of the desire to burke the major issue by emphasis on secondary considerations based on expediency."

Why not fix the Responsibility? Referring to the condemnation by both the majority and the minority reports of the Hunter Committee, of the arrest and subsequent discharge without trial of a large number of persons in the Martial Law days, the Government of India say in their despatch: "The Government of India consider that the arrest and detention for long periods of so many persons, and particularly of Dr. Kedarnath, Mr. Gurdyal Singh, Dr. Manohar Lal and six lawyers of Gurdaspur were a serious error, and while they do not overlook the difficulties of the situation, they are constrained to express their disapproval of the action taken in these cases." The *Tribune* (Lahore) commenting on the above observes: "In at least one of these cases it can be proved by incontestable evidence that the responsibility rested solely with the head of the Government. We refer, of course, to the case of Mr. Manohar Lal. In this case it was the ex-Lieutenant-Governor who wrote with his own hand on a letter addressed by Mr. Manohar Lal to the Chief Secretary in connection with the disturbances:—

"This rather belated offer on behalf of the *Tribune* which has so steadily worked to create a spirit of opposition to authority and contempt of Government advice appears to have been an act of *peshbandi*. The writer and the editor of the *Tribune* have been arrested.

M. F. O'DWYER."

This note can leave no room for doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that, so far at least as Mr. Manohar Lal is concerned, he owed his persecution solely to the love which the late Lieutenant-Governor had for the *Tribune*."

A Courageous Utterance: The way of the reformer is proverbially hard. The patriotic Dewan of Cochin, Mr. T. Vijiaraghavacharya, is pursuing a strong policy in regard to the elevation of the depressed classes whose position in Malabar and Travancore is, perhaps, the worst in India. The intrepid Dewan has thrown open the public schools to children of all castes including the depressed

classes, and put his foot down on the tyrannical rule which prohibited the "untouchables" from using the public highways in certain localities. Orthodoxy is up in arms against him. Brahmins and Nairs resent the inroads on their time-honoured privileges. The Dewan made a powerful speech at the anniversary of the Cochin Esbuva Samajam in which he explained the policy of the Cochin Government. He pointed out that the Government had adopted measures to promote the well-being of all classes—Nambudris, Nairs, Christians and Mahomedans. In the case of the depressed classes, special efforts have to be made because of the extreme backwardness of these classes. There has been no new policy, only a steady insistence on the practical application of the long-recognised policy of equal opportunity for all the subjects of the Maharaja of Cochin. We ought to pay a tribute to His Highness for the support which he is so freely giving to his Dewan in his liberal policy. In the course of his address, Dewan Vijiaraghavacharya said:

I have been asked: What is the motive of Government in pursuing this policy? My only motive is to make Cochin really great in the eyes of the civilized world. I wish to be able to tell a visitor to Cochin, like Sir Narayan Ubandavarker, for instance, that in Cochin there is "a fair field and no favour." I do not wish to be obliged to conceal from him things which I feel cannot redound to our credit. If my object was only that of self-gratification, I could find it sooner by letting the depressed classes alone. No administrator who values his peace of mind or quiet life will take up the question of the depressed classes here. I know very well that if I left it alone, everybody—that is, everybody who is articulate—will be happy and I shall be happy too. But I feel that is not the way to serve Cochin. I feel what is to be sought are not the passing interests of the hour but the permanent prosperity and greatness of the State. And that can be done only by letting every class and community rise to the full stature of its manhood.

These are noble words and we reproduce them with a certain measure of pride as those of one who was a valued contributor to this journal in its early days.

Unenfranchised Untouchables: The *West Coast Spectator* (Calicut) observes: "The Local Government have catalogued only the Cherumas and Pariahs of Malabar among the "depressed classes" for representation in the Legislative Council. This is certainly in ignorance of the constitution of the depressed classes of this district, Pariahs and Cherumas constituting only a minority. There are the Kanakkans, Kalladis, Panans, Panians and Vettuvens who very largely outnumber the two communities enfranchised, and these have to go without the vote, although there are many to our knowledge who own property. (We suppose that they will be enrolled in the general electorate. Ed. I.S.R.) There is not the likelihood, however, of these people holding public meetings and passing protest resolutions. For, they are, like those enfranchised, innocent of politics; they do not even know that there is such a thing as a Legislative Council, and might be wondering what all these mean. The Government will not, therefore, be bothered. But, why were they left out of account?"

The Hyderabad State Social Conference: Mr. D. P. Nandekar, B.A., Honorary Secretary, Hyderabad Social Conference, Nanded, writes: "The Hyderabad State Social Conference will hold its annual session at Nanded on 20th June 1920. Mr. Waman Naik of Hyderabad has kindly consented to preside. All well-wishers of the State are cordially invited to attend."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 6, 1920.

A POLITICAL PARALLEL.

The historian, when there is one, of the last twenty years of British Indian politics, will have very little difficulty in tracing the broad lines of its progress to what it is at the present day. Prior to Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, whatever the practice, in theory Englishmen and Indians were equal subjects with the single duty of promoting the good of the country and its people and raising them to a level with the self-governing peoples of the British Empire. Lord Curzon initiated the doctrine that Englishmen in India, whether officials or non-officials, were here to exploit, and the Indians' role was to be exploited. It has been explained that Lord Curzon used the word "exploit" in a different sense from what it is usually understood to mean, and there is no need to question that explanation. The point is that Englishmen were divided off from Indians, an active role being assigned to the former and a passive one to the latter. Lord Curzon, however, realised that Englishmen in India could not fulfil the role assigned to them without the help of a section of the Indian people. He turned to the Mahomedans, and his Partition of Bengal was a move in this direction. Lord Minto, confronted by the agitation against the Partition on his arrival in this country with no policy of his own, adopted and accentuated Lord Curzon's policy by proposing communal representation for Mahomedans in excess of their numerical strength on the ground of their "historical importance." The Secretary of State at the time was Lord Morley whose studies in historical subjects had endowed him with a prescience not readily appreciated by the sportsman-Viceroy. Lord Morley warned Lord Minto in vain of the short-sightedness of his policy. He wrote (we underline the principal sentence):

Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading in India; Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: "You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you," and so forth and so forth. That is what they all cry out. (Recollections, II, pp. 173 & 174.)

And when, later, Lord Minto complained that Lord Morley had conceded to the Mahomedans more than what his Government had proposed, Lord Morley impatiently told the Viceroy: "I won't follow you again 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 M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best." The modification of the Partition gave a shock to Mahomedan sentiment fed on the idea that it was intended for the special benefit of the community. Then came the Balkan war, the acquiescence of England, along with other European powers, in the

shameless annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Cawnpore Mosque affair.

Lord Hardinge by his masterly handling of the last-named episode had to a large extent restored Mahomedan confidence, which had been shaken by these incidents. So much so that when the war broke out our Mahomedan countrymen were scarcely less enthusiastic than other Indians in supporting Lord Hardinge's action in sending the larger part of the Indian army to the scenes of war. It was generally believed that he had at the same time sent a despatch to England recommending a broad and generous scheme of constitutional reform. Large expectations had been created. The appointment of Lord Chelmsford, with very little previous record of statesmanship, to succeed the great Viceroy who had his training in the spacious school of King Edward VII., was a disappointment. Lord Chelmsford undoubtedly meant well but he lacked the personal prestige to enforce his views on the Government in England. No word was said for long months about the reforms. The public disappointment was accentuated by Lord Pentland's foolish action in interfering Mrs. Annie Besant. The situation was becoming dangerous. The Secretary of State had to intervene and order Mrs. Besant's release. The announcement of August 1917 followed. Mr. Montagu personally came to India and the "joint report" followed. The introduction of the Reform Bill into Parliament, however, was unfortunately delayed. Meanwhile, upon the Indian public waiting in expectancy of the reforms, the Government of India launched the Rowlatt Bills. At any time, these Bills would have roused opposition. But the strength, solidarity and vehemence of the opposition actually roused by them, were largely due to the time when they were introduced, and the manner in which, they were spoken to particularly by Sir George Lowndes and Sir William Vincent. The Moderate party, like the Moslem League in the days of the Partition, had been formed with the object of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme against the combined opposition of the Home Rulers led by Mrs. Besant and the National Congress party led by Mr. Tilak and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The disturbances of last year and the martial law operations especially in the Punjab, unsettled the programme of the Moderate party, obliging it to incorporate an addendum in the shape of severe condemnation of the Punjab excesses in its general programme of co-operation in support of the Reform Act. The Hunter Committee's report, and the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State thereon, have consolidated this later side of the Moderate platform, while the rules drafted by the Government of India under the Reform Act have not tended to consolidate the other and original side of it. And so it comes to pass that the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, the Congress representative now in London, has, by the evolution of Indian political conditions in the space of twelve months, the whole field left clear to him in regard

to the views which he expressed to a Reuter representative on the documents recently published relating to the disturbances of last year.

SATYAGRAHA.

When the Rowlatt Bills were before the Legislative Council, Mr. Gandhi, we think, was carrying on his propaganda in favour of handloom-weaving and a simple, strenuous life in the Madras Presidency. The Kaira famine remission campaign had come to an end. He had finished his labours in Champaran. We believe that the first Ahmedabad Mill-hands' strike had also settled itself on his intervention. This journal of Mr. Gandhi's activities does not pretend to accuracy, as we are not so sure about their chronological as about their psychological sequence. No doubt, he expected that the Indian non-official members' united protest would make Government pause in their determination to see the Bills through. No doubt, he expected that if it failed to have that effect, these members would adopt the most striking way of demonstrating their opposition by refusing to be parties to its final passage. It was a lamentable mistake that the non-official Indian members did not leave the Council in protest. Had they done so, the Indian Member of Government would most certainly have resigned at once. Sir George Lowndes and Sir William Vincent might have persisted in their overbearing attitude, but the Viceroy would have been impressed by this combined protest. At any rate, His Excellency would have felt it his duty to communicate with the Secretary of State before proceeding further. The Secretary of State confronted by the unprecedented event, would have advised reconsideration, and in case this was not accepted, he would have placed the question before His Majesty's Government. It was the unfortunate failure to adopt this constitutional procedure by the Indian non-official members that opened the way to the later extra-constitutional developments. We have heard different versions, more or less authentic, of why the non-official members failed to act in concert. It is no good retailing them at this stage, but we are of the opinion that even if one or two members shrank at the last moment from the prospect of giving up their seats, the rest ought to have acted independently. Mr. B. N. Sarma, it will be recalled, sent in his resignation only to withdraw it, perhaps, because he found that nobody else promptly followed his example. Some other members resigned later but the psychological moment had passed and the vacant seats were duly filled up. Mr. Gandhi, we think, was first moved to interest himself in the Rowlatt legislation by the impotence exhibited by the non-official members. He felt, no doubt, that it was his duty to do something to retrieve their failure to rise to the occasion. More than that, he also felt that if some peaceable channel was not provided for the public feeling which had been exasperated by the defiant attitude of Government in pushing through the Rowlatt Act, it might be led into objectionable ways by irresponsible men. Events have shown that he was perfectly right. The only place where Satyagraha was really

tried was Bombay City. Here it was applied in conjunction with civil disobedience which, by the way, does not stand in any inherent relation to it, and it is admitted on all hands that it came out of the test unscathed. Mr. Gandhi personally superintended its operation in Bombay. In Ahmedabad, the news of Mr. Gandhi's unexpected arrest threw the machinery of Satyagraha out of gear; counsels of violence temporarily prevailed, but Mr. Gandhi's presence was enough to quell them. In Nadiad, there was no question of the Satyagraha at all nor in the Punjab. The mere shouting "Gandhiki jai" by the mob, does not signify that it was actuated by Satyagraha principles.

Those who complain of misrepresentations of the Rowlatt Act, should not misrepresent Satyagraha. The Indian minority of the Hunter Committee has failed to appreciate the true significance of the principle as much as the European majority, and with less excuse. We make a distinction, as noted above, between Satyagraha and civil disobedience. Satyagraha will be a strong force on the side of Government if Government recognise and respect the feelings of the people. It antagonises nothing that does not antagonise truth. If Government had said to the non-official members: "Gentlemen, the information which we possess tells us that we must have this Bill. But you are the representatives of the people, and we feel that we ought not to override your unanimous opposition. Although it will be taking risks, we are prepared to do so because you, the responsible spokesmen of the people of India, say that this Bill is not necessary. But you will realise that this casts a great responsibility upon you and your constituencies. And we trust that if, unfortunately, events should turn out differently from what you think, you will give Government all the support it needs to deal with any emergencies,"—the whole country would have responded with enthusiasm to such confidence and considerateness. The people would have felt that the duty of suppressing anarchism had become their own. Instead of this Rowlatt Act which, according to a very high authority, will actually make detection more difficult than ever, we would have had every house-holder in the country a volunteer operating against anarchists and anarchism. Satyagraha would have been a force on the side of Government because Government was a force on the side of truth. Is not the Rowlatt Act a violation of the well-recognised principles of enlightened legislation and, to that extent, is it not a force tending to undermine respect for law? Surprise has been expressed that, while the Hunter Committee reports and the Government of India had enlarged on the evils of Satyagraha, the Secretary of State's despatch is silent about them. The explanation to our mind is simple. The British Government, as it is, has been evolved through a long-continued process of Satyagraha. It cannot well denounce the principle which actuated the Barons at Runnymede, Pym and Hampden in their protest against illegal exactions, and the great founders of the United States of America. All the power which Parliament, and a British Ministry as its executive

organ, possess today were obtained by methods of Satyagraha. Satyagraha is the pursuit of truth. A Government which looks upon the pursuit of truth as wrong, had better mend its vision. Civil disobedience, as we said, is a different thing. It was a mistake to have included this in the Satyagraha movement as an independent item, enabling many who did not understand Satyagraha, to start on a mission of mere law-breaking. But as Mr. Gandhi himself has acknowledged this and has declared that civil disobedience is not an integral part of Satyagraha, there is no need to dwell at length upon it.

THE KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION.

It is necessary to begin this article with a re-iteration of our position in regard to the Turkish question. Before doing that, we should briefly state what our own religious position is. We are Hindu dissenters—Protestant Hindus, in the phrase coined by the late Mr. Justice Ranade—who hold the great and profound religious culture of Hinduism in reverence without subscribing to its dogmas as to revelation, caste and so on. Our attitude to other great religions is precisely the same. The dogmas of Mahomedanism and Christianity are nothing to us and their central truths are all that matter. The Khilafat is a dogma of Mahomedanism the great central message of which is the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. The world never stood in greater need of this mighty truth than it does to-day. The sacred duty of proclaiming it is laid in a special sense upon those who are professing Mahomedans. In their proper discharge of that duty, the whole of humanity is deeply interested and will welcome every effective attempt on the part of Islam to spread this, its great Gospel. But when it is asked to uphold the Khilafat, it rightly asks, Has the Khilafat in the recent past been faithful to its great and sacred trust? A good deal of the story of Turkish misgovernment of subject races is, no doubt, the outcome of prejudice, but nobody has come forward to say that Turkish rule was a faithful interpretation of Islam's great message. Do not the conflicting Fatwas of high Mahomedan divines, show that the union of Church and State has not been attended with happier results in Mahomedan than in Christian countries? The Khilafat runs counter to the idea now universally held that the Church best serves its high purpose by being independent of any temporal power. The influence of the great Roman Catholic Church has certainly not diminished since the Holy Father at Rome was relieved of his temporal encumbrances. The Church of England is beginning to feel its political shackles. The Archbishop of Canterbury's recent vigorous protest against the Bill extending the grounds of divorce in the House of Lords, drew from Lord Selborne the remark, in which the Lord Chancellor concurred, that the whole principle of Church Establishment might be involved; and from the

Times, the striking forecast that "the danger (of disestablishment) is at hand in a form which not many will have anticipated." A leading organ of the English Church insists that the Church must form its own judgment of what is its right course and follow that course, leaving the State to act as it thinks right in maintaining or abandoning the Establishment. The wonderful vitality of Hinduism is due to the fact that its source of authority has rested with men who had nothing to gain from the State, having renounced the world for good. For these reasons, while the central message of Islam is the precious heritage of the human race, the Khilafat dogma cannot find acceptance outside the limited circle of Mahomedan dogmatists. We have for this reason repeatedly exhorted Indian Mahomedan leaders to keep the Turkish question clear of religious issues. We deplore that the published peace terms are in violation of the letter and spirit of the British Prime Minister's pledge to secure the Turks in the sovereignty of their homelands on the principles of nationality and self-determination. But we can not think that the last word has been said on this point.

We think that there is plenty of scope for further agitation on recognised constitutional lines. Mankind, after all, are ruled by ideas and we have every confidence that the conscience of mankind will never allow an injustice to be perpetuated, even if it is for the moment perpetrated by such an authoritative body as the Peace Conference. That a large part of the civilised world is hostile to Turkey is unfortunately a fact which has to be faced. The letter which we print today from the Rev. Stanley Hunter is but a single illustration of it. This hostility can be removed only by clearing up misunderstandings where such exist, and by persuading the Turks to reform themselves in respect of matters where reforms are needed. The article which we summarise today from *Asia*, shows that in one most important respect the Turks have made and are making praiseworthy progress. The position of women is the crucial test of social enlightenment, and the striking examples cited in the article strongly predispose us, as it will predispose our readers, to believe in the genuineness of Turkish progress and in the soundness of the lines on which it proceeds. The great need of the moment in order to secure just treatment to Turkey, is a wide and vigorous propaganda among the great nations of Europe and America. The one thing to be avoided is even the appearance of antagonising any one of them, least of all the Government of India which has steadily and consistently stood by Indian opinion on this question. For this reason, we strongly deprecate the policy of "non-cooperation" which, even if it succeed beyond the most sanguine expectations, cannot help Turkey one little jot. Its success will mean the paralysis of the only import-

ant Government in the world which is really and firmly friendly to Turkey. This is too great a price to pay for the satisfaction of the justifiable resentment of a large section of our Mahomedan countrymen. Our emotions are the great driving power of our nature, but it is the intellect which can clearly see the end in view, and device the means best calculated to lead to it. Besides, "non-co-operation" is a negative idea not conducive to the positive state of mind which alone can achieve its object. Both the Gita and the Koran lay down positive injunctions regarding the performance of duty, and the consensus of educational opinion has condemned the scheme of negative morality. The quality which compels success in men is the quality "to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield." "Non-co-operation" is merely giving up one thing after another, many of them of little consequence to national destinies. We said above that, even if "non-co-operation" succeed, it will not help Turkey one whit. But all the chances are that it will not succeed. It cannot succeed. Leading Mahomedans themselves are against it. The Hindus are unconvinced of its necessity or of its practicability. The only result of pressing it forward, will be to estrange the bulk of both communities—the more thoughtful and responsible sections—from the movement to get justice done to Turkey. If anything can be done, it is by greater co-operation, and not by non-co-operation, with those who have shown themselves keenly alive to Indian feeling and sentiments on the Turkish question.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A telegram from the South African correspondent of the *Times of India* dated the 28th May states that the Commission inquiring into Asiatic questions in South Africa, has issued an *ad interim* report urging the Government to organise voluntary Indian repatriation by the provision of shipping facilities and by the suspension of restrictions on the export of gold in the forms of savings and jewellery. A Reuter's telegram gives the further information that the Commission's recommendation is in view of the fact that a considerable number of Indians are desirous of returning to India, and on condition that there are good prospects of employment for them in India.

MR. ANDREWS' VIEWS.

In view of the lakhs of rupees contributed by India to help the Indians in South Africa to maintain their rights and the unprecedented excitement caused in this country by the stories of their oppression and heroic resistance, the suggestion of repatriation would have deserved to be dismissed without a thought by Indians. But the idea has received support from an unexpected quarter, and, therefore, deserves consideration. Mr. C. F. Andrews who lately visited South Africa, in an article in the

June number of the *Modern Review*, after describing the miserable condition of ex-indentured Indians in Natal, observes :

My own suggested remedy is to give to these Indian labourers every opportunity to come back and make a new start in India itself. I do not think that any other consideration should weigh with us except the good of the Indian labourers themselves. We must judge the problem by itself as a problem of humanity. They come to me, with their families and their little children asking me to help them to return and I make them a promise that I would do so. A free passage is already offered by the South African Union Government, and I was told by the officials that it has been impossible to find sufficient ships for those who are ready and eager to go. These ships must be found. There must be no more delay.

It is, I believe, practically certain that the South African Union Government would offer a bonus to each adult, in addition to the free passage, because there is a general desire to decrease, if possible, the number of Indians in South Africa. I should myself, for humanitarian reasons, be quite willing to welcome any such offer and to urge upon the Indian Government that it should deal as liberally as possible with these Indian labourers on their return to India. They should institute an office at Bombay to look after their interests and enable them to settle down in India with some hope of leading a happier life than their wretched life in Natal. After all, labour is very greatly needed in India at the present time and it should not be at all, difficult to provide suitable work.

Mr. Andrews confesses that when the £3 poll tax was abolished in 1911, and every Indian in Natal had been provided at last with opportunity for freedom, he had fondly hoped that an immediate change would ensue, that the Indian labourers would rise in character and status, and would be enabled to improve their own economic position. In this he has been disappointed. Not only has there been no real improvement, but on the contrary things have gone still farther backward. Mr. Andrews attributes this to the African native labourer having come into direct competition with the Indian and the latter—having been depressed by long periods of semi-servile labour under indenture—not being able to hold his own in the labour market. The result is that the Indian labourer is sinking into a depressed class.

"They are wretchedly unhappy," writes Mr. Andrews. "Wherever I went they flocked round me, asking and even imploring me to get them sent back to India. It was the most pitiable thing to see their condition and my heart went out to them more than I can explain in words. Secondly they are degrading, among the other races, the very idea of an 'Indian'. They are making it next to impossible for Indians as a whole to keep their status in Natal. The dead weight of this great mass of submerged Indian population inevitably drags the name of 'Indian' down into the dust.

All this has been caused by our own initial fault, in allowing Indians to be unscrupulously recruited for indentured purposes at all. We have now to make amends for these evils of the past. It has not been enough merely to close down the indenture system. We have still our duty to perform towards those whom we allowed to go out and to become submerged under the indenture system. This *pragya-chitta* has yet to be performed.

INDIA NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR INDENTURED EMIGRATION.

We may perhaps dispose of the last argument at once. The people of India were never asked and did not allow—except in the sense that they did not rise in revolt against—Indians being sent under indenture to Natal. It was done entirely by the British Government and the *prayaschitta*, if any, has to be performed by them not by us. The people of India along with indentured Indians have been victims, not agents, in this matter. We have enough sins of our own commission on our heads to atone for without needlessly and without just cause heaping upon it the sins of those who had been in power over us and who stood to us in the position of trustees and guardians. Nor, in our opinion, does the argument that the spectacle of these depressed Indians injuriously affects the estimate of Indians by foreigners, seriously concern us. This has been used before and with greater cogency in the case of Indians under indenture. Now that the system of indenture has been abolished, the condition of these depressed Indians can no more affect the reputation of the Indian people than the condition of the "poor whites" in the Calcutta slums affect the estimate one may form of Englishmen or Europeans generally. If it is a reflection on any body, it is a reflection on the ruling race in South Africa, which has pursued and is pursuing a policy of relentless persecution of the Indians who built up the prosperity of Natal with their life blood.

A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS.

In an article contributed by Mr. Andrews to the *Natal Advertiser* which is reprinted in *Indian Opinion* of 23rd April, he criticises the idea of repatriation of Indians in Natal as follows.

Now, to-day after sixty years' settlement in the case of Africa, there is wild talk, on the part of irresponsible persons, about "repatriation." But, in the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era we cannot act in the manner of Assyrian despots in the year 800 B.C. To bring over, for purely selfish reasons a whole population, first of all; then to use this population in order to build up prosperity and wealth; and then, last of all, when wealth is established, to banish the labourers who produced the wealth—such a policy is neither sane nor just.

No distinction is made in the above quotation between compulsory and voluntary repatriation. But in the second article of the series, reprinted in *Indian Opinion* of the 30th April, Mr. Andrews qualifies his observations on repatriation. He observes:

While, in my first article, I declared that compulsory repatriation was morally unthinkable, I have no objection whatever to voluntary offers being made to ex-indentured Indians in Natal, who signally failed in this country, to return to their native land and their own people with the chance of a new start there. Any purely voluntary scheme, which the Union Government might put forward, to enable these Indians who wished to leave Natal, to do so, with a small sum of money in their pockets to enable them to begin life again in India, would have my cordial approval.

In our opinion, the distinction here made between voluntary and compulsory repatriation is illusory. Once it is decided that the right policy with regard to

Indians in Natal is repatriation, the difference between voluntary and compulsory will become a mere paper difference. Indian experience in *India* has shown that what is voluntary in theory can be compulsory in practice. In South Africa, where public opinion is nearly all against Indians, the process of transmating the one to the other will be much easier. No compulsion, but you must, is an aphorism of every repressive administration. Even assuming that this fear is groundless, we see no reason why the descendants of indentured Indian labourers should be induced to quit Natal and not the white men who have waxed fat on the fruits of their labour. These Indians are natives of South Africa. Mr. Andrews says that the increase in their wages has not kept pace with the increase in prices. This is a phenomenon not peculiar to Indians in Natal. We have the same problem facing us in India. We are inclined to think that the depressing effect due to high prices and not sufficiently high wages, is largely due to war conditions which are bound sooner or later to disappear. Even otherwise, the right thing to do is to help to improve the efficiency of the Indian in Natal, and not to induce him to go back to India where he will be a total stranger. "Repatriation" in the case of descendants of indentured Indians, born in South Africa, is a contradiction in terms.

THE PROPOSAL BUT A PRELIMINARY TO TOTAL EXCLUSION.

If it is thought that the disappearance of these labouring Indians from South Africa will make the situation easier for the trading Indians, there cannot be a greater delusion. As a matter of fact, the white Colonists' objection is not to the former but to the latter. It is the presence of the Indian labourers that attracted the Indian traders, and led to the latter being tolerated. The Colonists wanted, and still want, Indian labour, and the Indian trader who came in the wake of the labourer had to be put up with. The "repatriation" of the labourers will be quickly followed by the effective exclusion of the traders. The late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, with his wonderful prescience, declared that the compromise of 1913, in which the principle of administrative exclusion of free Indian immigrants from South Africa was conceded, gave away the whole Indian case, and he refused to have anything to do with the receptions and meetings held in connection therewith. That his judgment was right, can no longer be questioned. After isolating the South African Indians, the Union Government and people seek to destroy them by withdrawing trading licenses and the right to own land. This proposal voluntarily to "repatriate" the South African born Indians is merely the penultimate step in crushing out the Indian in South Africa. The trader went there in the wake of the labourer, and he will be expropriated and repatriated likewise in the wake of the labourer. We are unable to approve of this suggestion, notwithstanding our high respect for Mr. Andrews. The Indian is entitled to remain in the countries which he has benefitted by his labours in a position of civilised citizenship. If India agrees to this proposal, it may prepare itself

to have similar proposals from every British colony where Indians have made their way. The Indian will be persecuted, and when persecution produces its effect of depression, it will be proposed to "repatriate" him on the ground that he is unable to hold his own in the colony. It is curious that none of the representative Indian organisations in South Africa, so far as we are aware, has propounded "repatriation" as a solution of the Indian problem. *Indian Opinion* has expressed no opinion so far. In past years, our contemporary has protested against any such suggestion. The proposal, in our view, is distinctly retrograde. If we accept it, we admit defeat and give up once for all all claim to equal treatment in the British Empire. For such an act of renunciation, we shall have to answer at the bar of posterity.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TURKEY.

Miss Barnette Miller, till recently Professor at Constantinople College contributes an interesting article to the current number of Asia, with the heading "The Passing of the Harem." The following is an excerpt.

The feminist movement began in the Mahomedan world about the middle of the last century, first in Egypt and afterwards in the Caucasus, in protests and satires on the part of a few enlightened men to the effect that progress was impossible so long as women were held in debasement and ignorance. It began a little later in Turkey, but has made greater strides there because, since the granting of the Constitution in 1909, the women have fought for themselves. The following passage quoted from a recent number of the *Woman's World*, the organ of the Turkish Association for the Protection of the Rights of Women, illustrates the spirit in which they entered upon the campaign for their own emancipation:

"The fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves, if we fail of attaining true happiness. Our men are seeing more clearly today than ever before that the welfare and success of our people in the coming years depend very greatly upon us, the mothers and the daughters of our race. Emancipation, education, elevation, intellectual and moral—this is to be our cherished desire, our purpose. The question is not 'Who will make us happy?' but 'How can we be most useful to our people and our fatherland?'"

Since 1909 Turkish women have founded newspapers with women as editors and correspondents to discuss social and economic questions affecting their welfare—and this in a country where a woman's mere name formerly had been taboo in public life; where it had been etiquette in conversation of everyday life to allude to a wife only as "harem" or "family", and to avoid mention of her by name even in title deeds to property. So great has been the change that it is no uncommon thing today to read in the Stamboul papers the name of a princess who has been Lady Bountiful to some cause, or of some prominent woman, who has left for Berlin or arrived from Brusa. Women have organized clubs

and associations which have, during the wars of the last nine years, rendered great public services, in return for which they have obtained large concessions for their sex. They have made steady progress in spite of reaction as the result of certain excesses following the revolution of 1909, in spite of the responsibility of the Caliphate to maintain in Turkey the standards for Islam, and in spite of the fanaticism of the masses.

The platform of the Turkish women to-day demands a return to certain earlier Turanian customs and earlier Mahomedan tenets, under which women formerly enjoyed greater freedom and a higher position. They ask equal opportunities with men for education and economic independence; an equitable treatment in the matter of marriage and divorce; emancipation from their harem and outdoor dress.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

In the past, Turkish women had been educated for the most part only in the arts of sensuality in the harem. In the elementary schools of the mosques a few learned by rote some chapters of the Koran, a little geography and the three R's. About 1870, Djavid Pasha, a famous historian and one of a group which after the Crimean War revived French influence in Turkey; gave voice to the opinion, novel anywhere at that time, that women should receive the same education as men. His efforts mark the beginning of what may be called the governess period of women's education in Turkey, which Pierre Loti has made famous in his *Les Désenchantées*. Djavid Pasha's two daughters, Fatima Aliéh Hanoum and Emineh Hanoum, studied Persian with a sheik from Teheran, Arabic with a dervish, Turkish with the first graduate from the Turkish Normal School, French and music with one French governess, and French philosophy and psychology with another; algebra, geometry, astronomy and geography with their brother, and religion and history with their father. Fatima Aliéh Hanoum is the author of numerous well-known novels and has for many years been an influence in the intellectual life of the capital.

Since 1870, a number of foreign schools for native women have been founded in Constantinople, but it was not until after the deposition of Abdul Hamid that Turkish students could attend without risk. The Young Turks, whatever else their faults may be, have held distinctly progressive theories about the education of women. Their educational programme included a course of study of six years for girls, three in the kindergarten and elementary section, and three in the secondary. In the last nine years it is claimed about five hundred thousand have availed themselves of this opportunity. In Constantinople, there are one high school, one normal school and one technical school for women. The last Minister of Education in the Talat Pasha Cabinet pronounced himself in favour of technical schools for girls as the greatest educational need in Turkey. Unfortunately, he lacked the means to carry out his ideas. The Imperial Ottoman University five years ago provided separate extension lectures in hygiene and in the *belles-lettres* for women; two years ago it offered a medical course which several hundred

women have entered, though the slowness of the government to grant licenses for medical practice has been a great obstacle in the profession; more recently still it established a professorship of European literature to which a woman, Halideh Hanoum, has been appointed. For several years the government has maintained students, under pledge to become teachers, in the American college for girls in Constantinople and in Switzerland. Since 1914 there have been nearly one hundred Turkish women sent to Germany and Austria.

MARRIAGE REFORMS.

In matters pertaining to marriage, the sphere in which woman's degradation has been greatest, few of the changes in Turkey have been formally conceded by legislation, but they have come about rather by social forces at work in the nation, in consequence of which great changes in actual practice have been effected. It must be kept in mind, however, that although polygamy is legalized in Turkey, and in the past the size of a man's harem was the index of his wealth and position, still, because of its cost, it was never practised by more than five per cent of the male population of the cities. In recent years, furthermore, it has been limited among the Turks by the rapid decline of wealth.

As a result of European education and travel, and of the freer minging of Turks with Europeans in Constantinople since the fall of Abdul Hamid, and the demands of Turkish women themselves, a plurality of wives has come to be distinctly unfashionable among the Turks to-day. Those who have political and social aspirations have found it a distinct handicap. I do not know of a single Young Turk in any prominent government position who has more than one wife. In the last decade monogamy has become distinctly *chic*. It is said that, as one result of the change, immorality, more or less legalized in the French fashion, has come in to take the place of polygamy.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL FREEDOM.

The liberty of the average woman has enormously increased. As late as 1909 or 1910, women did not go freely in the streets unless accompanied by a companion or female servant, nor did they remain out after night-fall. I remember on several occasions pitying a belated woman scurrying home through the dusk like a frightened bird astray. Any man who chided her for being out late, for all men are equally, by Mahomedan law, protectors of every woman. But now women go about freely alone; an attendant is only an occasional issue with a jealous husband. Women are often seen out after night-fall, and there are a few bold enough to boast of going in the evenings with the men of their families to "movies."

A few Turkish women even hold *salons*. Halideh Hanoum has for years received the visits of Turkish officials and American acquaintances—and, since the armistice, of Allied army officers and press correspondents. The late poetess Nigiar Hanoum gathered around her a circle of Turkish and French *litterateurs*.

There is also a certain very beautiful and cultured young Turkish matron who has been known to pour tea at an English at-home in Constantinople where there were many Allied officers present. At her own Sundays-at-home there is a cosmopolitan society of Greeks, Turks and Europeans. She and her husband were guests at a dinner given by an American hostess to the English colonel who had been acting High Commissioner during the four or five days preceding the formal entry of the Allied fleet after the armistice. She wore a very modish gown of green taffeta out décollete, with no scarf or head-covering of any kind; and she conversed with the men guests in turn in English or French or Turkish, of the opera, of a political issue or of lighter things, with as much ease as any woman present.

The dress of Turkish women within the last few years has undergone a complete transformation. An old resident of Constantinople who returned there this autumn after an absence of several years was asked what he regarded as the most striking change that had taken place since his departure. He replied instantly, "That the women go unveiled in the streets." The disappearance of the veil is certainly the most striking change in outward appearances that has occurred in Constantinople in modern times; and it marks a great advance in the progress of Turkish women.

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE TURKISH QUESTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Although it is eight years since I was in India I am still interested in reading your paper. I have followed your treatment of the Turkish situation and think that you will possibly be interested in the resolutions presented last month to the authorities in Washington by a delegation representing the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America which is entitled to speak for the Protestant Churches of our land.

Believing that these resolutions* represent the sober judgment of most Americans, I forward them to you as they are printed in the weekly bulletin of the Church of which I am pastor in Pittsburgh.

I have had Armenians come to my office here and ask my assistance in endeavouring to trace sisters who have been carried off by Turks and are living lives of horrible misery today. No man who can understand history can say that Ambassador Morgenthau's revelations are untrue. It is high time that the civilized world put an end once and for all to the Turkish atrocities.

Yours sincerely,

STANLEY A. HUNTER.

* First: That the purpose which led America into the war was not fulfilled with the cessation of hostilities. Germany has been defeated, but autocratic militarism still lives, and is even now manifesting itself in its worst form in the former Turkish Empire, which has been well called the breeding place of atrocities and wars.

* Second: That there is a growing impatience amounting to indignation over the failure of the Administration and of Congress to concur in enacting such legislation as will enable America to help the Allied nations to escape from the

political entanglements of the past and to solve the Near Eastern problem according to the principles of right and justice for the establishment of which we entered the war.

"In particular, we urge that the weight of America's influence be thrown on the side of a definite and final decision that the Turk should be excluded from Europe and denied control over the subject peoples which he so long and so brutally oppressed and maltreated."

"A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW"

A considerable number of women tacitly accept the double moral standard when their social position protects them from the likelihood of being sacrificed to its inevitable results, but it is not often that a woman comes boldly out in public support of it, as Mrs. Wansley Bayly does in the January and March issues of *National Health*. The letter was primarily an appeal to women to recognise the need for educating their husbands and sons to supply themselves with the means of venereal disinfection. Arguing that the "right women"—explained later as the "mother-women"—do not expect a single standard, she puts forward two points: (1) That a wife is usually responsible for her husband's fidelity and if he lapses sexually it is frequently not because he does not love his wife, but because she has ceased to think sex-attraction important. In any case, if the husband in these lapses protects himself by disinfection all will be well; and (2) if a woman is unfaithful it nearly always means she no longer loves her husband, and, moreover, she may bring home venereal disease and most probably another man's child. That being the case, how can the same code be just for men and women when the social results are so different? Mrs. Wansley Bayly follows this up by explicitly denying that the equal standard makes for social stability and racial welfare, and later she says: "The present grave danger of an equal moral code is the spread of promiscuity amongst women."

Mrs. Wansley Bayly was asked if she accepted the obvious implications of her letter, namely, that if women in general must be chaste, and men in general need not be so, there must of necessity exist a class of women who could not be chaste, as they would have to meet the "gallantries" (Mrs. Wansley Bayly's word) of men. This inquiry was ignored, but the last letter ended with this crushing sentence flung at her critics:

"I think perhaps the mothers and fathers are a little wearied of being lectured on sexual morality by women who do not represent the majority of their sex."

Side by side with this appeared a closely reasoned and constructive letter from the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, which on this point can speak authoritatively for probably a million women, including many married women. The letter was signed by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, and contained these pronouncements:—

"We are convinced that such teaching as is advocated in Mrs. Wansley Bayly's letter would inevitably bring about both morally and physically, most disastrous results, and cannot be too strongly condemned. . . . We dissent from Mrs. Bayly's view that most women would agree that their husbands and sons should be educated to supply themselves with disinfectants."

We imagine the National Council of Women has quite as much right as Mrs. Bayly, if not rather more, to speak in the name of the mothers of this country, and we are grateful to Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon for the thoughtful letter in which she expressed the opinion of the Council's Executive. The point we want to deal with here is the argument that a married woman's sexual lapse is more disastrous socially and in relation to the marriage contract than the lapse of a married

man. The same view was expressed by Lord Phillimore during the debate on the Divorce Bill and, somewhat modified also by Lord Buckmaster. This appears to be an extraordinarily short-sighted view of things, and certainly not inherent in the relationship of husband and wife. A wife's lapse has a more disastrous result at present because the circumstances make it easier for her infidelity to be discovered and, when discovered, the law penalises the infidelity of the husband. If these conditions were equal the social results in both cases would be the same. Does not the unfaithful husband also bring disease into his family, and is he not also frequently the means of bringing a baby into another man's home? It is true he does not bring another woman's child into his own home, but that does not make the case any less disastrous socially. Mrs. Bayly has in fact admitted the point when she says a wife's infidelity may bring another man's baby into her husband's home. Why, then, regard the wife's action as more disastrous than that of the man? To such muddled reasoning are the supporters of the double standard reduced to defend their utterly illogical and unjust position.

There is another item which Mrs. Bayly has overlooked. She may be weary of being "lectured" by those who believe in an equal high moral standard, but how is she going to meet the demand for sexual expression of the young woman who sees no reason why she should not have all the freedom permitted to her brother, and who is to-day in a position to take that freedom, and means to take it, unless society can give her some good reason for self-inhibition and chastity? There is perhaps no section of the community so weary of being lectured and scolded, and in a mood so little inclined to tolerate it, as the young women of the present time who, in the very blossoming of their womanhood, have seen their potential lovers and husbands torn from them for ever by the war. Will these women cut off from all sex expression, except in illicit connections, meekly accept the double standard so easily expounded by comfortably mated mothers of families? We think not. There is only one possible ground of appeal to these young unmarried women and war widows, and that is to ask them to make a voluntary renunciation of their individual emotional needs and physical impulses for the sake of building up a clean, wholesome, and happier world for those who will come after them. Such an appeal must be addressed to men and women alike. To base it on the unjust foundation of the double standard would not only cause it to be treated with the indifference and contempt it deserves, but would be asking the impossible, as female chastity must of necessity be in exact relation to male chastity. It is only in distribution that it varies.—*The Shield*, London.

Decorations: We have received the following Press Note dated the 4th May:—The Secretary and Registrar, Central Chancery of the orders of Knighthood, St. James's Palace, London, S. W. 1, has recently complained of the great difficulty experienced by him in getting into touch with decorees of the Order of the British Empire, who have returned to England from India. All decorees of the Order who may be proceeding to the United Kingdom without receiving their decorations in India are requested to communicate with him immediately on their arrival in England, so that the necessary arrangements may be made for their attendance at an investiture. They are also requested to communicate to Government their addresses and the probable period of their stay in England.

TO MY SON.

I will not say to you: "This is the Way,
walk in it." For I do not know your way,
or where the Spirit may call you.

It may be
to paths I never trod, or ships on the sea
leading to unimagined lands afar,
or, haply, to a star!

Or yet again
through dark and perilous places racked
with pain
and full of fear
your road may lead you; far from me or near,

I cannot guess or guide,
but only stand aside.

Just this I'll say;
I know for very truth there is a way
for each to walk, a right for each to choose,
a truth to use.

And, though you wander far, your soul will know
that true path when you find it.

Therefore, go!
I will fear nothing for you day or night!
I will not grieve at all because your light
is called by some new name;
Truth is the same!

It matters nothing to call it Star or Sun,
all light is one.

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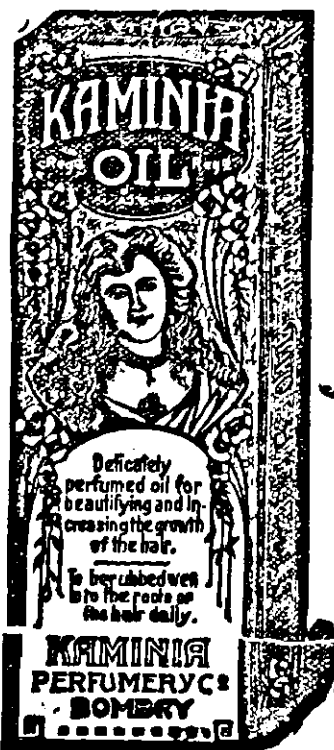
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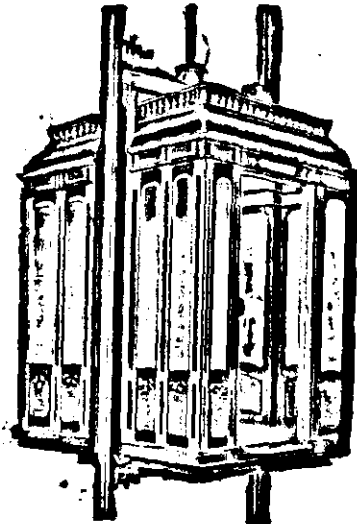
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JUNE 13, 1920. No. 41.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no
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 Hon. Mr. Mahomed Shafi and the Punjab Excesses:—The Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee's report, state that their Honorable colleague, Mr. Shafi, differs from them and the majority of the Committee, and agrees with the minority report in regard to the causes of the disturbances, the necessity of the declaration of martial law, its continuation and so on. The Indian minority of the Committee, it will be remembered, held that there was no organised conspiracy justifying the extended application of martial law in the Punjab last year. Lord Sydenham pounced upon this statement and pointed out Mr. Shafi's inconsistency in holding this view inasmuch as he had subscribed to the address presented to Sir Michael O'Dwyer by some notables, on the eve of his departure from the province, in which the existence of an organised conspiracy was admitted. Mr. K. Santanam, a Barrister-at-Law practising at Lahore, writes a long letter to the *Tribune* the gist of which is that this particular passage was interpolated in the address without the knowledge or consent of the signatories and that when they came to know of it when it was read before the retiring Lieutenant-Governor, they were too afraid of martial law to expose the forgery. If this is a correct statement of facts, Mr. Santanam, we think, has done no service to Mr. Shafi and his co-signatories by coming forward with it in reply to Lord Sydenham's strictures. Unless it is proved that the interpolation was made at the suggestion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or that at least that he was cognisant of its having been made—neither of which is suggested by Mr. Santanam—the fact of signing such an important document without reading it, is not one which reflects credit on the judgment or sense of responsibility of the signatories. Under the circumstances, it would have been best in their interests to have said nothing, leaving the charitably-minded public to infer that they honestly believed at the time the official asseveration regarding the existence of a "revolutionary conspiracy" which later investigation had convinced them was not the case.

However that may be, we are constrained to observe that Mr. Mahomed Shafi would have displayed a livelier sense of responsibility to the Indian public, had he drawn up a separate minute stating his reasons independently for agreeing with the minority report. Coming from a Punjab man and a member of the Government of India, such a statement would have strengthened the bands of Indians in pleading for justice at the bar of English public opinion.

Politics and Linguistics: The *Janmabhumi* has no sympathy with the all-India aspirations of Mahomedans and Christians. It thinks that they should fall in with the idea of linguistic provinces. The fact that these two great communities have no love for the idea, remains unquestioned. So far as Mahomedans are concerned, it lately received remarkable confirmation in the course of an article, altogether unconnected with the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis by Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmad in the *Muhammadian* (Madras) which we take this opportunity of congratulating on its resuscitation. Mr. Rafiuddin observes that Mussulman politics, in any province whatever, is found to assume an all-India colour. The question is not whether the *Janmabhumi* sympathises with this tendency or not, but what the position is of the movement for "linguistic provinces" vis a vis this steady all-India evolution of our Mahomedan and Christian fellow-countrymen. The *Janmabhumi* is unable to controvert our statement that the linguistic province idea is essentially one like caste. This preference for division, separation, isolation, has been the great drag on Indian history in the past. Hindu empires fell because they could not make headway against it. The Mahomedan empires were able to counteract effectively the fissiparous tendency in those parts of the country where they exercised most influence. There is no Brahmin-non-Brahmin problem north of the Godavari nor much of a "linguistic province" stunt. The British Empire, we had hoped, would do for the whole of India, what the Moghul Empire did for upper India. This hope is not likely to be realised if the *Janmabhumi*-cum-Sir William Vincent policy of "linguistic provinces" ever comes to be given effect to. On a par with its treatment of the all-India direction of Mahomedan and Christian aspirations, is the *Janmabhumi*'s way of dealing with the Brahmin-non-Brahmin movement. It is, we are told, "the outcome of a designing extraneous agency" and irrelevant to the issue under consideration. No serious student of Indian politics can dismiss this important movement in so cavalier a manner. Finally, our contemporary lays down that not all the languages of India deserve consideration. "There are only 14 or 15 cultured languages in India," it says, "and all the rest are dialects that count no more than the countless dialects of the Shires and Counties of England." The *Janmabhumi* does not

seem to know that the present literary language known as English was developed out of one of such dialects, and that the division of England into "linguistic provinces" would have prevented this process of beneficent evolution. So also the dozen "cultured languages" of India have grown out of the interaction of several dialects just such as those which our contemporary leaves out of its calculation as "uncultured."

The Gnat and the Camel: The *Behar Herald* (Bankipur) has a very apt reply to those critics of the demand for special representation in the Behar Legislative Council who recommended Bengalee-Beharis, instead, to agitate for the districts in which they are numerous to be added to Bengal on the principle of "linguistic provinces." Our contemporary writes:

We do not understand how the arrangement avoids the communal and separatist tendencies, so strongly condemned by those who recommend it. The claim of the Bengalis in Bihar which is regarded as obnoxious on account of its being a plea for the extension of separate communal representation may be put thus:—"We do not object to being governed by the new council provided a certain number of our own men are allowed seats in it to voice our interests." With great respect to the supporters of the idea, it seems to us that the proposal to send the Behari-Bengalis back to Bengal sounds very much like the following:—"No, your claim to be governed by a council including among others a few representatives of your own race is preposterous. So you must go to Bengal and be governed exclusively by people of your own race."

We seem to have missed the issue of the *Searchlight* in which our appeal to Behari leaders like Mr. Hasan Imam and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, to take the lead in getting removed the disabilities of Behari-Bengalees in regard to scholarships, was noticed, but if the *Behar Herald's* quotations are correct, the *Searchlight*, we are sorry to say, has a long search before it:

"We do not know whether there is any thing to be wondered at that in a place where the Beharis are in a majority their children should have preference to admission." And, again: "It is all well to talk of nationalism and brotherly feelings, but in matters educational, Behar cannot afford to keep back its children and make way for others."

This is a pathetic imitation of Prussianism for any Indian community to indulge in and we hope that the *Searchlight* did not mean all that its words imply. For, we can have no hesitation in saying that sentiments such as those expressed in the sentences quoted, are utterly incompatible with the possession by those who entertain them of the qualities required to carry on an administration on principles of enlightened patriotism. The country is best served by helping minorities and communities that have fallen behind in the race of life to come up to the level of the larger, more advanced and more fortunate sections.

That or Which? The *Times of India* concedes that right usage demanded the use of 'that' and not 'which' in Mr. Lloyd George's famous declaration regarding the objects for which the Allies were not fighting Turkey, if the Prime Minister had intended to restrict its application in the way suggested by the *Madras Mail*. But our contemporary says that politicians are notoriously slipshod in their speech and that it is not unlikely in this instance that the Premier intended by this utterance precisely what the *Mail* imputes to him. It is true that politicians are often slipshod in their speeches, but this was not a case of an ordinary politician speaking on a matter of domestic interest. The Prime Minister

of the British Empire was making a tremendously momentous statement of policy to the Islamic nations of the world, and more particularly to His Majesty's Mahomedan subjects in India. If Mr. Lloyd George did not weigh every word of his declaration on such an occasion, he would have been shamefully neglectful of his duty as the first Minister of the Crown. As a matter of fact, it has been authoritatively stated by the Prime Minister himself that this declaration was not made on his sole responsibility. The Cabinet had agreed upon it and the Opposition had also been taken into the confidence of Government. More than that, the Allies too were consulted before the declaration was made. Every word of a formula upon which so many and diverse authorities had agreed, is sure to have been passed with the most scrupulous regard to the usages of the language. Even if Mr. Lloyd George be too little scrupulous in the use of words, is it likely that Mr. Balfour, Lord Curzon and, probably too, President Wilson—every one of them a master of the language—would have allowed such a glaring mistake to pass? The *Mail's* apology is clearly an afterthought. The Prime Minister intended what he was understood to mean by the people to whom his declaration was addressed. The only alternative would be that he deliberately intended to deceive—which we, for one, are yet loth to assume of an English Prime Minister.

Religion and Civil Marriage. We publish today a thoughtful article by Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti of Aska, Ganjam district, an earnest and practical social reformer, on the urgent need of a civil marriage in India. We have often urged the same need. It is interesting to note how completely the attitude of religious people in England has changed towards civil marriage. At one time, there, as in India, civil marriage was regarded as the desecration of a sacrament. Now, the view is that while the marriage relation is an essentially civil relation, the sacramental character attaches only to such marriages as, in addition, conform to certain religious tests. An ardent Church of England paper, the *Challenge*, commenting on Lord Buckmaster's Bill regarding the law of divorce, observes:

We agree with the promoters of Lord Buckmaster's bill to a small extent. We are most eager that the conditions of divorce should be equalized as between the sexes. We desire that there shall be provincial courts, so that poor people may have access to the law. But most of all we desire separation of the religious from the civil ceremony; we should like the Church to declare that it would not solemnize marriages except for those who had already been married in a civil sense at the Registry Office. Then the religious ceremony would begin to mean something real, as in many cases it does not at present. But the Church as a whole must determine what marriages it will bless.

A "Young India" Solecism: Writing about the use of the vernaculars in the debates in the Legislative Councils, *Young India* (Ahmedabad) says that in all the provinces except the Bombay Presidency, the 'chief recognised' vernacular or vernaculars are understood by ninety to ninety-five per cent of their respective populations, for instance, Hindi and Urdu in U. P., Hindi in C. P., Punjabi and Urdu in the Punjab, Bengalee in Bengal and Tamil in Madras. Our contemporary is mistaken in thinking that 90 per cent of the people of the Madras Presidency understand Tamil even colloquially, let alone sufficiently to follow speeches in Council. Madras in this respect is in the same position as Bombay. We doubt if a knowledge of Hindi is so general in the Mahratta districts of the Central Provinces as *Young India* avers. We presume that our contemporary agrees that there is no alternative to English in the case of the Indian Legislature.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 13, 1920.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MYSTERY.

Indian Opinion of the 7th May opens with the announcement that by the time that number was in the hands of its readers, the Asiatic Inquiry Commission would have finished its work so far as the taking of evidence in public was concerned. People who had not given evidence were invited by the Commission to send their suggestions in writing to the Secretary, when they would receive consideration at the hands of the Commissioners. There is a widespread feeling among the Indian community, our contemporary goes on to observe, that the abrupt closing of the public sittings of the Commission is unfair. The public had been led to believe that the Commission would return to Durban after visiting Maritzburg and Dundee. It was however, surprised to find that it had been suddenly decided to refuse further evidence after Saturday, the 1st May, in Durban. Mr. Doull, on behalf of the Durban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress, asked that he might have the opportunity of addressing the Commission but his request was refused. Mr. Doull pointed out the unfairness of allowing Capt. Blackwell to occupy some hours in arguing the case for the South Africans' League that day in Durban. But the Commission said it did not want any more facts or arguments. Mr. Doull said that half of their witnesses had not yet given evidence but the Commission only replied that it was their fault for not coming in time. This Commission produced an interim report some days ago in which it recommended voluntary repatriation of Indians and the South African Union Government is reported to have promptly accepted it. There is some mystery surrounding this affair. The Commission is said to have given as its reason for its recommendation that many Indians were desirous of being repatriated. The reports of the evidence published in *Indian Opinion* do not bear out this argument. Two days before the Commission closed its public sessions, Mr. P. S. Aiyar appeared before it as spokesman of a deputation representing the Indians of Coast Junction, Malvern, Springfield and surrounding places, and the Indian Market Stallholders' and Squatters' Association. This witness was particularly complimented by the Chairman on his very clear and comprehensive statement which, he said, required careful study which, he promised, that would be given to it. Mr. Aiyar at the outset pointed out that Indian immigrants had been induced to come to Natal in large numbers to develop the country and to colonise and settle in the Province on the strength of a proclamation issued in 1813 by Her Majesty's Government to the effect that "there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded upon mere distinction of colour origin, language or creed, but that the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall

be extended to all alike." Mr. Aiyar showed that later attempts to do without the help of Indians had ignominiously failed and that it was trade jealousy on the part of a section of the European population combined with race antipathy that had culminated in the unceasing outcry against the Indian community. Mr. Aiyar concluded by asking that the present system of the acquisition of landed property be retained unaltered, and that the trading rights of the community be placed on a sound, just and equitable basis. There was not a word about voluntary repatriation in his statement.

On the next day, April 23, Mr. Godfrey W. Dick, the Principal Immigration Restriction Officer, gave evidence. One statement which he made deserves attention. Many of the colonial-born Indians, he is reported to have said, went over-sea for a trip to India, but they always came back to South Africa, and in his opinion few Indians who left South Africa did so with the intention of remaining away permanently, only in cases where death supervened and prevented them from returning. This officer is the best authority on this point. Indians in South Africa like to visit the mother country as the Australian or American wishes to visit England, but they do not want to be prevented from returning to South Africa which is what "voluntary repatriation" proposes to do. We shall return to this point. On the 1st May, the Durban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress presented to the Commission an important statement of the Indian case, Mr. Doull acting as its representative. The Committee traverse every one of the arguments advanced against Indians, pointing out that, assuming that the poorer class of Indians live, as has been stated, in squalor and filth, the remedy is, or should be, in the hands of the authorities. The following passage in their statement must be quoted:

We accept no blame for the position of affairs. Many of us were invited to come here, and many were given every facility to earn their livelihood here. We will candidly and quite openly say coercion can only end in disaster. We have the right to be here; we have the right to be engaged in any lawful occupation we may choose, and we have the right to own land if we pay for it.

The Natal Congress Committee recognised the conflict of interests involved and the difficulty of finding a solution. They did not think it possible immediately to solve the problem, but respectfully suggested that the following proposals would at least tend in that direction.

- (1) Standard wages to all labourers irrespective of race or colour, and subsequent improvement in conditions of life.
- (2) Legislation providing for a minimum standard of wages to shop assistants and all other ranks of labour on an equitable basis.
- (3) Amendment of the licensing laws on the lines of the Transval Ordinance, No. 9 of 1912, and providing that licences can only be refused on the specific grounds contained in that Ordinance, with the following amendments there to:
 - (a) Three convictions within, say, the last two years on any criminal charge other than that of contravening a trading law or by-law; (b) that the words "in the opinion of the Council" be deleted and the reason why the applicant is not deemed desirable to be stated by the authority refusing the licence.

(4) That there be a right to appeal to the Court in all licensing matters, whether the application is for a new licence or for a transfer or removal or renewal.

(5) That the laws affecting land and licences be made applicable to the whole of Natal, which includes the Northern Districts of Natal and Zululand.

Not a word about voluntary repatriation here. On the contrary, there is an emphatic assertion of the right of the Natal Indian to be in Natal. The point about wages is sought to be met, as it ought to be, by minimum wage legislation. The Natal Congress Committee's statement is so clear and cogent that we reprint it on another page. The evidence in favour of "voluntary repatriation" came mostly from anti-Indian witnesses who would have much preferred compulsory repatriation but were afraid of the scandal which it will create. And what is "voluntary repatriation"? It is that Indians who are every whit citizens of Natal as the Europeans who wish to turn them out, are to be bribed by a free passage and a few pounds to sell their birth-right. The Indians who "voluntarily repatriate" themselves on these terms will not, of course, be allowed to return to what, in many cases, is their native land! "voluntary repatriation," it is said, will apply only to destitute Indians. But every country has to take care of its indigent and its destitute, and we do not see why Natal should be relieved of this obligation in the case of Indians who had given the best years of their life and strength to its service, by giving a few pounds per head and a free passage to this country. We protested when it was attempted to "treasure out" these men by a £3 tax if they remained in Natal. We protest against a scheme which is merely another variation of the same policy, only instead of a tax, the inducement is a bribe which the necessitous Indian may not resist.

WHAT NATAL INDIANS WANT.

The main evidence given on the 1st May before the Natal Commission was that of the Durban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress. Mr. Doull who acted on behalf of the Committee read a statement which opened with the following observations:—

That so long as the Indian was satisfied to remain a labourer, toiling in the cane fields, he was welcomed as a colonist and looked upon as an asset to the country. He has, in effect, been frequently referred to as the "saviour of Natal," but when, having faithfully carried out the terms of his indenture, he aspired to something greater for his children than a life of virtual slavery such as his had been, when, having toiled and saved out of his meagre earnings sufficient to purchase a small plot of land, and in some cases to give his children a mere elementary education, and they then sought employment in other spheres affecting what is known as "working class"—then this utility vanished and he was proclaimed a grave public danger.

HOSTILITY TO INDIAN TRADERS.

It would appear that the hostility against Asiatics to-day is chiefly directed against Indian traders. A very large percentage of the licences applied for by Indians has been refused, and the sole reason for such refusal is that the applicant was an Asiatic. There have been various applications and appeals to the Supreme Court against decisions refusing licences, which to some extent illustrate the method of administration of the Act. After quoting cases, the statement proceeds: While we freely admit that licensing authorities should have some power to refuse the issue of licences, we think that the grounds of refusal should be specially laid down, and in such a manner that there can be no differentiation in administration between different sections of the community. It has been said that our right to trade is ousting the European storekeeper, and the reasons alleged are our mode of living, the low wages we pay, and our consequent ability to under-sell European merchants.

EUROPEAN EXPLOITATION OF COLOURED LABOUR.

To deal with this complaint it is necessary first of all to explain the position of affairs so far as they relate to the labouring classes (Coloured, Indian and Native). The overwhelming bulk of these classes of labourers are in the employ of Europeans, who exploit them to the utmost, and who pay them more (*nil*) than is sufficient to provide them with a bare existence, even when they are able to purchase in the lowest possible market. The labourers are not fully organised into unions, and consequently are unable to protect themselves against exploitation. In the country districts and in certain portions of Durban practically all the customers of Indian traders are labourers. Many thousands of them are living on the verge of starvation, and we venture to assert that were it not for Indian traders, many of these labourers would be unable to obtain even the necessities of life. In some parts of Durban there are Indian traders who carry on business principally with Europeans. To these traders the allegation of low wages to servants and low mode of living has no foundation.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

We would point out that it is only within very recent times that a minimum standard of wages was fixed for European assistants, and we venture to assert that prior thereto Indian shop assistants were equally as well paid as European, and the difference in the present rate of pay between Europeans and Indians is not sufficient to show a very material difference in the working costs, and does not account for the European dealing with these traders. The real reason is that the Indian trader is satisfied with a reasonable margin of profit, whilst the European trader is not. (When referring to Indian shop assistants' pay, we include board, lodging, etc., which are provided in

addition to actual wages.) So far as those traders are concerned who deal with the labouring classes, the European storekeeper is generally inclined to treat these people with contempt whilst the Indian traders treat them as customers, and show them that they desire to retain custom. This is one of the principal reasons why Natives prefer to deal with the Indian trader, and it is not surprising that they prefer to go where they receive civility and attention.

OTHER CHARGES ANSWERED.

As to our mode of living, it is true we do not all eat the same food, but on an average it will be found that the cost of our food is as much if not more than European food; but, even assuming it were cheaper, we cannot conceive that the fact can be seriously urged as a reason for taking away our means of earning a livelihood. Attention has been drawn to the squalid nature of the building, etc., in which a portion of the Indian community live in the district of Mayville, and Asiatics are charged with having sold these properties to the poorer class of Indians. The records in the Deeds Office will prove that this allegation is untrue, and that these lands formerly belonged to Europeans, who disposed of same to Indians at very high prices. Many of those residing in houses described as "squalid" are free Indians, who have completed their indentures, and have commenced market gardening with only sufficient capital to enable them to purchase the small plot of land on which their farming operations are carried on. The accommodation provided for these men during their indentures was equally as squalid as that now occupied by them, but in the one case they were so housed by Europeans, who were in a position to put up suitable dwellings, whilst on their own land these Indians have not had sufficient capital with which to do so. Having, however, become accustomed to the dwellings supplied by their former employers, they have been accustomed to that class of dwelling, and in many cases, owing to their poverty, cannot help themselves.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHORITIES.

We would, in this connection, respectfully point out that, even assuming the poorer class of Indians live, as has been stated, in squalor and filth, the remedy is, or should be, in the hands of the authorities. If their dwellings be so insanitary or unhealthy as have been stated, we suggest, with all submission, that the authorities are more blameworthy than the individuals. We would also point out that the respectable Indian has as much antipathy to a dirty individual, be he white or black, as any European has, and any attempt to force us, as a class, to live in camps or locations would not be acceptable to any self-respecting Indian. With regard to the ownership of land, having full rights in Natal, Indians have no cause of complaint. As, however, it has been suggested

that we, as Indians, should be precluded from acquiring land in freehold, we would, with all submission, draw attention, as British subjects, to Ordinance 7 of 1858, Natal, under which provision is made giving to aliens the right to acquire and dispose of fixed property in the same manner as any British subject has the right to do.

THE INDIAN DEMANDS.

We accept no blame for the position of affairs. Many of us were invited to come here, and many were given every facility to earn their livelihood here? We will candidly and quite openly say coercion can only end in disaster. We have the right to be here; we have the right to be engaged in any lawful occupation we may choose, and we have the right to own land if we pay for it. These rights are allowed to us. We recognise the conflict of interests involved and the difficulty of finding a solution. We do not think it is possible immediately to solve the problem, but respectfully suggest that the following proposals will at least tend in that direction: (1) Standard wages to all labourers, irrespective of race or colour, and subsequent improvement in conditions of life; (2) legislation providing for a minimum standard of wages to shop assistants and all other ranks of labour on an equitable basis; (3) amendment of the licensing laws on the lines of the Transvaal Ordinance, No. 9 of 1912, and providing that licences can only be refused on the specific grounds contained in that Ordinance, with the following amendments thereto: (a) Three convictions within, say, the last two years on any criminal charge other than that of contravening a trading law or by-law; (b) that the words "in the opinion of the Council" be deleted, and the reason why the applicant is not deemed desirable to be stated by the authority refusing the licence. (4) That there be a right to appeal to the Court in all licensing matters, whether the application is for a new licence or for a transfer or removal or renewal. (5) That the laws affecting land and licences be made applicable to the whole of Natal, which includes the northern Districts of Natal and Zululand.

WANTED—A CIVIL MARRIAGE LAW FOR INDIA.

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

Events are rapidly multiplying which should make it abundantly clear even to a blinded bigot that the enactment of a general civil marriage law is one of the crying needs of the hour in India to-day.

Such a law is known to exist in England. In fact it is found in all civilised countries of the world. But there the individual status of the subject as a human being and as a citizen is manfully asserted by the people and ungrudgingly recognised by the State, apart from the status created by his religious or social environments. In caste-and-creed-ridden

India, however, man's human and civic rights are practically nowhere, and he is condemned to carry, whether he likes it or not, the load of a personal law fastened round his neck by the accident of his birth and religion. No Indian has, therefore, the lawful right at present to choose a wife or husband for oneself except within the narrow area circumscribed by one's race, caste and religious denomination.

But marriage is really a primary human right. Every government, therefore, which loves to foster the individuality and respect the human rights of its subjects, accords to them, by a law distinct from the ecclesiastical law, the freedom to contract marriage with any person of their choice, subject only to a few unavoidable limitations dictated by considerations of morality and public policy. And this freedom is given, be it noted, without any prejudice to their freedom to profess simultaneously whatever religion they may like, and in fact without any reference whatsoever to the race, religion or social standing of the contracting parties. Thus an Englishman, for instance, if he so chooses, may, without having to affirm his faith or disbelief in any religion, marry at a Registrar's office under the civil law of England, either a Muhammadan woman from Turkey, or a Jewish woman from Jerusalem, or a Negro woman from Central Africa, or a Parsi woman from Persia, or a Hindu woman—be she Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra or Panchama—from India, or a Buddhist woman from Ceylon, Burma, China or Japan; or even a Christian woman of his own native land who could claim the honours of his church but fights shy of the fuss and idle sight-seers of a full-dress church-wedding. The parties may afterwards go through any religious ceremony they please, but that is optional. With or without such ceremony the marriage would be equally valid and binding on both the parties, and the issue of the union would be perfectly legitimate, notwithstanding any personal law to the contrary to which the foreign lady may be ordinarily subject in her own country. Indeed the English law is so liberal in this matter and withal so staunch in protecting the wedded wife and her progeny, that no thoughtful Englishman who is married to a foreigner in a foreign country rests satisfied until he goes through the marriage ceremony over again with his wife before a Registrar in Great Britain.

But on Indian soil, except in the solitary 'native' domain of Indore, there is no such freedom and no true and safe law of civil marriage. Sir Henry Maine would have given us such a law in the sixties of the last century. But orthodoxy was up in arms against him and forced him to retreat. Mr. Bhubendranath Basu attempted to secure it for us nine years ago. But the dog-in-the-manger policy of the don't-wants came again clamorously to the fore and once more proved triumphant. The Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) is no doubt looked upon by many as the civil marriage law of India. But that is an obvious mistake. The Indian Christian Marriage Act again is regarded by some as a passable substitute. So far as one can judge, however, this also is

an illusion. The marriages solemnised under these Acts may be civil marriages in the sense that they are not dependent upon any religious ceremony for their validation. But as civil marriage laws, both the Acts fail in one essential respect. Neither of them is available openly and without distinction to the whole population of British India as equal citizens of the State. Both of them impose a religious test of one sort or another and rigidly exclude from their benefits those that do not satisfy the test.

For Act III of 1872 the religious test is of a negative kind. It is *disbelief* in certain specified religions which comprise between them practically the population of the whole globe, so that the class of persons legally competent to make use of the law cannot but be very limited. That is why it is called a *Special Marriage Act* and referred to in other enactments as an Act "to provide a form of marriage in *certain cases*". (Italics ours.) For want of a more suitable law, however, many who do not really satisfy this test are tempted to make a declaration of unbelief as required by the Act, in the hope of securing legal validity for their marriage and legitimacy for their children. But competent lawyers hold that it is facts, not words, which make or mar a marriage under this Act; that the mere outward verbal declaration has by itself no such saving power as is popularly attributed to it and, unless it also happens to be the true reflex of the light within, it is more capable of doing mischief than good by setting the criminal law in motion.

The religious test to be satisfied by an aspirant to marital honours under the Indian Christian Marriage Act is his adherence to the Christian faith. But this qualification is not demanded of both the parties to the marriage. It is enough if one of them is a Christian. The other may be of any faith or no faith at all, and no declaration is taken from either of them touching their religious convictions. This makes the Indian Christian Marriage Act, in a way, a more liberal and wholesome measure than Act III of 1872. It also makes one fancy that in India the Christian subjects at least of His Majesty the King-Emperor enjoy the same unbounded marital freedom as is the birth-right of every British citizen in free England. But a little reflection discloses the hollowness of this apparent privilege. The religious test is not the only test applied under the Act. There is also a legal test to be satisfied before the marriage can be registered, which in effect operated indirectly as a religious test applied to the non-Christian partner. A solemn declaration is taken from both the parties to the effect that they know not of any lawful impediment why they may not be joined in matrimony, and the Registrar also has to be satisfied that there is no lawful hindrance to the marriage. But a declaration of this kind is only useful as a step to the registration. It does not by itself confer validity on the marriage even though it has been accepted and acted upon by the Registrar. If, as a matter of fact, there did exist any legal impediment, the marriage would be null and void notwithstanding that it has been duly solemnised

and registered. As the Full Bench of the High Court of Madras observed in *Kulandai Vela vs. Rev. Dequidt* (XXXIII M. L. J. 113), the Indian Christian Marriage Act is only concerned with the forms in which the marriage is to be solemnised, and does not deal with objections to the validity of the marriage. It therefore provides in section 88 that "nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriage which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or her to enter into." In a country, therefore, where the huge majority of non-Christians happen to be Hindus, whose personal law forbids them to enter into matrimony with anyone outside their caste and religion, the field open to a Christian for intermarriage is extremely limited. It is practically confined to the Muslim community whose personal law permits marriage with Christians, and to the *Ahl-ul-Hawa* or Free-thinkers, if any, in India. That such is the effect of the control section 88 has on marriages solemnised in India under the Indian Christian Marriage Act has been acknowledged also by the High Court of England which nevertheless upholds the validity of a Hindu-English marriage solemnised by a Registrar in England under the English law.

It is thus beyond question that British India stands to-day without any civil marriage law, in name or in fact. The consequences are disastrous not only to the freedom and growth of the people but also to the interests of justice, truth and good conscience, which are the essentials of true religion. In particular the absence of such a law hinders the spread of the Hindu people. In recent years Hinduism has definitely entered upon a missionary career. But the family law to which the Hindus are subjected by the British courts in India has not developed *pari passu* with the growing liberalisation of Hindu ideas and ideals. Under the banner of Arya Dharma, Hinduism has welcomed some strangers from other faiths and races within the last 40 years, and, taking the law into its own hands, absorbed them into the body-politic by marriage. But this cannot be done on a large scale with impunity. The Hindu Missionary movement of Bombay, the Liberal Brahmana movement of Madras, and all similar movements in India which practically have for their object the unification of the castes and the spread of Hindu religion and culture to all races and countries, are bound to collapse and come to a stand still unless the State provides them with a family law which will help them to form a Hindu community of their own openly avowing the Hindu religion. Mr. Patel's law will not help them much because it deals only with caste-Hindus, whereas these movements bring into existence Hindu who cannot be reasonably or legally assigned to any caste. To insert a definition of the term "Hindu" in Mr. Patel's Bill, should that Bill ever see the light of day again, so as to bring these neo-Hindus also within its sweep, may serve our immediate purpose to some extent. But it may also give just cause for complaint to the orthodox as a direct interference with their own ideas of Hinduism, and eventually help to wreck the Bill. Moreover, in pressing for any new legislation of a beneficent nature in assertion of human rights, it should be the part of our patriotism to think and feel in terms of the whole country and the whole people, and care should be taken to see that small reforms do not become the enemies of big reforms. A

general civil marriage law open to all the people of this land, which will not penalise or scrutinise anyone's religious convictions, is our birth-right as free and equal citizens of a civilised empire. It will also be the healer of many sorrows in communities large and small. Let no patriot, therefore, sleep over this question or feel ashamed to own it as his own, but agitate and agitate until the Government is forced to respond, be it Indian or Anglo-Indian.

THE FIRST BENGAL PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. This conference resolves that notwithstanding the differences in the forms and practices of various religious faiths, every one should fully respect the religious views of others so as to establish cordial social relations between the members of different religious communities and thereby strengthen the bonds of union amongst them.

Proposed by—Mr. B. Chakravarti.

Seconded by—Moulavi Leakut Hossein.

Supported by—Rev. J. L. Sinha.

2. This conference is of opinion that social or national progress is impossible without an all-round development of the womanhood and urges on the people to make united efforts for the spread of proper education amongst our women and to remove all social restrictions as to their employment in the various spheres of work.

Proposed by—Mrs. D. N. Bose.

Seconded by—Miss Shome.

Supported by—Dwijendra Nath Dutt.

" " Hardayal Nag.

" " Prof. Upendra Nath Ball.

3. This conference urges on the people to put forth their whole-hearted efforts to elevate the so-called depressed classes and to remove all restrictions as to social intercourse with them whose treatment by the so-called upper classes is a standing disgrace to the Hindu Society, a menace to its welfare and is flagrant violation of the divine rights of man.

Proposed by—Col. U. N. Mukerjee.

Seconded by—J. N. Roy.

Supported by—Shyam Sundar Chakravarti.

4. This conference resolves that widows' homes should be founded for the training of the poor widows to enable them to earn an honest and decent living and urges on the Hindus to take active steps for the remarriage of the Hindu widows.

Proposed by—Dr. Nishi Kanta Bose.

Seconded by—Mr. D. N. Bose.

Supported by—Mr. J. Chaudhuri.

5. In the opinion of this conference inter-caste marriages are beneficial to the Hindu Society and the legislative measure of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel as to such marriages when passed into law will not in any way interfere with the exercise by the Hindus of their religious freedom or affect, except for good, the interests of the Hindu Society.

Proposed by—Mr. J. Chaudhuri.

Seconded by—Pundit Rajendra Kumar Shastri Vidyabhusan.

Supported by—Pundit Digindra Narain Bhattacharyya.

" " Pundit Unesh Chandra Vidyanata.

" " Peary Lal Dutt.

" " Bhagbat Chandra Das.

6. This conference strongly condemns the exaction of dowries in marriages as is prevalent now and urges on the people to curtail expenses at marriages and other ceremonies.

Proposed by—Jnanendra Nath Kumar.

Seconded by—Principal J. N. Hazra.

Supported by—Dr. Nishi Kanta Bose.

and seven other resolutions put from the chair relating to the raising of marriageable age, removal of the existing practice of questioning caste of Hindus in courts and the introduction of various classifications of Hindus in census report, removal of all restrictions to sea-voyage and foreign travel, girls' Education, temperance, co-operation of public during the time of Epidemics, and improvement of conditions of Mill and factory labourers.

THE MISUNDERSTOOD CHRIST.

We take the following from a remarkable article by Dr. Lyman Abbott in his well-known journal, the *Outlook*, (New York.)

The religion of Jesus Christ is a religion of liberty, not of law; of affirmations and inspirations, not of negations and prohibitions. For "Thou shalt not" Christ substitutes "Thou canst." Thus his Gospel is called the "power of God" because he inspires us to believe that in companionship with God we can accept our aspirations as divine guides and can hope that our ideals can in time be by us realized. Judaism said, "No idols;" Christ says, "God is spirit; worship him in spirit and in truth." Judaism said: "Thou shalt not steal;" Christ says, "Give to him that asketh of thee." Judaism said, "Inflict on the wrong-doer no greater injury than he has inflicted on the wronged—"An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" Jesus says: "Resent not the wrong; overcome his evil by your good."

To interpret these as commands is wholly to mistake their meaning. They are inspirations. The laws of Christ are not commands imposed from without, exacting obedience; they are interpretations of an inward life, endowments with a God-like power, promises of a divine perfection. Their meaning is made clear by the conclusion to which they lead: "Ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven; ye can become perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." The Sermon on the Mount, which has been so often misinterpreted as analogous to the Ten Commandments, only more spiritual, ends with the promise of divine life as a free gift from the Father to all who seek it: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give the spirit of holiness to them that ask him?"

It is extraordinary to what extent the law of taboo has found its way into the teaching of the Church despite the teaching of its Master. The Church has prohibited dancing; Christ never refers to dancing except with implied approval. The Church has urged fasting and discouraged feasting; Christ never fasted and never declined an invitation to a festivity. The Church has frowned upon fiction; Christ was a past-master in the art of story-telling. The Church has prohibited thinking; Christ habitually provoked men to think for themselves, sometimes by calling on the questioner to answer his own question: "Whom, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves?" Sometimes by putting questions to his congregation and inviting their answer: "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?"

But Christ not only inspired this life by his teaching, it radiated from his person. Men who lived with him were transformed by their companionship. Peter, impulsive, ardent, self-confident, pushing forward into a forewarned danger and denying his Lord when that danger imminent became rocklike in his steadfastness, and when brought before the Jewish Council answered its order forbidding him to preach with, "We ought to obey God rather than man," and followed it with a prohibited Gospel sermon on the spot. John, by nature so vociferant that he was called a "son of thunder," and so ambitious that on the last journey of his Master to Jerusalem he sought for himself and his brother the first places in the anticipated kingdom of God, became the pre-eminent apostle of gentleness and love. And Thomas, so resolutely skeptical that he would not accept any evidence of the resurrection of Christ, when vanquished

by his Master's personal presence uttered the supreme confession of faith recorded in the New Testament in his greeting, "My Lord and my God."

I think the Church has rarely comprehended the nature and extent of the inspiration which Jesus Christ has given to mankind. If we want to know what is the life which he came to give, we must ask history what is the life which he has given. The eager desire to write the biography of the Master for a people without printed books and without ability to read created a new sacred art; the desire to express the profound emotions which that story excited created a new sacred music; the desire to give enduring expression to spiritual aspirations which the new faith inspired created a church architecture which pointed by its innumerable spires heavenward, and which therefore has well been called Christian, though generally called Gothic; the faith that God had chosen a man to manifest him to his children gave to man a before unimagined dignity and created among the disciples of Christ a new spirit of mutual respect for each other's rights and each other's interests which has made slavery impossible, has revolutionized governments, has made democracy possible and public education necessary, has inspired a missionary spirit which is more than a religious propaganda, has transformed religion from a selfish seeking after salvation into an unselfish service and saving of others, and has supplanted the fear of implacable gods by love for a God of love.

Art, music, architecture, government, education, philosophy, all owe an inestimable debt to Jesus Christ, and they are all witnesses to the life which he has given to the world. But they are not that life; they are human creations inspired by that life. Every material, visible, audible thing in modern life is Christian in so far as it expresses the Christian spirit. The Sistine Madonna is no less truly Christian than the Apostle's Creed; Bach's Passion Music is no less truly Christian, than the Catholic Mass or the Puritan prayer meeting; the Salvation Army is no less truly Christian than the Church, whatever the history of its orders. There is no more reason why a Christian congregation should be confined to the Apostle's Creed or the Nicene Creed as a statement of its faith than why it should be confined to the psalms of David in its praises or to a reproduction in its windows of the pictures on the walls of the catacombs.

Jesus Christ formulated no creed, but he inspired men with a new power of thinking and left them to phrase their thoughts; he prescribed no ritual, but he inspired men with a new faith in God, a new hope in God, and a new love for God, and left them to create their forms of expression; he organized no church, but he inspired in men a new enthusiasm of humanity, and left them to learn how to cooperate with each other in Christian service. The Christian life can no more be confined within a church and its creeds, its rituals, and its activities than spring can be confined within a favored garden by a fence. A reverent skepticism may have in it more of the spirit of Christ than an irreverent credulity. Voltaire in making way against a cruel superstition falsely labeled Christian may have been as truly serving Christ in France as John Wesley in preaching the freedom of the Gospel in England. The passion of philanthropy in our time—healing the sick, teaching the ignorant, comforting the sorrowful, and fighting the battles of justice and liberty for the whole world—is as truly a revival of Christ's religion as any that was ever nurtured under church roofs. For the Christian religion is the life of God in the soul of man, and he who, inspired by that life, is carrying glad tidings to the poor, deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind, and liberty to the bruised, is a follower of Jesus Christ.

RACE RELATIONSHIPS; AN INTERESTING CONFERENCE.

Miss Jamison, of the Irish Presbyterian Women's Mission, Surat, writes in the *Indian Standard*: The Gujarat and Kathiawar Missionary Conference, which has proved such a pleasant and useful bond of friendship and cooperation between the Missionary Societies, British and American, working in this area, meets twice a year, in March and again in August. At the last meeting held in Surat on March 31st, the thirty-nine missionaries present were the guests of the Rev. H. R. and Mrs. Scott of the Irish Presbyterian Mission.

The Conference opened with a fine devotional service. This was followed by the handing in of the reports of various committees appointed at the previous Conference. Notable among them was the report of a committee appointed some time ago, to examine the new series of Government Readers. The lessons that were objectionable from the Christian standpoint had been closely scrutinised, and the Committee was empowered to approach Government with their objections and with suggestions for suitable substitute lessons.

The remainder of the time proved all too short for the discussion of the main topics of the Conference programme. The pamphlet on Race Relationship issued by the Pasmalai Press, together with the articles on the Calcutta University Commission Report and on Church and Mission in the January *International Review of Missions*, and also the letters on missionary methods in recent numbers of the *Indian Social Reformer*, formed the basis of discussion. Dr. Scott opened the subject by stating briefly the main points viz., the growth of national self-consciousness with its resultant problems of race antagonism and strained relationships in Church as in State: the reluctance of educated Indian Christians to enter the service of the Church or Mission: the aspirations of the Indian Church for self-expression, self-determination and responsible self-government: the problem of the relative functions and relationship of Church and Mission, official, administrative and financial and the difficulties which beset high-caste Indian Christians in a Church which has drawn its membership largely from the labouring classes and the out castes.

A paper was read by Mr. Lampard in answer to the criticism of Missionary Methods by Mr. Manilal Parekh and "Kotgarh" in the *Social Reformer*. It was comparatively easy to deal with the exaggerated charges connected with the eating of meat and drinking of wine, but we could have wished for a much fuller discussion of the deeper charges that the missionary or the system he has instituted creates "a Christian community which is entirely proletarianised, denationalised, Anglicised, and materialised." We should also have welcomed a discussion of "Kotgarh's" article on "the Problem of Christianity in India," especially on the concluding paragraph. "Christianity and Hinduism need each other. The best in each is incomplete without the other."

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We are requested by the Chief Inspector of Mines in India to publish the following figures in advance of his annual report: 1. Assam; 291,134; 2. Baluchistan 29,124; 3. Bengal, 8,777,632; 4. Bihar and Orissa, 15,117,903; 5. Central Provinces, 497,021; 6. North West Frontier Province, 20; 7. Punjab, 46,893. Total 21,759,727.

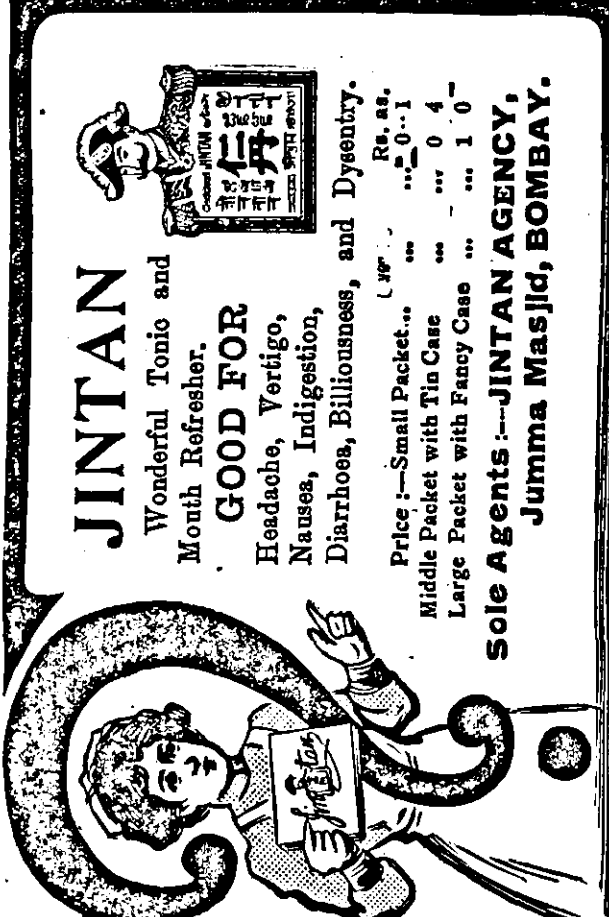
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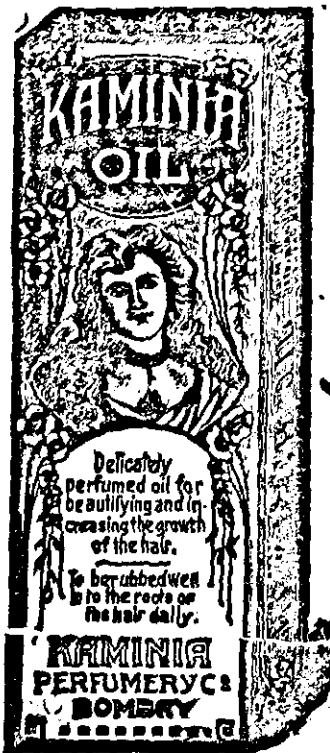
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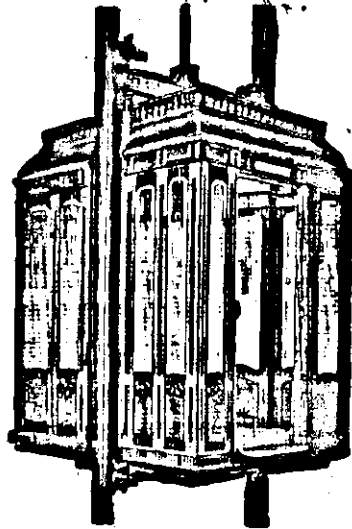
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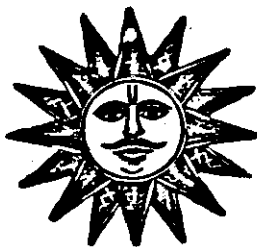
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the Warpath: The heady incense gratuitously offered up at his shrine in the Secretary of State's despatch on the Hunter Committee's report, has evidently encouraged Sir Michael O'Dwyer to try Dyerian methods on the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The mere suggestion that his conduct in certain particulars was not above censure, has provoked him into writing a letter to the *Times* in the nature of a literary Jhallianwala strewn over with massacred and mutilated official reputations. In this letter he strikes out against all and sundry in his effort to establish his immunity from all blame. The delay in the appointment of the Hunter Committee and the publication of its report, has, he maintains, been harmful to the interests of the officials concerned. This is very unkind. It is the non-official side of the case that has been seriously handicapped by the delay. For one thing, if the Hunter Committee had reported earlier, the Indemnity Act could almost certainly have not been passed. A cursory comparison of the statements made in some of the official speeches on the Bill in the Indian Legislative Council and those in the report, will be found instructive. Then, says Sir Michael, the Indian members of the Hunter Committee were not impartial. This suggests an obvious retort, but the criticisms in the Secretary of State's despatch are based almost entirely on the report of the majority who were all Englishmen. Mr. Montagu and Sir Michael should be left to settle between themselves the truth or otherwise of the latter's allegation that he had told the India Office all he knew in June 1918, and that Mr. Montagu's subsequent statement in Parliament that he knew nothing of the happenings except what was stated in the Government of India's messages, which were published, involved a terminological inexactitude. Mr. Montagu's defence will, no doubt, be that, while such information as he was able to glean from his visitors enabled him to press upon the Government of India the need of a public enquiry, it did not entitle him to assume the correctness of his unofficial information in preference to that officially supplied to him by

the responsible authority in India. We wish that his subsequent denials had been a little less unqualified, but it is clear that Mr. Montagu may know many things of which the Secretary of State for India must remain constitutionally ignorant. A very serious statement, attributed to Sir Michael by the *Morning Post* but not included in Reuter's summary of the letter in the *Times*, is that he had pressed on the Government of India the necessity of having civilian control of martial law proceedings, and that the latter had overruled him. The situation has become intensely acute, and it is a pity that, for one reason or another, the promised debate in Parliament on the report has had repeatedly to be postponed.

The Moderates and the Punjab Excesses: The resolutions passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, the chief central organization of the Indian Moderate party, at its meeting held on the 12th instant, on the Hunter Committee's report and the Secretary of State's despatch thereon, express with fulness, weight and vigour responsible Indian opinion on these documents. No Nationalist body has as yet done this with more power or better effect. The resolutions of the all-India National Congress Committee were rambling, some of them mere ebullitions of emotion, and others without point. The Liberal Federation's resolutions display a complete mastery of the subject and the perfect self-confidence of men who have long years of ripe political experience behind them. Every sentence of these resolutions tells. Peculiar weight attaches to these resolutions as to some of the leaders of the Moderate party personally, it would have been exceedingly unpleasant to have to animadvert severely on the conduct of high officials. That they have put their personal feelings on one side in order to demand full justice in the public interests, reflects infinite credit on them. We refer in particular to the resolution relating to the Viceroy who enjoys the personal esteem of all who have come in contact with His Excellency in the highest degree. Nothing but a strong sense of public duty could have induced the National Liberal Federation to place on record the following resolutions:

The Council regret that His Majesty's Government, while testifying to the manner in which His Excellency the Viceroy has fulfilled his high trust and continuing to repose fullest confidence in his discretion, have ignored altogether the responsibility of His Excellency and his Government who instead of examining the situation on the spot and exercising the much-needed control over the Punjab Government, gave it virtually a free hand.

We have no hesitation in saying that by these resolutions the Moderates have greatly strengthened their position in the country, as a party to which it can look for effective advocacy in protecting its rights and liberties.

European Officials and the Punjab Excesses: It is unfortunate that the rules of Service prevent officials from expressing their views publicly on matters which relate to the administration or have some relation to politics. But for this rule, General Dyer's claim that his actions at Amritsar had the approval of every Englishman in India, would have been rudely challenged. Several English officials, well up in the Service, deeply regret that Indians should think that they approve of the Punjab martial law excesses. They rightly feel that, if their real feelings on the subject were generally known, there will be far less of bitterness in the country. We are writing these lines in the hope that their desire will meet with general appreciation.

Mr. Gandhi on Voluntary Repatriation. Mr. Gandhi writes: "With reference to the approval that seems to have been accorded to the scheme of repatriation said to have been recommended by the South African Commission and accepted by the Union Government, I would respectfully caution the public against accepting the proposed scheme. The public have not the interim report of the Commission. We do not know the conditions of repatriation. It seems to me, therefore, that it is most hazardous to venture any opinion at all on a scheme of which we have the most imperfect knowledge. Generally, it must be stated that any scheme of State repatriation must be looked upon with the gravest suspicion, especially when the scheme is fathered by those who are uncompromisingly hostile to Indian aspirations. The Indians of South Africa are able to remain in that country because of their domicile. I very much fear that the proposed scheme will be found to involve the forfeiture of domicile against the acceptance of repatriation money, that is, passage back to India and possibly a trifling sum as pocket money. I am inclined to think that apart from everything else such consideration will be wholly insufficient for giving away a valuable right. I would hardly call any such repatriation as purely voluntary. This, however, is one of the many objections that may be advanced against the proposed repatriation. I have no doubt that the best thing is to suspend judgment till we have the full scheme before us for examination. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will take the public fully into its confidence before pronouncing upon the scheme." With reference to the qualified approval which Mr. Andrews has tentatively accorded to a carefully safeguarded scheme of voluntary repatriation, the *Hindu* (Madras) rightly remarks:

"We shall be told that impartial and well-intentioned men like Mr. U. F. Andrews and Mr. West, editor of *Indian Opinion* are inclined towards repatriation on the voluntary principle. We think, however, that these friendly opinions do not spring from an envisagement of the question of rights but rather from the reaction of a profound disgust at the unrelenting persecution of the European and the endless suffering of the unfortunate Indian settler. These well-wishers seem rather to think that it were better for the Indian to leave the white shore with a sort of "devil-may-care" feeling for it than to demoralise and degrade himself by an unequal fight leading to slavish submission to the selfish, grabbing European."

That or Which? The triangular fight, as he calls it, on the question of the right use of 'that' and 'which' as relative pronouns, has been rendered quadrangular by the entry of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry with an article, in the current number of the *Servant of India*, in which he characteristically con-

cludes that no one is wholly in the right and every one is somewhat wrong. This, as a general proposition, is true of most human controversies, the question which the average man has most often to decide being who is more right and which is less wrong. But in this particular one, we venture to think, with deference to Mr. Sastry, that the one party who is indubitably wrong is himself. When we said that correct usage requires 'that' to be the relative pronoun to introduce restrictive clauses, we did not mean that there were no contingencies when 'which' or 'who' has to be substituted for the purpose. One such is that mentioned by Mr. Sastry, where the relative is governed by a preposition. Another occurs in the sentence which he quotes from one of Lord Curzon's speeches, in which the speaker, in order to avoid the barbarism of two "thats" within a few words of each other, substitutes the less correct 'which'—a substitution justified by the supreme test that there shall be nothing to jar on the cultivated ear. Now, Mr. Lloyd George had neither a preposition governing his relative nor was he faced with the dilemma of two 'thats.' Some of the other examples given by Mr. Sastry do not support him. Take Lord Morley's sentence: "I see formidable drawbacks that have certainly not escaped Your Excellency to the expedient which you propose." Even if the last clause was restrictive, the previous 'that' would have required the substitution of 'which' in the latter part of the sentence. But it is *not* restrictive. By enclosing 'which you propose' in bracket, the construction becomes clearer and the sentence is no whit broken. The same is the case also with the sentence which follows the one quoted above. Wherever a clause can be put into parentheses without affecting the construction or meaning of a sentence, it is not restrictive but co-ordinating. It simply adds to the information already in possession of the reader or hearer about the subject-matter under reference. It can be easily shown that all the examples cited by Mr. Sastry are illustrative of the special reasons for which good writers feel obliged to depart from the ordinary usage.

English in Indian Schools. The review of Indian Education in 1918-19, issued by the Bureau of Education, has the following significant observations under the heading, "the medium of instruction":

In the last annual narrative the movement in favour of carrying instruction through the vernacular up to higher stages was noted; but certain indications were also recorded which seemed to show that the demand for English as the medium and as a subject was increasing. As regards the teaching of English, an important change was made in the Punjab, where the commencement of English, previously made in the fourth primary class, was postponed to the middle department in order that rural boys coming to English schools might not be handicapped. It is interesting to observe that though latitude was given to schools under private management to begin English at an earlier stage, if required, the change met with opposition on the ground that the standard of matriculation English was likely to deteriorate. In Bombay too a demand has been made for English in the vernacular school and arrangements have been made for opening English classes in selected vernacular schools. In the United Provinces, English has been made an optional subject in the vernacular final examination.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 20, 1920.

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY'S MUNIFICENT ENDOWMENT FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Sir Vithaldas Thackersey could not have chosen a nobler and more enduring method of commemorating the deep piety which distinguished his late mother, Shrimati Nathibai Damodbar Thackersey, than the dedication which he has just announced, of Rs. 1,500,000, (£ 150,000) to the founding of an Indian Women's University in Bombay. This crowns a series of judicious benefactions which he has made in recent years to the cause of education. Most important of these is the Educational Fund of Rs. 500,000 which he has set apart for the purpose of helping 100 students attending Colleges to prosecute their studies. Such help is given mostly in the form of loans repayable in convenient instalments when the students concerned have begun to earn their livelihood. The full complement of 100 students is now receiving such help. Equally well-conceived is Sir Vithaldas' gift of Rs. 100,000, also in the name of his mother, to the Vanita Vishram, an institution founded by a few devoted Gujarathi ladies to impart religious and secular education to women on orthodox Hindu lines, for maintaining 16 women of the Bunt caste to which Sir Vithaldas belongs. Another munificent and well-chosen gift of his, is that of Rs. 65,000 to the Poona Seva Sadan for the purchase of the Patvardhan Wada to be used as a Hostel, Library and Meeting Hall for the benefit of the members of the institution. This building will also be named after Sir Vithaldas' mother. This does not exhaust the list of his educational endowments. He has undertaken to maintain, as a beginning for two years, at a cost of Rs. 50,000, a large number—about 40—elementary schools for the benefit of children of members of co-operative credit societies in rural areas, with the object of promoting the permanence of this great movement of self-help. A distinguishing feature of these noble benefactions which place Sir Vithaldas in the front rank of our far-seeing educational philanthropists, with Jimssetjee Tata, Rashbehari Ghose, and Taraknath Palit, is that they have all been directly inspired by the great affection and reverence in which he, like a true Indian, holds the memory of his saintly mother. Another noteworthy feature of Sir Vithaldas' endowments is their wide range and catholicity. They include an orthodox institution like the Vanita Vishram and an institution inspired by the essentially modern spirit of social service for women by women, like the Poona Seva Sadan which Mr. G. K. Devdhar guides with such selfless devotion and unsparring energy. The benefits of the Educational Fund are open to all classes and creeds, and so will be those of the

Indian Women's University under the scheme of this princely benefaction.

Sir Vithaldas, with Lady Vithaldas, returned last year from a long tour which embraced Japan and Europe. While in Japan Sir Vithaldas was greatly impressed by the work of the Women's University and he came back to India resolved to help substantially to establish an institution which, without being a slavish imitation of the Japanese model, will reproduce its best features in this country. The distinguished and devoted worker in the cause of Indian women, Professor D. K. Karve, had anticipated Sir Vithaldas as far as the resources which he could obtain, permitted. With characteristic initiative, Professor Karve, had converted his Widows' Home into a Women's University, but the development of his institution was greatly hampered by the necessity of his having to make prolonged and constant tours throughout the country to collect sufficient funds to keep it going. With indomitable energy, undeterred by occasional disappointments, he has been going about on this arduous task, and has been successful in enlisting a fair amount of support. What is more, he has interested in his scheme a wide circle of middle class and poor persons to whom his appeals have been chiefly directed. We congratulate him most heartily on the good providence which has guided Sir Vithaldas' munificence in the same direction in which he has been travelling. Professor Karve, we are sure, will be the first to admit that the experience of the last few years, if it has confirmed his convictions in some respects, has also shown them to be in need of enlargement in others. Sir Vithaldas' endowment is more than merely a gift to Mr. Karve's scheme. What it really aims at, is to give the existing institution at Hingne Badrak, in an enlarged environment and with a greatly widened constitution, the means of future development along lines which the test of experience may show to be the best calculated to mobilise the mighty forces of Indian womanhood, so long restricted to the interests of the family and the caste, in the service of the nation and of humanity. As mother, wife, daughter or sister, the Indian woman needs no training in school or college. Centuries and a great tradition have made the Indian home a perfect seminary of the domestic virtues. What the Indian woman lacks is the broad outlook extending beyond the interests of her own family and rising above the narrow horizon of her particular caste. The scheme which succeeds in imparting this to her most effectively, will succeed and will by its success prove a blessing to the country. A scheme which merely helps to emphasise the prevailing defects in the equipment of the Indian woman's mentality, however much it may arouse temporary popular enthusiasm, is bound to fail. Such failures, however, are necessary to help the evolution of the right kind of system. We may regret the delay, but we can not doubt the issue.

We are opposed, and have been so all along, to the idea of a separate University for Women. The sole object of a University is

the promotion and advancement of learning. There is no sex in knowledge. A separate Women's University has always seemed to us to be reminiscent of the medieval Hindu prohibition of sacred learning to women and *Sadras*—a prohibition based on a conception that has degraded the position of women in Hindu society. There are mental differences between men and women, but so there are between men and men. The argument that women are the child-bearers of the community and that the best service they can do to the community is to bear and bring up as many children as possible, is characteristic of militarist and servile nations whose greatest need is soldiers and coolies. Men and women are certain to be most useful to the community and to one another when they are enabled to make the most of the faculties with which they are endowed, and which only a broad, wise, open system of education can discover and develop in each individual. When Professor Karve launched his scheme, we pointed out what we thought—and still think—to be its defects in plain language. Our attitude towards it since it was launched cannot be better described than in the words in which we noticed one of its annual reports. We observed then: "We are glad to join in the welcome accorded to Prof. Karve's Women's University and in the hope that the experiment will prove a success. The need for facilities for women's education is so vast and pressing, that it is foolish to pin our faith to any one plan and method. Numerous and repeated experiments are necessary to determine what the best and most suitable scheme is in the conditions of the country" (July 8, 1917.) That remains our view to-day. The most important conditions of Sir Vithaldas' scheme, in our opinion, are those, which bring Professor Karve's closed and sealed pattern into an environment where it will be in touch with realities and will be operated upon by the life-giving forces which such contact alone can generate. The removal of the head-quarters of the University to Bombay is, from this point of view, of the first importance. Poona opinion, especially in education and politics is apt to run in grooves, but in Bombay grooves seldom get a chance to harden. The next important condition is the enlargement of the electorate. These two conditions will draw the Women's University into the main stream of life which leaves Hingne Budruk high and dry to a large extent. Japanese ideas, whether in politics, commerce or social life, are not characterised by depth or originality. Their educational system likewise, is not the one to which we can look for ideals or inspiration. The problem which Japanese statesmen set before themselves was how best and in the shortest time they can beat the aggressive west at its own game. That was a practical but not a profound ideal. It has been justified by the test of immediate success but those who look beyond and behind appearances find much cause for disquiet. Not only the problem, but the conditions, in which it has to be solved, and the minds by

which it has to be solved, are different in India from those of Japan. We have so often and in such strong terms expressed our deep rooted convictions about the national importance of affording equal educational opportunities for women as for men, of not pressing the sex difference into regions where they do not and cannot extend, and in repudiation of the doctrine that women's functions are to be limited to be good wives and mothers, that there is no need to reiterate them now. Ultimately, women will and must determine what their educational opportunities and outlook should be. No attempt to impose on them an artificial and inferior course, will meet with the acceptance of enlightened and educated women. In many countries of Europe, women have proved their right to be equal citizens with men on a basis of comradeship in war as in peace. We have every hope that in its new opportunities the Indian Women's University will be able to throw off whatever in its original intention was calculated to obstruct its development into an institution helping the women of India to grow to the full height not only of their womanhood, but of that common humanity which they share equally with men.

VERNACULARS IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

Unlike other Indian Universities, the University of Bombay for many years did not recognise any of the vernaculars of the Presidency as a suitable subject for any of its examinations above the Matriculation. Some years ago, they were recognised for the M. A. but not for the other examinations. The late Professor Limaye of the Fergusson College shortly before his death addressed a letter to the syndicate of the University requesting it to move the Senate to have the principal vernaculars of the Presidency put on the same footing as the classical languages in the language group of the B.A. degree examination, Pass and Honours. That is to say, those candidates who elected the language group will be able to take Marathi or Gujarathi, Kanarese or Urdu, in place of Sanskrit, Persian, Latin or French. The Syndicate appointed a committee which by a large majority recommended that this change should be made in the Regulations. The report was referred to the Faculty of Arts and there Principal Paranjpye brought in a new proposal. It is necessary to explain here that all candidates for the B. A. have to take up English as a compulsory subject: in addition, those who take the language group (among the optionals) have to answer some extra papers in English, in addition to papers in the selected classical language. The late Professor Limaye's suggestion was merely that, instead of a classical language, a vernacular language might be selected. It left the extra English papers untouched. Principal Paranjpye proposed that the vernaculars should be grouped along with the classical languages and that out of this group a candidate might take

any two, provided both were not vernaculars. This would make it possible for a candidate with the modicum of compulsory English, to pass the B.A. with Sanskrit and Gujarathi or Persian and Urdu. The Senate has adopted this proposal in place of the late Principal Limaye's suggestion recommended by the Syndicate's Committee. Those who opposed Principal Paranjpye's proposition and preferred the late Professor Limaye's, did so chiefly on the ground that while the latter left the extra English papers untouched, the former left them to a candidate to choose or not. This, they feared, would lower the standard of English in the language group, which, they thought, would be unfortunate. Both the propositions favoured the recognition of the vernaculars as second languages. There was thus no question of any one opposing the introduction of the vernaculars. Principal Paranjpye's proposition was passed, but on the understanding that the standard of compulsory English will be raised for all candidates.

We cannot help regarding this decision as unsatisfactory. It means that, in order to compensate for the probability in future of candidates for the B. A. examination who take the Language group being able to pass without opening a single English book besides the compulsory text-books common to all candidates, the compulsory course for all should be enhanced in English. Principal Paranjpye and his supporters repeatedly argued that, since no extra English papers were required of those candidates who took other groups such as History, Philosophy, Mathematics and Science, there was no reason why they should be required only of those who took the Language group. The answer is simple. In all the other groups, the books to be studied are in the English language, and in History and Philosophy, many of the authors to be studied are men famed for their mastery of the English language. Thus, Macaulay, is a historian, poet, and essayist. Mill is a great English writer, as well as an economist and philosopher. Poetry and fiction alone are not literature, though the highest works of the literary art are to be found among them. A student who takes the History or the Philosophy group, and to a less extent, perhaps, the Science group, necessarily reads several standard authors in English, in addition to the works prescribed for the compulsory papers in English. The object of having extra papers in English in the Language group, which was lost sight of by Mr. Paranjpye, is that it is the only group, in which it is possible to pass without reading any more English than is allotted for the compulsory part of the examination. It is a commonplace that the standard in a compulsory subject in which all have to pass irrespective of their special subjects, must necessarily be the minimum that is indispensable for all who aspire to any particular degree. Mr. Covernton's suggestion is well meant, but it cannot be given effect to except to a very small extent without casting an undue burden on candidates who take groups other than the Language group. It is also unfair that, in order to relieve candidates in the Language group of a few extra papers in English, all candidates for the B.A. examination

should be saddled with a heavier burden of compulsory English to the detriment necessarily of their own special subjects. The whole question will have to be reconsidered. It is an instructive study in the delightfully casual manner in which the University disposes of questions affecting thousands of students, to compare Mr. Limaye's cautious and well-considered proposal with Mr. Paranjpye's leap-in-the-dark to which the Senate stands committed.

CASTE: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH.*

(BY PANDIT MURALY DHAR BANERJEE, M. A.)

I. First Stage: Origin of Caste in the Vedic age, exogamous marriage.

In the Rig Veda, the oldest of the Vedas, in the tenth *mandala* (Rig Veda X, 90, 20) we see four castes mentioned. In the preceding nine Mandalas we find the names of the three castes, viz. Ripra, Rajanya, and Vis; there is no reference to Sudra. Instead of it, *Dasyu* or *Dasa* (Rig Veda II, 12, 4) and *Arya* varna (ibid, III, 34, 9.) are mentioned. This *Dasa* became Sudra, and out of the *Arya* varna, on account of the difference of occupations, the three twice-born castes were developed. '*Dasas*' are described as black, the *Aryas* as white; from this difference of colour the term varna (=colour) came to signify caste. From this we can infer that the *Dasas* were the original inhabitants of the land; and the *Aryas* were their conquerors. From this relation of the conqueror and the conquered and from the difference of race as indicated by complexion and features, the rigid caste distinctions with restrictions of intermarriage and other social intercourse and with inequality of social conditions and privileges, have evolved.

Even in the remote Vedic age the superiority of these three *Arya* varnas over the *Dasa* varna was recognised. It is said in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 29) that the Sudra was not only servant to the other castes, but he had no rights of property or life; he was liable to be slain at will (यथाकामवच्य). Though such was the depth of degradation into which the Sudra was sunk in the Vedic age, still we find no evidence, however, of the prohibition of contact with an inferior caste which was supposed to communicate impurity to the higher castes. No *Samhita* or *Brahmana* contains any prohibition of inter-dining, acceptance of cooked rice, or of intermarriage among the higher and the lower castes. This inference is grounded not merely on absence of prohibitory passages; we have positive proofs to the purpose. The *Aitareya Brahmana* (II, 19, 1) mentions *Kavasa Ailusa* as the son of a slave girl (*Dasi*). From the *Panchavimsa Brahmana* (XIV, 11, 17) we know that *Dirghatamas* was son to the slave girl, *Ushija*. In the *Yajurveda Samhita* (VII, 4, 19, 34) there is mention of unlawful union between men and women of the *Arya* and

* Presidential address of Pandit Murali Dhar Banerjee, M. A., officiating Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, at the first Bengal Social Conference held at Midnapore on the 4th April, 1920.

Sudra castes. The Atharva Veda states that not only could a woman be married by a person of a different caste, but that she could have more than one husband. There it is laid down that the claim of her Brahman husband is superior to that of the Rajanya or Vaisya husband. The hymn runs thus :—

“इव यत् पतयो इव शिवाः पूर्वे अत्राक्षणाः ।
ब्रह्मा चेदस्तमग्रहीत् स एव पतिरेकया ॥
ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्यः ।
तत् सूर्यः प्रब्रुवति पश्यन्त्यो मानवेभ्यः ॥”

Translation :—And if (there were) ten former husbands of a woman, not Brahmana, provided a Brahman has seized her hand, he is alone her husband.

A Brahman (is), indeed, her husband, not a noble (राजन्व) nor a Vaisya: this the sun goes on proclaiming to the five races of men (मानव).

(Bloomfield.)

The ancient epic, Mahabharata, too, throws much light upon the social condition of the Vedic age. There we read that Yayati, a Kshatriya, wedded Devayani, the daughter of Sukracharya, a Brahmana, and that from this union came the illustrious royal lines of the Yadus and the Purus. The mother of Parasurama was a Kshatriya; but in as much as he was begotten by a Brahman father, he became a Brahman. Vyāsa came of a *Kaivarta* mother, but according to the caste of his father he was recognised as a Brahman. These instances go clearly to prove that at that time both Hypergamy (अनुजोम अस्वर्ण विवाह) and Exogamy (अस्वर्ण विवाह) were in vogue, and that sons produced of such unions belonged to the caste of their fathers, and not to that of their mothers, nor were they regarded as crosses (सङ्करवर्ण) as in the later times they came to be. That the majority of the Brahmans of the Vedic age were descended from women of lower castes is testified to by the following passages of the *Mahabharata*—

जनक उवाच ।

ब्रह्मणेकेन जातानां नानाखं गोत्रतः कथं ।
बहूनीह हि लोके वै गोत्रानि धृतिस्तथम् ॥
यत्र सत्र कथं जाताः सद्योर्नि ध्रुवो गताः ।
शुद्धौ धीनौ सङ्कल्पना वियोनौ च स्यापरे ॥

पराशर उवाच ।

राजशैतद्वेदं प्राञ्जं अपकृष्णज जम्भना ।
पताश्रानां समुत्पत्तिस्तपसा भावितात्मनाम् ॥
वत्पाद्य पुत्रान् ध्रुवयो नृपते यत्र तत्र ह ।
स्वेनैव तपसा तेषां ऋषित्वं प्रदद्मः पुनः ॥

(Santiparva 1(570 etc.)

Janaka said :—

How could this multiplicity of *gotras* in men be seeing that they were the children of one Brahman. Innumerable, indeed, are the *gotras* that exist under the sun, O best of sages.

If the sages were born anywhere and everywhere how could they be of their own caste, born as they were, some in pure castes and others in impure castes ?

Parashara said :—

Oh king, it can not be accepted that the sages possessed of self-restraint and purified by

penance, were born of inferior women. The sages begetting sons anywhere and everywhere conferred upon them the rank of seers (ऋषि) by power of their penance.

Oh King of Videha, they have gained their character with the help of penance. Those Vedic scholars have been established (in their positions) by self-restraint and penance.

(Santiparva, 10870--75.)

Again

अतिरत्र महासर्पे मनुष्यत्वे महामते ।
सङ्करात् सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥
सर्वे सर्वोच्चपत्न्यानि जनयन्ति सदा वराः ।
वाक्मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणञ्च सर्वं नृणाम् ॥
इदमार्थं प्रमाणञ्च वै बज्रामहे इत्यपि ।

वनपर्व (१२४८०—८२)

O great serpent, O magnanimous one, the castes of mankind, it seems to me, on account of intermixture of all Varnas are difficult to ascertain. All men beget offspring on women of all castes: speech, sexual connection, birth and death are common to all men. There is this proof from the scriptures that we who sacrifice do not know whether we are Brahmans or non-Brahmans,

Vanaparva, 2480-82.

If there is still any doubt as to the prevalence of every form of intercaste marriage in the Vedic age, *anuloma* or *protuloma*, some visible proof of it can be produced. In the Rig Veda the Aryas are described as fair-complexioned. But why do we find among the Brahmans of the present day, every shade of colour lying between jet black and ivory white? Is it not the result of the mixture in various degrees of the dark Dasas and the white Aryas? In recent times, in America, in Africa, in India, wherever there has happened a blending of the blood of black and white races, coloured races of various shades of complexion have sprung up. Where the blood of the black race has predominated, there a dark skinned race, and where the proportion of their blood is less, there a slightly dark skinned race has arisen. Except in Kashmere and the Panjab, nowhere perhaps in India the pure Aryan type can be discovered at present. When the victorious Aryas spread in all directions they had with them only a scanty number of Arya women. They had, therefore, to take the Dasa or non-Aryan women as their wives. As a result of this blending of the two races Non-Aryan blood has now entered more or less into all the twice-born castes. For this reason it is hard to distinguish, either by the complexion or the features of the face, a person of a higher from one of a lower caste. In many instances the complexion and features of a person of a lower caste conforms more to the Arya type than those of a person of a higher caste. We have only to compare a Savarna Banic with his Brahmans priest, and the truth of this assertion would at once be clear.

RACIAL POISONS AND MUNICIPAL HEALTH COMMITTEES.

(BY MRS. F. S. HALLOWES.)

In a lecture given in London lately by Professor S. W. Saleeby, M. D., F. R. S., he said: "It is one of the most remarkable facts in biology, that most diseases have no racial significance; that is, they are not transmissible. Bad as tuberculosis is, it does not infect the offspring of the individual suffering from it, except in cases so rare as to be negligible. The children may be infected after birth, but if removed at birth from tuberculous mothers, they are found to be unharmed."

"So too the wounds, and blindings and mutilation of war, are of no racial moment. The damaged man of good stock and stuff before injury can and does hand down those qualities unimpaired."

But racial poisons, which either kill the race outright, as in gonorrhoeal sterility, or injures the offspring through the parent or parents as in syphilis, are enemies of a very different calibre.

Yet not until the last decade, has any one known how terrible are the ravages made by these diseases in all nations. We have been afraid to "look into the face of these foes and have talked with bated breath, about the "hidden scourges," and "the secret diseases" as if they were necessary. In the four and a half years between 1914 and 1918, the fifteen civilized nations which fought in the great war gave to these twin scourges of syphilis and gonorrhoea a heavier toll than they did to bullets, shells, gas, air bombs, and all the ghastly wholesale killers of modern battle!

Yet these two diseases present no mystery to the modern physician. They know that they may be prevented, that they may be cured: and that their infection may be checked at its source. Why then was medical science so long silent upon the horrors of these racial poisons, which lead in killing and mutilating the human race; being more fatal by a wide margin than tuberculosis, which comes next on the list?

The answer to this question, is found in that "*lie of the ages*" that *sexual promiscuity is "natural" and "necessary to health."* Behind this *lie* even science, up to ten years ago, sheltered. Thanks to the efforts of a few great men, who were determined to expose this lie—a Royal Commission spent five years in examining evidence upon the nature and prevalence of venereal diseases, and their Report of the evidence furnished by a very large number of experts, destroyed the old time superstition, and demonstrated that these poisons are the chief enemies of the race. In every country there has been started a big campaign to diminish this menace to the health and efficiency of the national health: to protect the minds and bodies of generations unborn; and to save the lives of innocent women and helpless babies.

And shall India remain inert? Will she allow the holocaust of life to go on? Never! She will see to it that the boys have a chance; she will play the "game with her boys" as modern phraseology has it. She will no longer allow them to be the victims of a great

trade in vice, which in order to make its thousands of lakhs, lays its poison-traps for the young, so that by the formation of the habit of promiscuity, it may be sure of them, as its customers when they become men.

We must awaken to this fact, and get rid of those racial poisons of vice, which are blasting our health and efficiency. We must make up our minds as to what we really want. Do we desire an "A. 1." manhood—healthy in body and efficient in intellect, which can hand on life, free from a curse, to posterity? Or do we prefer a "C. 3." race—one which is never up to the mark, either physically or mentally, and is handing on a degenerate heredity to those who come after?

This is a most serious question upon which hangs the future efficiency of India?

Let us be sure of it that we cannot have both commercialized vice and health and efficiency; that is what the majority want, but the two are incompatible.

MUNICIPAL HEALTH COMMITTEES.

If we choose "health and efficiency" the next question is how are we to be rid of this widespread trade in vice with its vested interests?

In our Municipal Health Committees we have the machinery ready. Let us work for legislation which shall put *power* into this machinery: a power which shall make it possible for them to cleanse our cities from the poison wells of vice. It is being done in other countries, why not in this?

"Prevention is better than cure." We must have both—but first of all comes *Prevention*, for our doctors tell us "*Prevention is the watchword of modern medicine.*"

DESTROY THE BUSINESS OF VICE.

This being the verdict of the medical profession, we must look to that profession to reinforce the Health Committees of our cities. In addition to *curative* agencies, they are pledged to *prevention*, and the first step to this end is to put an end to a trade which curses the community. Make straight paths for the feet of our boys, by taking away the centres of temptation, where those monstrous murderous agents of drink and vice are so easily procurable.

"For in addition to the list of racial injuries due to syphilis and gonorrhoea, is the charge against alcoholic drinks, as their constant accomplice. Even were this drug the stimulant and food, that is claimed for it, but is *not*, its relation as procurer and confederate to the vilest diseases that exist, would suffice to exclude it from a sane and humane civilization?"—thus writes Dr. Saleeby.

Alcohol helps venereal diseases in the four following ways:

1. It lowers resistance to temptation.
2. It lowers resistance to infection.
3. It aggravates the symptoms.
4. It prejudices the treatment.

Let us call upon our "Health Committees" to justify their names and to fulfil their responsibility for the public health by acting to this end—the penalizing of commercial vice.

A DETERRENT IS NEEDED

The experience of 100 years of segregation : of regulation of education in European countries, shows that just as in the liquor traffic, there must be in combating commercialized vice, a *deterrent*. We want every method put in force, for the teaching of the children in the laws of sex and health, but we want more. Who would care to live in a country where *theft* was not penalized? Even were the children carefully taught by parents and teachers in the laws and policy of honesty! "Let us have a deterrent also" would be the reply. And in this reform for a pure and safe parenthood, which is of even greater moment to the race than the defence of our material property, we must have a *deterrent* which will be the means of educating the rising generations in the sacredness of life, and the crime of passing on a preventible disease. Legislation and law enforcement are the foundation of prevention; these gained we can go forward and use every method—education, medical treatment, recreative facilities, everything which will fortify and strengthen our youth. These should be the aims and methods of work of our Health Committees.

FREE MILK DISTRIBUTION AT PAREL.

The Arya Mahila Samaj of Bombay, under the presidency of the late lamented Lady Chandavarkar started a centre for free distribution of milk at Parel to expectant poor mothers and infants and weak children, on the 16th of November last. The following figures give an idea as to the working of the centre for the six and a half months ending 31st of May 1920. In all 198 women and children were supplied with 285½ seers of milk during this period. The monthly average of persons to whom milk was given free was 83. The largest number on a single day was 24. Of the 198 who received milk 52 were women and 141 infants and children. The 198 were divided according to castes as under:—

Israel	...	...	...	15
Indian Christians	...	...	...	21
Mahomedans	...	...	...	14
and Hindus	...	...	...	148

The total cost of milk distributed was Rs. 815-1-0. The results of the work so far done are highly encouraging and the centre promises to develop considerably. It may be said without the least exaggeration that the free distribution of milk carried on at the centre has saved a large number of women and children from death. In order to develop this and the Girgaum centre of the Arya Mahila Samaj, funds are urgently needed. Contributions however humble may be sent to the Secretary, Dr. Kashibai Nowrange, B. A., L. M. & S., Atmaram Mansions, Girgaum. Every contribution will be most gratefully accepted.

THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, BOMBAY.

Under the auspices of the Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay the remarriage of Bai Lalita alias Babubai with Mr. Soui Manecklal Kalidas was celebrated on Sunday the 13th June 1920 at 5 P.M. (S.T.) at the premises of the Hindu Widows' Home. Both parties belonged to the Vishva Shrimali community. The Vedic ceremony was performed by Mr. I. R. Rajee of the Hindu Missionary Society. Several friends of the Widow Remarriage Movement including the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh were present on the occasion.

INDIAN MODERATES AND THE HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT.

A meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, the chief central organisation of the Indian Moderate Party, was held on Saturday, the 12th June in the Indian Association room, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji presiding. Letters and telegrams regretting inability to be present were received from Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri, Samarth, Natesan, Gadgil, Dalvi and Dr. Datta. The Council deliberated for four hours on the subject set down in the agenda, and passed the following resolutions on the Hunter Committee Reports and the resolutions thereon:

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India view with deep disappointment the Majority Report of the Hunter Committee whose conclusions are in the main unsupported by the weight of published evidence. The Council regret that the majority have supported the declaration and continuation of Martial Law in the Punjab without justification and the atrocities that were perpetrated are condoned in most cases in disregard of the canons of civilised Government. The Council feel constrained to say that the Majority Report lacks the authority that should have attached to a State paper treating of such grave and far-reaching issues as were raised by the recent deplorable events in the Punjab.

(b) The Council endorse the conclusion of the Minority that there was no rebellion in the Punjab, and their condemnation of the declaration of Martial Law and its prolongation without even a colourable excuse, as well as of the ruthlessness with which it was administered entailing cruel hardships upon large numbers of innocent persons, and wantonly causing humiliation to the people by bringing home to them their utter helplessness.

(c) While appreciating the Secretary of State's Despatch for its condemnation of some of the worst horrors of last year and its repudiation of the doctrine of military necessity that made them possible, the Council must express their sense of strong disapproval of the awarding of a wholly inadequate punishment to General Dyer and of none as yet to several other officers who were guilty of unpardonable excesses. The Council earnestly urge that the Government should take immediate steps for the suitable punishment of all officers, military or civil of whatever status, who were guilty of, or condoned for, gross abuse of power and indisputably failed to maintain the standards of conduct, which as the Secretary of State's Despatch says, no civilised Government can with impunity neglect, and which His Majesty's Government are determined to uphold. The Council believe that, without such punishment, neither will the enormity of their conduct be brought home to the offending officers nor will the National self respect of India be vindicated.

(d) The Council record their emphatic protest against the high encomium bestowed upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer both by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the face of the admission that His Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from their criticism of the application of the Martial Law procedure to certain trials, which, it is admitted, must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question and the avowal that, with the general question of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab, His Majesty's Government are not now immediately concerned, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's opinions

of the educated classes of India and of even legitimate and constitutional political agitation have been publicly expressed and are on official record, while his responsibility for the declaration and continuation of Martial Law and the manner in which it was administered cannot be gainsaid. He even accorded unqualified approval to General Dyer's action at Jallianwalla Bagh, which has been disapproved by the Majority Report and the Government of India and condemned by His Majesty's Government. The praise of such an officer by His Majesty's Government has made a painful impression on Indian mind. In the opinion of the Council, the least that His Majesty's Government should do, failing any more drastic action, is to take steps to mark in an effective manner their unqualified disapproval of the policy and conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and that they should in no circumstances allow him to be associated with Indian affairs in any capacity.

(e) The Council regret that His Majesty's Government, while testifying to the manner in which His Excellency the Viceroy has fulfilled his high trust and continuing to repose fullest confidence in his discretion, have ignored altogether the responsibility of His Excellency and his Government who, instead of examining the situation on the spot and exercising the much-needed control over the Panjab Government, gave it virtually a free hand.

(f) The Council urge upon the Government that adequate compensation should be allowed to those who have suffered in the Panjab owing to the high-handed action of civil or military officers, and further that steps should be taken to revise the fines imposed upon or levied from certain areas in the Panjab.

(g) The Council strongly urge that His Majesty's Government should provide for effective safeguards against a recurrence of such things as happened last year, and to this end urge, among other measures:

(1) That the introduction, exercise and duration of Martial Law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England.

(2) That Martial Law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for civil courts to sit and exercise their functions.

(3) That the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties thereof should not be delegated to military officer.

(4) That if Courts Martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting, any person not subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military law, who is charged with the contravention of any regulation should be allowed the option of trial by Civil Court.

(5) That free and unrestricted legal assistance should be available as a matter of right to the accused persons placed before martial law tribunals, and this should not be left to the discretion of, or any interference by, civil or martial law authorities, and

(6) that the remedy in the nature of *Habeas Corpus* should be made available in all parts of British India.

(A) The Council place on record their warm appreciation of the ability, courage and sense of justice which the Hon. Pandit Jagan Nath, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Salata da Sultan Ahmad Khan brought to bear upon the discharge of their arduous duty as members of the Committee.

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Reserve Fund " 66,00,000

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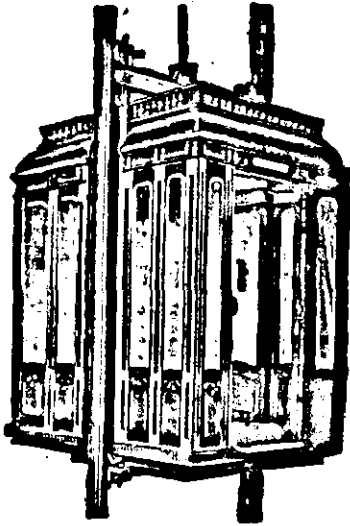
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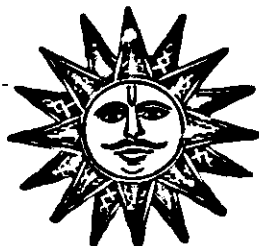
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PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1920. No. 43.

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

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	The English mind.

NOTES.

Voluntary Repatriation: Mr. C. F. Andrews' communication which we publish today puts the case for "voluntary repatriation" of Indians in Natal in its strongest and most effective form. We are unable to recognize any hard-and-fast distinction between practice and theory. The question, as it strikes us, is this: Those Indians who are to be induced to "voluntarily repatriate" themselves have toiled and sweated for Natal and its capitalists. They have served under indenture and are domiciled in that colony. Mr. Andrews has told us that his expectation that the abolition of indentures would automatically improve the position of the labourers, has not been fulfilled. We had no such expectation. When the slaves were liberated in America, the immediate effect of emancipation on their economic position was to worsen it. The slave-owner looked after his slaves much in the same way as he did after his cattle—that is to say, in his own interests he maintained them in a condition of physical efficiency. The freeman has nobody to look after him. It is no wonder that the indentured labourer on being released, finds his freedom to be an embarrassment rather than a boon. This, we say, is nothing surprising to those who have studied the history of emancipation. That is by the way. The point here is that these men, having given of their strength and vitality to Natal, are, for their reward, rendered destitute and are sinking to the level of the Zulus. We accept Mr. Andrews' testimony as to that fact. What is the remedy? They are told to go back to whence they came and the inducements offered are a free passage and, perhaps, a few pounds. What Mr. Andrews alludes over is that these men are expected to renounce their right to re-enter the colony where they are domiciled, in return for these terms. As practical men, we ask, suppose these men on coming to India find that their prospects here are not so rosy as they imagined; that their Natal life has put them out of touch with Indian ways; or that, after a few years in this country, they long to go back to the land to which they gave the best years of their life: is it just that they should find the door closed

and barred behind them? The central fact we cannot get out of our minds is that this "voluntary repatriation" is primarily intended to get Indians out of the colony and not to improve their economic position. That these men would lose their domicile in Natal is the only thing certain about it, and the only thing that the Union Government are anxious to be certain about. There are other points in Mr. Andrews' letter which call for notice, but it is well to await the publication of the full details of the scheme, before commenting on them.

Deserted Parents' Maintenance Law. We learn from the *Social Welfare* of Toronto that the Ontario Legislature has before it a novel piece of legislation. It is proposed, writes our contemporary, to apply the principle of "mothers' pensions," now provided in Canada to "aged parents' pensions," with the adult children, not the State, granting aid. "That is," it continues, "where the child or children of aged parents are obviously in a position to aid in the support of said parents, action may be taken to enforce their so doing." It proceeds:

Of course, the most careful administration will be required to prevent unscrupulous parents from capitalizing on the success of children whom they have forced into employment without adequate preparation, by reason of parental negligence, or indifference. The legislation is certainly worth experiment. Where children are sufficiently able to provide for those to whom they themselves owe life and prosperity, it is unnatural and unjust that the State, the citizenship of the community at large, or private philanthropy should be forced to accept responsibility. Even as the home is incomparably superior to the institution in the development of the child, so much more humane and comforting is the home, and natural environment for the declining years of the worthy aged, whom we have too long herded as so much "scrapped" humanity, into the unselected "impersonality" of the Old People's Home. Ontario's experiment, if adopted, will be watched with interest by all to whom the care and comfort of the aged is a concern.

We in India, and in the East generally, may congratulate ourselves that there is no need of legislation of this kind in India, with or without the safeguards suggested against parents unscrupulously capitalizing on the success of their children. Here, at least, we may be proud of our backwardness.

The late Sir Shapoorji Bharucha: We deeply regret to record the death of Sir Shapoorji Bharucha whose numerous, unostentatious philanthropies, endeared him to a large circle of citizens and whose financial enterprise contributed to Bombay's industrial pre-eminence.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 27, 1920.

BOMBAY MODERATES ON THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY.

The cablegram on the Punjab disturbances which Sir Dinsha Wacha, as its President, has sent to Parliament on behalf of the Western India Liberal Association will, we hope, have the effect of clarifying the plain issue with which Parliament will have to deal at the coming debates in both Houses. The special value of this cablegram lies in the directness with which it deals with that issue. All the representations that have gone from India to the authorities in England, on behalf of the Indian people, before this cablegram of the Western India Liberal Association, unanimously expressed their keen disappointment at the findings of the majority report of the Hunter Committee and their approval of the minority report. They have called for stern condemnation and punishment of the officers who abused their authority in the name of martial law. None of them, however, clinched the main issue arising from the reports and findings of both the majority and the minority of the Hunter Committee as Sir Dinsha Wacha's present cablegram to Parliament has clinched it. That is its distinctive merit; and it ought to serve its purpose in the expected debate.

The one point which is made and forcibly emphasised by the defenders of the action of General Dyer and other Martial law officers during the Punjab disturbances is that, whatever the excesses and abuses of authority committed by them, they stand justified by the necessity of the situation with which they had to deal and by the fact that the officers in question succeeded in quelling the disturbances which otherwise might have developed into a wide-spread rebellion throughout the Punjab. In their cablegram the Western India Liberal Association point out that this defence amounts to no less than necessity, the tyrant's plea, "urged" (to quote the words of the Association,) "in times past by despots or tyrants as recorded in history." The question of its soundness must, therefore, be tested by the unchallenged facts of the case. Both the majority and the minority report agree in one particular relevant to that defence, viz. that the disturbances from beginning to end were confined to but a very small fraction of the people; and that the vast majority of the people remained loyal and held themselves aloof from taking any part in the disturbances. Where they differ is that the majority think the disturbances were a rebellion of that small fraction, which but for martial law might have assumed even more serious proportions, while the minority are of the definite opinion that it was not a rebellion but a riot. This point of difference does not affect the main question whether the atrocities of martial law of which General Dyer and other officers have been upon their own admissions guilty, are to be condoned or, as some of their

more vehement supporters would have it, to be regarded as acts for which their perpetrators should be commended instead of being condemned, because but for those acts the disturbances could not have been quelled. It is true that the officers in question would appear to have quelled the disturbances to which but a small fraction of the people were parties, and restored peace and order in the Province. That, however, is a seeming triumph; the real situation created thereby has become one of great anxiety for the future. By their inhuman acts such as the Jallianwalla massacre, the crawling order, the barbarous treatment accorded to students, the humiliating treatment of large numbers of innocent men and women, by the use of bombs and aeroplanes—measures which Sir Dinsha Wacha's cablegram rightly characterises as "almost Prussian in their method and manner rather than British," these officers have "indubitably perturbed the better and soberer mind of India." They have created among all the classes of people "a condition of insecurity which, if not immediately removed, threatens not a little to diminish the confidence of the people in the humanity and justice which have hitherto characterised British rule in India." In other words, they quelled the disturbances of a small fraction of the people in the Punjab and have turned the whole of the people of India discontent and resentful.

History has in this instance repeated itself. What occurred during the Mutiny of 1857 has occurred now. Then the officers employed to quell the mutiny cried for the blood of Indians, whether guilty or innocent. They perpetrated atrocities which equalled those of the mutineers such as wholesale hangings, burnings &c. Lord Canning did his best to prevent them but he was denounced and vilified by his countrymen both here and in England. And the official perpetrators of Martial law atrocities during the mutiny urged the same plea in self-defence and self-glorification that is now paraded by the friends and defenders of General Dyer, viz. that the atrocities were necessary and that they have been justified by the result. Lord Canning would not have that defence. He asked:

Will it be the part of a wise Government to keep such a population as that of the three great Provinces in a loyal frame of temper? Can you do so, if you proscribe and scout as unworthy whole classes? For God's sake, raise your voice and stop this. As long as I have breath in my body, I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following: not only for the reason of expediency and policy above stated but because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger.

In spite of all his stern attempts to control and check the official atrocities, the officers had their own way. The story is told by Lord Canning's biographer: Sir Frederick Halliday, who was Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1857 and in constant and confidential communication with the Governor-General, narrates how, on one occasion, when the outcry against him was loudest, Lord Canning showed him papers illustrating the scandalous brutality of certain of the special tribunals. The Lieutenant Governor urged their publication by way of reply to his

calumniators. "No," said Lord Canning, taking the papers and locking them up in his drawer, "I had rather submit to any obloquy than publish to the world what would so terribly disgrace my countrymen. It is sufficient that I have prevented them for the future.

Alas! for Lord Canning! He, noble soul, died feeling that he had taken steps to prevent the recurrence of such atrocities "for the future" in India but the future has not prevented them—rather the story has been repeated. That is the crux of the problem now before Parliament. It will not do for Parliament to rest content with pious resolutions that such atrocities as General Dyer and other Martial Law officers have committed shall not happen in future. They have created a situation in India which, as the Western India Liberal Association gnaging the situation accurately and wisely point out, demands "definite steps on the part of Parliament to carry assurance to the wounded minds and bleeding hearts of the people of India due to the Punjab tragedy."

BOMBAY AND THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

We have pointed out on previous occasions that in the all-important question of finance, Ministers under the Reform scheme will be placed in the position of the captive Jews whom the Pharaohs set to make bricks without supplying them with the indispensable straw. This apprehension has been greatly accentuated by the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee over which Lord Meston presided. The effect of these recommendations will inevitably be to place the Provinces, especially Bombay, in a position of constant and chronic financial anxiety. As the sums to be expended on Ministers' departments like education and sanitation, the returns from which will take many years to become visible in the shape of increased revenue, will have to come from the total resources at the disposal of the Provincial Governments, the direct effect of the Meston Committee scheme on Minister's departments will be severely and permanently detrimental. Provincial autonomy is a fine phrase but without the means of providing adequately for the development of the administration where it touches most closely the lives and interests of the people, it is but an empty name. And there can be no doubt that the principal recommendation of the Meston Committee is calculated to make the reforms farcical at their very inception at least in the Bombay presidency.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report condemned the principle of divided heads, that is, of the same heads of revenue being shared by the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and favoured the policy of what the authors called the clean-cut. At present, the heads which are divided in all or some of the provinces are—land revenue, stamps, excise, income-tax and irrigation. The Joint Report proposed to retain the Indian and provincial heads as at present, but to add to the former income-tax and general stamps, and to the latter land revenue, irrigation,

excise and judicial stamps. It justified the division of stamps into two heads on the ground that this arrangement would preserve uniformity in the case of commercial stamps where it is obviously desirable to avoid discrepancies of rates, and it would also give to provinces a free hand in dealing with court-fee stamps, and thus provide them with an additional means of augmenting their resources. Land revenue, which is far the biggest head of all, is at present equally shared between the Indian and the provincial Governments, and so is income-tax. The Joint Report proposal was to give over the whole of land revenue to Provincial Governments and to hand over the whole of income-tax to the Government of India.

The Joint Report had suggested that the scheme of financial relations outlined in it should be re-investigated at the end of ten years. The Government of India, however, urged that the scheme should be revised in the light of their later suggestions by a special committee. Lord Meston's Committee was appointed for the purpose of giving effect to this suggestion. The Government of Bombay, the provincial Government, most seriously affected by the proposal, protested strongly against the transfer of the whole of income-tax to the Imperial Government. Its protest was sufficiently emphatic to ensure its being included as one of the terms of reference of the Meston Committee.

The Meston Committee, while making a show of independence by allotting General Stamps to Provincial Governments, has adhered to the recommendation of the Joint Report regarding the transfer of the whole of income-tax to the Imperial Government. It has thus maintained the policy of the clean-cut which, in itself, is a sound one. But the clean-cut must not be such as to cripple provincial Governments. The Meston Committee's clean-cut does this irreparably in the case of Bombay. The right kind of clean-cut which Indian opinion demands, is that the Government of India should leave the income-tax wholly to the provincial Government and make up their deficit by enhancing the customs tariff. The main sources of taxation left to Provincial Governments by the Meston Committee are land revenue and excise. Land revenue is assessed once in thirty years and it is desirable that the intervals of assessment should be increased to fifty years.

The excise revenue, under a responsible Government, should never be regarded as a resource to rely upon for increase of revenue. All political parties in the country are pledged to aim at a policy of total prohibition, and no Minister can possibly base his policy on the expansion of the proceeds of national poisoning. In a Presidency like Bombay, the income-tax is the only expanding source of revenue which can normally be expected to meet the increasing demands of a progressive administration. The grounds on which the Meston Committee has over-ruled the objections of the Government of Bombay are flimsy in the extreme. In effect, they come to no more than

that it was determined at the sacrifice of logic and justice to deprive Bombay of its only important source of increase of revenue. The Government of Bombay, it is to be hoped, will protest vigorously. It should ask not for a part of the income-tax but for the whole of it. If it abates one jot of the legitimate claims of this Presidency in this matter, it would be betraying the vital interests of the people whose destinies are entrusted to its keeping.

CASTE: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH II.

2. *The Second stage of development of the caste system: prohibition of the pratiloma form of marriage and of contact with inferior castes.*

In course of time the blending of the Aryan and the non-Aryan races proceeded so far as to give rise to an apprehension of the total extinction of the pure Aryan type. And then, an effort was made to preserve the purity of castes by gradually putting more and more severe restrictions on inter-caste marriage. The attempt to check such marriages seems to have begun from the end of the Vedic age. But lest the prohibition of every form of intercaste marriage should give rise to a difficulty in securing suitable brides for people of the higher castes, the law was so framed as to prevent the lower castes from marrying girls of the higher castes, but not *vice versa*. As a result of this, in the Sutras and the Samhitas we find the sanction of marriage with a girl of the same caste (सवर्ण विवाह = Endogamy) or of a lower caste (अद्विज विवाह = Hypergamy) but prohibitions of marriage with a girl of a higher caste (प्रतिज विवाह). If the blending of races in India had not been thus arrested, then in the course of a few more centuries all the castes would have been fused into one homogeneous nation. The European nations are the result of fusion of various races carried on without restriction and ultimately reduced to a homogeneous national type. In the Sutras and the Samhitas, in Arrian's Indica, (XII, 8, 9) and in the Pali literature, it is found for the first time that the pratiloma form of marriage among the different castes has gone out of practice and restrictions have been laid on interdining and other forms of contact with inferior castes. In the Parashara-Grihya sutra (I, 4) Endogamy (सवर्णविवाह) and Hypergamy (अद्विज अस्वर्ण विवाह) are enjoined while marriage with a girl of a higher caste (प्रतिज विवाह) is prohibited. It admits: "According to some a Sudra woman may be married by a person of any caste but without using the Vedic texts (सर्वेषां सुद्रामन्त्रेण न स्वर्णवर्णम्)". In the Gobhila Grihya Sutra (III, 2), under certain conditions the marriage of a Sudra girl by a superior caste is prohibited which goes to imply that under other conditions it was certainly permissible.

The Samhita of Manu (III, 12, 13), permits the Anuloma form of marriage. The Samhita of Yajnavalkya (I, 46) though disapproving the marriage of a Sudra girl by a twice-born (वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्), still admits the existence of the practice. In the Samhita of Vishnu it is stated, "Sons born of women of the

same caste are of the same caste (with the father) those born of women of inferior castes are of the same caste with the mother. Those born of women of higher castes are condemned by the Aryas." (Vishnu Samhita, Chap. XVI). Here we see that both the anuloma and the pratiloma forms of marriage were in practice. Paithinasi says, "Failing to obtain a girl one should take the vow of celibacy, or should beget a son on a Kshatriya woman, or, according to others, on a Sudra woman." The Samhita of Manu after first enjoining intercaste marriage (Manu III, 12-13) forbids again (Ibid, III, 14-19) the marriage by a Brahmin of a Sudra girl. How can we reconcile these inconsistent injunctions? According to Kulluka, Manu intends by the prohibition only to condemn marriage by a Brahmin of a Sudra woman in the reverse order, i. e., before marrying a woman of his own caste. According to Madhava the prohibition merely shows a difference of opinion in the matter, or it is applicable to a different yuga: "सर्वेषु युगेषु वा स्वस्वोपपत्तेः" (परशराम्बर). We shall show afterwards that this interpretation of Manu by referring the prohibition to a different yuga is fictitious. In fact, in the age of the Dharma samhitas and the Purans both the anuloma and the pratiloma forms of marriage were practised, though the latter was held in disrepute.

As we have already said, in this period of the history of caste development a son born of a woman of the same caste obtained the caste of the father. Children born of a woman of inferior caste obtained the caste of the mother. While children born of a woman of superior caste were regarded as crosses (वर्णसङ्कर). Thus sons begotten by a Brahmin on women of the three inferior castes were of three separate kinds; those begotten by a Kshatriya on women of the two inferior castes were of two different kinds; while those generated by a Vaisya on a woman of the lower caste were of one kind. Though these seven kinds of children had distinct caste appellations, viz., *murdhwasikta, amvasta, nisada, etc.*, they still belonged to their mother's caste and were not regarded as crosses. From the pratiloma form of marriage three kinds of crosses arose viz, intercaste crosses, inter-cross crosses, and crosses between these two again. In this way according to the Sutras and Dharma Samhitas the fourfold caste system of the Vedic age multiplied into innumerable mixed castes (Gautama IV, Vashista XVIII and Baudhayana I, 16, 17).

In this period, a change of caste from lower to higher, and from higher to lower was allowed. If girls of lower caste were married to persons of higher caste for some successive generations their children belonged to the superior caste. In this way the descendant of a Sudra woman would become a Brahmin in the seventh generation. Again a man of a higher caste adopting the occupation of a lower caste for successive generations were degraded to a lower caste. Thus the son of a Brahmin pursuing the occupation of a Sudra became a Sudra in the seventh generation.

It is also seen that down to the commencement of the Muhammadan invasion the son of a Brahmin

marrying a Sudra woman by the *anuloma* form of marriage was regarded as an *ourasa* son and inherited property. By the end of the 11th century Bijanewara thus writes in the Mitakshara: "It should be understood that the *murdhavasikta* and other sons born of a Kshatriya woman married by a Brahmin in the *anuloma* form, being regarded as an *ourasa* son, Kshetraja and other sons shall inherit property only in default of the former. A son, however, born of a Sudra woman by the *anuloma* form of marriage, though *ourasa* shall not inherit the whole property even in default of other sons." This right of inheritance by a son born of a Sudra woman marrying a Brahmin is also supported by Jimutavahana in the Dayabhaga in the following terms: "If a Brahmin has only Sudra son he is entitled merely to the third part of the property."

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS WRITES TO US :

I can very well understand your extreme reluctance to admit, in any shape or form, the idea of 'voluntary repatriation' with regard to Indian immigrants in South Africa. I can assure you, that I have shared your reluctance, and even, I may add, your repugnance. But, as an Englishman—so I imagine,—it is my very nature, bred and born in me for numberless generations, to be practical, when face to face with critical human suffering, and to make theory give way to practice, rather than practice give way to theory. And here was a practical issue. When these poor labourers came round me, wherever I went, up and down the country, and said,—“Sahib, cannot you send us back to India?” when I found that they were so submerged, that they were sinking below the level of the Zulu and the Kaffir: when statistics for the whole wage-earning Indian population proved this to me, in stark, naked figures, from which there was no escape: when I saw, with my own eyes, that their whole condition was more pitifully wretched than it was seven years ago: when thoughtful educated Indians and Europeans alike, who had studied the facts, acknowledged that this was the case: when, lastly I found that 4,000 Indian labourers had gone back into indenture, in spite of all that their fellow-countrymen had said urging them not to do so,—what was I to do? what would you have done, Mr. Editor? Could I say to them,—“Go on being sweated, and starved, and housed like animals rather than like men?”—was that a humane answer?

I tried my utmost to help them in the immediate way they needed most, at the very moment, namely by getting cheaper rice for them. The profiteering had been appalling, and the Indian merchants and the European merchants had been equally to blame. I asked the Indian merchants to meet me, and spoke to them of the criminal wrong that was being done by holding back the rice in order to make greater profits, while their own people starved. One Indian merchant took my words to heart and offered for sale 500 bags next morning. The news spread

like wildfire, and the whole street was blocked from end to end with Indian men and women eager to buy. I tried again my utmost to help them for their future, in the one best way that help could effectively be given, namely, by getting the education of their children pressed forward with all possible speed. But it was heart-breaking to find what difficulties would have to be overcome, and how impossible it was for the Indian community, situated as it was, to overcome those difficulties. Take one single fact. The Union Government of South Africa put a special clause in the Indian Relief Act of 1914, to admit so many teachers, each year, up to a certain rather vague number. I was assured, by high Government authority, that the number might be very elastic, provided they were *bona fide* teachers. But, practically speaking, none ever came forward. It has been the same old difficulty in Fiji; the same old difficulty in Zanzibar; the same old difficulty in East Africa; and if ever I went to British Guiana, I know I should find the same old difficulty there. The plain fact is, Indians won't emigrate, except for trade,—that's the real trouble. At Lorenzo Marques in Portuguese territory, I actually had an Indian asking me to get him over the border, as 'teacher' when what he really wanted was to go in and trade. He wanted me to smuggle him in under false pretences and to tell a lie on his behalf. That kind of thing is going on every year.

Can you understand me then, Mr. Editor, if, when I had talked the matter up and down, night after night, and long into the night, with those who know the practical situation much better than I did, at last I became convinced that the South African problem could become much more manageable, from every point of view, if we could undo some of the cruel wrong which had been done in the past, where we so criminally and carelessly allowed Indian professional recruiters to go on, year after year, recruiting our poor ignorant men and women from our villages, who never ought to have gone out of India at all? It seemed to me obviously right to let those, who so pathetically wished to go back again to India, have an opportunity. No Natal Indian would dream of taking the free passage and bonus, who was prospering, or likely to prosper in Natal. Indians, who have been knocked about from pillar to post, as Indians have been in Natal, have certainly learnt one thing. They are no fools. They are not taken in another time, as they were taken in, the first time, by the recruiters, when they were villagers. If they wish to stay in Natal, they will stay: and there are all sorts of influences at work, good, bad and indifferent, to induce them to stay. But if they are really submerged, and hopeless of improving their condition, as very many were, whom I saw, then are we to shut the door in their face and say “No,—Go back under indenture, go back to the plantations, do anything, but you must *not* come back to India?”

It is this consideration, which moved me in 1913-1914 to obtain, with Mr. Gandhi's consent, a free

passage for them back to India, if they wished to go back home and not to return. And since that date, nearly ten thousand have come back. Many more would have come, so Mr. Dick told me, if only ships had been provided. What I have suggested, in my evidence, and Mr. West has suggested in his, is nothing new or revolutionary. It is simply that they should not go back quite destitute. The Union Government is probably ready to provide a small bonus in addition to the free passage. In all these years, since 1914, no Indian has been forced to take the free passage: and no one now will be forced to take the bonus. Indeed, it is all the other way. The difficulty has been to keep out of the clutches of the sugar estate recruiters,—to keep, for instance, from getting drunk in a liquor shop one night and finding next morning that you have been inveigled into signing on again to a sugar estate, with your pockets empty. The sugar companies, with their huge vested interests, are only too anxious to keep every Indian labourer in Natal. It is on that side, that the veiled compulsion would come in,—not to repatriate, but to prevent this very voluntary repatriation from taking effect.

What I am trying to explain,—but what is so difficult to explain in a letter,—is, that things look here in India so different at a distance, from what they look like on the spot in Natal. All one's theories are suddenly turned upside down in Natal and one has to face hard, bed-rock facts. If I could take you out to Durban and up the coast, where the sugar plantations are, I feel sure I could convince you, that the Indian cause in South Africa will not suffer, but be strengthened, if these submerged Indian labourers, who wish to leave the country, are allowed and even encouraged to do so. They are leaving the country, as it is. They are taking the free-passage home, as it is,—having made up their minds not to return. Are they to be prevented from receiving some compensation for all they have suffered, if they like to take it? Are they to be prevented from receiving the offer of a bonus, on their arrival in India, if they like to take it? I am not a politician and certainly shall never be one. I never could understand the politician's point of view. I leave the political question entirely on one side, but I do ask, and ask again, is not the humane reason a strong one for allowing them to exercise their own free will and take this offer of a free passage back to India, with a bonus, if they wish to take it?

The West Khandesh Famine Report: We have received a copy of the report of the District Famine Relief Committee in West Khandesh, 1918-1919. The Committee was formed in January 1919. The famine was accentuated by the prevalence of scarcity in the previous year and by the outbreak of plague at Dhulia in July 1919. Owing to heavy rains the affected people could not camp in the open, and this added to the difficulties of the Committee. The Committee express their obligations to the Bombay Committee and the Hon. Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, its energetic Honorary Secretary, for their generous assistance.

MISSIONARIES AND PUNJAB ATROCITIES. I.

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

So much has been recently said in the Press about the "failures of missionaries" in connection with the Punjab atrocities, that I am reluctantly constrained to protest against such repeated statements.

To a question whether the missionary owes anything to India or India owes anything to the missionary, there can only be one answer, viz., that to no man does India owe so much as to the missionary.

And how has India recognized her indebtedness to the missionary? Among the "few noble exceptions" usually quoted is the Rev. A. G. Fraser, on the life of whose father India made not less than three attempts, in December 1907; March 1908 and the third time on 6th November 1908 at a missionary institution (the Overton Hall, Y.M.C.A., Calcutta). Did the missionary, whose father and friend Sir Andrew was, then adopt a different attitude to what he has adopted in reference to the Punjab murders? No.

Some years ago I received a letter from a well known missionary saying "One of our missionaries, Mr. was shot through the chest while attempting to save a young girl from evil surroundings." What did India say about this attempted murder? Nothing!

Two missionaries, whom I knew intimately, were brutally attacked by more than 500 Bengalis while they, with a missionary lady, were taking one of their own Christian girls to a hospital—our Bengali friends thought that the missionaries were kidnapping a Hindu girl for the dreadful purpose of making her a Christian—and when help came both the missionaries were lying on the ground half dead and profusely bleeding. One of them died subsequently as a result of this attack. What did India do? The *Bengali*, (The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji's paper) as India's spokesman, had the audacity to advise the missionaries to forget it "for the sake of the cloak" they wore. You see how India has been raging over the "Conscience Clause" to hinder the useful work of a very large number of missionaries, with one exception, i.e. yourself. In spite of all these the missionary has never hated India and he still is India's best friend, although a silent friend.

I know, however, that a good many missionaries have privately used their influence to punish General Dyer and his accomplices and to share the sorrows of their victims. One of these missionaries—he is a subscriber of your paper—has the same social position in England as Mr. Fraser. When the time came for him to speak as an individual, rather than as the mouth piece of an assembly, he was lying ill at a nursing home on his way to England. My affection for him has partly prompted me to trouble you with this letter.

General Campbell, who is reputed to have succeeded the bloodthirsty mad man Dyer, is a gentleman of great sympathy and I am sure he will, with missionary co-operation, do his best to restore mutual respect between the two races.

A very important point from which one has to consider the missionary, is that of his Indian surroundings. In the majority of cases the missionary's lot is cast amongst the lowest of the low and his experience in such surroundings is enough to tempt Job. So when, already exasperated at the dishonesty and ingratitude with which his labours are not infrequently rewarded, he hears of "General Dyer shooting on an unarmed crowd of Indians", he says in his haste, "I don't wonder."

The only contemptible thing in relation to missionary attitude is the Archbishop of Simla's letter defending General Dyer. The Catholic prelates seldom interfere with politics in this country, but his Grace, being an Irishman, is in an awkward position in Simla — of all places. Few countries exhibit so much lawlessness as his Ireland at this time. So the Archbishop wished to divert the attention of those who regard him as belonging to the same race as the disorderly men of Ireland. Overcome with shame at the cowardly conduct of his own brethren in *flesh*, the bridegroom of the Catholic Church at Simla forgot that the defenceless Indians were his brethren in *spirit*. Says Charles Dickens, "Strip the Bishop of his surplice, and what is he? A man."

Guardian Press,
Bombay, June 14.

M. G. Joseph.

[We publish this letter but we cannot help thinking that much of it is irrelevant. As for the special question of the Punjab, gentlemen like Mr. Fraser and Dr. Macnicol knew what they were talking about when they deplored the silence of their fellow-Missionaries. Editor, I. S. R.]

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I have read with great interest the correspondence with regard to the missionary attitude to the Punjab affair. I am sure that many have been silent for reasons which were sincere even if they were not satisfactory, but personally I regret the silence. I may say that I was addressing a public meeting on the evening of the publication in England of Genl. Dyer's report and I felt bound as a Christian and an Englishman to denounce forcibly what I then described as the 'Massacre of Amritsar.' I am not unable to appreciate the other side of the picture nor to sympathize with those who have to keep the public peace and to act decisively at a moment's notice but even now that fuller evidence is before us I am still convinced that the word 'massacre' is the only word to apply.

I know I am regarded as too much 'Pro-Indian'. I am not 'pro' anything except 'Pro-Christ'. We have none of us yet learned to fully interpret Christ, but I do think that all honest thinking men who have reviewed the facts have come to the conclusion that the only safe rule for the world's life, national, internal and personal, is to apply Christ to every issue. That mob may have been wrong. It may have been hopelessly wrong. It may have been wickedly wrong. I leave others to prove how far it was any of these things. But, if the worst of them be proved, I am still perfectly convinced that Christ would not have slaughtered that crowd at any price or for any end. And we have no right to be called a 'Christian Nation' unless we at least try to do what Christ would approve and to confess our sin when we have done the opposite. Christ *loved* men, not vaguely in the abstract. You cannot do that. He loved every man he knew, and wanted to love every man he didn't know.

Upon the lowest consideration, leaving out all ethics, Genl. Dyer's act was the most stupendous political blunder ever made by an Englishman. It seems to me that any politician who does not realize that, is simply out of date in his thinking and his knowledge of the real political situation in India.

"A WESLEYAN MISSIONARY ON FURLOUGH."

London, (Extract from a letter received by last mail.)
29th May 1920.

A CIVIL MARRIAGE LAW FOR INDIA,

The Editor *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I have read with great interest Mr. K. Ramamurti's articles on the above subject in your paper. The present conditions are very clearly set forth, and they are such that a remedy is urgently needed.

I know of alliances between men and women, perfectly honourable, but they cannot be legalised unless one or both parties profess a change of religion. Such a position is intolerable. As a Christian minister, I have had persons coming to me and professing a change of religion simply that they may be legally married. A Christian minister is frequently placed in a very awkward position. He does not wish any one to become a Christian, unless the person honestly desires to change his religion, and it is frequently after the change has been made that the real reason for the change is revealed. The present position encourages hypocrisy and lying, and ought to be put a stop to. Persons professing different religions ought to be able to marry without having to change their faith. With persons professing different religions it is difficult to arrange a religious ceremony that is legal and valid, and therefore it is urgently necessary that a civil marriage law should be passed.

The old cry that religion is in danger will surely be raised, but a religion that is endangered by the passing of a civil marriage law can have very little vitality in it, and it must be nigh unto passing away.

I trust you will continue to agitate till a civil marriage law is passed. The Christian community in India is by no means satisfied with the present Christian Marriage Act, and is preparing a new Act, which will be more in harmony with Indian Christian views, and it will be timely to agitate for a civil marriage law.

Yours truly,

H. GULLIFORD.

Coonoor, Nilgiris,
June 21st, 1920.

HINDUS IN AFGHANISTAN.

The Hindus of Afghanistan suffered under great disabilities and many complaints reached the Amir. He asked the Hindus to lay out their grievances in the form of a memorandum, which was done. The Amir then passed the required orders, a summary of some of them is given below:—

(1) Ordered that no Hindu should be forced to accept Islam.

(2) Hindus will perform their religious rites and settle their disputes according to their Dharam Shastra.

(3) Hindu women can go freely wherever they like.

(4) If a *dharmshala* becomes desolate it may again be inhabited.

(5) Ordered that no diseased cow shall be slaughtered; it should be allowed to die its natural death.

(6) Hindus may wear any dress they like.

(7) The Hindu subjects of the Amir may buy land anywhere in Afghanistan.

(8) Hindus will pay the same taxes as paid by the Mohammedans.

(9) If a woman or a man embraces Islam, her husband or his wife, as the case may be, should not be compelled to conform to the new faith.

(10) If a son in the life time of his father becomes a Mohammedan, he should only be allowed to take his personal property with him, not that of his father.

(11) If a son accepts Islam after the death of the father and if the family property has not yet been divided among the sons, then the son who has accepted Islam will only get that part of the property which is his according to the Law. But if he accepted Islam in the life time of his father he will not inherit anything.

(12) Hindus are allowed to enter into Afghanistan and go out of it.

(13) Government officials will do equal service for the Hindus and the Mohammedans. If a theft occurs in the house of a Hindu the officers will try to trace the thing as carefully as they would have done in the case of a Mohammedan.

(14) Jelalabad, Ghazni and Kandhar will each send a Hindu representative to the Assembly.

The Leader, All-ahabad.

FACTS OF PROHIBITION.

On Tuesday evening, March 2nd, the Lucknow Temperance Federation held its annual meeting in the Hall of the Lucknow Christian College. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokaran Nath Misra, President of the organization, presided, and the Rev. C. Phillips Cape, the newly elected secretary, offered prayer. A brief report of the past year's work was given by the retiring secretary, Mrs. F. B. Price. The lecture on the subject, "Why America Went Dry," delivered by the Rev. W. G. Fletcher, who has spent a year in Mesopotamia directing the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, was much appreciated. Dr. Fletcher clearly showed that constitutional prohibition is not a sudden measure because of the war, nor was it forced upon the nation by a fanatical and intriguing minority; but that the American people themselves had compelled their National Congress to amend the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the manufacture, use, sale, importation and exportation of alcohol in all its forms, as a beverage. This legislation by the congress was then ratified by the people voting through their respective state legislatures, forty-five out of the forty-eight states adopting the prohibition amendment. Under this law, the maximum amount of alcohol allowed in any beverage was one-half of one per cent.

The lecturer further pointed out that prohibition in America was not an experiment, for some parts of the country have been "dry" for nearly half a century by local and state legislation. Before the final step of national prohibition was taken, 75 per cent. of American territory had already become dry by this so-called local option. Thus, national prohibition was not a sudden and spasmodic act but the capstone of fifty years of education and agitation, in public schools and elsewhere, by the temperance organizations. Finally, the people reached the conclusion that liquor was an unmitigated evil and, as such, was not a subject for regulation or toleration, but for extermination, as far as possible, by absolute prohibition.

In their campaign of half a century for the abolition of the liquor evil, the temperance organizations of America had made a systematic and thorough study of the facts connected with the use of alcohol. The knowledge of these facts was spread throughout the country in schools, lecture halls, churches and by the distribution of many tons of printed matter. The principal arguments based upon ascertained facts were as follows:—

MORAL REASONS.

Alcohol, in its various beverage forms, was responsible for above 50 per cent. of crime, 80 per cent. insanity, 82 per cent. of pauperism, and a large per cent. of city slum life, with its poverty and disease, prostitution, and deformed child-life.

ECONOMIC REASONS.

The amount of grain consumed in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks constituted a heavy drain on the bread supply of the nation. Again the manufacture of alcoholic liquor employs the smallest number of workers, in proportion to the out-put and capital, of any form of industry. Investigation proved that, in the wet territory, the expense of extra police force and judicial departments, maintenance of jails, work houses, and insane asylums, equalled a sum equivalent to more than twice the millions of dollars received from the license tax on the liquor. Deposits in savings banks were from two to five times as great in dry territory as in wet. Frequently, jails were to be found entirely empty in territory that had become dry.

INDUSTRIAL REASONS.

Actual test showed that ninety men without alcoholic liquor can do more and better work than one hundred even moderate drinkers. When hard headed business men discovered this clear loss of ten per cent. in their business, they were not slow to give preference to teetotalers, often refusing to employ any man who used liquor. In factories and mines employing only teetotalers, accidents were fewer and loss of time far less than in those which employed drinking men. Railways, finding their accidents reduced to almost nil, when engine drivers and other employees abstained from alcohol, began to refuse employment to men who drank even in moderation. These hard business facts, quite apart from sentiment and moral issues, were a great influence towards bringing in prohibition.

LIFE AND DEATH FACTS.

The facts further showed that, every eight days, one thousand five hundred people died from the effects of alcoholic drinks. Life insurance companies, for many years, had been charging an extra premium to moderate drinkers, and refused absolutely to insure at any price the habitual drinker of alcoholic liquor.

PHYSIOLOGICAL REASONS.

Scientific investigations proved that alcoholic beverage is not a food, but on the contrary, that one hundred twenty gallons of beer contained only as much food value as an ordinary loaf of bread; nor is alcohol indispensable, or even of real value, as a medicine. The majority of reputable chemists and doctors in America declared it was not a medicine, but a narcotic poison that created an appetite for itself. The only good result admitted for it is obtained equally well from aromatic spirits of ammonia which, unlike alcohol, produced no bad results. The contemplation, during many years, of these and a host of other similar and equally striking facts, had brought the American people, not on the impulse of a moment, nor under the influence of demagogues, but after calm deliberation, to demand that this evil traffic should be prohibited by law.

Opponents of prohibition, of whom there are still many, argue that the prohibition law, even if adopted, would never successfully prohibit. The prohibitionists answered that the law will certainly be violated by persons now addicted to drink; but experience showed that infractions of this law would not be more numerous than in the case of laws providing absolute and constitutional prohibition of murder, arson, theft, etc. The best and most necessary laws were the ones most frequently violated. The fear that prohibition may be violated was not a just reason for withholding it, when a law was required to stamp out a recognized evil. The same argument that "prohibition does not prohibit" might just as reasonably be used with regard to laws against any form of crime.

EXPOSURE TO DRUGS.

Some had expressed the fear that habitual drinkers deprived of alcohol would resort to drugs. This was recognized by the American Congress, and the liquor prohibition was proclaimed by most drastic anti-narcotic laws. As a matter of fact, there were found to be more drug-addicts in wet territory than in the dry. Again, the question was asked: "Who will reimburse the liquor manufacturers for their property and destroyed business?" The prohibitionists replied that the liquor business in America had never been a vested interest. Licenses to manufacture or sell liquor were sold for a period of only twelve months at a time, subject always to possible legislative action. In the meantime, the liquor dealers always

knew that they ran this risk. In reality, when certain states had adopted prohibition, the liquor manufactories were readily able to convert their factories and breweries into ice factories, coal storage plants and other similar institutions; employing larger numbers of workmen, and eventually, as the influence of prohibition was felt in the state, making larger profits than they had made in the traffic.

PERSONAL LIBERTY

The argument most frequently and bitterly hurled against prohibition was that it deprived American citizens of their much-vaunted personal liberty. To this, said Dr. Fletcher, the prohibitionists, replied by pointing out that true personal liberty existed only among savages and barbarians! With every advancing step in civilization, personal liberty had receded and must do so. The law forbidding a man to rob his neighbour interfered with personal liberty; so did the laws against murder and the law requiring men to pay taxes. Therefore, when liquor was found to be the cause of endless crime and misery, and of industrial and economic detriment to any nation, it ceased to be a question of personal liberty and became a fit subject for legislation by the majority of the people, in the interests of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Thousands of moderate drinkers, although confidently believing that they could drink in moderation, remembered that, for every one who could do this there were ten who could or would not control their appetites, and had, therefore gladly consented to forego their pleasure for the good of the majority.--The Indian Witness

BACK TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Shantaram Kashinath Chitre of Poona (age 25), had gone into Christianity about 4 years ago. He has now returned to Hinduism. He was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Sunday the 6th of June in the presence of members and friends.

Mr. Govind Mahadev Availkar (age 19) and his sister Miss Shautabai (age 8) had gone into Mahomedanism a few months ago. They have now returned to Hinduism. They were initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Friday the 18th of June in the presence of members and friends.

IF YOU "SHUD" GO TO PARIS.

'Tis a strange thing whin we come to think iv it that the less money a man gets f'r his wurruk, th' more noisary it is to th' wurrukin'. Ye'er boss can go to Paris on a combination wedding an' divorce thrip an' no wan bothers his head about thim. But if ye shud go to Paris--exouse me f'r laughin meself back in th' face--th's indasthrees iv the country pines way.--Mr. Dooley.

THE ENGLISH MIND.

There is within the human breast a natural resistance to denunciation, and in the English race in a peculiar degree there is always a desire to hear something upon the other side of the argument. The normal Briton is convinced that everyone lives in a glass-house, and the thrower of stones is disregarded until he becomes a public nuisance, then he is relentlessly suppressed.--The Challenge, London.

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Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,030,000

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Capital Called up " 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund " 66,00,000.

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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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Capital Paid up " 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund " 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS :

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Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revada, Vadnagar.

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Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mdl Co., Ldg Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, 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. 5 per half year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

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The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

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SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	4,00,00,000
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PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. Rs.	59,00,042-8-0.

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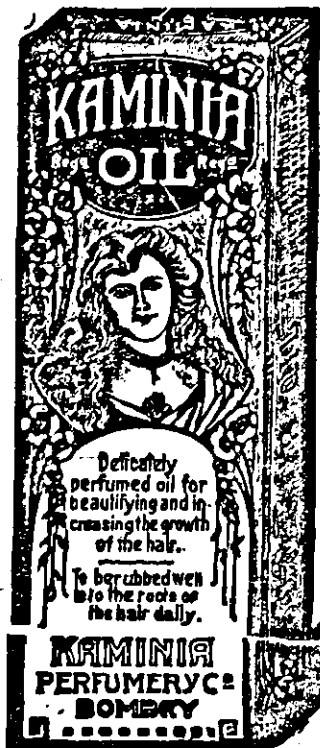
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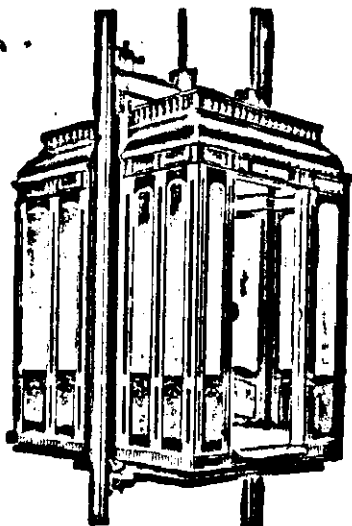
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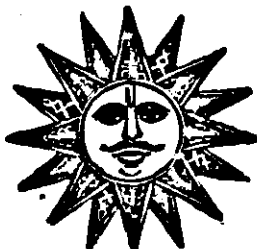
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Annual Subscription (inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling.

Vol. XXX.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1920.

No. 44.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Professor Taussig on the German Indemnity.	The Turkish Peace.
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The Late K. R. Mitra.	The Bank of Taiwan, Limited.
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Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the Punjab Tragedy.	

NOTES.

India Office Charges. After many years, the just demand of the Indian National Congress that the salary of the Secretary of State for India and his establishment should be borne by the British Exchequer has been accepted and is being given effect to. The Government of India notifies that:

His Majesty's Government have decided to make a contribution of £186,500 per annum, with effect from the current financial year, towards the cost of the administration of the India Office. This amount is made up as follows:—Salary of the Secretary of State and Parliamentary Under Secretary £ 6,500. Estimated cost of the India Office establishment which is employed on administrative and political, as distinct from agency functions, £180,000. A contribution of £40,000 per annum on account of the cost of the India Office has hitherto been made in pursuance of the recommendations of the Welby Commission, so that the additional contribution which will be paid in consequence of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, is £96,500. The amount shown against item (II) has been adopted on the recommendation of a Committee, appointed by His Majesty's Government to assess the cost of the India Office establishment employed respectively on agency and non-agency functions; and it will be in force for 1920-21 and the following four years, at the end of which period steps will be taken to re-assess the contribution on the information then available. As a result of this settlement the annual debate on Indian Affairs in the House of Commons will take place not, as hitherto, on the presentation of the East India Accounts, but on the occasion when the Civil Service estimates, in which the contribution towards the cost of the India Office is included, are brought up for consideration in Committee of Supply.

While it is a matter for satisfaction that this measure of long-delayed financial justice, is at last conceded, the method adopted to assess the cost of the India office establishment employed respectively on agency and non-agency functions, is decidedly unfair to India. The question was decided by a Committee appointed by His Majesty's Government

which is the stronger party, and which long refused to admit the claim. No doubt a representative of the India office was on the Committee, but that was not enough. An independent Indian representative should have been invited to serve on it. We have not seen a copy of the report of the Committee. We hope it will be published in India. The Indian public has never been encouraged to look closely into the India Office expenditure, the following single sentence being all that was devoted to this important item in Mr. Hailey's last Financial Statement:

All I will mention is that we expect that the Secretary of State's disbursements will amount to about £ 46 millions, and that he will be able to meet these from the recoveries which he will make from the War Office in respect of payments made by us in India on their behalf and by selling Council Bills for £ 8½ million.

Who is a Sikh? We have noticed from time to time the controversy in the Punjab as to who should be regarded as a Sikh for the purposes of the Sikh electorate under the Reform scheme. The difficulty arises from the fact that the Sikhs are, unlike Mahomedans and Christians, closely connected by social ties with the Hindus. From political motives, attempts have been made to confine the term "Sikh" to followers of Gurn Govind Singh who organised the Sikhs into a military confederation. But these have not been able to uproot the traditional interconnection between the Sikhs and the Hindus. The definition which the Punjab Government have devised for the "Sikh" in the electoral scheme, is the very worst imaginable. A press communique issued by that Government says:—

The method of determining claims and objections in connection with the registration of electors in Sikh constituencies has been discussed by the Punjab Advisory Committee on Reforms. The Committee was assisted in its discussion by Baba Sir Gurbakhsh Singh, K. C. I. M., and Sardar Bahadur Arur Singh, C. I. M. They recommended that cases of doubt should be settled by the declaration of the person concerned, and they suggested that the declaration should be in the following form:—

'In the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib I solemnly affirm that I am a Sikh, that I believe in the Granth Sahib, that I believe in the Ten Gurus, and that I have no other religion.'

The making of a declaration of religious belief instead of membership of the Sikh community, the test of admission to the franchise, is a direct and clear violation of religious neutrality, which is the basic principle of civilised Governments. No Mahomedan is asked to make a profession of belief before he is registered as a voter. We protest against the proposal on grounds of public policy, in that it obliges a person to circumscribe his religious belief in order to get the right to vote. Under this definition, a Sikh who is a member of the Brahma

Samaj will not be entitled to vote in the Sikh electorate, although for social purposes he remains, and is regarded by the community to be, a Sikh. The case of the late Sardar Dayal Singh is an instance in point. The State goes beyond its legitimate limits when it takes upon itself to exact religious beliefs as a condition precedent to the exercise of civil rights. The policy which this departure implies, is sure to land the country in disaster. The difficulty experienced in defining a Sikh and the desperate shifts to overcome them, show that British statesmen have raised a Frankenstein in the shape of communal electorates, which is involving them in a peculiarly invidious form of controversy with all sections of the Indian people. Lord Minto no doubt thought that he had dished Congress politicians when he invented communal electorates. Events show that he but created for his successors in office a maze which leads them into ever-increasing perplexities.

Professor Taussig on the German Indemnity: At the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, held recently, Professor F. W. Taussig, the distinguished Professor of Economics at Harvard University, and Chairman of the Tariff Commission of the United States, read a paper on "The Effect on International Trade of Germany's Indemnity payments", in which he showed how vaulting greed, like ambition, often overleaps itself. Professor Taussig said in the course of his paper: "The treaty of peace imposes upon Germany charges for reparation which cannot fail to entail far-reaching changes in the trade between her and other countries. The German Government will have to effect payments which cannot be less than \$ 750,000,000 a year and may even exceed a round billion. As to the concrete form in which the payments must be effected there is but one possibility. The substance of the payments will be in goods and in goods only. Germany can remit only by sending out merchandise, and the limit of remittance is found in the possible excess of merchandise exports over merchandise imports. The extent of reparation that can be secured is limited by the available amount of the exportable goods. Suppose Germany does promote exports in every possible way. What sound and fury there will be from the protectionists and mercantilists of other countries? Here is Germany vanquished, necessitous, the country compelled to disgorge, entering on the very career of a war after the war, which the same protectionists and mercantilists had most feared and reprobated. She prohibits imports or imposes high duties. So far from constituting a docile market to which the conquerors can ship goods without let or hindrance she arrogantly refuses admission to their wares. And as regards exports, here is penetration with a vengeance. A sinister German emerges, bent upon trade conquest. It is obvious that there is much in the deliberate plans and expectations of the Allies which runs entirely counter to this sort of commercial change. Their own trade programmes are flatly inconsistent with the programme which through the reparation requirements they impose on Germany."

Who is an Extremist? The *Bengales* (Calcutta) introduces some comments on our remarks in a recent issue on the resolutions passed at the National Liberal Federation thus: "The *Indian Social Reformer* has developed in these days distinctly extremist leanings and sympathies. Of course, there cannot be two opinions about the vigour and independence with which our contemporary expresses its opinions. But the fact cannot be overlooked that latterly its sympathies lean on the side of the Extremists,

Praise from the *Indian Social Reformer* is praise indeed, specially when the object of praise is no other than the National Liberal Federation." Our contemporary does not surely mean to say that vigour and independence in the expression of one's opinions, are the distinctive marks of an Extremist. As we have repeatedly declared, the *Reformer* belongs to no party. Our duty to our readers, as we have always conceived it, is to give them our unbiassed judgment on the merits of each question as it arises and not to suit our judgment to the predetermined conclusions of this or that party. Journalism is degraded to hack work when it is made the tool of party interests, and we have neither the taste nor the talent for journalism of that kind. We praised the resolutions of the Federation because they were really well drafted and deserved praise. We are glad that the *Bengales* appreciates our observations, but there is no need to rank us as partisans in order to give point to its appreciation. Our contemporary regards our remarks as the straw showing that the country is veering round to sanity and moderation. In this particular matter of the Punjab troubles, there is absolutely no difference, and has never been, between Moderates and Extremists. If anything, the Moderates are, as from their riper experience they should be, the more effectively condemnatory of the martial law excesses. We are afraid, therefore, that our appreciation of the Federation's resolutions on Punjab affairs, is not a very good straw to judge of the direction of the wind from.

The Late K. R. Mitra: We regret to record the death of Mr. K. R. Mitra, Editor and Proprietor of *Masik Manoranjan* at the early age of 50. The late Mr. Mitra was an admirable example of a self-made man. Without much book-learning, with very little means, Mr. Mitra came to seek his living in Bombay. He started the *Manoranjan*, now known throughout Maharashtra as the premier illustrated Marathi monthly. As a publisher he did incalculable service to Marathi literature. He was a thorough going social reformer and his *Manoranjan* month after month advocated the advancement of women. He was a member of the Social Reform Association and his services during the Basu Bill agitation are well remembered. He was also a member of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. He was thoroughly devoted to his work, but latterly his health had been very bad. Just before his death he underwent an operation, the shock of which he could not survive. In Mr. Mitra, Marathi literature loses an indefatigable servant, Social Reform and the cause of advancement of women, a courageous champion.

Protection of Cattle: Mr. Mancherna D. Lavangia sends us a copy of the reply which the Government of India have sent to his memorial addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy praying that the killing of milch and agricultural cattle may be discouraged and their export restricted. In their reply the Government of India state that they are of opinion that a matter of this kind, being highly controversial, is best left first to local discussion, for which the provincial legislative councils as expanded under the scheme of constitutional reforms will afford suitable opportunities. With reference to this, Mr. Mancherna informs us that the Hon. Mr. Khaparde will move the following resolution at the Imperial Legislative Council: "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council, that steps be taken by legislation and otherwise to discourage and wherever practicable to prevent in the interests of economy and the increase of agricultural produce generally the slaughter of milch cows, and agricultural animals and their export out of British India."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 4, 1920.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

In view of the attempts made in some quarters, notoriously hostile to the rights and liberties of the Indian people, to get the promised visit of the Prince of Wales to India, next cold weather, modified or cancelled, by misrepresentations of the attitude of Indian leaders, calculated to prejudice the British public on its most susceptible point of fervent devotion to the Crown and the Royal Family, we think it our duty emphatically to assert that the Indian people, irrespective of race and creed, are whole-heartedly longing to accord an enthusiastic welcome and homage, in keeping with India's traditional sentiments of affectionate loyalty, proven on previous occasions, the most recent being the coronation visit of Their Majesties whose gracious kindness and sympathetic bearing are fresh in the public memory. Further, the Indian people realise that the Prince's visit, and his consequent close contact and intercourse with representative Indians, will enable His Royal Highness, as nothing else can, to ascertain at first hand the true state of public affairs and public feeling in this country. We strongly protest against the attempts to prevent the visit, which are clearly inspired by an evident desire to avoid this most desirable result. Fully recognising the constitutional limitations of the British monarchy, the Indian people know from happy experience, from Queen Victoria's time, that the Royal influence steadily operates to smoothen their path to equal British citizenship. India feels that the Prince's visit, like those of Their Majesties, will draw closer together the ties binding the British and Indian peoples and will be the fruitful means of removing misunderstandings, of redressing wrongs, and of promoting Empire solidarity. The cancellation or modification of the visit at this time will, therefore, create a profound disappointment and lead to misunderstanding, and will be regarded as an unmerited slur upon India's devotion to the Royal House. In view especially of India's unstinted co-operation, at the call of the Empire, in the war, this will be most unfortunate. We earnestly trust that the machinations of India's enemies to prevent His Royal Highness's visit, will be sternly reprobated by the British people and by His Majesty's Government and that His Royal Highness's visit will not be postponed, modified or abandoned.

What Indian leaders feel is that His Majesty's Government should realise that this instinctive feeling of the Indian people to give His Royal Highness a truly Indian welcome, has at the present moment to struggle against a sense of depression seldom before felt in the annals of British rule. Mr. Jinnah's cablegram on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the All-India Home Rule League might have been more happily worded, and it is no wonder the *Pioneer* has taken prompt advantage of it to further its sinister ends. But to those who understand the inner mind of the Indian people his meaning admits of no doubt whatever. In passing, we may remark on the impropriety and the practical inconvenience of individual leaders dashing off messages on such momentous matters without consulting other representative men and adopting a course likely to harmonise all shades of opinion in the country. The mass-mind of the Indian people, it is true, is deeply wedded to the tradition that the King is not only the source of all power but that he is also personally responsible for carrying on the administration on just and humane principles. If the masses of India are inclined to attribute their blessings to the Sovereign, they are no less inclined to impute their calamities to his personal derelictions. It is impossible for them in their present stage of political development to trace all their blessings to the Sovereign and all their sufferings to his Ministers. Legal fictions were the recognised method of juridical development in India as in medieval Europe, but neither rulers nor ruled ever thought of this particular formula, evolved in the British spirit of compromise between democracy and autocracy. The British constitution eventually became autocratic in its forms but democratic in its principles: Indian monarchy, on the other hand, while maintaining certain vestiges of its original democratic environment, degenerated into pure autocracy. That is by the way. What we are trying to impress on our readers is that, although the Indian mass-mind is as yet unable to grasp the idea of a constitutional monarchy which postulates that the King can do no wrong, our educated leaders do not suffer from a similar disability and they are bound in duty to take an opportunity such as the one now happily open to them, to impress on the masses this essential distinction between the British and Indian idea of kingship. Not to do so, (and much more) to seem to countenance the mass-idea, is a grievous failure of leadership.

At the same time, British statesmen should visualise the position of Indian leaders amidst a people whom the discreditable neglect of Anglo-Indian administra-

tors has allowed to remain so largely illiterate and unacquainted with the principles of constitutional government. We, therefore, appeal to the British public, Parliament and Government to enable the Indian people to demonstrate their heartfelt devotion to the Throne with undepressed hearts, by taking prompt and effective steps to ease their minds of the oppressive load of humiliation, sense of wrong and injustice and anxiety, which weighs on them owing to the failure of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to realise the gravity of the Punjab excesses and the non-fulfilment of the Prime Minister's solemn pledge to the retention of Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor by Turkey. Adequate and immediate action, definitely expressive of condemnation and censure of all officers, whatever their position, actually or morally responsible for gross Punjab excesses, effective measures to prevent their recurrence, and the revision of the Turkish Treaty in keeping with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge, are essential to enable the Indian people to give their freest and fullest expression to their instincts of love and loyalty on the occasion of the Prince's visit.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ON THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY.*

THE ROOT CAUSE.

In view of the debate which will shortly take place in both the Houses of Parliament, it is highly necessary that we should do our best to put before Parliament and the British public the simple issues emerging from the Congress Sub-Committee's Report, the Hunter Committee's reports, the Government of India's and the Secretary of State's despatches on the subject. The situation arising out of the tragedy calls for an emphatic expression of the Indian people's point of view in a manner which, without being undignified, will leave no manner of doubt as to what it is the people of India feel and what it is the people of India expect of Parliament and the British public to do to wipe out the blot on British statesmanship and British sense of justice, cast by the excesses of the Punjab officials during the prevalence of martial law last year. This is all the more necessary, because the Hunter Committee's report, the Government of India's despatch and the Secretary of State's despatch, speaking with all respect, have not shown an adequate grasp of the people's point of view in the matter. For instance, with regard to the causes which led to the disturbances in the Punjab, it is not enough to say that the high cost of living, economic and other difficulties which made life burdensome to the people during the war, and the Home Rule movement, had prepared the soil for a

*Speech delivered by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who presided at the public meeting of Bombay citizens held under the auspices of the Presidency Association on Friday, the 2nd July.

disturbance, and that the Rowlatt Act legislation served to bring it to a head. These do not touch the real causes which led to the disturbances. If these were the sole causes, how happened it that during the four years of the war when India was almost depleted of its army and the difficulties and anxieties of the Government were unprecedentedly great, there were not only no disturbances but the people, in spite of anarchist attempts by a handful of hairbrained men, stood by the Government, supported it loyally and showed every desire to help the British Government to win the war and come out victorious? Why, then, should there have been these disturbances within six months of the Armistice when the Government had become stronger and were in every way able to cope with them? The fact is that the Rowlatt Act, seeking, as it did, to fetter the liberties of the people, led them rightly or wrongly to feel that the Government were taking advantage of the victory obtained in the war, and since they had become strong and invulnerable, they were trying to fetter the liberties of the people and were inaugurating a policy of suspicion and distrust. I am not concerned here to discuss whether that feeling was well-grounded or not, whether it was reasonable or not, but it was there and it was the duty of British statesmanship to remove that impression. It was most unfortunate that the Government of India did not, as they were exhorted by responsible Indian publicists to do, content themselves with the power of ordinance which they already possessed. That is my first point with reference to the situation which created the Punjab tragedy. I humbly think that the disturbances had their root primarily in the unwise policy adopted by Government with reference to the Rowlatt Act after the Armistice. I am, therefore, of opinion that it was Government that created the situation, and that Government cannot escape responsibility for it. To this important aspect of the question no attention has been paid either by the Hunter Committee or by the Secretary of State for India and yet it is the crucial factor in the situation, the key not only to the right understanding of the situation but to the right solution of the problems which call for settlement with reference to the Punjab tragedy.

MARTIAL LAW EXCESSES VINDICTIVE AND DELIBERATE.

My next point is that, having created the situation which led to the disturbances, the Government introduced Martial Law and handed over the people of the Punjab bound hand and foot to the military authorities, with the result that the Martial Law officers, left in the exercise of uncontrolled power conceived and enforced their measures with a vindictiveness amounting to barbarity, which leaves no room for doubt that they were bent upon humiliating the people and degrading them in order to teach them a lesson which they will never forget. It is said in defence of the Martial Law officers that allowance must be made for the fact that they had to face a sudden situation and that they had to act promptly and decisively without sufficient time for cool and cautious deliberation. Now, this defence is falsified

by the facts and it only worsens the case for those officers. For the policy pursued in the Punjab both before the disturbances and during the disturbances was one of deliberateness, a studied attempt to throttle all public movements and political agitations. And we cannot say that either the Punjab Government or the Martial Law officers acted on the spur of the moment. That is a defence which we may allow in the case of the Government of India. For how else can we account for the fact that the Government of India left everything to the uncontrolled discretion of the Local Government and the Martial law officers? The evidence of the Martial Law officers examined before the Hunter Committee sufficiently proves that what was done was done deliberately and not on the impulse of the moment when there was no time for calm decision.

NECESSITY, THE TYRANT'S PLEA.

It is further said that whatever the excesses, abuses and atrocities of Martial Law committed by the officers concerned, there is the fact in their favour by way of extenuation, if not exoneration, that they succeeded in quelling the disturbances. The answer to that is given by the telegram which Sir Dinsha Wacha sent a few days ago to the Secretary of State for India and Parliament on behalf of and as president of the Western India Liberal Association. As that telegram pointed out, the Martial law officers, by their vindictive measures used against an unarmed population, quelled the disturbances, but with what result? Whereas the disturbances arose from and were confined to but a small fraction of the people, the Martial Law measures by making no distinction between the guilty and innocent, humiliated the people in such a way that the whole country, and not merely the Punjab, has felt its honour stabbed, its sense of security wounded. The situation, in fact, might be described in the words of Lord Morley used in another connection. He writes :

The only defence of reason of State is success, and here the result soon proved to be not success but failure. While so many individuals and orders were exasperated, no great class of society was reconciled. Rigid order was kept, plotters were cowed, money was squeezed, but the keenest discontent was quickened in all those various organized bodies of men with lively minds and energetic interests, by whom in the long run effective public opinion in every community is generated. (Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*, Book V. chap. 8.)

A FORGOTTEN LESSON.

This is the situation which the Parliament has to face. Unfortunately the Secretary of State's despatch fails to take sufficient account of it. That despatch is certainly entitled to our appreciation for its condemnation of the abuses and excesses of the Martial Law. But one cannot help feeling that it seems to have been written with a view to please all parties instead of boldly facing the situation. Mr. Montagu says that the conclusions recorded in that despatch have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government in dealing with the Hunter Committee's report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been

done amiss or to inflict penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasions for blame or regret, should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred during the spring of 1919. Now this policy would have been all right if there had been no experience of the past to guide us. But we have had such experience to show that the policy of the despatch cannot longer be relied upon to prevent the recurrence in future of the excesses of the Punjab tragedy. During the Mutiny of 1857, there were excesses, there was violence and there was indiscriminate retaliation. As the Viceroy of the time, Lord Canning, wrote to the Queen during the dark days of the Mutiny, there was rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to have set a better example. Not one man in ten, said Lord Canning, seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand men would be otherwise than practicable and right. In spite of Lord Canning's attempts to check that rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness, there was indiscriminate hanging and shooting. Lord Canning, however, did not publicly take action because, as he said, he did not like to expose his countrymen and that it was enough he had taken steps to prevent the recurrences of similar vindictive barbarities in the future, should similar situations arise. We see now that the steps taken then were forgotten in the Ceylon disturbances three years ago, and now in the Punjab tragedy. Therefore, having these precedents before us, we think it our duty to represent to Parliament and the British public that the situation created by the Martial Law excesses in the Punjab in 1919 should be dealt with in a more determined manner than that formulated in the Secretary of State's despatch. That is the object of this meeting and the resolutions which will be submitted to you are framed on those lines.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S RECALL.

Before I conclude I ask your indulgence to make myself clear on one point. One of the resolutions which will be submitted to you asks for the recall of the Viceroy. On that question the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, which drafted the resolutions, has not been unanimous. It was passed in the Council by a large majority. I was amongst the dissentients. It is not necessary for me to state in detail my views on that question. Lord Chelmsford is spoken of as a highly conscientious gentleman and he has had to bear the terrible strain of the War. At the same time, I feel oppressed by the thought that, as he is the head of the Government, the responsibility for the policy pursued during the Punjab disturbances could not be shifted from him unless one is prepared to regard the high office of Indian Viceroy as a position of privilege without any corresponding duties. That was not the ideal which animated the conduct of our great Viceroys, Canning, Ripon and Hardinge. The despatch sent by the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the subject of provincial autonomy in 1911 rightly pointed out that the maintenance of British rule in India depended on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council. While recognising

the great anxieties which the war brought upon every administration in the country, I am therefore, unable to think that public opinion is wrong in demanding a change of Vicerealty as a necessary preliminary to and as a striking index of a resolute change of policy in Indian administration.

CASTE : ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH III.

2. *The third stage in the development of the caste system : strict endogamy : caste breaks up into an infinite multiplicity of water-tight sub-castes.*

In the Brihannaradiya and the Aditya Purana quoted by Hemadri in the Chaturvarga Chintamani and by Madhava in the Parashara Bhasya, we find intercaste marriage has been totally forbidden in the Kali yuga.

सद्यः यात्रास्त्रीकारः कर्मण्डलान्धारणम् ।
द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्याव्ययमस्तथा ।

इमान् चर्माम् कठियुगे वज्रपांनाहुर्मनोविनः ॥
(Brihannaradiya).

कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।

अद्रेः दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्द्धसीरिणाम् ॥
भोज्याकृता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थक्षेवातिदूरतः ।
एतानि लोकगुण्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्तितानि कर्मणि व्यसत्यापूर्वकं बुधैः ॥

(Aditya Purana).

Hemadri and Raghunandana condemned intercaste marriage in the Kali yuga on the authority of these texts. We find, however, that there is sufficient evidence to believe that intercaste marriage was prevalent in Hindu Society in the beginning of the Kali yuga down to the 11th century. The restriction of intercaste marriage is of a very recent origin dating only from the latter part of the 11th century.

Parashara who is regarded as the special authority for the Kali yuga (Parashara Samhita I, 24,) does not prohibit intercaste marriage, and as the *anuloma* form of it is permitted in the Grihya Sutras and in the Dharma Samhitas we have no reason to believe that it is prohibited in the Kali age according to Parashara. On the contrary, Parashara enjoins that *dasa*, *napita*, *gopala*, and *ardhika* castes sprung from the intermarriage of a Brahmana with a Shudra, Vaishya or Kshatriya woman are sufficiently pure, and a Brahmin may accept cooked meal at their house : (भोज्यो विप्रैर्न संभवः) (Parashara Samhita XI, 22-24). We also note Parashara himself in the Kali age begot Vyasa in a maid of an inferior caste, Satyavati. The Maurya Vansha also sprang in the Kali Yuga from Mura, a Sudra queen of Nanda. The picture of the Hindu Society presented in the Mrichha Katika, a play belonging to the 5th or 6th century A. D. shows that the caste restrictions in marriage were then still very elastic. Both Charudatta and Sharvalika married women of the courtesan class who were outcastes. In the Karpuramanjura of Rajashekhara who was a yayavara Brahman and was Guru to Mahendra Pala, king

of Kanauj, writing as late as the 10th century boasts of having married the daughter of a Chauhan Rajput family. These instances serve to show that intercaste marriage was practised in the Hindu society as late as the 10th century. And so the assertion of the Aditya Purana, that intercaste marriage, Sea-voyage, dining at the house of, and taking the food cooked by a Dasa, a Napita, &c., were forbidden in the Kali Yuga is a pure fiction, is contradicted by Sruti and Smriti, and has, therefore, no authority. It is expressly laid down in the Vyasa Sambhita :—

श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां विरोधो वन्न दृश्यते ।
सन्न भोते प्रमाणं स्यात्, सद्योऽपि स्मृतिधरा ॥

* In case of a contradiction between Sruti, Smriti, and the Puranas, Sruti is to be accepted as authority, and in case of a contradiction between the latter two Smriti is to be preferred.*

It must be noted in particular that the Aditya Purana is not recognised as a Purana even : it is only an upa-Purana. Hence in case of a contradiction between Smriti and the upa-Purana, there is no doubt that the authority of the upa-Purana must be rejected. The followers of Madhava, Hemadri, and Raghunandana, argue that in the Sutras and Sambhitas of Manu and others intercaste marriage is permitted only generally. In the Aditya Purana it is specially prohibited for the Kali age. Thus there is no contradiction here between the Smriti and the Purana. The injunction of Smriti, we must understand, apply only to Yugas other than Kali. This interpretation is unjustifiable. Parashara, Vyasa, and other Rsis, who are the authors of the sacred laws, themselves begot children on women of inferior castes in this very Kali yuga. According to the Skanda Purana and the Vishnu Purana, the 15th or the 16th century of the Kali Era is the age of Yudhisthira. Vyasa, the grandfather of Yudhisthira, and Parashara, his great grandfather were, therefore, men of Kali yuga. That these Rsis devoted to the practice of penance should do an act prohibited in the Kali age and that they should enjoin others to observe the laws which they themselves violated, is, indeed, a fanciful interpretation. Vijnaneswar and Jimtavahana did certainly write their legal compendia providing inheritance to father's property by a son of a Brahman born of a Sudra for the people of Kali yuga, and not of the Satya-yuga. Thus that all these writers did not intend to permit intercaste marriage in the Kali yuga is a distorted interpretation of the Shastras. It is also clear from this that the plea that the present Hindu Society is guided by the regulations of Sruti and Smriti is false. The present Hindu Society is the slave of custom. When this custom is inconsistent with the Sruti and Smriti, the recent authors of upa-Puranas invent new texts to support it. The writers of the legal compendia support these recent customs and to show that they are not inconsistent with Sruti and Smriti have recourse to ingenious, fictitious methods of interpretation, limiting the meaning of the extant Sruti and Smriti texts, and assuming the existence of

nuseen texts (अदृष्ट्युति) supporting the prevalent customs. If we abandon such tricks it will be seen that intercaste marriage enjoined in the Sruti and Smriti texts is consistent with the Shastras even if performed in this Kali age.

Now we have seen that the assertion of the Aditya Parana that intercaste marriage was prohibited in the Kali yuga, is a pure fancy of the Pauranic. The author of the Parana also understood that the customs condemned by him were not inconsistent with Sruti and Smriti. Hence he has resorted to the plea that the resolution (समय) of the upright (सत्य) is authoritative like the Vedas. Raghunandana commenting on the passage writes, समय is सन्निव् or resolution (Udvahatatwa, 14). The author of the Parana states that the learned abolished these customs by issuing a rule, and the resolution of the upright is authoritative like the Veda." From this it is clear that after that Mahomedan invasion apprehending a social revolution the Pandits passed a resolution to abolish certain time-honoured, liberal customs. Lest their resolution be not accepted in society they tried to convince others that their resolution was as authoritative as the Vedas. Kashiarama Vachaspati, commenting on Raghunandana's Udvahatatwa writes, "ननु एतर्वा केम्पणां काली निषेधको वेदो नास्ति। कथमेतानि काली निषिद्धानि। तत्राह समय समय-श्रुति। " Now there is no Vedic text prohibiting these acts in the Kali yuga. How they can be, then, said to be prohibited in the Kali yuga? To this he replies, 'and समय, etc.' "

We have seen how Hindu society in abandoning intercaste marriage, widow marriage, Sea-voyage etc., is not following Sruti and Smriti, but is blindly following recent local customs, though they are inconsistent with Sruti and Smriti and are injurious to society. In consequence of this the four castes are now split up into innumerable sub-castes among which intermarriage, interdining and all sorts of social intercourse have been abolished though it is not so enjoined in the Shastras. Even here our social disintegration has not stopped. In every village, in every neighbourhood we find this process of social disruption at work. Parties are excommunicating and interdicting all social communications with one another. In this way the unity of our social life has been shattered.

In the Vedic age and in the age of the Sutras and the Dharma Sambitas, we have seen that caste distinctions were based not only upon racial differences, but also on differences of occupation. For this reason they were not injurious to the society but in many respects helped its progress. Among the lower castes, even now; caste distinctions are based upon differences of race and occupation. Hence the caste system still some vitality in the lower strata of our society and may persist until the condition of the depressed classes is improved by education. But among the higher classes it is no longer based on distinctions of occupation or race. The blending of races in the Vedic age has abolished all Ethnological grounds for preserving caste distinctions among the upper classes. Among them they now rest upon a fictitious right

of birth, and are therefore interfering with normal and healthful growth of the society. At present the Brahman is not deprived of his social status for pursuing the occupation of a Sudra, as before. A person belonging to a lower caste, though possessed of qualities of a higher caste is not given a higher social status. In this way our caste system has been reduced to fictitious distinctions of birth based neither on physical or mental characteristics nor on occupations. No progress is possible for a society reduced to this condition.

IV. Our Society can be made fit for the exercise of democratic rights, if these fictitious distinctions and inequalities are abolished, and social classification be based upon the worth of the individuals.

Our society being now merely based on the empty pride of birth, it was inevitable that the process of its dissolution would be accelerated at the contact of a democratic rule like the British administration, based on the worth of the individual. And as a result of it we see that Shastric knowledge is no longer the monopoly of the Brahmins, who have now been compelled to exchange their priestly vocation for the vocation of a cook. Thanks to English education, the Brahmins who were formerly the hereditary teachers to all classes are now being compelled to take their lessons at the feet of gurus recruited from among the 'untouchables' of our society. How long can the Hindu society maintain its hereditary institutions based on fictitious distinctions of birth, under the influence of such a solvent of social inequalities? Two forces are also operating to bring about the dissolution of our society the more rapidly. Re-marriage of even child widows being forbidden, the number of Hindus in every province is alarmingly decreasing in contrast with the Muhammadan population which has increased, according to the last census report, 9 per cent. or about 4 times the rate of increase of the whole population. In support of this we quote the following extract:

"Almost everywhere the statistics show that they (Mohammadans) are increasing more rapidly than their Hindu neighbours, their girls are given in wedlock at a later age and their widows are allowed to remarry, so that a larger proportion of their females of child bearing age are married." (Imperial Gazetteer, 1907, vol. I. P. 475).

Besides, the Hindu society by the adoption of a narrow policy of social ostracism is excommunicating all progressive Hindus for undertaking sea voyage or similar violations of current social practices. This policy of elimination is nothing short of a deliberate, slow suicide on the part of Hindu society. In its struggle for existence with other rival communities how long can Hindu society preserve itself standing on an empty pride of pedigree devoid of worth and expelling those who by their light and leading have a right to be its leaders? Unless our society be again established on individual worth and ability, its doom is sealed. The integrating forces that held together the multiplicity of the heterogeneous elements in our social organism have been replaced by mighty disintegrating forces sown by blind intercaste hatred and petty jealousies and unless Hindu society even now exercising its wonderful power of adaptability readjusts itself to the new environments it cannot escape its inevitable fate.

MYSORE SOCIAL NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

PANCHAMAS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Sirdar Kantaraj Urs, our popular Dewan, deserves sincere thanks of all who wish the good of our country, for the courageous stand he took in regard to the admission of the Panchamas into public schools. In his speech on the closing day of the Birthday Session of the Representative Assembly, in reply to representations urging for the withdrawal of the Government Order permitting the admission of all classes into schools maintained out of public funds, he pointed out in no faltering terms that Government could not go back on its previous order. Considerable anxiety was caused by the latitude allowed to the reactionaries to discuss the subject, but it was only an act of statesmanship on the part of the Sirdar. He did not want to stifle discussion on this subject. With your permission, Mr. Editor, may I mention what I consider a significance? Among those who desired Government to go back to primitive ideas of orthodoxy and conservatism were all Brahmins including, I believe, workers for the elevation of the depressed classes! At the same time those who very vigorously advocated equal rights and opportunities for the Panchamas were representatives of all important communities in the State, the Brahmins, the Mohamedan and the Vokkaliga. Is it then a wonder that Sirdar adhered to the policy of the democratic Dewan, Sir M. Visweswarayya in whose regime the order admitting all classes to public schools was first issued? No doubt, Sir M. Visweswaraya might have been inspired by the enthusiastic and zealous Inspector General of education, Mr. C. B. Reddy, who is an earnest social servant and is personally interested in the elevation of the backward and depressed classes. As such Mr. Reddy is the target of abuses of all kinds from those who are expected to behave better, but as these abuses are personal it is better to treat them and their authors with the contempt they deserve.

SOCIAL AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION.

This association started under Government auspices and worked through an Assistant Commissioner to the Government is likely to undergo shortly some important changes. The Assistant Commissioner is to be reverted to his service as Superintendent of Police. I would not, for the present comment on the work of the Association, for I know not what real Social and civic work was done during the past two years by the Association, the president of which is Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, and for the maintenance of which considerable sums of public money have been spent. I hear that next Tuesday the Committee of the Association will discuss the future of the Association. It is generally believed, that without a Government officer the work of the Association could not be carried on. On the other hand the non-official members of the Legislative Council are urging for the transference of the Association to private enterprise. I shall await the decision of the committee next week before I write further about this Association.

MR. AND MRS. BALRAJ URS.

You might have read in the daily papers of the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Balraj Urs to England last week. Mr. Balraj Urs is a cousin of His Highness the Maharaja and nephew of Sardar Kantaraj Urs, the Dewan. Mrs. Balraj Urs is a daughter of Mr. Linguraj Urs, the Darbar Bakshi. She is the first Arasu lady to discard the purda and to proceed out of India. In wishing the couple a pleasant

journey I wish to express the hope of many here that they would interest themselves in the social reform movement on their return to our midst.

THE TURKISH PEACE.

The Editor *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have been much struck by the force and consciousness of the concluding words of Syed Hussain's article on the Peace Treaty published in 'La Republique Francaise.' They run as follows:—

"This Treaty will fall by the weight of its own rapacious injustice, but it is necessary that it should be formally repudiated by all decent-minded and right-thinking people, irrespective of race or religion, interested in the welfare of humanity and the future peace of the world."

I would wish to add my formal repudiation to the immense volume of such protests that are coming from every part of the world. It is safe to prophesy that the Peace in these terms, will never be carried out.

Yours faithfully,

Shantiniketan,

C. V. ANDREWS.

THE PAPER SCARCITY IN CANADA.

The scarcity of newsprint paper in Canada has become one of the great national problems which our statesmen (?) seem incapable of solving. In view of this trying situation it is interesting to know how indifferent the paper producers are to the needs of the Canadian paper consumers when big profits are offered by the United States consumers. Within the past decade the capital invested in the Canadian pulp and paper industry has increased from less than \$50,000,000 to nearly \$200,000,000, or four times. The production has increased from \$10,000,000 to \$100,000,000 or ten times, and exports from \$3,000,000 to over \$68,000,000 or twelve times, per annum. Canadian paper mills are now turning out approximately 800,000 tons of newsprint per year, of which not more than 85,000 tons is consumed in Canada. To soothe the feelings of the Canadian consumers of newsprint paper, the manufacturers of the commodity state that they are alive to the supreme and urgent necessity to conserving Canada's raw material for domestic consumption and to that end are reducing the exports of pulpwood. It is difficult to understand how the situation is going to be improved if the exportation of the finished product is increasing at such a rapid rate. The one result of starving the home markets to increase the export of paper is the constant increases in the price of paper, both for job printing and newspaper publishing and the Canadian people are being compelled to pay advances of over 100 per cent. for their printed paper and their newspapers.—*The Industrial Banner, Toronto.*

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LIMITED.

The Bank of Taiwan, Limited have received mail advice from their Tokyo Office that the Gross Profit for the half year ending 31st December, 1919, with the balance brought forward from last account is Yen 68,978,859.95 of which Yen 60,277,553.55 have been spent for current expenses, interest etc. Yen 100,000.00 Bonus, Yen 1,578,000.00 dividend of 10 per cent, Yen 70,000.00 added to Reserve Fund (which now stands at Yen 7,781,000.00) and Yen 1,328,806.83 have been carried forward to next account,

GOD IN THE PRISON.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

On Sunday last, on the occasion of my weekly visit to the lock-up jail, instead of delivering any address as usual, I asked the prisoners, the following two questions :

1. A good man says that "to be useful is to be great, God is the greatest because He is most useful." Can you say why God is said to be most useful?

2. The liquor that some people drink in our country is after all juice of some tree or plant, fermented or distilled. Can you say why pious people hate liquor and scriptures condemn it as the most abominable thing.

I promised a prize of one rupee to the best and briefest answer to each of the questions, and gave the prisoners 15 minutes' time to answer. There were Brahmmins and other Hindus of various castes and Mahomedans and Christians also, and several of them gave beautiful answers to the first question. But one illiterate village cooly by name Timmabha, remanded by the Mangalore Divisional Magistrate for criminal breach of trust, ejaculated: "God is most useful because He is the only companion to be relied upon when our life goes out of our body." I considered this to be the best answer to my first question.

The other question was also similarly answered by many, but the answer given by a Panchama cooly by name Koraga committed to the sessions for murdering his wife happened to be the best. He said "liquor is the most abominable thing because the man who drinks it, will even on death-bed think of liquor-seller and the liquor-shop instead of God and Heaven."

As the jail rules forbid visitors giving any present to the prisoners, I paid the sum of Rs. 2 into the hands of the jailor to be paid to the prize-winners at the time of their discharge. I wished that the prize were a hundred fold larger.

Mangalore
12th June 1920.

Yours truly,
K. RANGA RAO.

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The transactions of the past six months have resulted in a profit of Rs. 14,82,978-12-10 from which the sum of Rs. 1,80,000 has to be deducted to provide for depreciation on the Bank's holding of Government Securities together with Rs. 1,70,000 for Income & Super Tax—leaving a net profit of Rs. 11,82,978-12-10 for the half year ended 30th June 1920.

To this amount has to be added Rs. 1,01,890-6-0 brought forward from the last account making a total of Rs. 12,87,869-8-10.

This sum the Directors have disposed of as follows:—

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Carried forward to the next account... Rs. 5,87,869-8-10.

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M. H. Kantavalle, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.
R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.
A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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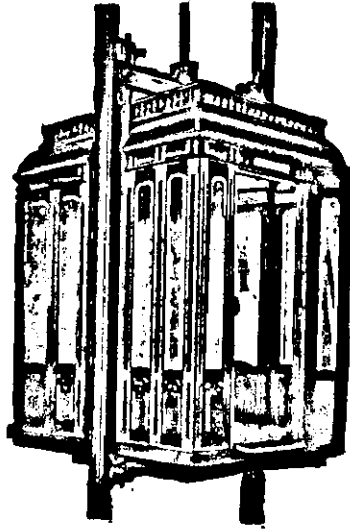
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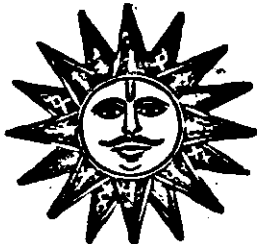
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No. 45.

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

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NOTES.

A Bad Example of Christian Journalism: The *Epiphany* is a Christian Missionary journal published in Calcutta. In a recent issue it published a letter from a correspondent, named Hamedar Hossain Joardar, containing the monstrous statement that ninety-nine per cent of Hindu widows were unchaste and passed their lives as prostitutes in private or public. The morbid mental (and moral) condition of a man who could make a statement of this kind can only be suitably treated by a psychotherapist. The editor who published it either shared his correspondent's mental condition or was so anxious to damn Hinduism and all that is of it that he temporarily lost his sense of journalistic self-respect. It is just possible that the letter was published without editorial revision by pure mischance, in which case an expression of regret should have been forthcoming at the earliest opportunity. This apparently has not happened, and, no wonder, public meetings are being held in Bengal to denounce the atrocious libel. Any person of ordinary education can see that the statement made by the correspondent cannot be possibly true. It is hardly possible that Mr. Joardar took a census of Hindu widows and collected data bearing on their chastity. Even if the statement was limited to the Hindu widows of Bengal, this would have been a stupendous task. Still it is impossible to imagine how any one except a mad man could have ventured to make a statement of this kind without sufficient data. "The ninety-nine per cent", if it had been inserted without a statistical investigation, as it has evidently been, is clearly a dishonest trick to induce readers to believe that the writer was relying on definite figures. An editor whose brains had not become addled by prejudice should have seen this and called for the data, or at any rate obtained an assurance to the effect that the writer had the data. We have not the least hesitation in saying that there are no data to justify this cowardly and reckless libel and that the editor lent himself to a cowardly slander through religious and race prejudice. We have had with us for many weeks past an article in reply to some writing, written by an Indian publicist, professing to expose the immorality in English and European countries under the guise of Christianity. We have not published it and do not intend to publish it, because we hold that sweeping statements against

large numbers of men and women are never true and because, in the second place, nations learn from one another not by cataloguing one another's failures and black spots, but understanding and appreciating one another's greatness and nobility of achievement.

The Moderates and the Viceroy's Recall: Commenting on Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's powerful address at the Punjab meeting, which we published last week, the *Tribune* of Lahore, one of the most level-headed of Indian newspapers, observes:

Even this last difference between the exponents of moderate opinion and Congressmen now bids fair to be swept away. The process has begun with the speech which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, perhaps the most forceful moderate in the Western Presidency, and one of the most important leaders of the all over India, made at the recent Bombay meeting and in which he definitely associated himself with the demand for the recall of the Viceroy. The speech that our distinguished countryman made on the occasion is, indeed, a distinctive landmark in the progress of moderate opinion towards a position of complete identity with the rest of progressive opinion in India.

The Moderate party has, as we have more than once stated, throughout been as earnest as the others in securing redress for the Punjab grievances, and their methods to that end, on the whole, have been more forceful and effective than those of persons less appreciative of the power of restrained expression. The Punjab events have never been a point of difference between Indian politicians. The real difference centred on the reforms, and that does not seem to be closing. Mr. Lajpat Rai has come forward with a long disquisition advocating a caucus to boycott the new Councils. We do not know what precisely the position of the Lalaji is in Punjab politics at the present moment. No body seems to have as yet invented a handle to his name such as Mahatma or Lokamanya to indicate that within the circle of his followers his will is law. But that such a suggestion should have emanated from him, and so shortly too after his contact with the hustling ways of America, is a fact to be noted.

Lawyers and Martial Law: Both the majority and minority Reports of the Hunter Committee seem to assume that the Martial Law order prohibiting legal practitioners from other provinces to enter the Martial Law area applied only to such lawyers as were engaged to appear for persons accused before the Martial Law tribunals. What actually happened seems to have been that lawyers as a class, even though they were not going to the Punjab in their professional capacity, were refused permission. This makes the order a much more serious outrage than if it had been confined to lawyers invited to act in a professional capacity. This means that everybody who had the misfortune to have adopted the law as a profession, was placed under a ban by the martial law authorities. In view of this monstrous order there is a grim irony in the statement cabled by Reuter that General Dyer was engaged in drawing up his defence with the help of legal advisors!

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 11, 1920.

BRAHMINS AND BOLSHEVIKS.

The *Independent* (Allahabad) in a recent issue observed :

The true Brahmin is really a Bolshevik. He should live, like George Muller, on what God sends him. Plain living and high thinking has been the real Brahminical ideal of life from time immemorial. Not so very long ago, we had highly cultured Brahmins who spurned the riches of the world. . . . This true Brahminical ideal is not wholly dead in the country yet. In all our sacred books, the Brahmin who engages himself, in any work except reading and teaching, is condemned as a thief. . . . But the old Brahminical ideal is slowly reasserting itself; and when it comes to its own, as it must sooner or later, it will lead to the Bolshevik ideal its true meaning and purpose.

This may be the ancient ideal prescribed for a Brahmin, but the "Brahminical ideal" recognised different ideals for different castes, military conquest for Kshatriyas, commercial enterprise for Vaisyas, and manual labour for Sudras. Whether the castes were originally based on conduct and character, as the *Gita* says, or on birth as they are to-day, the "Brahminical ideal" was not the same as the Brahmin's ideal for the other three castes. The "Brahminical ideal" was a composite one, which provided for the functioning of society in the spiritual, political, commercial and industrial spheres. To say this is not to defend caste as it exists to-day. Even as regards the ideal of a Brahmin's life, the Brahminical ideal did not lose sight of secular interests. It, no doubt, enjoined on the Brahmin learning and teaching as his supreme duty, but it also enjoined on the other orders the need for providing adequately to enable him to perform this duty. Poverty, as such, was not part of the Hindu ideal except for Sanyasins who, after fulfilling all their worldly duties, voluntarily renounced them to prepare themselves for the life to come. The possession of wealth was subservient to the spiritual and political interests of the nation. Plutocracy was rendered impossible in the Hindu system because the teacher and the ruler came before the merchant. The other extreme of the rule of the proletariat was equally impossible in it. The Brahminical system firmly recognised private property, movable and immovable, controlling it in the interests only of the owner's own posterity.

The Brahminical ideal, again, did not rest on the equality of all men. It did not provide equal opportunities to all men neither did it exact equal sacrifices or standards of personal conduct from all men. Its theoretic basis was 'to each man according to his capacity' and 'from each man according to his strength.' This is sound theory, but where the mistake was made is in believing that a man's birth afforded a sure indication of his strength or capacity. This system broke on this rock. The Christian ideal in which the Mahar and the Mang are the equals of the Brahmins and the high-caste non-

Brahmins, strikes the orthodox Hindu much as Bolshevism strikes the average Englishman or Frenchman, as the uprooting of the foundations of society. Recently Mr. Manilal Parekh writing in these columns bitterly complained of the "proletarianising" effect of Christian missions. The mass conversions, embracing thousands of men and women in an extreme stage of backwardness, are viewed with no little anxiety not only by orthodox Hindus, but also by several Christian missionaries and Indian Christians. If, owing to any circumstance such as another European conflagration or the growing disbelief of intelligent men in wholesale religious conversions, these semi-Christianised masses are deprived of their present missionary control, the fear of Bolshevism will become a reality in India. There is the danger-point, as also in the factory population of the cities, the reason being the consciousness in each case of a new sense of power in advance of a new sense of responsibility.

The Bolshevik ideal has been the subject of gross and, sometimes, unscrupulous misrepresentation by hostile critics, but two essential features of it are that it does not recognise any organic division of classes or castes, and that it does not recognise private property. How the *Independent* could say of this ideal that it is identical with the Brahminical ideal, passes our understanding. There is nothing in common between the two except the initial B. Our contemporary not only identifies the two but solemnly tells its readers that the revival of the Brahminical ideal in this country will lead to the Bolshevik ideal its true meaning and purpose! Lenin and Trotsky as the interpreters of Manu and Yagnavalkya! Surely, the *Independent* knows something of Hinduism, though not much of Bolshevism. The *Independent's* idea of Bolshevism seems to be that it is a practical interpretation of Tolstoy's Christian communism. As a matter of fact, from all that we have read of it, it is on its idealistic side a movement purely to ensure an equal share of the good things of this world to all alike. This is a worthy object though the Bolshevik short-cut to it can only lead to much avoidable misery, as it has actually done. But it cannot by any means be compared with the Brahminic or Christian ideal in which the world is a means to spiritual ends. We should be sorry to denounce Bolshevism on the strength of the prejudiced versions of the European capitalist press, but we cannot admit the *Independent's* identification of it with the Brahminical ideal. The two are as far asunder as the poles.

Scholarships for Hindu Lady Students: We are asked to state that the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has decided to give some scholarships each of the minimum monthly value of Rs. 10 to Hindu ladies studying in any one of the colleges in Bombay. Lady students desirous of applying for them should send in their applications before the 15th of July 1920. Printed forms of application can be obtained from the Joint Secretaries, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Servants of India Society's Home, Girgaon, Bombay.

THE AGARKAR DAY.

(Communicated.)

The Agarkar Day was first initiated in the year 1916. The object was to keep green the memory of the great social reformer, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1866-1895) and to try to spread the principles and ideals which he preached. A number of gentlemen including Mr. A. S. Wagle, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, Mr. V. N. Naik, Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, Mr. S. K. Telang met together and discussed the preliminaries and decided to organise a public meeting and a cosmopolitan vegetarian dinner in which Hindus of all castes and members of all other communities might take part without any distinction being observed. The meeting then constituted itself into the Agarkar Day Committee and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was requested to be its Chairman. He at once agreed to do so, and with his help and under his leadership the Committee decided to celebrate the Agarkar Day on 2nd July 1916. A largely attended public meeting was held that day at the Wilson College Hall over which the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye presided and the speakers included Mr. M. R. Jaykar, Mr. R. P. Pradhan, Prof: G. C. Bhate, Mrs. Venubai Namjoshi and several others. There was also an overflow meeting addressed by Mr. B. G. Tilak. The dinner took place in the evening at the Muzafarabad Hall and was a splendid success. After this for the last three years the Agarkar Day is being regularly observed in Bombay. In 1917 there was a dinner and a public meeting presided over by Prof: D. K. Karve at which Mr. D. G. Padhya delivered an address. In 1918 also there was a dinner and a public meeting presided over by Mr. N. M. Samarth. In 1919 owing to famine conditions and various other difficulties the dinner was dropped. But a public meeting was held where Mr. K. Natarajan presided and Mr. G. K. Devdhar delivered the principal address. The movement has come to stay. It has inspired into the public mind a finer appreciation of the great work which Mr. Agarkar did. His splendid and noble life is now remembered by all and his stand for rational social reform is now accepted by all thinking men and women as the basis of our national regeneration and building up. There is a keen desire to know more about him and the Agarkar Day is now being observed in places other than Bombay. In 1918 the Agarkar Society was formally launched into existence. Owing to difficult times it could do no more during the last year than to keep alive the movement which gave it its birth. It held a public meeting, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Parekh and largely attended, to give its support to the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill of Mr. Patel. Now it is expected to enter upon active propaganda work. This year again the cosmopolitan dinner is arranged and the public meeting as usual. It may be noted that, as in the previous dinners, all races in Bombay and all castes not excluding the so-called depressed of the Hindus, represented this year also at the cosmopolitan dinner. The followers of the Agarkar school of thought are expected to contribute their mite to the worker of India and the Agarkar Society should be the natural place for such to meet, discuss, decide and act.

UNITED ACTION IN TEMPERANCE REFORM.

(By THE REV. A. T. HOFFERT, BULSAR.)

The great need for more aggressive Temperance activity, the increasing desire for united action, and the demand for Prohibition of the drink traffic is being voiced in many quarters of India to-day. Dr. Mrs. Gordon, President of the W. C. T. U. of United Provinces, urging immediate and united action for aggressive Temperance propaganda, stated "If we strike altogether and strike hard much may be accomplished this year." Mr. Fredrick Grubb, Editor of *Abkari* and Secretary of "The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association," pleaded for united action in the *Devayala Review* by saying, "Great America has shown us how to deal with the drink evil. Let India follow suit! It can only be accomplished by united action on the part of the most enlightened men and women of every race and creed." All the great religions of India are in favor of Temperance reform. What the unity of command meant in bringing the great war to a victorious close, united action may do to bring about singleness of purpose and well directed co-operative effort against drink, so that the strength of India will be summoned to champion this great cause and victory will be certain, speedy and thorough. First, let us consider the more important

OBJECTS WHICH REQUIRE UNITED ACTION.

I. There is a reason why our temperance literature is largely three-fourths foreign and one-fourth Indian; there are good reasons why it should be three-fourths Indian and one-fourth foreign. The literature of America and England on the drink problem is abundant because it is the product of wide study, thorough investigation and scientific research. Until such study and investigation of the effects of drink on health, and every phase of the social and industrial life of the Indian people is attempted and carried through, we will be handicapped from the lack of definite information regarding the drink problem in this country. This need cannot be filled by Temperance literature from abroad; however, such literature is not only helpful in many ways but it also should inspire and be a guide to us in making such investigations that will give a clearer understanding of the liquor problem in India. The per cent. of crime due to drink, how liquor lowers the efficiency of Indian workmen: how it shortens life—can Assurance Companies of India corroborate results of observations of the Companies of Europe and America; how alcohol hinders education; endangers the welfare of the child; causes race degeneracy etc. are problems that should receive study and investigation by this Commission.

The wealth of information that this Commission could bring to light would greatly enlarge and enrich our literature on this vital question, and

bring it to the attention of the thinking public in a way that would go far toward enlisting their cooperation in the solution of the liquor problem. It would enable speakers and writers to lay their hands on definite facts and illustrations regarding different phases of the drink problem in India, that would be of more interest and have greater effect on the Indian mind than the same material secured from foreign sources. It would enable us to see our problem whole; for only by an adequate understanding of the bigness of our task can plans be laid that will bring speedy and certain victory.

II. It is not enough that Temperance activity should stir only certain sections of the country; Temperance Education must be extended to the uttermost limits of the nation. Those of all classes and conditions of life should be taught the benefits of total abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State.

Our plans should not only be comprehensive,—reaching all sections of the country; not only thorough and practical,—touching life in every village; but Temperance Education should be carried forward with unrelenting persistence until Temperance, sobriety and prohibition are written both in the laws of the land and also in the hearts of the people—until the prohibition goal has been reached and all determined opposition has been silled. We must create sentiment in every village in favour of abstinence and prohibition, enlist the cooperation of the leading villagers to petition and work for such a law, and having worked for it they will be more apt to use their influence to secure its enforcement.

The abstainer, who is such because of the mandate of religion, needs to know the facts regarding drink conditions in India in order that he may become a positive factor in redeeming his country from the curse of liquor. The students of India need to be aroused to a sense of the danger of the drink curse in order that large numbers of them may be enlisted in this Temperance forward movement. What the Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Association did to bring to the students of America the challenge of the drink problem and train them for leadership in the prohibition cause, is suggestive of what a similar organization might do for the students of India.

Let Temperance Education be nation-wide, thorough and unrelenting; give the people encouragement and opportunity to express from year to year their requests to Government for the closing of shops and the Prohibition of the drink traffic; then we can confidently expect that prohibitive measures will be enacted without serious delay. We have a tremendous task to properly teach and instruct the multitudes of this country! While India is in a receptive mood for Temperance instruction let the strong and true of all classes and creeds join

hands in a mighty Temperance drive that should accomplish more in five years than might otherwise be possible in a generation!

III. United action is necessary to secure sufficient funds each year to adequately finance a nation-wide Temperance propaganda. The cost of surveys that may be attempted, experimental and research work, of printing tons of literature in the various languages of India—cheap enough to enable all to buy, of effecting thorough organization and of training and supporting an efficient leadership, also increased expenses due to increased activity of all organizations opposed to the drink traffic, will make a large sum that can be raised in India if it is attempted by united action and conducted according to business principles. Now a suggestion as to

THE MEANS FOR SECURING UNITED ACTION IN TEMPERANCE REFORM.

I. The regular "All-India Temperance Conference" should serve to bring together a large and well chosen delegation of Temperance advocates, representing all creeds and classes and from all sections of the country. This Conference should mean the perfection of plans to bring about united action in a mighty Temperance movement that shall press steadily forward until sobriety and Prohibition reigns supreme in every Province and State of India. It should mean the assembling together of the strong and true of every race and religion, and of every agency that holds dear the highest welfare and the greatest efficiency of the millions of India. A well planned programme should be prepared that will utilize the greatest speakers and the best authorities available on drink conditions in India. This Conference should plan and attempt large things in Temperance reform but it is of the utmost importance that it be at a different time than the National Congress if the best results are to follow.

A chain of provincial conferences, also many conferences in vernacular in various centres of population, would be of untold value for instilling the enthusiasm and purpose of the National Conference among the masses, and for enlisting, training and organizing the teams of volunteer workers who are to reach the village people. Those conferences should be well planned, well advertised and actuated by a definite purpose.

II. The success of a Temperance Movement on a large scale will depend upon an efficient organization that will bring about united action throughout the nation. The Temperance Federation idea as at Lucknow, Amritsar, Calcutta and other places is a good one for it brings about united effort of the various agencies opposed to the drink traffic. We should look forward both to the organisation of scores of such federations and hundreds

of Temperance societies in all parts of the country and also to their union into a strong All—India Temperance Federation. Such an organisation could deal effectively with problems that require united action as mentioned above.

The suggestions of this article are offered with the desire that they may produce thought and discussion which will make possible a closer bond of union among the hosts of India who are striving to advance the Temperance cause. The plans advocated here have proved successful in the promotion of various great movements in America. If there is to be an advance in Temperance reform along these lines it will be necessary for the conveners of the All—India Temperance Conference to take steps in this direction. That they may know the desire and thought of the leaders of all classes and religions in regard to this important matter, it is of prime importance that the question of united action be widely and freely discussed and the All—India Temperance Conference Committee be informed as to what support they may expect in so vast an undertaking. Write to the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Nund Lall, Amritsar Temperance Society, Amritsar who will be glad for your suggestions in regard to united action in Temperance Reform.

THE RE-MARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS. I.

(By R. V. K.)

Many are the reasons that are advanced for the acceptance by the people of the Widow Re-marriage reform. Many too are the grounds upon which the so-called orthodox party is not prepared to countenance the reform. Both sides are strong in their convictions in their own way. To rake up the whole controversy that has been a cause for prejudice and much ill-will of one party to the other, is not worth while here. Suffice it to say that unfortunately the high priests of Reform paid little regard to the form of religion to which they owed allegiance and showed an attitude, practical and theoretical, towards everything Indian that warranted suspicion—suspicion in respect of the soundness of the psychology from which such measures, ostensibly to reform the society, emanated. They scented an impression on the part of the Reformers that their Religion and organisation of the Society was so hopelessly rotten that Reform meant thorough subversion; and they were scandalized at this notion, as they could not comprehend how a society so utterly and completely rotten and a religion so worthless could endure for thousands of years past through so many political vicissitudes. They were confounded for a time as the real source of the trouble. That the society was not so rotten and the religion was not so worthless as to require speedy reform, without the slightest regard for the means and the methods to be adopted for the same, they were instinctively convinced; and time has justified their conviction. They

with commendable resoluteness paused to consider as to where they stood and as to what they were about. They stoutly refused to commit themselves to any programme! at the risk of a leap into the dark till the first blush of a dependent nationality and the first flush of a transcendent awakening for the upliftment of the Nation had assumed a degree, sound enough for practical work in any direction whatsoever.

They thought very carefully as to the prime remedy which should claim their major attention first. This prime remedy was the lifting of the nation in the political scale. Society and religion occupied a second place in their platform, as it should with becoming propriety, in the case of a dependent nation, after they had assured themselves that both of them were not so rotten as would hamper them now and again, and make progress in the one work, to which they consecrated their lives, absolutely impossible. And we see time has endorsed their prudent and shrewd verdict. They looked forward to a period, when they and they alone would see to their social affairs, without the interference of those, whose concern it was not through even the remotest connection to meddle with their social affairs. Over forty years ago the vision was so purblind that men could scarcely distinguish real support from unhealthy support and healthy opposition from elusive opposition. Forty years have cleared the vision and we are now thoroughly competent and intensely vigorous to look to the second plank in our comprehensive platform. Our progress shall be premediated in this respect and therefore acknowledging a certain limit not taxing our energies to the prejudice of our first plank, let us determine the attitude we shall assume towards this most important item of Social Reform.

We can understand and condone the injustice involved in the matter of the treatment offered to women after the death of their consorts by the organizers of the Society. For the psychological aspect of the whole question, namely, that the woman is more spiritual and less material than man, that she is more amenable to authority, might have been responsible for the differential treatment thus given to widows. But then we contend that in those days that injustice was overwhelmingly tempered, and compensated for, by an all too otherwise kind and loving world. That tenderness of heart disappearing, day by day, sheer injustice, bare injustice now falls to her share. Her comfort or the minimum easiness of life is becoming more and more psychological or unreal. She is now no longer shielded and protected as she formerly was. While submitting herself to certain usages and customs prescribed, they are not given that bare protection which ought to be extended to the distressed. Our widows of old were treated kindly, received attention and were completely shielded from the horrid realities of life which their more unfortunate sisters of to-day experience. Besides, the atmosphere which pervaded our society then might be considered as justifying the injustice meted out to women. But the atmosphere that per-

vades modern society is full of temptations on the one hand and entirely void of a largeness of spirit combined with the absence of moral influence, on the other. It is exactly, therefore, that we are demanding a revision in the Social Code in this respect. For is it not wise and prudent to lift up a certain course of conduct imposed in one atmosphere, as soon as that atmosphere is changed? So here is a material case for the reconsideration of the Widow Remarriage reform. Are you going to bestir yourselves or not? Be idle and the future is sure to be full of mischief. And then one day you will wake up to find yourselves lost in a flood where you will not swim but drift.

The almost total disappearance of that moral force which there was to be found in the families of over fifty years ago through the break-up of joint families into so many little families and the ever-growing difficulty that is felt in everyday life leading to individualistic self-preservation have necessitated the recognition of the validity with its obligations of the marriage of a widow by certain sections of the Hindu Community as a makeshift in times of adversity.

We would like to lay special emphasis on the words "as a makeshift in times of adversity." When we advocate Widow Remarriage, we are advocating it as a dire and grim necessity to which we must resort if we want at all to save our society from moral anarchy. Moral anarchy is bound to come into being if obedience to a certain course of conduct is required in an atmosphere which is not congenial to the preservation of the same. The atmosphere of to-day is dreadfully changed from what it was fifty years ago. We could then enjoin, we do not say inflict, upon our widows, even child-widows, a whole celebrate life as we were confident of this that we could do it without making them feel much of what they were doing. Their obedience to us then was willing and intelligent, and in the husband's or father's house, wherever she lived she was an object of compassion, love and attention and of everything which instinctive tenderness of heart could prompt. There was such plenty then, that her presence was seldom felt as a presence which one would be glad to be relieved of, if possible. Far from feeling for her "helpless plight" they regarded *their* house, as *her* rightful retreat. Now they talk of her "helpless position" in season and out of season. If this indicates anything, it indicates that her presence is now felt as a presence which can be done away with. She is now advised as to the suitability of taking to an independent profession which will make her independent of anyone. Things which are beyond our control just now may be responsible for this change in the angle of vision but that this is so cannot be disputed. Daily life may be growing harder and harder but that she is asked to bear a proportionate burden cannot be denied. Often these creatures are told to see for themselves and they have got to do it. The independent life that she leads is attendant with all the evils which are attendant upon it, of which the spirit of owning no allegiance to anybody who will not trouble himself for her is not the least.

(To be continued.)

THE WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.

We are obliged to the Worcester Polytechnic Institute for sending us the following information regarding their Institute which will be read with interest by several persons in this country.

WHAT IS THE WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE?

It is a college of Applied Science, granting degrees in Mechanical, Civil, and Electrical Engineering, and in Chemistry, also in General Science.

WHERE IS IT LOCATED?

It is located in Worcester, Massachusetts, a city of nearly 200,000, the seat of widely diversified manufactures. It was founded in 1865, and graduated its first class in 1871. It aimed from the first to emphasize the practical side in engineering, and, through its splendidly equipped Washburn Shops, which are operated as a commercial enterprise, has followed this plan steadily.

WHAT IS ITS EQUIPMENT.

To carry on its work, it has Boynton Hall, devoted to Administration Offices, Library, recitation work in Language, and Economics, and the Department of Civil Engineering, the Washburn Shops, which furnish unsurpassed facilities for practical work, in Mechanical Engineering; the Power Laboratory, with steam and gas engines and dynamos; the Mechanical Laboratory; the Electrical Laboratory; the Salisbury Laboratories, devoted to Chemistry and Physics; a well-equipped Foundry; a large Hydraulics Testing Plant at Chaffin Station, five miles from the Institute on the Boston and Maine R.R., and located on a large lake, the property of the Institute; a new Gymnasium and an ample Athletic Field, both the gift of the Alumni.

WHAT ARE THE COURSES OFFERED?

These are each four years in length, in Mechanical, Civil, and Electrical Engineering, in Chemistry, and in General Science. Each leads to the degree of Bachelor of Science. Opportunity for graduate work leading to graduate and professional degrees, is also offered. Emphasis is laid on the practical in all the courses, but breadth is secured by a large amount of work in Language, English, and Economics.

WHAT COMPOSES THE TEACHING FORCE?

Instruction is carried on under the direction of about fifty professors and instructors, and numerous assistants in shops, laboratories, etc. Classes are divided into small sections, each student coming into close relations with the professors.

WHAT ARE THE REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION?

These are: Algebra through Quadratics; Plane and Solid Geometry; English; History; two foreign languages; Chemistry or Physics; and evidence of preparation in certain other subjects, called the Elective. Admission may be on certificate from an accredited school, by certificate from any school affiliated with the North Central Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, by Regents' certificate, or by examination. Certificates are accepted for part of the entrance requirements. Entrance examinations are held in June and September of each year.

WHAT ARE THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES?

These are provided through the several fraternities, through athletics, and the Gymnasium, and through the Institute Y.M.C.A. which is in charge of a paid Secretary. The

Several lines of athletic sports are encouraged, and class and fraternity teams are organized, in addition to those that represent the Institute. There is also a Glee Club, an Orchestra, and a Dramatic Association, besides several engineering and scientific societies.

WHAT ARE THE EXPENSES?

The tuition and fees of each student are \$220 per annum. The annual expense of each student need not exceed \$600.

ARE SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE?

About ninety scholarships are available, providing for part or all of the tuition. Four Freshman Scholarships are awarded annually to the four candidates for admission who pass the highest entrance examinations.

CAN A STUDENT EARN MONEY DURING HIS INSTITUTE COURSE?

Worcester offers many opportunities for students to help themselves financially during their Institute course. The Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. keeps a list of such openings, and is always glad to aid students in securing employment during their spare time.

HOW LARGE IS THE STUDENT BODY?

For several years the attendance has averaged between 500 and 600. This number permits each student to become acquainted with his classmates and with a large number of his fellow students in the other classes. At the same time it permits of small sections for recitation and laboratory purposes.

HOW MANY HAS THE INSTITUTE GRADUATED?

Since the first class in 1871 the Institute has graduated more than 2,300 men, of whom over 2,100 are living. The great majority are engaged in occupations for which their Institute training fitted them. Many have attained great prominence as engineers or scientists.

DO GRADUATES SECURE POSITIONS EASILY?

Graduates rarely have difficulty in securing excellent positions on graduation, and, in most instances, have their choice of several positions. For several years past the vacancies brought to the attention of the Institute authorities could not be filled, no graduates being available. This demand will doubtless continue in the future.

IS FULLER INFORMATION AVAILABLE?

A copy of the Institute catalogue giving detailed information will be sent on application to Prof. Z. W. Coombes, Chairman, Committee on Admission of Students, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Appropos your leader in the *Reformer* of 4th July on the Prince of Wales' visit, it is a painful duty to have to disillusionize you on the subject in regard to the feelings of the people. I should not have thought it incumbent on me to contradict you if I did not feel assured that I have behind me the bulk of Indian feeling both among the masses and the educated leaders. Briefly speaking the Indian people are not eager for the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Whilst many would welcome the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales as giving the people an opportunity to demonstrate the intensity of their feeling on the several acts of misadministration of British rule in India, of which the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs stand prominent, by

dissociating themselves from any welcome that may be accorded to the Prince, a large section of Indian opinion genuinely anxious not to wound the susceptibilities of the British people would eagerly welcome the postponement of the Prince's visit to a later occasion when the situation in India is more calm and congenial to the visit of the Prince.

The inauguration of the reformed councils is one of the chief planks in the programme of the Prince of Wales' Indian tour. But it would be idle to deny that the working of the Reforms successfully does not occupy the same pre-eminent place it occupied last year. There is little or no enthusiasm over the Reforms now even amongst the moderates who seceded from the Congress with the special objective of working for the Reforms. The recommendations of the Meston Committee, the framing of the reform rules and the communal elections have greatly nullified what little intrinsic value the Reform Act possessed. The Congressmen or radicals have never been enthusiastic over the reforms and revelation of the insecurity of life, honour and property under the executive administration by the ventilation of the Punjab official excesses has destroyed any hope that may have been lurking in the men that the Reforms might secure for the country opportunities for the attainment of its political goal. But what is of more important portent than the disillusionment of educated leaders both liberal and radical, is the feeling of dismay and disappointment at the enormity of the wrongs and injustice that can be perpetrated under British rule and condoned later, which have spread amongst the masses as a whole. The Khilafat wrong has totally alienated the Muslim subjects of His Majesty. The Punjab wrongs have alienated not only the Punjab but the rest of India. The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee and the connected despatches have not improved the situation but only widened the breach between the people and the Government. No one expects that Parliament will improve the situation any better while the possibilities are the other way.

And what is the result? While the Prince is ostensibly coming to inaugurate the reforms, a vigorous campaign of the boycott of the reformed councils is being carried on. Further the non-co-operation movement is to definitely begin on the first August. No one can foretell the course the movement will take. The situation is desperate and the remedy that is being tried to meet it is more desperate. Whether non-cooperation will succeed or not is immaterial. Until and unless the factors which have driven a deeply peace-abiding and loyal people as the Indians to resort to extreme steps disappear, it would be courting unpleasantness for the Prince of Wales to come to India when the atmosphere is saturated with the high tension of feeling as it is today and he cannot apply any soothing balm to the lacerated heart of the people as His Majesty did during his coronation visit by annulling the partition of Bengal.

For the people, the Prince stands as the symbol of British rule. They are not concerned with your academic commentaries as to the constitutional position of the British sovereign. And the British rule in India stands discredited today as it has never done before since the assumption of Indian rule of the Crown. In order to make the visit of the Prince of Wales a success there must be full cooperation between the Government of India and the people. But as things stand today such cooperation is impossible. The public demand the recall of the present Viceroy. You have yourself supported that demand. If the Viceroy is to be recalled it must also be accompanied by a change in the policy of the Government. The Punjab wrongs must be

referred and the Turkish treaty must be revised in consonance with the Premier's pledges. Until both these acts of bare justice are done, any visit the Prince of Wales might make under the auspices of the existing Indian and Imperial administration must prove a failure. In fairness to all concerned let me say here that, if the conditions of today do not change for the better, then there will be and will have to be an organized attempt to dissociate the Indian public from any welcome that may be accorded to the Prince of Wales. It can give no pleasure to the Indian mind to refrain from discharging its duty to the Throne and the Heir-Apparent but the Indian is a human being, made of flesh and blood and he cannot without doing violence to his feeling of self-respect and honour join in the festivity or pretend to join in the festivity on the occasion of the Prince's visit when Indian honour has been trampled upon in the case of the Punjab and the Khilafat. It is true we would be giving room for misrepresentation of our attitude to the British public "on its most susceptible point of fervent devotion to the Crown and the Royal family." But the unfortunate position is none of our making but that of their own officials entrusted with the governance of India whom they will have to call to book to enable us to gladly do our duty to the person of the Throne. The "proven affectionate loyalty" of the Indian people on the previous occasions of visits of Royalty to India must suffice to assure Britain that Indians are no less fervent than themselves in their devotion to the Crown as such while the proved loyalty of India during the strenuous times of war must more than suffice to show that India is deeply loyal to the British connection at the core and would continue to be so if only the powers that be would not strangle such feeling as they have managed to do of late.

Bombay July 6th 1920.

S. Sadanand.

[Mr. Sadanand's last paragraph to a large extent answers his previous ones. The Indian people, though not acquainted with constitutional niceties, can distinguish between a ruler and his administration, as shown in the case of Indian States, even such as do not possess any great reputation for good Government.—Ed. I. S. R.]

A MISSIONARY VITUPERATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

"Pan-Africanism is not very far off: the seed is already sown; and then the eternal problem will assume terrible proportions, unless the native has an education which will build up character and not turn out a babu class such as is causing all the trouble in India." (Quoted from the *East African Chronicle*, in the *Indian Social Reformer*.)

An unnamed Missionary makes such an astounding statement simply because of the fact that "Pan-Africanism is not very far off." It makes one to pause and wonder why a missionary, who poses himself as the God-sent messenger to preach the religious gospel becomes nervous and panic-stricken at the idea of Pan-Africanism. What an amount of mirth and joy will he cherish, nay, may he even stand on one leg and dance if only Pan-Anglicanism is not very far off in Africa or in India or in any other part of the world. He will be no more putting on the air of an Il-penseroso but only that of a L'allegro. Good Job! A Christian who is upholding the cause of Jesus, cannot tolerate for a moment the idea of one's own native land, and customs and manners for one's own sake. Alas! what a pity! "The seed is already sown." Poor souls! They failed to consult the Uganda Missionary before sowing

the seed. The Reverend no doubt would have referred to the parable of the Sower and the Seed and also to the chapter on time and season in the Holy Bible and given them a fatherly advice. At any rate it is too late. It only remains for the world at large to watch and see the growth of the plant. But the Missionary with his keen intellect and foresight, perhaps due to his spiritual gifts prophesies that "the eternal problem will assume terrible proportions etc." What does he exactly mean by the eternal problem? From the theological point of view, it may mean the problem of conversion. If the problem of conversion were to assume terrible proportions, it is nobody's fault except that of the Missionary. He is sowing the seed in an unsuitable soil, perhaps upon stony places and among thorns. It cannot possibly be a political problem, for the missionary has nothing to do with politics unless his religious gospel is all a farce and myth and cloak to cover the political gospel. One can very well see how incriminating the latter part of his remarks is. He accuses the "Babu class" that is causing all the trouble in India. But who is causing all the trouble in Ireland and elsewhere? Who created the recent war? Evidently it is not the "Babu class," but only the so-called high-minded civilized Christians of the Western world. He talks of character and education. Enough of these high-sounding words! The world has understood that the western education is the art of death and western character is the art of hypocrisy. These are the two outstanding morals that the war and the so-called peace have brought to light. And any amount of the rigneroles of the missionary will only fail to shield the above fact from the public.

T. C. RADDI.

INDIANS IN COMMERCIAL FIRMS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am glad to write to you about the actions of some of the Indian Commercial firms and Banks in not adequately regarding the claims of Indians for higher posts and appointing them on equal terms with the Europeans. Nobody will blame the Government, as the machinery lies totally in the hands of the Europeans, if they appoint their kinsmen on high posts. The front door of securing high posts in the Government is, to a certain extent, blocked to Indians but the back door which naturally should have been open to them in Banks and other Commercial firms should also be blocked to them looks to be a matter of great disappointment. What looks to us as strikingly unfair is that Indians educated in England and America and belonging to high families should have been considered inferior to the ordinary Englishmen by the directors of an Indian Banking concern. How long will this difference between an Englishman and an Indian continue to exist even in the City of Bombay, the heart of modern Indian culture? Of course, some of our capitalists have appointed Indians to manage their concerns and they cry from the top of the house that Indians can compete with Europeans in Banking and Commerce very successfully while some others are deplorably lacking in confidence in their brethren.

This sort of things should not be allowed to continue. Indian clerks shall have to be united and teach the equality of men and man to those who do not know. A resolution was passed at the last session of Clerks' Conference requesting those who had power to treat the Indians and Europeans equally irrespective of caste, creed or colour. If clerks of

Bombay do not unite and agitate in this respect they deserve to be pitied by all. It must be understood that no Bank or a commercial firm could stand a single minute without the cooperation of the clerks; and the complete cooperation of clerks themselves could alone secure justice and full justice to them. Working like machines should not be their ambition. They should exert to get what is their own. The best course for them is to join the Clerks Union at present.

Simplex Building
Girgaon, Bombay,
80-6-1920.

Yours truly,
M. N. Bisson.

ALCOHOL AND COLD.

The late Mr. Josiah Harling, M. I. C. E., the famous constructing engineer of the railways in Chile and Bolivia, in an article in the "Journal of the Society of Arts" on "Alcohol and Cold," testifies how he has slept out at night at heights up to 17,000 ft. with a temperature of 25 deg. C. below zero, but has never tasted alcoholic drinks in his life. He refers to the report of the South Polar Expedition of Captain Scott, and quotes the writer of the report, who says they celebrated Christmas day by drinking some wine, and in consequence suffered for some days from reduced temperature to such a degree that they vowed never to give way again. *The Temperance Leader*, Glasgow.

A New Anglo-Marathi Weekly: We are requested to announce that a new Anglo-Marathi weekly with the name of *Nireeksha*, or the *Observer*, will be started shortly in Bombay. It will be edited by Mr. D. B. Gupte, B. A., L. L. B. Mr. Gupte has sent us a prospectus explaining the objects of the journal, in which he says that the *Nireeksha* will support the policy of the Moderates and the political, social, moral and material advancement of the backward classes. He hopes that his Marathi journal will exert much influence among the masses in order to gain their support in favour of the Moderate party. Particulars regarding the subscription, advertisement charges etc. can be had on application to Mr. N. G. Sabnis, B. A., L. L. B., Manager, the *Nireeksha*, Indu Prakash Press, Bombay.

The National Missionary Council's Famine Relief Committee: Owing to the failure of the rains in 1918 and consequent widespread famine conditions, which prevailed in India, the National Missionary Council, India, appointed a Committee to appeal for and distribute relief through Provincial Councils, in the distressed areas. The audited statement of receipts and disbursements, a copy of which has been forwarded to us, shows that a sum of Rs. 3,20,512, has been collected and distributed in the affected areas.

An Exploded Ideal: Speaking at Crewe in May last, Lord Crewe said that the old idea of class education in England—that the higher forms of education were intended for well-to-do people—had been thoroughly swept away. In India, however, it has obtained a foothold and the English Public School, the embodiment of the discredited idea, is still held up as a model by high English officials.

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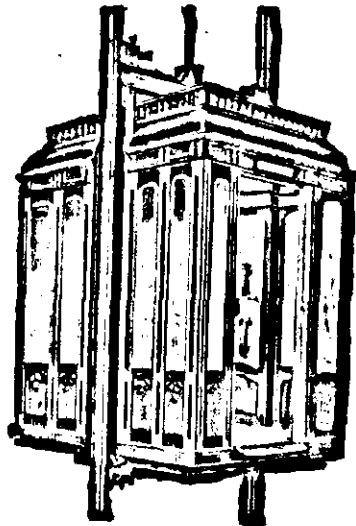
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Vol. XXX.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 18, 1920.

No. 46.

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

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NOTES.

Social Implications of Political Freedom: We are afraid that not many of our readers have found it easy to grasp the central issue of the article on remarriage of Hindu widows, which we conclude today. The writer candidly informed us that this was his first attempt in writing for a newspaper. We have done our best to edit it so as to bring out his meaning clearly, but we do not think that we have quite succeeded in doing so. The central idea of his thesis, as we understand it, is nevertheless of great interest. It is almost the first attempt that we have seen by an opponent of social reform to readjust his views in the light of the constitutional movements of the day. Briefly, his argument seems to be that, thirty years ago, political freedom was little known and less appreciated, and the old social order retained much of its original strength. It was, therefore, possible and necessary to oppose the remarriage of Hindu widows in pursuance of the Hindu ideal of marriage. To-day conditions have changed. Political movements have made great advance, and the political freedom which they imply is reacting on our social ideas. The old authoritarian system of family life is dissolving under the new influence. The old attitude of opposition to social reform has, therefore, become impossible and, if persisted in, it must lead inevitably to the disruption of society. It is, therefore, prudent to accept them with good grace, and make such terms as are yet possible to retain as much as possible of the vestiges of the old system. This line of argument is thoroughly unsound. It is a denial of there being such a thing as social justice aside from social expediency. It assumes that the social reformers who foresaw what was coming and sought to meet it, were wrong, and that those who till now presented a solid opposition to reform were wise and patriotic. It assumes that the sense of freedom and the longing for it, is antagonistic to the integrity of family life. It ignores the well-established truth that liberty is its own sufficient safeguard—that fetters and prison-walls are far less efficient safeguards than the inward dignity felt by free men and women. Its whole tenour rests on a low view of women, their power of self-restraint, their strength of will and soul-power. On all these points we differ fundamentally from the writer. But we agree with the central idea of his argument—though from an opposite standpoint—that freedom when it floods a country cannot be prevented from

permeating every nook and corner of life. Those who are afraid of freedom in religious and social matters, had better keep clear of movements in favour of political freedom.

Voluntary Repatriation: We print to-day the text of the interim report of the South African Asiatic Commission, recommending voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa, and the Government scheme to give effect to that recommendation. We call attention to the following conditions laid down therein:

The repatriation will be carried out under the provisions of section 16 of the Indian Relief Act 1914. This section is reproduced below: The Minister may in his discretion cause to be provided, out of the moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, a free passage from any part in the Union to any part in India (with or without free conveyance by rail to such first mentioned part) for any Indian (other than an Indian who is or may become entitled under law No. 25 of 1891, Natal) or any amendment thereof to such free passage who makes a written request for such free passage and (a) signs as a condition of the grant of such request a statement that he abandons on behalf of himself and his all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein and (b) furnish to an officer designated by the Minister such means of identification of such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe.

A condition so signed shall be conclusive evidence that such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) have abandoned his or their rights to enter and reside in the Union and any rights incidental to his or their domicile therein. It will be seen that the Union Government can provide free passages only to Indians who ask for them in writing and who sign as a condition of the grant of the passage a statement that they abandon on behalf of themselves, their wives and their minor children (if any) all their rights to enter and reside in the Union together with all rights incidental to their domicile therein.

Mr. C. F. Andrews in a communication which we printed in the issue of the 27th June, stated that he negotiated, with Mr. Gandhi's consent, a free passage back for Indians to India, if they wished to go back and not to return. Those of us who closely followed the events in South Africa were not aware of this arrangement. Mr. Gandhi himself seems to have been oblivious of this because, in a statement which we published in the issue of the 20th June, he observed: "I very much fear that the proposed scheme will be found to involve the forfeiture of domicile against the acceptance of repatriation money, that is, passage back to India and possibly a trifling sum as pocket money. I am inclined to think that apart from everything else such consideration will be wholly insufficient or giving away a valuable right. I would hardly call any such repatriation as purely voluntary." The interim report says that, owing to the high price of rice and

other causes, several Indians at present are willing to go back to India. The Committee have gone beyond their terms of reference to propose that the difficulties of Indians should be taken advantage of to facilitate their repatriation. With all respect for those who approve of this on humanitarian grounds, we adhere to our view that this is not an arrangement which India should endorse. Of course, these men who are sent back cannot be turned back. All the talk about their finding employment here is humbug. They may or may not do so: what the Union Government are anxious about is to do as many Indians as possible out of their birthright in return for a free passage. We reprint, from the last issue of *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi's article on the scheme.

A Bad Example of Christian Journalism: When we wrote last week about the *Epiphany's* conduct in publishing a damnable libel on Hindu widows, we were not aware that the Editor had appended a footnote to the letter of his correspondent, which, he complains, has been ignored by his critics. The footnote ran as follows: "It is a deplorable fact that in many cases Hindu widows fall into sins of unchastity, but to say that 'ninety-nine per cent' do so is an enormous exaggeration. Reckless allegations of this kind can do nothing but harm." This, by showing that the publication of the letter was not due to oversight and that the Editor fully realised the monstrous character of the statement he was giving publicity to, deprives him of the only possible excuse for his conduct. Why did he publish an allegation which he knew to be reckless? Do not Christian women fall in many cases into sins of unchastity? Has the Editor been reading his home papers and the comments of judges? What conceivable excuse could he have for publishing this admittedly reckless allegation except that, in his view, the cause of Christianity in India is advanced by publishing everything, true or false, calculated to represent Hinduism as an immoral religion? This, in the missionary sphere, is on a par with the Dyerian formula that the best means of saving the Indian Empire was to kill as many unarmed Indians as possible. It will—every one who knows the Hindu home will agree—be near the truth to invert the statement of the *Epiphany's* dirty-minded correspondent: It is the unspotted purity of the large majority of Hindu widows that throws into pathetic relief the lapses of a small minority of them. That, however, it will be rightly said, is a matter of opinion and not of authenticated data. But we ask our readers to note the following facts. The *Epiphany's* correspondent said that ninety-nine per cent of Hindu widows were living in prostitution. Now, prostitution does not conduce to longevity: it shortens life. In the light of this fact, it is significant that, at the last census, of every 10,000 Hindu females, in the country, the number of those aged 40 and over was 2215; of these no less than 1,345 were widows and only 850 were married women. In the age period 15-40, of a total of 4081, the number of married women was 3,416 and of widows 506. The dangerous devices to which Hindu widows who fall from virtue resort to conceal their condition, are well-known. The admissions to the Pandharpur Foundling Home tell a woeful tale. Prostitution in their case is, therefore, far more detrimental to longevity than in ordinary cases. And yet we have the fact that there are over 50 per cent more Hindu widows than married women over 40 years of age. This, to say the least, raises a strong presumption against the reckless libel so published by the *Epiphany*. It is a sad reflection that men should take upon themselves the onerous duties of an Editor with very slight equipment, seeing that they have it in their power to stir up great animosities by their prejudice or passion.

Industries in Baroda: At a meeting of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Baroda State the Dewan outlined some of the recent activities of the Industrial Department. Baroda has without any ostentation fostered industries since the early eighties. It met in the earlier stages of its activities with disheartening failures; but such failures did not make the Gaekwar give up his efforts towards the industrial advancement of his State. His Highness' great interest in social and educational matters relating to the State are well-known. The Gaekwar seems to have proceeded also on very sound lines in promoting industries in his State. He early recognised that, without supplying means for the building up of a healthy body, social or educational improvement in the conditions of the people would be of little value. To strengthen, therefore, the economic condition of the people, he set about rendering help in a number of ways. State help was rendered in certain instances, but such help did not lead to any financial success. With the revision of the conditions governing industrial advancement, the State soon responded to the work of the Gaekwar. It embraced the opportunity presented by the new industrial conditions created by the War, and with the aid of a very able Director of Commerce and Industries, it is now in a position to prosecute many of the great industrial schemes which are suited to the State. If the present Dewan and his able lieutenant continue to work with the same broad-minded sympathy and encouragement, the Baroda State will occupy a front place in the near future in matters industrial. A few of the great industries which the State is now helping to create may be mentioned. These are spinning and weaving mills, both cotton and woollen, large cement works, glass works, large chemical works, large-scale oil pressing industry, hydro-electric works etc. To encourage some of these industries and to give them a permanent home in the State, the State has embarked upon large schemes, at its own expense, for instance, the building of three great ports on the west coast—one near Dwarka, another on the Kathiawar Coast near Diu Islands, and the third at Billimora. To give further facilities to these undertakings, a complete railway system is also planned. Such works as these rank in the fore-front of the great industrial movements of India, and we congratulate both His Highness and his Government for the encouragement given at great expense to new industries.

A Christian Missionary Manifesto: The remarkable statement which we print to-day from a number of Christian Missionaries expressing their strong condemnation of the martial-law excesses in the Punjab, should dispel the unfortunate misunderstanding created by their silence during the stressful months immediately after the occurrences. We have always regarded the presence of Christian Missionaries in this country, apart from their proselytising activities, as essential to the right interpretation and the right understanding of the West by the Indian people. Naturally, therefore, we look to them to be prompt and emphatic in condemning wrong-doing by men in authority. This pronouncement has an importance exceeding that of the immediate occasion that has called it forth. It conveys an assurance that, in the working of the reforms, the Indian people will have the benefit of the judgment of a body of men of high character and lofty ideals who will not be swayed by the narrow material motives that inspire the class of Europeans who have no aims beyond exploiting the resources of the country for their own benefit. We are grateful to the signatories for this proof of their regard for the rights of their Indian fellow-subjects. The document is bound to have a most beneficial effect on English public opinion distracted by the noisy clamour of party politicians.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 18, 1920.

THE DYER DEBATE.

The Dyer debate in the House of Commons was not as satisfactory as it looked from the summaries of the speeches of Ministers which Reuter had sent in the earlier messages. Mr. Montagu spoke up for India in language which has earned for him the gratitude even of Indians who do not approve of his policy. Mr. Winston Churchill's unequivocal condemnation of General Dyer's conduct at Jullianwala, was all the more impressive because of the rumours of a difference of opinion between him and Mr. Montagu. Mr. Asquith's outspoken support of Government from the Opposition benches was in the spirit of the highest traditions of the Liberal party. But these speeches cannot obscure the fact that a considerable minority of the usual supporters of Government went into the Opposition lobby, and that a Government defeat was averted only by the support of the Labourites and the Liberals. Party discipline, rather than conviction, it is not unfair to assume, prevented the defection from the Government benches from being larger than it was. That such a considerable body of politically-minded Englishmen and Scotchmen should, on an issue so plain as the conduct of General Dyer in ordering and directing the Jullianwala massacre, have voted against Government for deciding not to give him any more opportunities of displaying his qualities, is, we may put it to fair-minded men and women of whatever race or creed, not calculated to convince the Indian people that there is no danger of a repetition of the Punjab excesses. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his powerful speech at the Punjab meeting three weeks ago, showed that the general principles enunciated in the Secretary of State's despatch were no safeguard against a recurrence of the gross abuses of the Martial Law regime. The voting in the House of Commons on Sir Edward Carson's motion, does but confirm this fear. It is the imperative duty of Indian leaders, therefore, to concentrate their efforts on securing statutory guarantees against any future repetition of Prussian "frightfulness" in India. An Act of Parliament, we know, is no absolute safeguard, but it is more than the speeches of statesmen which are buried in the pages of Hansard as soon as they are spoken.

An equally imperative duty lies on Indian leaders to have his responsibility brought home to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and to insist on a change in the viceroyalty. These two measures will, perhaps, prove to be more potent safeguards against a repetition of the horrors of last year, even than an Act of Parliament. No man who shuts his eyes to the fact that the seeds of the whole trouble were assiduously sown by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is likely to give helpful advice either to the Government or to Indian leaders regarding the right measures to be adopted to relieve the present situation

of its intolerable strain. Sir Michael forced the hands of the Government of India in respect of the declaration of Martial law and approved with indecent haste of the massacre at Jullianwala. General Dyer's was the blunder of a military megalomaniac, but Sir Michael O'Dwyer's was the cold, calculated policy of humiliating and breaking the spirit of the people of the Punjab. To punish the one, and leave the other to glory in his wicked perversity, is not even-handed justice. The least that ought to be done is to deprive Sir M. O'Dwyer of his dignities which are tarnished by being borne by one who so infamously discharged his duties to his King and the King's subjects. Lord Chelmsford ought to go. The Indian people find it impossible any longer to regard him as a suitable representative of His Majesty the King whose memorable declaration uttered some years ago that what India needs is sympathy, His Excellency has so grossly neglected. It is our painful duty to tell His Excellency that his continuance in his high office is neither to the benefit of India nor of Great Britain. The most that could be said of His Excellency's part is that he has been the victim of circumstances. India at this juncture wants a Viceroy who can mould circumstances to his will. If we may make a suggestion, it is that the Viceroyalty should be held in abeyance for the time being: that one of the Presidency Governors should be appointed temporary Governor-General: and that the Prince of Wales should come out to India as His Majesty's accredited Viceroy during the term of his tour in the Indian empire. The question of a permanent arrangement may be left over for mature consideration for the present.

MR. GANDHI.

Mr. Montagu's methods are more those of a clever political tactician than those of a statesman with a grasp of first principles. Perhaps, like many others, he too holds that there are no principles in politics, only management of members of Parliament. That is why Mr. Montagu speaks with two voices one passionately eloquent in vindication, the other coldly indifferent to the claims, of freedom. The following reply was obviously designed to pacate the group of members of Parliament who, in the Dyer debate, had angrily demanded Mr. Montagu's resignation. Reuter cables under date the 14th instant:

Replying to Mr. Rupert Gwynne, Sir H. Craik and others with regard to Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafat Committee, Mr. Montagu emphasised Mr. Gandhi's great services to India and his high character, but declared that if Mr. Gandhi, after what has happened last year, persisted in the form of agitation he was now conducting, it would be absolutely impossible to take the same view of his action as last year. The Government of India and the local Governments were watching the situation closely and were taking precautions. He was satisfied that they would take all steps necessary to maintain order. He suggested that it would be extremely dangerous for the House of Commons to try to suggest, dictate or interfere with their measures. Mr. Gandhi's efforts were thoroughly mischievous, but he pre-

ferred to have their proper treatment to those charged with the maintenance of law and order in India, in whom the Government had complete confidence. He was prepared to support any steps which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult conditions.

We do not agree with Mr. Gandbi in all his methods, but we feel bound to say that Government will be committing the gravest blunder—graver even than those of last year—if they contemplate forcible restriction of his activities. We know that there is a revival of the irritating activities of the Criminal Investigation Department. If relying on such agency, Government contemplate restrictive action against Mr. Gandbi, several Indians who do not see eye to eye with him, and who, we may say, have been quietly working to convince the public of the practical objections to some of his propaganda, will be forced into situations which they have not contemplated and do not relish. And, if we judge rightly, there may be some Englishmen too in the same predicament. Mr. Montagu referred to what has happened last year. That cuts both ways. Does he think, that last year's happenings justify his declaration that he prefers "to leave the proper treatment of the situation to those charged with the maintenance of law and order in India, in whom the Government had complete confidence," and that "he was prepared to support any steps which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult conditions?" If he does, after his own denunciations in the debate on the Hunter Committee's report we can only exclaim: "We have never seen such faith, no, not in Israel!" The members of the Government of India have just resigned and been immediately reappointed under the Reform Act with the addition of Mr. B. N. Sarma, as second Indian member. Lord Chelmsford continues to be Viceroy.

PROHIBITION FACTS AND FALLACIES.

(BY MRS. EMMA S. PRICE.)

We have often seen the statement that the labouring men are against Prohibition and Mr. Gompers, the leader of the Labour party in the United States, so proclaims himself. But *The Literary Digest* doubted whether he was competent to speak for the rank and file of labourers and sent out inquiries to a large number of Labour leaders. The replies from 526 of these men were as follows:—

Prohibition, a benefit to the working man:	315
Prohibition, not a benefit to the working man:	143
Doubtful	31
Prohibition has not been given a fair trial:	7
Total	526

That journal further states that in thirty per cent. of these replies the statement is made that a poll was taken on the question at a regular meeting of labouring men, so that many of these are not individual votes but represent the sentiment of many more than that number.

In a recent number of the *Pioneer* we were informed that the Prohibition law was put through by a few fanatics while the majority of the American people were giving attention to other matters. But another article in the same paper admits that the "wets" know that the Methodists, Baptists and women are against them. Now the women in America number quite as many as the men. The Methodists number about six million, the Baptists not quite so many. We would like to add that the Presbyterian Church is for Prohibition to such an extent that she appropriated 50,000 dollars for Prohibition propaganda in India. Also the Christian Church, the Congregational and all other churches in the United States, except possibly the Lutheran Church, and the Roman Catholic Church. Even the last mentioned Church has furnished not a few doughty warriors against the drink traffic with its attendant evils. The Episcopal Church in America in polity and practice is very much like the Church of England, but is supported by its adherents and not by the State. A few years ago one of its able clergymen Rev. James Epringham of Syracuse, New York, resigned his parish that he might give all his time to work for Prohibition. Later he worked as an agent of the Anti-Saloon League in New York City. This case is not an isolated one, for all evangelical ministers feel that the drink traffic is the arch-enemy of individuals as well as of good Government. If the individuals above mentioned are fanatics, they can hardly be termed "few".

Then, the *Pioneer* seems to have quite forgotten that the Constitutional Prohibition Amendment was carried in the Senate by sixty-five to twenty and in the House of Representatives by 262 to 125; that later all but three States, and those three of the very smallest in the Union, have ratified the said amendment; that when the President of the United States vetoed the measures to continue war-time Prohibition, it was promptly passed over his head by more than the required two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress. Does any individual knowing the A. B. C. of politics imagine that those Congressmen were voting against the desires of their constituency? Those men are ordinary individuals, and desire to retain the good will of the people they represent and probably many of them hope for re-election, which they can secure only by the direct vote of the people. Whether men opposed to Prohibition are willing to admit the truth of its beneficent effects or not, we do not see how a sane man can believe the foolish falsehoods concerning Prohibition being foisted on the American people against the will of the majority.

A few months ago people prophesied that New York City would never go dry, whatever might happen in other places. The latest number of *The Outlook* reports some effects of the Prohibition law in New York City. Mr. Fredrick B. Greene, Secretary of the United Hospital Fund of New York City, states that cases of alcoholism in that City have shown a decrease of from seventy to ninety per cent. in the first two months of prohibition, instead of physicians, nurses, time, space, and food being pre-empted by alcoholics,

7,000 beds in the hospital of that City have been released for the care of maternity, mental, tuberculosis and general cases.

Dr. George O'Hanlon, General Medical Superintendent of Bellevue hospital, which has handled more alcoholic cases than any other hospital in the city states: "We have practically closed the wards formerly used for the cure and treatment of patients suffering from alcoholism, and the few cases of this character which are treated with the psychopathic cases." In the City of Philadelphia where the Prohibition law has not yet been fully enforced, the number of industrial accidents is now but little more than half those which occurred before Prohibition. The same experience as that in New York City has been repeated in Philadelphia both as to its hospitals and to general troubles which caused court cases. The bogey that if strong drink were prohibited the consumption of narcotic drugs would greatly increase, has been proven false. An officer of the Internal Revenue department, having the charge of such cases, says: "Dope using is decreasing, not increasing." In Philadelphia, the Sunday Breakfast Association used to feed from 900 to 1,000 indigent persons; the number has steadily decreased until after two months under prohibition only two hundred (guests) put in appearance for Sunday morning coffee and doughnuts.

"Holi" writing in the *Pioneer* states that Indian jails are filled for the most part with persons who have never tasted strong liquor in their lives. This is quite contrary to the statement of men in charge of jails and having access to all records they state that fully one half the inmates of certain large jails in India have been sent there for crimes committed while under the influence of drink or drugs. We heartily wish that an impartial investigation into the circumstance and cause of crime in India might be made; but who does not know of many many cases of men under the influence of arrack, gunja or other drugs running amuck and committing crimes impossible to a sane man?

The situation is aptly stated by a writer in the *Intercollegiate Statesman* in a story of the literary society he attended in his college days as follows: "I remember that sometimes we would vote and the President would say; "All in favour say, (Aye);" and sometimes it happened most of the boys would say "Aye". Then the President would say, "All opposed say, (No.)" and a few of the boys would yell "No;" their noise would just almost raise the roof and make us jump with fright. Then they would yell: "Division" and the President would say. "All in favour please stand;" and about forty would stand. Then he would say "All opposed, please stand; and six or seven would stand. Then we would all laugh and wonder how those boys *could* make so much noise."

The Joint Committee on the Reform Rules: Reuter has sent a summary of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the rules under the Reform Act, drafted by the Government of India. They seem to have approved of most of them, with a few changes. The most important of these is, perhaps, that in regard to the residential qualification, though it is not clear what exactly has been recommended.

THE RE-MARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS II.

(By R. V. K.)

The horrid realities which she, in these circumstances, is faced with, will evolve, we do not know what despair of the injured mind leading to serious consequences or steps on her part. Is it not better, therefore, to remarry them? We do not want our widows to become proverbial suspects in the long run. Again in the families of old there was a great moral influence which was exercised. The families of recent growth scarcely exercise that moral influence as every individual thereof can assume and does assume a larger freedom of thought, speech and action. And moral force, as we know, carries with it a sanction, a potential fear in the event of a breach of morals, which no educational career or educative propaganda can furnish. Again as it is very unwise and imprudent under these circumstances, to define freedom for another and very deceptive to define it for oneself, it would be better if we are not unmindful of the potency and elasticity which that word freedom is pregnant with. That the moral influence, which there was to be found in the families of old, with its consequential rectitude of life in the case of those who were exposed to looseness, is not to be found in the families of recent growth and that economic life is felt more than ever, leading to instincts of self-preservation are two facts which cannot be refuted. It must be admitted on all hands that you cannot change this condition of the society for many years to come at least. It is, therefore, that we urge the Reform as a makeshift in time of adversity. And have we not a precedent in this respect? Widow remarriage was prevalent among us in the days of old. It will, therefore, be quite feasible to discard it when the present necessity for it has disappeared. It is to be recognised as an *Apad-dharma*. It is praiseworthy in the same sense in which an *Apad-dharma* is praiseworthy. An *Apad-dharma* is an expedient to which an individual or society may resort in times of adversity with a view to discard the same when that difficult situation is passed over. You can resort to it without injuring your scrupulousness or high traditions in the least. An *Apad-dharma* is really so if it is resorted to with a solemn and resolute resolve to discard it when the difficult situation in which it was embraced has disappeared.

The time is now ripe for re-approachment. Let the Nationalists and the Moderates compose their feud over which first?—Social or the Political Reform? The question now fast recedes into the background with a velocity directly varying with the growing political consciousness which is saturating the Indian minds. As long as this intense consciousness was not there, then there was the danger of falling into pitfalls leading to social and consequently to moral anarchy, induced by the subtle and stealthy action, acting irresistibly, aided as it is, by the influence of all that is prevalent among the governing race. The aspiration for political uplift which has become nearly elemental in Indian minds has

furnished a lever and a guarantee against the dangers of slave imitation and psychology. That being so we can now safely reconsider our attitude towards the Widow Remarriage question. Let us consult our credit by timely reconsidering it now, for there is now absolutely no reason to make us inclined the other way—at least in respect of this question.

We are not consulting the Shastras. We are not going to see what the Smritis prescribe. We are going to resort to it, as long as required, as a dire and grim necessity. We are going to submit to it for there is no choice for us save to submit to it. When we are reconsidering this, this is our position.

A religious institution should be established which should decide the attitude of the society in general towards the many planks of the Social Reform. If our priest-hood remains unmoved and indifferent, the time is not far when they will be nowhere. They should not then complain of the way in which they are treated. We are now determined on having a solution and we shall have it. We are going to guard the full integrity of the Religious Authority, as far as possible and while we can. So it will be so much the better, if the priest-hood joins hands with us in respect of this touchy question.

CACTUS AS FODDER.

We have received a copy of the report of the Ahmednagar District Famine Relief Fund for the period from the 20th December 1918 to the end of September 1919. The administration of the Fund reflects credit on Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, the chairman, one of the increasing number of non-official gentlemen with proved capacity for administration. Cattle relief bulks largely in this report. The observations in it regarding the value of cactus as cattle food are of practical importance in future fodder famines. The Rao Bahadur writes :

As my attitude in this matter has been unfortunately misunderstood it is better to state it at the beginning. If cactus to the extent of 25 to 30 per cent. is given to animals as supplementing their natural food I am entirely in its favour but if this proportion is to be reversed so as to attempt to keep cattle on 70 to 80 per cent. of cactus alone, I am decidedly against it. It is better to note that I have not formed this conclusion on a priori reasoning but it has been based upon actual experience of the result of experiments in 1912 and 1918-19. In the first place there is some risk in inexperienced hands of the use of this fodder and it is very difficult to produce it in very large quantities in a given time as the cactus fodder has to be fresh in order to be used as fodder. Moreover cactus food is after all not so cheap and nourishing as its ardent and enthusiastic advocates would have us believe. It has to be prepared with very great care so as to avoid any risks or at any rate to reduce all risks to a minimum. Careful experiments and accurate accounts for a number of months show that the cactus feed per animal costs not less than Rs. 7-8-0 and sometimes even more, as it depends upon the value of labour, Kerosine oil or fuel and the prices of cotton seed at Bazar rates. It will be thus seen that having regard to the tremendous energy, labour, cost and some risks involved and the limit to which cactus can be used as fodder in famine times, it does not appear to me to be a practicable preventive measure.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION.

The Government of India have received a copy of the interim report dated May 12th, 1920, submitted by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission to the Governor General of South Africa. The report is as follows :—

During the course of our enquiries strong evidence has been laid before us which tends to show that there is at present, owing to the shortage of rice and other cereals, a considerable number of Indians who, with their families, would be prepared to return to India if opportunity were afforded them.

We have also had evidence from an influential Calcutta merchant, at present on a visit to the Union, who, until recently was chairman of the Central Employment and Labour Board under the Government of India, that at the present time, owing to industrial development, the labour supply in India is insufficient to meet the demand, and that good wages are being paid.

The evidence on these points is confirmed by Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett, the official representatives of the Indian Government.

We therefore strongly recommend to Your Excellency that prompt steps be taken to provide the necessary shipping facilities and to appoint an official, well acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods, to act in a sympathetic manner, and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.

Two main causes have hitherto militated against the return of many Indians, *viz.* (1) the excessively long time they are kept at the Durban depot awaiting shipment, during which they spend their available money in subsistence and are consequently driven to re-entering employment to enable them to provide for their families and themselves; and (2) the fact that they are not allowed to take with them to India their earnings in the shape of gold, and their jewellery.

We therefore recommend that immediate steps be taken : (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protector's Department), to organise the return of such Indians as are prepared to go; (b) to provide frequent shipping facilities at short intervals; (c) to relax the restrictions on the export of gold in so far as necessary in order to allow returning Indians to take their legitimate savings and jewellery with them to India; (d) to make provisions where necessary for enabling returning Indians and their families to reach their homes after arrival in India.

Evidence was given before the Commission that at a meeting held at Durban during March last of Indians employed by the South African Railways, 80 per cent of those present expressed their wish to return to India if assisted thereto.

We consider that if action were taken by the Government in furtherance of this desire on the part of their own employees, it would become widely known amongst the Indians wishing to return to India, and have good results.

We feel, too, that advantage should be taken of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett, in whom the Indian community have the utmost confidence and whose influence is consequently great, to obtain their assistance and advice, in initiating the scheme which we have recommended.

The repatriation will be carried out under the provisions of Section 16 of the Indians' Relief Act 1914. This Section is reproduced below :—

(6) The Minister may, in his discretion, cause to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose a free passage from any port in the Union to any port in India (with or without free conveyance by rail to such first mentioned port) for an Indian (other than an Indian who is, or may, become entitled under law No. 25 of 1891,) Natal, or any amendment thereof, to such free passage who makes a written request for such free passage, and (a) signs, as a condition of the grant of such request, a statement that he abandons on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union, together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein, and (b) furnishes to an officer designated by the Minister such means of identification of such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe. A condition so signed shall be conclusive evidence that such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) have abandoned his or their rights to enter and reside in the Union and any rights incidental to him or their domicile therein."

It will be seen that the Union Government can provide free passage only to Indians who ask for them in writing and who sign as a condition of the grant of the passage a statement that they abandon on behalf of themselves, their wives and their minor children (if any) all their rights to enter and reside in the Union, together with all rights incidental and their domicile therein. It is understood that the Government of the Union of South Africa have placed Mr. Wynne Cole, Licensing Officer for Natal, on special duty to carry out the scheme and that Indians leaving South Africa will be allowed to take legitimate saving in gold, subject to a maximum of £25 per head or £50 per family. The Government of India are assured that repatriation under this scheme will be purely voluntary and that it will be left to Indians in South Africa alone to decide whether they desire to take advantage of the Union Government's offer.

Mr. GANDHI ON THE REPATRIATION SCHEME.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

There is something uncanny about the repatriation scheme of South Africa. I had never dreamt that the *interim* report had the slightest connection with the Indians Relief Act of 1914. I have now read the full text of the Act and had a discussion with Mr. Andrews also. Till the latter drew my attention to the fact, I had even forgotten that there was a section in the Act itself regarding the granting of free passages against forfeiture of domicile. The Government *communiqué* confirms Mr. Andrews' information. What puzzles me is the fact that it has been found at all necessary to have an *interim* report in order to enforce the free passage section of the Relief Act. That section takes the place of the several sections of different Acts of the Natal legislation repealed by the Act. These sections provided for the grant of free passage to those who were under liability to pay the £ 8 tax, if the latter wanted to escape the payment of the tax of re-indenture. The section in question though designed to affect these people was made generally applicable. But the debate in the Assembly made perfectly clear the scope of the section. The contention at the time was that those who paid the £ 8 tax really did not become domiciled, and if after they ceased to pay the tax, they wanted to take advantage of the free passage section, they should forego

the right of domicile which was at that time considered to be an equitable settlement of the very hotly debated question of the removal of a tax which had been in vogue for nearly twenty years. The *interim* report somewhat alters the scope of the section, but I am personally not afraid because the section requires a written application for a free passage which is a difficult thing to obtain from any Indian in Natal, and it can only happen in the case of those indentured Indians who having become free are at the present moment unable to support themselves. Not many Indians are likely to take advantage of the section and forfeit their domicile. At the same time I cannot help feeling that an illegitimate use is being attempted to be made of the section that was designed not to meet cases of poverty but to meet cases of doubtful domicile i. e. cases in which it was open to the Anti-Asiatic party to argue that domicile had not been acquired. To-day six years after the repeal of the tax every Indian under liability to pay that tax has acquired statutory domicile. It is against my idea of right that a government should take advantage of distress of men and seek to deprive them of a precious right. It would be better not to issue the scheme under unequal conditions. However I derive satisfaction from the fact that, in spite of the machinery that is being set up not many Indians would take the doubtful advantage of the scheme.—*Young India*.

GUJARAT STREE KELAVNI MANDAL, AHMEDABAD.

SHALANTA PARIKSHA. The first Shalant Pariksha (the School leaving examination) was held by the Mandal on the 21st June 1920, wherein three candidates appeared and all passed in the following order of merit :—

1. Savita Vishwanath Trivedi
2. Arvinda Girdharlal Thakor
3. Nandgauri Chhotalal Setalvad

All these belonged to Vanita Vishram Mahila Vidyalaya Ahmedabad. Nos. 1 and 2 stand in second class, the former gets 5 prizes, each of Rs. 10 in Gujarati, Domestic Arts and Science History, Sanskrit and Hindi; and the latter gets 2 prizes in English and Mathematics.

GIRLS' COLLEGE. Now the Mandal thinks of starting a College for Girls in near future which will be affiliated to Indian Women's University.

RECOGNITION OF SHALANTA PARIKSHA AND MAHILA VIDYALAYA. The Mandal has applied to Indian Women's University for the recognition of Shalanta Pariksha as equivalent to the Entrance Examination of the University. The Vanita Vishram of Ahmedabad has also approached the University for the recognition of its Mahila Vidyalaya as a High School. The Syndicate has appointed the following Committee to report on the advisability of both :—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Prof. Kanitker | } of Poona |
| Prof. Apte | |
| Principal Mr. N. K. Dikshit | } of Baroda |
| Mr. Sirdesai | |

The Committee is expected in Ahmedabad during the current month for the inspection of Mahila Vidyalaya and for the consideration of the question of Shalanta Pariksha.

SHARADA MEHTA.
Hon. Secretary.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

The last Mail brought me your issue of May 23rd and with it the leaflet containing the sketch which describes the objects and methods of the *Reformer*. It was a great pleasure to me to read it, and to know what it stands for. I was aware that it was courageous and independent in its championship of moral and social reform, for I have experienced from it much sympathy and assistance in our propaganda against Commercialized Vice during the past year; but I did not know that the journal had such a wide outlook upon the development of India.

I am glad to know that the *Reformer* stands for the British language as the *lingua franca*; for there is no doubt that this enables India to enter more thoroughly into understanding of sympathy with progressive movements in Europe and America.

I feel sure that the women of the future will regard the *Indian Social Reformer* as one of the greatest of their bulwarks against the *inequity* and *iniquity* which have kept them so long submerged in an illiterate and inarticulate condition. Such a journal should be supported by every educated woman in India.

50, Regent's Park Road, (Mrs.) FRANCES S. HALLOWES,
London, N. W. 1,
June 16, 1920.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

It appears to be commonly supposed that European opinion in India approves of the methods adopted by the military authorities during the recent disorders in the Punjab.

We desire to express an opinion which we believe to be shared by many of our fellow countrymen.

We deplore and condemn the excesses of the mob and recognize the extreme gravity of the situation with which the authorities had to deal.

We are not prepared either to affirm or to deny on the evidence that has been published that the proclamation of Martial Law was necessary. We would strongly maintain, however, that the sole justification for the proclamation of Martial Law is the welfare of the people of India of every race and creed. It is not sufficient to urge, as has sometimes been urged, that Martial Law was necessary for the retention of India as a place fit for white men. Such an argument is fundamentally disloyal to the spirit of the recent Royal Proclamation and to the British Empire.

But while we abstain from expressing an opinion as to the necessity for Martial Law, we have no hesitation in condemning some of the methods by which it was administered. The indiscriminate firing on the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh prolonged even during their flight in order "to create a wide impression"; the crawling order; the flogging of school boys chosen at random for punishment; these things are beyond excuse; they have grievously stained the British name in India.

Worst of all, in our judgment, is the mentality of those who adopted these methods. By their evidence before the commission, they have shown how contemptuous is their attitude towards the people of India, and how arrogant is their

assumption of racial superiority. The slaughter of some 100 Indians evokes only a mild expression of regret. The imposition on the ground of alleged seditious tendencies in their Colleges of daily roll-calls for a thousand students, involving a 16 mile walk a day is cynically described as "a mild form of physical exercise". The imprisonment in the fort of Sixty-five students and the staff of the Saastan Dharma College when some unknown person tore a notice on the compound wall, was inflicted because the officer in command of Lahore "was looking for just such an opportunity." These methods have been rightly described by one of the questioners in the Hunter Report as frightfulness and underlying the whole policy is the belief that "force is the only thing that an Asiatic has any respect for." (Hunter Report, pp. 186-158).

We feel bound both as Englishmen and as Christians to express our indignation that such methods should be marked British rule in India. As Englishmen, we regard "Prussianism," whatever practised as damnable and futile; for no empire can be securely built on a foundation of terrorism and hate. As Christians, we hold that the condonation of such methods would involve the repudiation of the teaching and example of Christ and the rejection of those Christian principles of co-operation and friendship without which there can be no true progress for the peoples of the world.

SIGNATURES.

Beatrice Budden, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Panjab; P. N. Bushill, Baptist Mission, Delhi; E. C. Dewick, Principal St. Paul's College, Calcutta; J. J. Ellis, Wesleyan Mission, Trichinopoly; A. G. Fraser, Principal, Trinity College, Kandy; T. N. Gardiner, Hislop College, Nagpur; R. M. Gray, United Free Church of Scotland, Bombay; J. S. Hoyland, Hislop College, Nagpur; D. G. M. Leith, Wesleyan Mission, Triplicane, Madras; N. G. Leather, Principal, Krishnath College, Berhampore; J. H. Maclean, United Free Church of Scotland, Conjeevaram; N. Macnicol, United Free Church of Scotland, Poona; R. L. Pelly, Acting Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta; O. H. C. Sharp, Lecturer, St. Stephen's College, Delhi; E. J. Thompson, Wesleyan Mission College, Bankura; S. H. Thomas, Lecturer, St. Stephen's College, Delhi; A. H. Tilt, Cambridge Mission to Delhi; F. J. Western, Cambridge Mission to Delhi; O. Kingsley Williams, Principal, Wesley College, Madras; J. Winterbotham, Medical Missionary, Chikbalapur, Mysore; C. B. Young, Baptist Mission, Delhi; Edith L. Young, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Panjab; P. N. F. Young, Cambridge Mission to Delhi; Ruth Young, Baptist Mission, Delhi; M. Young, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Delhi.

MISSIONARIES AND "CURRENT EVENTS"

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Here and there looms about a notion that the foreign missionaries are not very much interested in Indian affairs. It is rather an ill-founded opinion. The missionary contributions to the journals about the Hunter Committee Report and the Jallianwala Bagh atrocities deserve the public attention. Some of them are encouraging; some of them are discouraging. But all of them are the outcome of the Punjab affair. The encouraging letters stand as a monument of records protesting against the inhuman crimes committed under the fair name of law and justice. In this connection a reference to a question paper set in "Current Events" in one of the leading

theological colleges will not be out of place. Some of the questions are interesting from an Indian point of view. They are about the Hunter Committee Report, the Congress Report, Jallianwalla Bagh etc. The paper speaks very highly of the examiner, who, though a foreigner, has taken a keen interest in studying the topics about India, which is a natural course for one who has to do sincere work with a clear conscience in the place where he happens to be. To such a paper, learned answers with original ideas and independent thoughts based on sound spiritual reasons, suggesting possible prophylactic injections to the bureaucratic disease caused by sheer imaginary fear of an open rebellion, would leave an everlasting good impression on the examiner. On the other hand, even a little vagary in answers, clean-cut ignorance of the term Jallianwalla Bagh, the nightmare bewilderment on seeing the expression "Minority and Majority", and the unsophisticated attempt to find out who that Hunter was, perhaps a passing current of thought confusing such a great personality as Lord Hunter with Mr. Mark Hunter, the author of the recent Burma University Report, would undoubtedly produce a contrary effect.

When a significant section of the missionaries are thus earnestly studying the current problems of India and racking their brains to solve them by the spiritual weapons, not by aeroplanes, machine guns and bombs, it is highly deplorable that some of the educated Indians are merrily indifferent. How ludicrous does the state of affairs stand? "Educate the poor and the illiterate and lead the mass", is the cry everywhere. This cannot be achieved unless there are true leaders. But who is a true leader? It is he who has studied his own country and the people personally; it is he who has a clear knowledge about the religions of his own native land and other countries, it is he who, at a sudden call of duty, forgets his own self and lends his services to the cause of his country; it is he who shakes off his caste prejudices; it is he who views things with an unprejudiced mind; it is he who advocates co-operation for justice and non-co-operation for injustice; it is he who fights out for self-determination; it is he who follows truth; but not the so-called golden rules. India requires such leaders. Will the theological seminaries and other institutions rise to the occasion and send forth year after year a number of brilliant men of highly intellectual, moral and spiritual attainments to the different parts of India and if possible outside this country, to teach and guide humanity to attain the ultimate goal of everlasting peace and happiness by spiritualism, but not by navalism and militarism and not by the amazing ignorance of the humanity-staggering atrocities perpetrated by foreigners on their fellow brethren?

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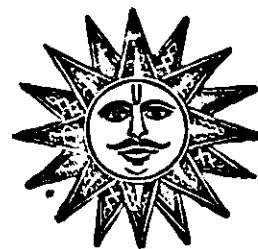
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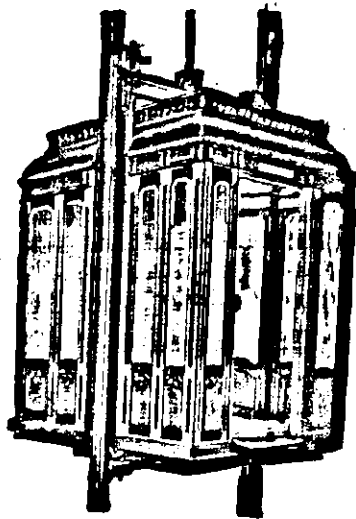
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Vol. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 25, 1920. No. 47.

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The Lords and General Dyer.	

NOTES.

Indians Overseas. A great public meeting of the citizens convened by nearly all the important political associations in Bombay, was held on Tuesday the 13th inst. to protest against the violation of the rights of Indians in East Africa and to demand publication of full information regarding the treatment of Indians in Fiji. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided and Mr. Gandhi moved the two principal resolutions. The Imperial Citizenship Association should have an executive to keep in close touch with events affecting Indians in the different Colonies. Without such an organization, it is not easy to take steps in this country to advance their interests or to protect them from persecution in time. Last week's *Government Gazette* publishes the official version of the occurrences at Fiji. The statement has a family resemblance to the official version of the doings at Amritsar in April 1919.

Voluntary Repatriation: Indian Opinion (Durban) of the 18th June has the following significant remarks: "The Union Government are showing wonderful activity in the matter of the voluntary repatriation of Indians. It will be seen that an officer has already been appointed to undertake the duties of superintending the embarkation arrangement and that the restrictions in regard to gold and jewellery have been relaxed especially in favour of those who take advantage of the Government's offer. The Government have not so far announced their intention of offering any cash allowance to those returning. As we have said before, the Government ought to assist these returning emigrants and place them in a position to start life afresh in a country which, to many, has become a strange one." The italics are ours. Side by side with this, may be placed the report of an interview with Sir Benjamin Robertson cabled by the South African correspondent of the *Times of India*:—"Sir Benjamin Robertson interviewed at Pietermaritzburg en route for Kenia Colony, stated that the Union Government's voluntary Indian Repatriation Scheme was based on the principle

recommended by him for the advancement of Indians themselves for their own good. Indians must leave the Union as they could never progress there." That is the logical consequence of the "voluntary repatriation" scheme as we foresaw at the very beginning. Nothing more humiliating to India and to the Empire can be imagined.

Indians in East Africa: Lord Milner's statement in reply to Lord Islington's question in the House of Lords is an excellent example of how sophistry does duty for statesmanship at the present day. Lord Milner complained that there was exaggeration on both sides which made the reasonable consideration of the question of the status of Indians in East Africa, Tanganyika and Uganda most difficult. We know that there has been not only exaggeration but lying on the side of those who wish to ruin Indian settlers in these parts of the British Empire. But we should like to know what grounds the Colonial Secretary has for accusing Indians of exaggeration. The Indians as the oldest settlers in these Colonies ask for equal rights with the white settlers who went there very much later. If Lord Milner thinks that this is to exaggerate their claims, all that we can say is that, notwithstanding his professions of impartiality, he has virtually conceded the demands of the white settlers. This is evident from what his lordship said about the segregation of Indians in swampy areas. He said that there was no question of compelling Indians to dwell in any particular locality. But he was prepared to defend the reservation of certain areas usually the best and most healthy in the localities for whites. Lord Milner said that these were areas in which alone the whites could live and work in health. That may or may not be the case, but surely that the whites could not live and work in health elsewhere, is no reason for preventing non-whites from living anywhere they choose or can afford to in a colony where they are or ought to be equal subjects of His Majesty. According to the Milnerian logic it is justifiable for the British Government to despoil non-white men in order to promote the health and longevity of white men. The Colonial Secretary may be prepared to defend this policy but Indians are not likely to be much impressed by his defence. The Government of India ought to lose no time in protesting against Lord Milner's sophistries, and if their protest goes unheeded, they should adopt more effective measures to demonstrate that India does not mean to be trampled under foot in the interests of white exploiters of coloured races.

Indians in East Africa: The Hon. Mr. Abdulrasul A. Visram M. B. E. of British East Africa and Uganda, writes to us: "I have just read Reuter's summary of the reply given by Lord Milner to Lord Islington, in the House of Lords with regard to the status of Indians in British East Africa, Tanganyika and Uganda. The cablegram

is so incomplete, that it is hardly possible to express one's final opinion thereon at once. To guide public opinion on the question by this reply, on the face of it, however, I should remain satisfied to say for the present pending the arrival of the full text thereof, that the reply as reported appears to be far from being satisfactory to His Majesty's Indian subjects, whose only demand in a nutshell is the complete equality of status of all the races within the Empire and nothing short of it can satisfy them completely. This is, I am afraid, one more attempt to cloud this issue. I too equally deprecate any exaggeration of facts from either sides. If the legislative council was only in the nature of an experiment, why is it so treated only against Indians alone, and why are the Europeans at once allowed elective franchise? It is, however, satisfactory so far to know that he intends doing something in the way of granting elective franchise now at the new elections of the Council. I understand his reply on the question of the segregation of races is based on the recommendations made by the Professor Simpson described by him as 'a man who is recognized as the highest living authority on the subject of sanitation.' It should be made emphatically clear that defending a policy of the Government which in effect means the segregation on racial principles, is bound to meet with the strongest resentment from the Indians in East Africa and that would be a great injustice to their sentiments of Imperialism. I should welcome any suggestion for a visit of a representative from the Government of India, for the allocation of land. As Sir Benjamin Robertson has already visited, pending the publication of his report, the question must be regarded *sub-judice*." We think we can guess what Sir Benjamin's recommendation will be.

Khilafat Speeches in Sind: We earnestly trust that the hope expressed by the Government of Bombay in their Press Note regarding Khilafat meetings in Sind, will meet with ready response from those concerned. Sir George Lloyd's Government have earned, by virtue of their proved moderation and sobriety in dealing with popular movements, the right to command the cooperation of all persons when they appeal for it on the grounds set forth in the Press Note. To ignore advice tendered in such admirable spirit, is to put a premium on administrative methods which wrought such havoc in the Punjab last year. At the same time, we trust that Government will severely check any tendency on the part of the Criminal Investigation Department to develop into a Criminal Evolution Department. When the public mind is perturbed as it is today, it is the interest and the duty of Government, not to find inmates for its jails, but remove all possible causes of irritation, to disseminate correct, impartial and reliable information, and to multiply the points of sympathetic personal contact between its officers and the people. In this connection, we ought to say that the Bombay Government's Bureau of Information is a costly fiasco. Major Dawson is an excellent man, but knowledge of and information about India is not his strong point, and as the saying is, you cannot get into the ladle what is not in the pot.

Missionaries and Martial Law Excesses: We have pleasure in publishing the letter which the Rev. John Mackenzie, Principal of the Wilson College, sends us with reference to the manifesto published in the last issue signed by 25 Christian Missionaries. The following comment of the *Dnyanodaya*, the Anglo-Marathi organ of six Missions working in this Presidency, is to the same purport: "We desire to associate ourselves with the mis-

sionary manifesto concerning last year's martial law, bearing the signatures of twenty-five English missionaries, working in various parts of India—the Punjab included—and representing various British missionary societies. We have every reason to know that the sentiments of the 'manifesto' are also those of missionaries representing missionary societies from other countries such as America and it is our belief that the overwhelming majority of missionaries at work in India would support it."

Mr. Sastri on the Declaration of Rights: Speaking at a public meeting in Madras, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is reported thus: "The Liberals would not oppose the demand for a declaration of rights, but nevertheless he pointed out that if it were granted, the legislature in India would be unable to take extraordinary steps in emergencies without the express sanction of the Imperial Government." In fairness to many Liberals, we ought to say at once that they are strongly in favour of a Declaration of Rights, and that the Liberals for whom Mr. Sastry speaks are only a section of them. The Liberals, he says, will not oppose a Declaration of Rights. They dare not, would have been more appropriate. Mr. Sastry's Liberals will avail themselves of the benefit of such a declaration when it comes, but they will not lift their little finger to help to get it. And why? Because if it were granted, the Legislature in India would be unable to take extraordinary steps in emergencies. In other words, Mr. Sastry and his friends when they tell us that responsible Government will automatically secure political freedom, are not serious. His speech is itself the best proof of Lord Acton's differentiation between a political party which seeks more power, and one which works to ensure greater freedom for the people. If the Legislature is really representative of the people, emergencies requiring extraordinary powers should not and would not arise. A new election will be the normal and legitimate means whereby the Legislature from time to time adjusts itself to considerable fluctuations in public opinion.

The Woman's Page: A lady writing in a Canadian contemporary protests against the conventional "Woman's Page" in many journals. She writes: "The average 'page for women' in our press of to-day has long been a more or less secret and silent source of irritation to countless human beings in Canada and elsewhere; there seems to be no parallel for it in masculine literature—at least none labelled strictly masculine,—and one brilliant woman writer has suggested that if the woman's page must eternally dwell upon the Kaiser's four K's—kitchen, kinder, kirche, kleider, and if we must endlessly discuss cooking, children, church and clothes, then there should be also a 'man's page,' always filled with sporting news and fish stories, and nothing else. Of course, in the 'good old days,' when men were 'the people' and women were merely 'the sex,' it would be natural to consider that feminine interests must be decidedly limited, and we must remember that it is only the other day we were granted the right of self-expression as citizens. Many of us who are neither old nor feeble can recall the trouble we had in forcing open the doors of the universities—and may one say, incidentally, that no true woman will be fully satisfied until every girl who wants a university training may have the opportunity to enter."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 25, 1920.

LEADERSHIP.

Gubernatorial speeches to Indian students are, as a rule, of no more than conventional interest. The man behind the Governor is seldom allowed a chance. Sir George Lloyd's speeches, however, are distinguished by a challenging note which impart to them a certain freshness. Speaking at the opening of the new buildings of the Karnatak College at Dharwar, His Excellency the Governor advised the students not to over-estimate their own powers. "Many young men of your age," said Sir George Lloyd, "as they leave these doors think that they are already fully qualified to step straight into the political arena, and there to bear themselves with all the skill and wisdom of a Pitt or a Gokhale. But you cannot be Pitts or Gokhales unless you go through the stern training those men went through. You will come in full time to your share in the great tasks that lies before this country, but first of all you must learn all the lessons that only experience can teach." Our experience of our young graduates does not coincide with His Excellency's in this respect. Among the many miscellaneous duties that fall to this writer's lot is to receive and converse almost every day with young graduates and undergraduates desirous of entering life. On some days, there are two or three such in the same day. And what depresses him most is that, so far from over-estimating their own powers, most of these young men very seriously under-estimate them. Our present day young men, notwithstanding that many of them are probably less handicapped in the important respect of early marriage and parental responsibility than their fathers at their age, show themselves to be more backward in the courage that faces life's problems in a spirit of serenity. This is, perhaps, to be accounted for as arising from the lack in the present generation of the faith (or faithfulness) which stiffened the character of preceding ones. It may also be that the more burdens we bear in our younger days, provided they are not such as to crush us out, the more burdens are we able to bear in our later manhood. This, we need hardly say, is not an argument for reviving old superstitions or perpetuating early marriage and boy parenthood. It only shows that means should be found, and that soon, to provide the fortifying influence of a renovated faith in our lives and an enlightened substitute for the training in responsibility which, with its many and glaring defects, the old family system provided.

The lack of self-confidence in our young men is shown conspicuously by the inveterate belief which many of them seem to entertain that unless somebody backs them up they have no chance of making their way in the world. Even if a young man's qualifications are of

the best kind, he still wastes a lot of time and shoe leather in visiting persons whose recommendations are supposed to carry weight. Several of our young men frankly avow that they do not think their own merits will suffice without influence to give them their right place in the scheme of life. Few young men, even after they take their B. A. degree, have any idea of what their special aptitude is, and fewer still feel that they have a mission in life. One young Maratha graduate, when remonstrated with for trying to qualify himself for three unconnected professions at the same time, told this writer the other day that he must be guided by circumstances, adding that that was the condition of most young men in the present state of the country! The facility to find an excuse in the general state of the country for one's own defective fibre is where present day young men have the advantage of their fathers. This writer's advice to all these young men generally takes the shape of a talk pointing to the need of a sufficient conceit of their own powers and destinies. We are afraid that this does not fit in with His Excellency's advice. In our opinion, it is much better that a young man or woman should over-estimate rather than under-estimate their powers. And for two reasons. The more important of the two is that the disillusionment of later years will in that case leave a residuum of self-reliance in a young man who begins by over-estimating his powers, whereas the one who starts by under-estimating them will have a minus balance before he reaches middle age. The other and perhaps less worthy reason is that the world generally takes a man at his own valuation; at any rate, it never takes him at a higher valuation. The young man who is afflicted with an excess of diffidence will never be able to persuade his fellows to overwhelm him with their confidence. His Excellency is himself a comparatively young man for his position, and his wide experience of men and things will, no doubt, supply him with illustrations of these statements. As for Pitt and Gokhale, surely their training consisted chiefly in their own mistakes and the lessons they learnt from them. We do not wish to go into a critical estimate of their lives, but we doubt if such an estimate would completely bear out His Excellency's observation. We agree that experience is valuable, but you will never get any experience worth having if you do not make mistakes, and your capacity for making instructive mistakes is proportionate to your estimating yourself—not too low—but rather too highly.

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

His Excellency also made some remarks about leadership. "What India needs most are leaders," said His Excellency, "men possessing force of character, and with a sane, calm outlook; who attain and maintain their leadership of men not with the mere clatter and hurricane of the hustings, but through their reputation for patriotism and sanity. Now your country . . . needs great statesmen

... equipped with broad sense, knowledge of the world, and above all definite aims and the moral courage to state them whether they be in accord with the popular feeling of the day or no." This is the need all the world over, and not only of India. We are trying to extract a definite meaning from His Excellency's words, something like a rule of conduct which we can profit by. It is not unreasonable to infer that Sir George Lloyd was thinking of political leaders chiefly. The use of the word "statesman" in the same sentence, confirms this. Adjectives such as 'calm' and 'sane' have no universal significance. We are, therefore, obliged to ask ourselves how many of the recognised leaders of history, would answer to His Excellency's definition. Some of the greatest leaders in history would have been unable to obtain a certificate of character from the Principal of the Karnatak College. Many of them would have been subject to the close attention of the Criminal Investigation Department. The sanity of some others was seriously doubted even in their own life time. Few political leaders have been distinguished by definite aims—the only definite aim discernible in their careers is to keep themselves in office or power. All political leaders have one thing in common, namely, a dash of charlatanism.

Oh, the crowd must have emphatic warrant!
 Theirs, the Sinai-forehead's cloven brilliance,
 Right-arm's rod-sweep, tongue's imperial fiat.
 Never dares the man put off the prophet.

It is no use asking Indians to evolve a type of political leader rarely known even in such politically ripe countries as England. The value of good advice is impaired when it is such as does not conform to the actual experience of mankind. We must take our leaders as we find them, taking care, however, that they lead reputable lives. It is easy to preach moral courage but difficult to practise it. Canning, a really great English Viceroy, would not publish the list of atrocities against Indians during the Mutiny because he would not expose his countrymen to the reprobation of mankind. Why have not reasonable Englishmen in India denounced the movement to collect subscriptions for General Dyer? Mr. Frederick Harrison, surely a sane thinker, lays down that the place of the leader, that is, of the political leader, is not in the van of a movement, but just ahead of the central force. The attempt to combine the role of a prophet and that of a political leader, such as Mr. Gandhi in our own time is making, does not elevate politics, but introduces the political spirit in religion. Mr. Gandhi more than most other Indians of our time, comes up to His Excellency's definition of a leader, but we are sure that no Governor as Governor will be glad to have many Indian leaders of the type. Mr. Montagu, whose increasing difficulties constrain him to unreflecting candour, told his tormentor, Mr. Gwynn, that many people, who have high characters, are politically mischievous. It follows that many people who are politically acceptable are not of high character. In other words, character is of no

account in politics. With due respect to Mr. Montagu, we think that, when any Government finds that many men of character are politically mischievous, the probabilities are that that Government is wanting in character and it will do well to take the earliest opportunity of acquiring some for itself.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

When "non-co-operation" was first suggested as a measure of protest against and redress of the grievances of the people some months ago, the general feeling was that it was an impracticable idea and the hope was generally entertained that calmer consideration would induce those who started it to give it up. While the general feeling as to its impracticable character has grown and strengthened, the originators of the idea have been persisting in it with unintelligible obstinacy. They delivered at the beginning of this month an ultimatum to the Viceroy that, if certain grievances were not redressed within a month, they would launch the campaign of non-cooperation. The time-limit of this ultimatum will expire on the 1st of August. Meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Shankar Ali and Mr. Kitchlew have gone to the Punjab with the evident object of preparing the ground for non-cooperation. On the other hand, the Secretary of State for India has made a statement in Parliament which forebodes repressive action against promoters of this movement.

The position of the country at this juncture is aptly counoted by the familiar phrase "between the devil and the deep sea". While non-cooperation is bound to be a failure, there is the possibility to be guarded against of its leading to local ebullitions on the part of the ignorant populace involving, it may be, the loss of innocent lives. On the other hand, almost all sections of the public have been hit sorely by some phase or other of the recent measures of Government, and the consequent and cumulative dissatisfaction is so widespread that any measure of forcible repression directed against a much-respected Indian like Mr. Gandhi misguided as his course is in this instance, is sure to lead to a conflagration. We feel it incumbent on every patriotic Indian in this difficult situation to declare plainly the dangers of non-cooperation on the one hand and of forcible repression by Government of its advocates, on the other. This article is intended to serve this two-fold purpose, and will, it is hoped, commend itself to the judgment of our countrymen in all parts of the country.

We would point out to Government that the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty as published are in flagrant violation of the Prime Minister's solemn declaration that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, Constantinople, or of Thrace and Asia Minor. That pledge is reduced by the Peace Treaty to a whiff of breath not distinguishable from the late German Chancellor's "scrap of paper". Its complete and liberal redemption is essential to restore the belief of Indians in British good faith. The British Government should refuse to be a party to a peace

which sets at nought its solemn pledge that the Turkish Empire would be left undisturbed in its possession of Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor. Then there is the question of the Punjab martial law regime. The whole country feels keenly that the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government have not properly appreciated the wicked and malicious spirit which inspired many of its enormities. Mere pious declarations will not assuage this feeling. The prompt and public dismissal of offenders like Mr. Bosworth Smith and the deprivation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of his dignities and a change of Viceroyalty, are essential to convince the Indian people that His Majesty's Government have the same regard and respect for Indian lives and Indian honour as for English lives and English honour. These things ought to be done at once. Without them, the enforcement of repressive measures against the protagonists of non-cooperation, will but aggravate the bitterness of the public feeling.

It is no less our duty to warn Mr. Gandhi and his coadjutors in non-cooperation of the danger of their ways. Non-cooperation is a flagrant violation of the teachings of every great religion, and of none more emphatically than of Hinduism, that every one should do one's duty in life, that nothing can absolve one of this supreme obligation. Mr. Gandhi is a great soul, but his authority cannot compare with that of the Gita. And the whole teaching of the Gita is opposed to the principle of non-cooperation. Mahomedanism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity are equally explicit on the point. If Government goes wrong, it is the duty of the leaders of the people to point out its mistakes to Government, to strive constitutionally to get its errors corrected, and, in the last resort, to bring about a change or reform in the personnel or system of Government. This many leading men in India are engaged in doing. Their efforts are made nugatory by the preaching of the negative gospel of non-cooperation. The non-cooperation movement, if it succeed, will lead to the cessation of national activities. It is not the Government but the people that will suffer from such a result. If it fails, as we are sure it will, it will by exposing the country's weakness, lead to political reaction. From every point of view, we cannot think of a more inept policy than that of non-cooperation as a means of evoking the national spirit. We, therefore, appeal to the Indian people to refuse to be led into this movement, and to continue in the tried methods of constitutional agitation which have already led to fruitful results. Patriotism divorced from prudence, is futile. Prudence without patriotism is contemptible. In any course that the nation is called upon to adopt both these qualities should be combined and, for the reasons stated above, we submit that non-cooperation is devoid of both.

THE LORDS AND GENERAL DYER.

The result of the debate on Lord Finlay's motion exonerating General Dyer and censuring Government for their condemnation of his conduct at Jallianwala, has been received with amazement in

this country. The constitutional position is clear. The adverse vote in the Lords will not affect the decision of the Government as regards General Dyer nor does it entail the resignation of Ministers. The House of Lords has come to be recognised as an obsolete institution and the need of a radical change in its constitution is admitted by all parties. The sinister significance of the proceedings in the House of Lords to the people of India, however, does not arise from their immediate constitutional consequences. It arises from the indubitable proof that they afford of the fact that the politically and socially important classes in Great Britain share and approve of General Dyer's views in regard to the Jallianwala massacre. In fact, Lord Finlay, who is a late Lord Chancellor and a lawyer of distinction, in his speech justified General Dyer at every point against the criticisms passed on his conduct by the Hunter Committee and the Secretary of State. The acceptance of his motion by a considerable majority by the Lords is of evil augury to the British Empire. Its practical lesson for the Indian people is obvious. We should bend all our energies to securing ourselves against a repetition of the Punjab episode. This, not the Reforms, is the immediate concern of Indian leaders. We support the suggestion of the *Bombay Chronicle* that Indian leaders of all parties should meet immediately to consider how this may be best achieved.

The principal speakers on the Government side were Lord Sinha, the Lord Chancellor, the leader of the House, Lord Curzon, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, and Lord Meston. Lord Sinha's speech contained a few sound sentiments, but its whole tone was inexcusably apologetic. He failed lamentably to rise to the occasion. Even if he had faithfully paraphrased Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons he would have acquitted himself more creditably. The full text of his speech when it is available in India may show that there were more sound sentiments in it, but it cannot, unless he has been grossly travestied, cover the ineptitude of some of his observations. To speak of Indians in the same breath as the partisans of General Dyer as indulging in a feud over Jallianwala, is to betray an extraordinary incapacity to distinguish right from wrong. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry in a recent speech insisted that his friends were as keen on freedom as on the Reform scheme. Lord Sinha's speech supplies the contradiction. The Under-Secretary of State is the beau ideal of Moderates of the Srinivasa Sastry school, and he exhorted his countrymen to forget Jallianwala and the crawling order, and to think of the great era which the Reforms are opening out to them! Watching Disraeli passionately pleading in the House of Commons against his own party for the emancipation of English Jews from political disabilities, Mr. Gladstone broke into an expression of admiration at the fervour of his great opponent's loyalty to his race. Even Lord Finlay's perverted loyalty to his own countrymen could not stir Lord Sinha from his political lethargy in speaking up for his own people.

The best speech on the Government side was certainly that of Lord Curzon. He must have

spoken with considerable fervour for Lord Salisbury deprecated Lord Curzon's "violence" of language. And no wonder. Lord Curzon is a man with a mind and convictions, and not a bloodless automaton attitudinizing on the stage of Empire. On the two points involved in the Panjab troubles, his lordship has been always sound to the core. These two points are race arrogance in India, and the right of provincial Governments to be given a free hand in their administration. Lord Curzon, during his Viceroyalty, gave unmistakable proof that on both these points his policy was the reverse of Lord Chelmsford's. In the infamous Burma affair, Lord Curzon dealt promptly and severely with the regiment to which the offenders belonged, and incurred considerable unpopularity with the class of Englishmen who are today subscribing to a memorial to General Dyer. As regard provincial Governments, if Lord Curzon and not Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy last year, Sir Michael O'Dwyer would not have ventured to ask for a free hand in dealing with the situation. The Viceroy who came down to Gujarat in the middle of the hot weather to see for himself how famine relief was administered, would not have sat down at Simla and waited for Sir Michael's wirelesses from Lahore. Lord Curzon's speech does him honour and speaking for ourselves the perusal of it has helped appreciably to mitigate the keen disappointment caused by the voting in the House of Lords.

THE LATE PROFESSOR GAJJAR.

Professor Gajjar whose death was announced on Friday last had a very remarkable career. Born of humble parents and belonging to a community in which literacy is even today very little known, he showed his talents at an early age and made his way as few have done in this Presidency. After his brilliant College career he soon won the confidence of the Gaekwar and with His Highness' liberal aid founded the Kalabhavan or the School of Technology at Baroda some thirty years ago. This was the first institution of its kind in India and soon became famous all over the country. The Dyeing and Printing Department attained such fame that for nearly a quarter of a century almost all the dyers at the different textile mills owed their training to Professor Gajjar. But he was not satisfied with the limitations placed upon his activities in Baroda State. He migrated to Bombay and within a short time his was a household name not because he had won his feathers in cleaning the Queen's statue but because he had given the best in him during the anxious time of the plague. In the beginning of his activities he found a sympathetic supporter in Dr. Machickan who gave him the Professorship of Chemistry at the Wilson College. But here again his restless soul found as many restrictions as he experienced in the State and the result was the foundation of the well-known Techno Chemical Laboratories. For over ten years this was the humming centre of all chemical activities in Bombay. No one who saw the Professor at the height of his activities in those laboratory would ever forget the

greatness of the man to whom this presidency owes so much. He created the proper atmosphere for Chemical research in the Bombay University and it is due to his personality and work that Bombay takes the place which she occupies today in scientific circles. Gajjar's work was not confined to Chemistry.

In literary and in Sociological work he did equally lasting work. His friends were the great writers of the day and the greatest of them was Goverdhanram Tripathy. His monumental work will be the Vanita Visram which he organised with the help of his sister Ben Nanigavri. He was also actively associated with the Seva Sadan, and the Alembic Chemical Works. The Kalabhavan and the Petlad Dye works are instances of his lead in industrial chemistry. Though Gajjar at one time was one of the wealthiest and most successful chemist in Bombay, he died a comparatively poor man. He spent his fortune in realizing many of his great dreams for the advancement of industries in this Presidency and in freely distributing his various remedies to the poor. During the last influenza epidemic, he once more came to the relief of the poor and spared neither money nor labour to give them the necessary help. During the later years of his life he had practically retired from all public activities owing to continued illness. But though he had practically retired, he kept in touch with all the activities of the city and rendered such help as lay in his power. What Sir P. C. Ray was to Bengal, Gajjar was to Bombay. Though both have worked to create research work in Chemistry, though both were inspired with high ideals of their duty to their country, there was a difference between them. The Bengalee Chemist created an atmosphere of pure chemical research while Gajjar was all for applied chemistry. It was the regret of his closing days that, when the time came to complete his life work by taking the lead in chemical industries during and after the war, his health did not permit him to move out of his room. To such a man a fitting memorial is due and we are glad to note that his friends and admirers are taking steps to associate his name in the university with Chemical Research by raising a Research Fund in his name.

THE NEW INDIA.

We have often urged in these columns that one of the greatest needs of the time is a history of India in which the conflicts, rivalries and concussions between races, religions and dynasties will be accorded their proper place, that is, in the background, behind the contribution made by each to the evolution of the Indian people, that is the main current of her history. This synthetic view of the history of the Indian people was the basis of the Brahmo Samaj movement founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy; it has been prominently developed chiefly by thinkers and writers of his school; on this side of India, for instance, the late Mr. Justice Ranade in his writings

and speeches did much to incorporate it into current thought. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's brochure "New India" is a presentation of the course of constitutional reform under British rule from this point of view. He writes:

Study the constitutional history of India of the last 150 years not with the eye of a party politician, but a sober careful judge. That is the proper way to study the political constitution of India as it has grown from the time of the East India Company to now. The main current of the growth has been towards responsible Government. Our very agitations have been due to the forces of that current created by British influences. So now by the Reform Act the British Parliament relaxes its control on India, and takes the first step of direct Parliamentary Government for and in this country itself.

Opinions will differ as to the pace of progress in the century and a half that has seen the birth of the United States, the French Revolution, the rise and fall of the German Empire, the unification of Italy, the marvellous phenomenon of Japan, the conversion of the ancient Chinese Empire into a Republic, the disappearance of the ancient autocracies of Russia, Austria and Turkey. British rule had a great unfinished programme of consolidation to complete in this country, but it had, at the same time, nearly two-thirds of the work of nation-building carried out by preceding Empires. But there can be no difference of opinion regarding Sir Narayan's conclusion that, through interruptions, delays and diversions, the country has steadily progressed in the direction of responsible Government; and, who knows but that our slower pace itself may be our best guarantee of the future? He shows that the earlier British statesmen definitely set forward Indian self-government as the goal of British rule. More recent successors of these men, have sought to minimise, if not to deny, this. But it is the past history of nations, not the sophistries of politicians, that is the propelling force of their actions, and the history of England is the history of freedom. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is an ardent and active constitutional reformer, but this book shows that he can at the same time look at the movement of progress from the high altitude of the historian. It is this capacity which, in the stress and heat of the day's work, endows his judgment with the balance of repose. The booklet is not intended as a contribution to party polemics, neither is it an apology for the defects and drawbacks of British rule. It is a sane and clear-eyed presentation of the broad movement of political freedom which is undoubtedly the great contribution of British rule to Indian history. This is the kind of brochure from which young students should form their ideas of history and politics.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I read with interest in your issue of yesterday a letter signed by a number of Indian missionaries regarding the

Punjab situation, and your editorial comments on it. It is possible that some may assume that the signatories are the only missionaries holding the views set forth in the letter, and I therefore feel it laid upon me to assure you that nearly all the missionaries with whom I am acquainted and many Europeans who are not missionaries would have had no hesitation in signing such a letter if it had been submitted to them. Many of us refrained from expressing any opinion on the happenings in the Punjab while the matter was *sub-judice*, and personally I should have kept silence altogether were it not that others who profess to represent European opinion are giving expression to doctrines which no Christian man could accept.

I am etc.

JOHN MORENIE.

Wilson College,
Bombay,
19th July, 1920.

A BAD EXAMPLE OF CHRISTIAN JOURNALISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*;

Sir,

I read your note on "A Bad Example of Christian Journalism" and I honestly think a more charitable construction can be put on Hamedar Hossain Joardar's pregnant view on Hindu widows and hence this letter to you for favour of publication. The first difficulty that I have to encounter at the start is to find the nationality of my Hamedar Hossain Joardar. Is he, a Hindu, or a Muhammedan or a convert or a mixture of these three races?—that is the problem before me.

For if he is a Muhammedan or a 'Convert,' he had no justification to poke his nose where it might appear out of joint.

And if he is a Hindu, then his views ought to receive our careful consideration. For it might be possible that Hamedar Hossain Joardar came to the awe-inspiring conclusion by a careful study of the widows in his own family or, to go a step further, from his near circle. In case this is so, my contention with him is that he ought to have used the term proportion and not percentage. For statistically you must have 100 or more observations before you can use the term percentage. And I do not think Hamedar Hossain Joardar's range of observations exceeded that limit.

Now, Sir, as to my own observations, I flatter myself that, I have done some work in this line for more than a year and I jot down my observations for what they are worth.

(a) The proportion of morality is greater in those communities which are orthodox than in those which have imbibed the Western atmosphere.

(b) The religious teachings which our girls get (I am a Hindu) and the environment at home make more difficult any violation of the moral code.

(c) The sexual indulgences among the Hindu widows is the least on account of the above causes. I would shiver at putting it even at 5 per cent. Therefore, Sir, Hamedar Hossain Joardar very clearly exhibits to the world his moral and mental bankruptcy. Why he rushed into print can only be accounted by the psychological law that 'fools rush in where angels fear to tread.'

But, Sir, the greater guilt is that of the Editor of the *Epiphany* who was actuated either by a Satanic motive or by a personal study of the widows in his own circle.

It yet remains to be seen whether they unconditionally tender an apology for the wrong they have done of their own foolish accord.

ALMORA,
18th July.

Cordially yours,
D. PANT.

SCANDALISE INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

A sinister feature of the Punjab controversy has been noticeable from the outset. It is being made prominent now after the House of Commons debate. The rapidity with which fresh ideas develop in this controversy suggest either artificiality or desperation in the process of development, not to mention that fertile soil of racial prejudices from which emerge these fungi.

I refer to the idea that Englishwomen and their honour were in danger in the Punjab, the implication being that they were a special object of attack. Considerable feeling centred round this idea at the outset and it has since been exploited thoroughly to inflame racial feeling to a degree otherwise improbable or impossible. Just for a very brief time a mad mob exhibited anti-European feelings and murdered or assaulted a few Europeans of whom one chanced to be a lady. (It is conveniently ignored why several other Europeans who were much more exposed than any of the assaulted were left harmless). The frantic zeal now being worked up to show that General Dyer was the saviour of European womanhood seems clearly an attempt to make out to the world that the mobs everywhere made for European women. I wish to know if there is any report which even hints this.

In a riot all women are in danger. There can be little doubt that the Indian women were in immeasurably greater danger than European women from the beginning of the outbreak. The latter were promptly shielded and later sufficient vengeance practised to maintain their sacrosanct. If General Dyer proved a saviour, he proved the saviour of all alike, man and woman, European and Indian and English ladies need not pretend before the world that they were rescued from vast concourses of vagabonds and even yet need hourly protection in their exile in a land of none else but vagabonds.

Indian women, on the other hand, saved from the popular riot, fell into the riot of martial law. Some of that ugly story has been told in print. More cannot be told. But the country knows it, India knows what alarm exists ordinarily in the minds of Indian women in hundreds of places in the country where any foreign element exists, whereas, European women have lived, for centuries in the country, scattered and alone or in handfuls, but always in safety. Is it because every lady was shrouded in machine-guns and Aeroplanes or because of her trust in the hospitality and faithfulness of a simple people? I do not deny for a moment that there was alarm in the minds of the Englishwomen at the time of the riot. But which Indian woman, for that matter, which man was not in that state of mind? All worthy methods to save General Dyer have failed. But there is another method which may succeed in Jingo land—Scandalise India.

A. N. S.

NEW DANISH MARRIAGE LAW

The new Danish Marriage Law is up for its third reading in the *Folketing* (Lower House) after which it will go to the *Landsting* (Upper House) for consideration.

The committee having the draft in charge is unanimous in approving the following provisions:

(1) If the person who wishes to contract a marriage does

not suffer, and has never suffered from venereal disease, he shall give a written declaration on his honor to that effect.

(2) In the opposite case, he must either put in a doctor's certificate, made within the previous fortnight, that the danger of infection or its transmission to the children is most improbable; or

(3) If such a declaration cannot be made, he must prove that the other party to the marriage has been informed as to the disease, and that both parties have had oral instruction from a doctor as to the dangers consequent thereon.

THE KARNATIC COLLEGE, DHARWAR.

The question of providing adequate buildings for the Karnatic College just opened by His Excellency the Governor in Dharwar, proved to be far from easy of solution. The first proposal was to build an entirely new college on an open and breezy hill some little distance from the town. But expense and the time that would be required to mature plans, and erect suitable buildings formed grave objections to this proposal. Fortunately, at this juncture the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company decided to remove their offices and staff from Dharwar. Thus a very fine building and extensive grounds, together with several bungalows, came into the market. Having regard to the requirements of the Karnatic College, Government lost no time in seizing this favourable opportunity, and the whole property was secured for the college at a cost Rs. 4½ lakhs. Certain alterations were necessary, and these were carried out by Government with promptitude, thus permitting of the opening of this important college, by His Excellency the Governor, on July 15th. The College now finds itself housed in building which compares favourably with any other college building in the Presidency, at a moderate cost, and in an exceedingly short time after its foundation; an example of prompt and generous action by Government for which the College authorities are most grateful to His Excellency, Sir George Lloyd.

THE KHILAFAT AGITATION IN SIND.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S PRESS NOTE.

The Government of Bombay have received reports of numerous meetings held in Sind during the past few months in connection with the Khilafat agitation.

His Excellency the Governor in Council regrets to learn that the characteristic feature of these meetings has been the use of language calculated not only to exacerbate racial feeling but to arouse religious passions and to foster a spirit of unrest and disorder. Direct appeals to religious fanaticism, and utterly false statements about the misconduct of British troops in certain holy places, where in fact no British troops have ever been, have been publicly made.

His Excellency the Governor in Council has always been and is still desirous of taking no step which would fetter the expression in fair and truthful fashion of the opinion of the public on a question in which they are so deeply interested. He feels, however, that in fairness to those who, in their ignorance are liable to be led to acts of violence and crime by dishonest and unfair misrepresentations, his only course is to issue this clear and decisive warning that if the campaign of untruthful and inflammatory speeches which has now commenced in certain districts is persisted in, he will have no alternative but to apply to the whole province of Sind or to such parts of it as may be necessary the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act.

His Excellency the Governor in Council sincerely hopes that in future speakers on public platforms will recognise their responsibility for statements and arguments used by them, and by their moderation not compel Government to take the steps indicated.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.

Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Eight Per Share.

NOTICE is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of July 1920 a Call of Rupees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was determined that such Call should be paid on the 1st day of November 1920 at the Head Office of the Bank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches :—

- BOMBAY :**
SUB-BRANCHES:—Shroff Bazaar (Shaik Memon Street.)
 Share Bazaar (Apollo Street.)
CALCUTTA :—(28, Dalhousie Square).
SUB-BRANCH :—Bara Bazaar.
CAWNPORE :
SUB-BRANCH :—Chandausi.
HYDERABAD, (Deccan.)
LUCKNOW.
SUB-BRANCH :—Hathras.
MADRAS, (9, Popham's Broadway.)
RANGOON.

and that interest at the rate of nine per centum per annum will be charged on all amounts not paid on the due date from such date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will only be accepted if the amount covers the Call due on all the Shares of which members are registered as holders on the 12th day of September 1920 and upon production of the Notice which will be sent to all such shareholders through the post. Any shareholder not having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 should immediately communicate with the Tatz. Industrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a duplicate will be issued.

All remittances must be made in Government Currency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be returned.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1920 both days inclusive.

By order of the Board.
R. H. PARKER,

16th July, 1920.

Secretary.

- Batliwala's** Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.
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- Batliwala's** Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.
- Batliwala's** Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.
- 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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 No. 12, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS :—“ Doctor Batliwala Dadar

Empire Hindu Hotel

Opposite Victoria Terminus
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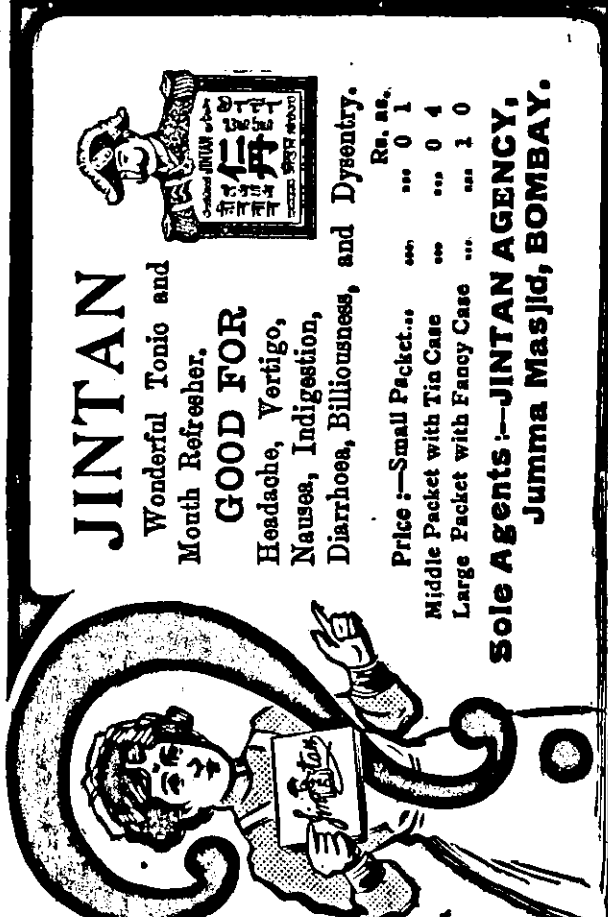
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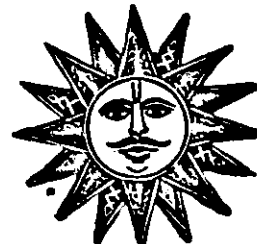
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Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 37,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,730,000

Head Office:—Taipei, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

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NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
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HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINCHIKU	KEELUNG
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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.

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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. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up....." 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund....." 66,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

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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 dividends 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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15-1-11;

Manager.

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Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 189

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

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Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 60,00,000.
Capital Paid up....." 20,00,000.
Reserve Fund....." 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.
Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajiroo R. Nimbalker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.
Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.
M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.
A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balances from Rs. 200 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. 5 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. 42,000,000.
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 23,100,000.

Head Office—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies at Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Changohua, Chi-Nan, Dairen, Fengtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kaiyuan, Kobe, London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonsaki, Singapore, Soerabaya, Sydney, Tientsin, Tokio, Tsingtao.

Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

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	Rs.
AUTHORISED CAPITAL	5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	4,00,00,000
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PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. Rs. 59,00,042-8-0.	

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CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Interest allowed at 2½ per cent. per annum on DAILY BALANCES up to Rs. 1,00,000. From 1st January to 30th June interest at 3 per cent. per annum is allowed on sums over Rs. 50,000 provided the balance does not fall below that figure. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 3 half-yearly.

FIXED DEPOSITS: Received for one year and for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK: Interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

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A. B. OLIPHANT.

14-3-20.

Ag. Manager

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Paid Up Capital (30-12-19) ..	" 49,90,000
Reserve Fund	" 14,00,000

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S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.
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This wonderful "Yakuti" is not only used in good quantities by many officers of this state, but by the Rajas Maharajas, Zamindars Amcra and such other men of noble birth residing abroad. They have expressed their entire satisfaction for it and on their pressing demand for putting this "Yakuti" before the public, the same has been done by us to honour those worthy persons. We strongly recommend the nobility and the Gentry to make use of this "Yakuti" which works like a charm and whose effect is lasting. Try once and be happy for ever.

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BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE

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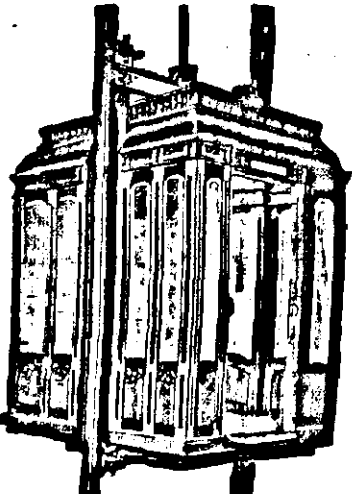
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Non-Co-operation. We cordially associate ourselves with the sentiments contained in the weighty manifesto which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh and several others have issued, and which we publish to-day. As the manifesto says, and as we said last week, non-cooperation is bound to fail. The only thing which will retard its failure, is precipitate action by Government of a restrictive character against Mr. Gandhi. The manifesto, therefore, appropriately concludes with an appeal to Government to be on their guard against counsels which exhibit more zeal than discretion. The appeal is supererogatory, perhaps, so far as the Government of Bombay are concerned. Our leading article on non-cooperation in last week's issue, has led to criticisms. Some of them were conveyed in a private letter from a reader in the districts. He agrees that non-cooperation will prove a failure and may, meanwhile, lead to untoward happenings, and states that he had written so to Mr. Gandhi. But, he asks, what is the alternative? He rightly says that the public has lost faith in constitutional agitation owing to the irresponsiveness of Government, and that it asks for some other method whereby it can give expression to its disgust and sense of humiliation on account of its unredressed wrongs in regard to the Punjab Martial Law administration and the Turkish Peace Terms. Our answer to that is that there are some things which no man can do under any circumstances. A man, for instance, may not commit suicide to escape suffering or to spite an enemy. And we hold that the doctrine of non-cooperation is the doctrine of national suicide. Because Government remains unmoved, in spite of our representations, and does not right our wrongs, therefore, we are to inflict more wrongs on ourselves, our women and children. With what object? The beggar who sits on the roadside thrusting a knife into his flesh to move the horrified pity of passers-by, is actuated by a similar object. Are there not already more than enough of starvation and suffering in the country that we should seek to add to them by means of such a movement as that of non-cooperation? Then, is there nothing to be done but to put up with our wrongs? There is much

to be done. Educate public opinion here, in England, in every part of the world. That is a long process, no doubt. But short-cuts in national affairs are no good. They always end as flashes in the pan. Dramatic moves end in a melodramatic way. And let us not forget that we too have inflicted wrongs on others and that many of them remain to this day unredressed. What would be the fate of the nation if some female Gandhi organised a non-cooperation movement among the women of India for their ancient wrongs which remain unredressed to the present day? As for the Khilafat, does any one think that the numerous kingdoms it subverted in the course of its establishment disappeared without impressing their death-throes in the heart of Time—the great Nemesis deep-imbedded at the root of things?

It knows not wrath or pardon; utter-true
Its measures mete, its faultless balance weighs;
Times are as nought, tomorrow it will judge
Or after many days.

The salvation of the country will not be achieved by the miracle of non-cooperation or by similar panaceas. It will be achieved by patient and persistent well-doing born of faith, by a lively realisation of our own duties to our people, and by a resolute policy of active cooperation with movements which have for their object their emancipation from galling disabilities. We print a letter from a correspondent, which represents the attitude of an ardent adherent of the non-cooperation movement. As to this, all that we need say is that, if it is a question only of individuals acting independently in the light of their own conscience, there will be no need for a public discussion of the merits of their conduct. The need for such a discussion arises from the attempt to organise a movement of non-cooperation involving persons who cannot possibly have very clear ideas of its causes or consequences. As for the religious aspect of the question, the manifesto, we see, endorses our view which our correspondent and, also, the *Independent* newspaper, dispute. It is no good pursuing the point.

Academic Ineptitude: The University of Bombay established a School of Sociology last year. Professor Patrick Geddes was appointed first Professor, his terms being that he would spend only the winter months in Bombay. He was asked by the Syndicate to select an Assistant Professor to work with him and to carry on his work during his eight months' absence. He chose the Librarian of the University, Mr. Pherwani, from among a number of applicants, and strongly recommended his appointment. The Syndicate of the University accepted the recommendation with the reservation that the appointment should be probationary for one year. When the nomination went to the Senate for sanction, that body appointed a Committee of its own to call for further applications and to make a fresh recommendation. This Committee re-

commended Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer of Cochin as the most suitable candidate for the post. After this recommendation was placed on the Agenda, and before it could be considered by the Senate, Mr. Iyer withdrew his candidature, as he had accepted a post in the Calcutta University. Another candidate who had favourably impressed some members of the Committee, was proposed in an amendment and a second amendment proposed again Mr. Pherwani for the place. Principal Paranjpye, however, moved at the last meeting, that the Senate proceed to the next item on the agenda, and the motion was accepted by a large majority. The result is that, because it cannot get an ideal Assistant Professor, the School of Sociology is now left without any one to look after it, till Professor Patrick Geddes returns next November. Immediately after this exhibition of administrative capacity the Senate complacently passed a resolution approving of certain correspondence between Government and the Syndicate on the question of placing the Royal College of Science under the management of the University. If it makes a precedent of its action in the matter of the Assistant Professor of Sociology, the Royal College of Science may, under University control, find itself without a staff on some fine day at the beginning of the academic term.

Honorary Degrees: We are sorry that the *Bombay Chronicle* should allow itself to be made the vehicle of personal pique in its criticism of the proposal to confer the Honorary Degree of L. L. D. of the University of Bombay on Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The Senate appraised these criticisms at their right value when it passed the votes by the requisite majority at its last meeting, Mr. Justice Kajiji who moved the resolution devoted a large part of his speech to the claims of Sir Chimanlal, reserving only a few casual sentences for Sir Narayan's. The voting showed that he judged rightly. Sir Chimanlal's work as Vice-Chancellor has been excellent and his zeal for the interests of the University is unbounded. But there is a not unintelligible feeling that the proposal to honour him is not quite appropriate during his own Vice-Chancellorship, especially as the Act requires the Vice-Chancellor's personal sanction to a recommendation for the honorary degree. His smaller majority is almost entirely to be accounted for on this ground. We do not think that this is a serious objection, as the Vice-Chancellor's personal part in the present case is merely a formal endorsement of the recommendation of the Syndicate and the Senate. We do not know why Mr. Kajiji felt himself obliged to confine himself to the services of the candidates for the honorary degree in relation to education. Surely, the list of past honorary Doctors contains names unconnected with education, the latest recommended, being Lord Sinha's. Even in the sphere of education, Sir Narayan's many years' services in connection, for instance, with the Literary and Scientific Society's High School for Girls and the Students' Brotherhood are of high value. His steady and unflinching support of social and religious reform and his constructive contributions to constitutional progress, are matters which a University, true to its scope and functions, cannot but highly value.

The Dawson Touch: The Government of Bombay have instituted four scholarships of Rs. 40 each for women students in the Grant Medical College and 26 scholarships of Rs. 20 each for women students in the three Medical Schools. This is a good move, though the amounts of the scholarships, considering the cost of living, are distinctly inadequate especially for the college students who have to buy costly books. That is by the way. What we wish to call

attention to here is the flamboyant preface with which the Director of Information announces this very modest measure to the Indian world.

The Government of Bombay has, since the war ended, initiated many measures and enterprises to stimulate and encourage the practical forms of study and higher education, the practical and productive application of knowledge, and to help the people of the Presidency to help themselves. The past year has seen many notable achievements in this direction; and in no part of India have greater or more numerous facilities been placed at the disposal of the people. Nowhere has Government done more for the individual, nowhere have the authorities been in closer practical touch with the citizens, or concentrated more systematically upon promoting individual advancement.

May we suggest that this is rather laying it on too thick and that a more modest, matter-of-fact style will be more becoming in official announcements? We are afraid that at this rate Major Dawson may break out into poetry some day. We wonder how he would have prefaced an announcement that the Madras Government have in hand the establishment of a whole Women's Medical College in their capital, if he were their Director of Information? If this style is to become fixed, the name of the post should be changed into Bard of the Bombay Government, and an indent should be sent to Ireland without delay for the harp "that once though Tara's halls" &c.

The Return of the Langoti: The illustrations in some of the English readers specially manufactured for Indian students represent the Indian soldier in pre-British days as clad in a uniform consisting of a *langoti* (loin-cloth) and a turban. The *langoti* seems to be coming back in the 'civilised' form of 'shorts,' as a part of modern military uniform. We were rather shocked the other day—inured as we are to the sight—by a more than ordinarily stout pair of hairy thighs belonging, as the badge on the shoulders of their owner showed, to the Indian Medical Service, disporting themselves carelessly in a railway compartment with barely six inches of them covered by the khaki 'shorts' which revealed more than they concealed. We were sorry to see that the skin on these precious pair of thighs was brown. We have seen white officers with even more abbreviated 'shorts,' but is it necessary for the Indian to imitate their improprieties? Now that the war is over, there is absolutely no excuse for these childish garments and we hope that, if the military authorities do not see their way to prohibit them, the Police will take action under their powers to put down obscene exhibitions in public places.

The Prince of Wales' Visit: In the absence of official confirmation, we are reluctant to place much credence on Reuter's cable stating that the Prince of Wales' visit is likely to be postponed on the ground of ill-health due to the fatigues of the Australian tour. There is still some time for His Royal Highness to return to England, and a young man with robust constitution, such as he seems to possess, should be able to shake off the fatigue between now and next November. It is, therefore, premature to talk of ill-health as the cause of postponement, and it will be a great and just cause for disappointment if the visit is postponed for any other reason.

Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak has been seriously ill at the Sardar Griha in Bombay last week and for one or two days the case was considered to be very critical. We are glad to learn, however, that since Friday he has turned the corner and that there is every hope of his recovery. Those who differ seriously from Mr. Tilak's politics feel most that the country can ill spare his services at this momentous period of her history.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 1, 1920.

THE INDIAN AUXILIARY FORCE BILL.

The Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 will expire soon after the signing of the last Peace Treaty. That ~~Act~~ it will be remembered, provided for the compulsory training of all European British subjects in this country and, by way of concession to Indian sentiment, for a voluntary branch for a certain limited number of Indians. In view of the early expiry of the Act, the Government of India prepared an Auxiliary Force Bill and sent it to the Secretary of State for sanction for its introduction into the Indian Legislative Council. In this draft Bill, they proposed to continue the compulsory principle for European British subjects and they do not seem to have made any provision for Indians. The Secretary of State objected to it on the very sound principle that it was unconstitutional and illegal to arm and train one section of the community only. We expressed the opinion when this was made known in this country that, by laying down this principle, Mr. Montagu had done more for Indian interests than by the passing of the Reform Act. For this assertion of a principle which has for long been virtually ignored, Indians cannot be too deeply grateful to Mr. Montagu. We are constrained to add that the trend of Anglo-Indian opinion in opposition to the censure passed by Government on General Dyer's exploits at Amritsar, reinforced as it has been by the vote of an influential minority in the House of Commons and of a considerable majority in the House of Lords, is such as to make Indians feel that the arming and training of a single section of His Majesty's subjects in India will be not only illegal and unconstitutional but that it may in times of excitement prove detrimental to the interests of peace, order and general goodwill.

With what feelings of apprehension the draft Bill of the Government of India was viewed even by the most Moderate Indians, is indicated in the opening paragraph of the very timely "Narrative of the Indian Defence Force Movement (voluntary branch) in the Madras Presidency" which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer K. C. S. I., C. I. E. late member of the Executive Council of the Government of Madras, President of the last All-India Moderate Conference, and President of the Madras Liberal Association, has published. He observes:

The most conspicuous defect of the Indian Auxiliary Forces Bill which the Government of India recently sought to introduce is the invidious omission to assign any place to Indians in the scheme of a second line of defence for their own country. The attitude of the Government of India has throughout been one of the deepest solicitude for the organisation of its European and Anglo-Indian subjects into a Territorial Force, and of comparative indifference to the just claims of its Indian subjects. Speaking of the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917, His Excellency the Viceroy appealed to the public not to raise questions which would have to be solved at a time when there was more leisure. When the

war was at an end, the public would be free to criticise the Government in respect of its policy. He gave the assurance that all the subjects of criticism and complaint with reference to the service of Indians in the Indian Defence Force were engaging the most sympathetic attention of the Government and pointed out that the enrolment of a purely temporary force constituted on a voluntary basis owing to the emergencies of a great war would not justify the hurried determination of important and difficult questions in respect of which the Government of India were not the ultimate arbiters. The war practically came to an end in November, 1918, and it is several months since peace was concluded; and yet we find the Government of India seeking to carry through a defective and one-sided measure without any attempt, so far as the public are aware, to determine the question of the position of Indians in a scheme of a Territorial Force. It is quite possible that in the opinion of the Government of India considerations of expediency justify the immediate organisation of the European Branch of the Indian Defence Force on a compulsory basis and do not call for any prompt solution of the problem as it affects Indians. Should such be the view of Government, it could not possibly commend itself to the Indian public.

Sir Sivaswami weighs his words and chooses them, as becomes a distinguished Indian of his position and character. But the meaning of his words is plain. The Government of India have published a revised Auxiliary Force Bill in which voluntary enrolment has been substituted for obligatory registration in the case of European British subjects. To ward off Sir Sivaswami Iyer's cogent criticism, however, the *press communique* which makes this announcement, contains a long rambling statement about another Bill which the Government of India are said to have under consideration to constitute an Indian Territorial Force on the model of the old militia of England. This is most unsatisfactory. Indians want to be put on the same footing as Englishmen in the defence scheme of their own country, and the vague promise of future legislation to frame a scheme on the lines of one discarded in England as inefficient, for the special benefit of Indians, is a virtual denial of their claim which was expressly recognised in the Royal Proclamation of last December. Even this scheme on an obsolete pattern, when it does come, must, we are told, be purely experimental at the outset "as success depends on its response." Sir Sivaswami Iyer writes in his "Narrative" that he might safely say that the response of Indian young men in Madras, and this is true of other provinces as well, to the appeal made to join the Indian Defence Force, would have been much more gratifying "but for various external impediments and causes for which our young men were not responsible and which were largely due to the action or inaction of Government themselves." He adds that that conclusion will be forced upon the mind of any impartial reader of his "Narrative." The organisation of a separate and inferior Force for Indians, will be exposed to all the disadvantages to which the Indian Branch of the Defence Force was exposed, as set forth in Sir Sivaswami's lucid and careful narrative. We want no more of such experiments which are doomed to fail and; by their failure, to

give an additional handle to those who do not want Indians to be trained to arms. The idea of an Indian Auxiliary Force with the Indians left out is farcical. It is as much open to the objection urged by Mr. Montagu about the unconstitutional and illegal character of arming and training to arms only one section of the community, as the original Draft Bill. The Bill must be made applicable to Indians on the same terms as to Englishmen, if there is any meaning in the profuse asseverations regarding India's equal partnership in the Empire. This should be strongly impressed on Government here and in England by prompt representations by public bodies in this country. If this is not done, one more serious issue will be added to the already too many that are impeding sympathetic understanding between Government and the people.

THE LAW AND THE PLANTER.

At a time when thoughtful men, Indians and Englishmen, are gravely concerned at the sharp cleavage of sympathies between the two sections of the community caused by the Dyer and the other episodes of the Punjab martial law regime, it is most unfortunate that there should occur some cases calculated to exacerbate Indian opinion on its most sensitive side. We take the following version of such a recent case from the *Behar Herald* (Bankipur), a weekly English journal edited and written with care and circumspection.

In the Assam case, it was alleged that one Mr. Reed, Assistant Manager of a tea-garden, had made immoral overtures to complainant's daughter, Hira, while she was plucking tea leaves one day. She resented, but Mr. Reed went to her house at night and asked her parents to make her over to him. They indignantly refused, but a week after, Mr. Reed again made his appearance at night, called out Hira and wanted her to go to his bungalow. A great hue and cry was raised whereupon Mr. Reed fired his revolver and wounded the complainant. For the defence it was suggested that Mr. Reed went out at about 10 p. m. on a deer-shooting excursion that, while returning, he lost his way in the jungles and chanced to come near the complainant's house and finding out a road, ejaculated "here road", that the coolies misunderstood the words and began to throw stones at him and that he, out of fear, fired on the ground and bullets accidentally wounded the complainant. The European jury accepted the defence version, and the judge agreeing, the accused was acquitted. That the result has shocked the Indian public would be giving a mild estimate of the depth of the feeling which has been created. "Deer-hunting" at 10 o'clock at night with a pistol, by a man who had no license for the pistol! This amazing story passed muster with the jury, but the public would agree with the Police Superintendent who "never heard" of such a thing.

The unfamiliarity of the editor of our contemporary with the different kinds of fire-arms, is evidently responsible for the weapon used by Reed being described at one place as a revolver and at another as a pistol. It was evidently one which is not used in deer-hunting—whether it was the one or the other. The man who was shot, was a coolie in Reed's plantation. He seems to have died subsequently. The coolies were alleged by

the defence to have misunderstood Reed's relieved ejaculation "here road" for "Hira," the name of the girl whom he had desired. The case was tried by the Deputy Commissioner, and a jury of five Englishmen who unanimously found the accused 'not guilty'. The case has evoked angry comments in the Indian press throughout the country. The *Searchlight*, another Bankipur journal, makes the statement that a special meeting was convened to sympathise with Mr. Reed on the recent attacks in the 'seditious press,' apropos his acquittal by a jury on a charge of murder but that it has been postponed.

In connection with this case, the *Independent* of Allahabad publishes certain facts which raise an interesting issue. Our contemporary states that the Government employed a special lawyer to conduct the prosecution, as the Public Prosecutor of Silchar was the retained pleader for the tea-garden in which the accused was employed. Reed had engaged the services of the Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda for the defence. The complainant, not having confidence in the ability of the pleader appointed by Government to conduct the prosecution against so able a lawyer as Mr. Chanda, engaged the Hon. Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta to appear for him. But the trying Magistrate would not allow Mr. Datta to conduct the prosecution, although the lawyer who had been nominated by Government is said to have been willing to work with him. We do not wish to go into the question whether the Magistrate was right or wrong. Such knowledge of law as we possess inclines us to think that he was right because a public prosecution is not a private suit, and the Public Prosecutor's duties are distinct from those of counsel appearing for private parties. Why we mention this matter at all here is, that we should like to be more clear in our own minds than we are as to Mr. Chanda's position. Is a lawyer bound to defend an accused person even if the grounds of his defence are grossly improbable? Is there no probability that the fact of an Indian lawyer of Mr. Chanda's position and eminence taking up the defence of a case of this kind, might have weighed with the jury? We read the other day in a Canadian contemporary a narrative of the struggle which led to the increase of 'the age of consent' from 12 to 16 in England. There is a reference in it to the prosecution of the late Mr. Stead for a technical offence. Mr. Stead was convicted and had to serve a term of imprisonment. There was a technical defence which would have resulted in his acquittal if he had pleaded it. There was no proof that the woman who sold him the child was married, and the charge of kidnapping from legal guardianship implied regular marriage. But when this defence was suggested, Sir Charles Russell, who was defending Mr. Stead, flared up and threatened to throw up his brief if it was to be raised. And it was not raised. That seems to show that counsel have a certain latitude for the exercise of their private notions of right and wrong in defending accused persons, but, of course, we can not say that in this particular case there were any features justifying its exercise.

BUNCOMBE AT HUBLI.

The Presidential address of Dewan Behadur P. Theagaraya Chetty at the first Karnatak Non-Brahmin Conference, held on the 25th July 1920 at Hubli, runs to 44 pages of print. Of these, 25 is pure bunkum, and the remaining 19 is sound sense. The address would have been an admirable one without the first 25 pages. But Sir Theagaraya would not have played his part as the leader of the non-Brahmin movement without these pages of sound and fury. In these preliminary pages, he runs amuck against everybody and every movement except his own. The Brahmins of the present day, of course, he was bound to abuse. But he does not stop there. His lash falls as vigorously on Rama, Parasurama and Narada as on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaiya, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and Mr. Gandhi. That Rama and Parasurama were Kshatriyas, and that Mr. Gandhi is a Vysia like Sir Theagaraya himself are details which do not disturb the complacency of this great non-Brahmin leader. May we say in passing that we do not see the point of describing Mr. Srinivasa Sastry "as a swollen-headed ex-school-master?" Swollen heads are not the specialty of school masters whose profession is as respectable as dealing in hides, which, we believe, is or was Sir Theagaraya's own vocation. This is a fair specimen of the taste and tenour of the first 25 pages of Sir Theagaraya's oration. Our readers need not be told what our view of the Varnashrama Dharma propaganda is, but when Sir Theagaraya pretends that it is the menace of the future, he is grossly and deliberately exaggerating its influence in order to give himself the opportunity of indulging in bombast. That and the non-Brahmin propaganda are appropriate counterparts of each other. Sir Theagaraya is the non-Brahmin Maharaja of Durbargah. Sir Theagaraya, as he admitted, is a convert to the creed of social justice of four years' standing. His vehemence of language is, therefore, intelligible. By the way, it is a striking commentary on Sir Theagaraya's conception of socio-political reform that there is not a word, throughout the address, regarding the position of women whom Non-Brahmins no less than Brahmins have kept in mental darkness for so long. Sir Theagaraya claims that his is the only democratic movement in the country, and that all others are the interested scheming of adventurers. The one thing which will most effectively help non-Brahmins to take their rightful place in the community, is the education of women. Sir Theagaraya has not a word to spare for this all-important matter in his Hubli address. Brahminical bigotry grouped together Sudras and women as beyond the pale of vedic learning, and fellow-feeling, if nothing higher, should have led Sir Theagaraya to remember the cause of women's advancement. Another remarkable omission is the scrupulous avoidance of anything in the nature of a suggestion that caste should go.

The fact is that the element of truth in the non-Brahmin movement is obscured by personal prejudices and political passion. Many of Sir Theaga-

raya's hearers in Hubli would not have been able to understand his diatribes against Messrs. Srinivasa Sastry, Ramachanda Rao, Sir John Rees, and other celebrities, for lack of familiarity with the gossip of Madras, which Sir Theagaraya, in his innocence, believes to be of cosmic interest. That the Brahmins of Southern India had long considered themselves a privileged class and had utterly neglected national interests, cannot be denied. But the corrective to that mistake is not another exclusive movement but one which aims at breaking down differences and uniting the whole population in the pursuit of great national objects. To leave the Brahmin out of your programme, is as foolish and short-sighted as to leave any other section of the population out of it. Sir Theagaraya complains that critics call his movement sectional. It is sectional. A movement does not cease to be sectional because it embraces a large section of the people. Sir Theagaraya Chetty, without saying so in words, implies throughout his address that 'Extremists' are all or mostly Brahmins. As the community possessing the largest proportion of English educated men among Hindus, the Brahmins contribute naturally a proportionately larger number of workers to every progressive movement—to social and religious reform, to work among the depressed classes, as in political reform. But there are not wanting non-Brahmin leaders of what its opponents call the Extremist party. With the programme outlined in the last 20 pages of Sir Theagaraya Chetty's address, we are glad to find ourselves largely in agreement. The education system has to be remodelled so as to embrace the whole people. Every party in Indian politics is pledged to mass education, and Sir Theagaraya Chetty's insinuation that they are all insincere is not worth notice. Improvements in agriculture and industries, are not proposals of which the non-Brahmin movement has the monopoly. Sir Theagaraya Chetty exhorted his hearers to avoid litigation, and drink. He seems to think that Brahmin pleaders egg on non-Brahmins to go to law in order to fill their own purses. If this is to any extent true, it is high time that non-Brahmins were warned of their folly. We are glad that Sir Theagaraya pleaded emphatically for total abstinence—not temperance—in the matter of liquor, and urged the Conference to work for the day when total prohibition will be the rule in every part of this country.

"THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE."

I was reading a leading article the other day in the *Times of India* on the advice of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to the students of the Karnatak College at Dharwar about the need of calm and sane leaders for India. In that article the writer recommended the example of Disraeli, who held that one who aims at the leadership of his people should understand "the spirit of the age."

* Substance of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's address to the students of the St. Xavier's College on Tuesday, 27th July, 1920.

What does "the spirit of the age" mean? I ask because so subtle a mind as the well-known novelist George Eliot's felt puzzled as to its meaning on finding that the historian Lecky had made frequent use of the expression without defining it in his *History of Rationalism*. The answer to George Eliot, one might say, is that the expression required no definition for the purposes of Lecky's book because the *History* itself showed what he meant by the spirit of the age. Man's reason, his right of private judgment, freedom of discussion, the emancipation of human intellect from the thralldom of authority and dogma—these, said Lecky in his *History*, had formed the spirit, meaning the dominating power of every age after the Middle Ages and from the time of the Renaissance. Lecky might have pointed to George Eliot herself—a free lance as she said, she was, against the beliefs and conventions of her age—as an outstanding definition of the expression which she complained was vague.

George Eliot's criticism affords an illustration of the story of the leader in Israel who could not understand what "the spirit" meant when Christ spoke of it in these words: "The spirit bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof but thou canst not tell whence it came and whither it goeth." The leader of Israel in question shook his head and asked: "How can these things be?" And Christ replied: "Art thou a master of Israel and knowest not these things?" That is to say: "You are a leader of your people in Israel: and yet you do not know how the spirit leads. How then are you fitted to lead your people?"

That is what Disraeli would seem to have had in view in the remark emphasised by the leading article in the *Times of India*. In his own time Disraeli discerned that power was passing from the classes to the masses, that the centre of gravity as to Government was moving towards the people as such. Some people denied that; others saw it but did not understand it. But Gladstone (as we see from his life by Lord Morley) and Disraeli (as we find from his life by Mr. Money Penny and Mr. Buckle) understood the spirit of the age. They read the signs of their times. They regarded the movement of democracy as a tide. They worked at it so as to take it at the flood and make it lead on to the country's fortune and not confusion. In short, each educated his party to fall in with the tide and give it a wise direction to make democracy safe and not a snare.

Contrast this with the following examples of leadership. The French Revolution was a tide of the spirit of the age—the tide of democracy. Napoleon led it. How? By cunning cajoling of the people, he wound himself round their hearts as an ardent democrat and became their Emperor. In the words of Mazzini, he turned the rights of men voiced by the spirit of the age into the right of one man—Napoleon himself.

Take another instance. Bismarck as a student of Frankfort University was a democrat inclined to be revolutionary, because the University atmosphere was full of the democratic spirit of the age. But when he came into power, he employed his astute mind to strengthen by subtle means the Hohenzollern dynasty while seeming to feed the Frankfort tradition. With what result to the German people we now see.

Apply the test to leadership in British History. I have no time to dwell on that. Find it for yourself. I will only supply two lights as guides in your finding. Cromwell rose to be Protector on the wave of the democratic tide such as it was of his age. He wielded power as a despot and deified Parliament. Parliament offered him the Crown. He would not take it. Did Parliament offer it because Parliament and the people had been stupified by Cromwell as the leader of his country and desired to make King of him? No. The leaders of the people in Parliament, understanding the spirit of the age, and anxious to direct it aright and save it from the fate incidental to democracies which succumb to individual power, offered the Crown as the only effective way to restrain Cromwell's despotic rule. The British Crown as a limited monarchy was subjected by the constitution to checks on the exercise of arbitrary power. Cromwell as Protector was subject to no checks of the Constitution. That is the wise discernment of a leader. Then ask yourselves—why did Cromwell refuse? Was it because he saw through the intentions of Parliament? To answer that, have this fact before you. When the Duke of Wellington won at Waterloo and became the idol of his people, Napoleon predicted that the Duke would use the spirit of the age to his own advantage and become King of England. The prediction proved false. Why? Because the Duke was a leader who neither flattered nor allowed himself to be flattered by the people. So was Cromwell. They loved the people, not themselves; they sought the people's glory, not their own; but they knew the people's frailties too.

From these illustrations emerges this lesson, viz—sympathy for the people, genuine love for them, inspiring them with confidence in themselves by wise guidance, that is understanding the spirit of the age. Wise guidance, I say, because "the spirit of the age" is a consuming fire when it is democracy. Power in the people is apt to prove the tyrant more than other power. It is suggestive of the story of the Giant who, when endowed by Shiva with the power of causing the death of others by placing the palm of his hand on their heads, sought to make the experiment on the head of Shiva himself.

Now how can you cultivate that spirit of wise guidance and leadership of the people? Action is said, and said rightly, to be the school of affection. The splendid accounts which many students gave of themselves by their devoted acts of service to the poor and helpless during the influenza epidemic is a lesson for that action. The real school is the daily round of life when opportunities of service to the people, however trifling, come and are open for the habitual cultivation of the democratic

spirit of the age. What splendid opportunities of practice in the art of democratic government a school or college affords even more than life outside! When some years ago I read Gladstone's Letters to one of his sons at the Oxford University I was struck by the insistence with which the father advised the son to be regular and careful to frame a budget of his income and expenditure at College. What did that advice signify? I think Gladstone meant as much as to say: "My dear son, don't think you are in College to study and pass examinations merely. You are there to fit yourself to be a leader and a wise leader of your country. One day you may become a finance minister, perhaps a Prime Minister or other public capacity. Learn to keep a budget of your income and expenditure and you will learn to frame your country's budget." Here within the walls of your College there is abundant scope for learning the art of responsible government, the democratic spirit of the age and true leadership. You do not utilise that scope because you do not understand the spirit of the age of the College world. For that you must have faith in yourselves. Indian students are said to have a lot of conceit themselves. My opinion is the other way—they are more diligent than conceited and Lord Morley who ought to know, tells us that in public life diffidence is more troublesome than conceit. Disraeli as a youth was full of conceit. Read his maiden speech in the House of Commons and learn. I would not mind conceit in a student—I would court it rather, provided—and the proviso is the pith of the whole matter—the conceit is the boon of hard and steady work, of candour, not cunning and intrigue, and the daring which seeks to serve all in love and which does not regard any kind of service to others, however little, as drudgery. Conceit is bad and contemptible and ruins only when the student wastes time and himself and does not learn to realise his responsibility. Be spirited, cultivate your own self-confidence, of kind service to others, of self-respect and respect for others and you will be able to understand and guide wisely the spirit of your age.

NON-CO-OPERATION. I.

The following appeal addressed to their countrymen has been issued by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Gopaldas K. Parekh, the Hon. Mr. Phiroze Sethna, the Hon. Mr. O. V. Mehta, Mr. Jamanadas Dwarkadar, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. Uttumlal K. Trivedi, Mr. J. G. Dalvi, Mr. Mowji Govindji, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. K. N. Dwarkadas and others.

Convinced that the present situation in India is one which demands sagacious insight into India's future and broad outlook, rising above the irritating and narrow expediencies of the present, we beg to address this appeal to our countrymen, pointing out the danger of the principle and the practice of "non-co-operation," which Mr. Gandhi has made it his mission to preach as a solvent of India's political wrongs.

1. It is our humble but firm conviction that "non-co-operation" will not be that solvent. Far from it, we feel strongly that it will like all such extreme measures of popular agitation, much sooner or later, in a reaction and retard the progress of

the country on sound, stable lines of constitutional development.

3. In the first place allow us to place before you the cardinal fact the "non-co-operation" is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our Motherland, nay of all religions which have saved and elevated the human race. Whether it be the gospel of the Bhagwad Gita, the Koran, the Bible or the Zend Avesta, all enjoin the performance of duty in a spirit of co-operation as the only lasting solvent of the problems of life, both individual and national.

4. That being the religious aspect of the question, it behoves us now to point out its secular aspect, that is to say, the inherent weakness and futility of "non-co-operation," as a political weapon for the redress of political injustice and wrongs. The history of nations affords no instance to show that it has, when employed, succeeded and done good. And the reasons are obvious, if we have due regard to the facts of human nature and do not allow ourselves to be carried away by sentimental considerations, inapplicable to the hard facts of politics and society. "Non-co-operation" can be effective, only if all or most or many of the vast mass of population in the country adopt it. That is impossible, and supposing a few do adopt it, there are sure to be vaster numbers of others to take their places. The result will only be that whereas at present the whole country is practically of one mind as to its political wrongs and can and does stand united in point of constitutional agitation, its keen sense of these wrongs will be thrown into the background, its voices now unanimous will become divided and the sense of mischief of "non-co-operation" will take the place of the national sense of political grievances. In short, the country will be rent into division and will become a house divided against itself.

5. Already unmistakable signs are manifesting themselves to prove that the solid, sober sense of the country regards non-co-operation as a visionary idea. When this idea was first publicly started, the general feeling in the country declined to regard it seriously. Mr. Gandhi has, however, gone on preaching his doctrine and there is the serious danger that it may breed mischief before it ends in failure as it is bound to be.

6. The danger is that while "non-co-operation" is sure to prove a failure, some persons influenced by the great personality of Mr. Gandhi, for a time, and for a time only, may be carried away by the doctrine. It requires no great imagination to foresee that even the limited and temporary operation of this principle will lead to trouble involving serious consequences. What a calamity that will be for the country, so soon after the shocking experience and innocent sacrifices of the last year!

7. In saying so, we are by no means unmindful of the gravity of the political wrongs which have led Mr. Gandhi to preach and attempt the practice of "non-co-operation." So far from being unmindful of them we feel them keenly, all the more now because of the very disheartening features of the debates upon the Punjab Tragedy in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords—in the latter House in particular and the attempts still being made in some quarters both in India and in England to hold forth Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and others palpably involved in India's humiliation as saviours of the honour of England and of the safety of India. This has shaken India's faith in British justice. Parliament and the Cabinet have not risen equal to the imperative demands of that Tragedy in consonance with the British traditions of fair play, justice and humanity.

The officers responsible for the Punjab Massacres and the humiliation and degradation of the Indian people have not been dealt with as they deserve in spite of the fact that the unanimous voice of India has demanded, with due national emphasis, effective and adequate and stringent punishment—effective and adequate as the only remedies that will and can prevent in future, the subjection of the people of India to inhuman and humiliating treatment in the name of Martial Law and under the pretext of rebellion. So long as these measures, demanded by the practically unanimous voice of the country, have not been adopted, India cannot feel safe nor be sure of progress as an equal partner of the British Commonwealth. Then there is the Turkish Treaty involving the Khilafat question, which has deeply wounded not only the hearts of our Mahomedan brethren but also of others sharing with them the same national destiny, children of the same soil, bound together by the same ties of country and political and social fortune and, therefore, demanding the modification of the Treaty in consonance with the Prime Minister's solemn declaration that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, Constantinople, or of Thrace and Asia Minor.

8. For these political wrongs, active, steady and constitutional efforts are the only effective and lasting means of redress. It is not by impatience or by passive and therefore futile measures of "non-co-operation" that nations have helped themselves to redress wrongs and secure justice. "Non-co-operation" is a gospel of impatience in politics, because Mr. Gandhi has himself publicly declared that by it he can bring about redress and reform for the country more rapidly than any other method of political agitation and movement can. We all wish and strive for a rapid progress but measures like those of "non-co-operation" are sure to defeat their own purpose.

9. Before concluding we feel that we shall be wanting in our duty if we refrained from making an appeal here to the Government also. Replying to a question in the House of Commons, about Mr. Gandhi and the "non-co-operation" Mr. Montagu has declared that "if Mr. Gandhi persisted in 'non-co-operation' it would be absolutely impossible to take the same view of action as was taken last year." This declaration naturally gave rise to misgivings among people as to the character of the measures of repression which Government had decided to adopt against Mr. Gandhi and his movement. But since that declaration Lord Sinha has made a statement in the House of Lords. He has said that "he would not interfere too hastily or violently in an agitation of this nature but would let it kill itself in idleness. It could not last and was against the interests of the people themselves. Ruthless repression and coercion would result in disorder equally with passive resistance and direct action." We hope and pray these wise words will form the keynote of Government policy in dealing with the movement of "non-co-operation."

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your leader on Non-cooperation in the *Reformer* of the 25th July is of considerable academic value as an admirable homily both to the Non-cooperationists and the Government. Its chief and only merit lies in that it would prove you in the right, whatever turn events may take. Otherwise, I must confess, it fails to give a lead to the public and your readers, on this question, in the light of existing factors of the present situation, instead of what you would make them appear to be. Firstly, it is necessary to remember that, as parties to a series of systematic acts of maladministration and breach of faith culminating in the

Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have destroyed the faith of the people of India in their *bona-fides* and rendered loyalty to the British connection incompatible with national self-respect and honour, if the basis of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs is continued to be the basis of British rule in India. As matters stand, let us have the courage and honesty to admit that, however much the better minds of Britain may recognise the iniquity and injustice involved in the attitude of the Imperial and Indian Governments towards India, particularly in regard to the Punjab and Khilafat questions, that outrageous policy stands today as the official policy of Britain in India. And any unbiased student of history would be able to tell you that the adoption of such a policy which is aptly called "prussian" in India is bound to undermine the good relationship between Indians and the British people, sooner or later. If, adopting your advice, Mr. Gandhi were to drop the programme of non-cooperation, I venture to assert and predict that it would be courting only a more violent form of disruption than any degree of success or failure of non-cooperation can produce today. All your condemnation of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs in the course of your leader on "Non-cooperation" and all advice to the Government to avoid repression are totally lost on barren soil, for no administrator subscribing to the official policy of the Imperial Government towards India can do otherwise than what you advise him not to do.

This brings me to your reference to the attempt some leaders are making to get the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs redressed by constitutional methods. I cannot characterize such a statement as anything but sophistry, especially in view of the scanty regard such representations have received at the hands of the powers-that-be. Further I contend that Non-cooperation is positive in its character and constitutional also. Since you are not a subscriber to the theory of rule of the subject races by force, and as the issue in question is the basis of British connection, whether it should be based on the consent of the people or on force, I submit that without doing violence to fundamental principles of conduct, you cannot condemn Non-cooperation. I agree with you that Non-cooperation, in the present conditions of the country, may not prove a success, in its immediate object. But better to have fought and lost, than never to have attempted. No country has attained its present greatness without passing through desolate days of failure, stagnation and reaction with their quota of sufferings. And India, if she wishes to retain her national self-respect and honour, must expect to go through her quota of suffering and hope to reach victory only through failures.

I am deeply sorry you should have dragged in the aid of religions to add weight to your condemnation of Non-cooperation when all great teachers of Religion have always sought to urge mankind to rise to a state of supermanhood but never to stultic manhood and to tamely submit to be helots in one's own country. As a Hindu, permit me to dispute your contention that the authority of the Gita is against the principles of Non-cooperation. On the contrary the fact that the author of the Gita called Arjuna a coward because out of his loyalty to the duty he owed to kinship he refused to take arms against the contending faction shows that, if out of a false sense of loyalty and duty, we refuse to withdraw our co-operation from a Government which has lost all its moral authority to govern, and continue to be parties to glaring wrongs and injustice perpetrated by such Government we must indeed expect to be called cowards as even Krishna chose to characterize Arjuna. Right and Justice are above Governments and the moment the performance of any duty conflicts with Right and Justice then disobedience or non-performance of duty becomes as imperative as obedience and performance of duty are ordinarily obligatory. Apart from the Gita, to put my case clearly, let me say in a blunt manner, that it is a privilege and a right to rebel and revolt against an unwarlike authority. If I am not mistaken, when you found the rigidity of the customs and cases of Hinduism incompatible with the principles of right and justice according to your light, you lost no time in revolting against them instead of tamely submitting and trying to reform them, from within.

Bombay July 25th.

S. SADANAND.

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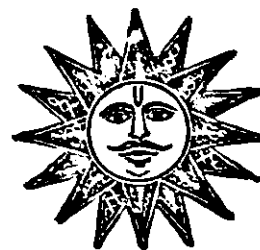
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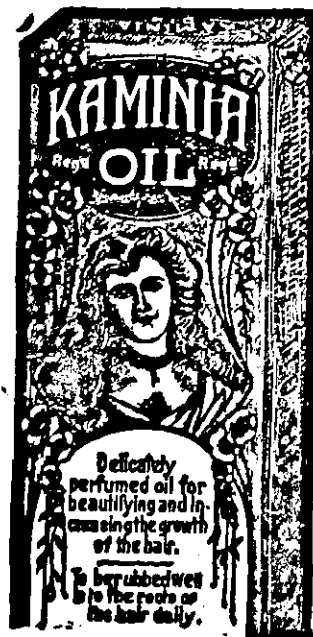
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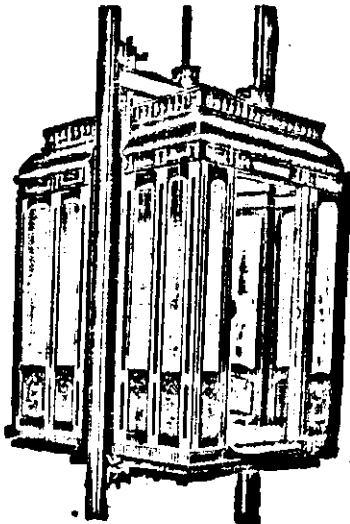
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 8, 1920.

THE LATE MR. TILAK.

As often happens in cases of grave illness, the improvement in Mr. Tilak's condition, which was noted in the last issue, proved illusory. It was the final flicker of the candle in the socket. Mr. Tilak breathed his last an hour after mid-right on Saturday, the 31st July. The largest funeral procession witnessed in Bombay in recent years was that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Tilak's totally eclipsed it. Most of those who followed Mr. Dadabhai's remains to the Tower of Silence were English-educated men. Mr. Tilak's body was cremated on the sands of Chowpati in the presence of a vast concourse to which the working classes of the population contributed as many as the English-educated class. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. That, however, made no difference to the resident European population which was as conspicuous by its absence in Mr. Dadabhai's as in Mr. Tilak's funeral procession. Government House also as completely ignored the one as the other. One lost opportunity more! . . . Mr. Dadabhai in his presidential address to the National Congress of 1906 said of himself: "In 1853 when I made my first little speech at the inauguration of the Bombay Association, in perfect innocence of heart, influenced by my English education into great admiration for the character, instincts and struggles for liberty of the British people, I expressed my faith and confidence in the British rulers in a short speech. Such was my faith . . . and now, owing

to the non-fulfilment of solemn pledges, what a change has taken place in the mind of the educated! Since my early efforts, I must say I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair." But Dadabhai would not despair, first, because he believed that his cause was just and must win, and, secondly, because he had faith in British character. "I base my hope upon the revival of the old British love of liberty and self-government, of honour for pledges, of our rights of our fellow British citizenship."

Mr. Tilak, as a political figure, was the embodiment of the bitterness of the disillusionment which Dadabhai lamented. Indians had been encouraged to take to English education by the hope that, in course of time, they would be made co-sharers in the administration of India. But when the number of English-educated men increased and they began seriously to claim their share, they were told that they were sickly exotics and not true representatives of the masses. Mr. Tilak, again, was the answer to that challenge. The non-fulfilment of solemn pledges and the denial of the representative character of educated Indians, introduced the germs of what is now called the "extremist" view in Indian politics which had for many years proceeded on the ideas that actuated Mr. Dadabhai when he made his first speech in 1853. Mr. Tilak was the first in Western India to seize hold of the new opening for leadership. And as the policy of denial ripened into the policy of repression, emphasising itself in a constantly increasing arrogation by the Executive to itself of the power of the Judiciary in respect of the rights and liberties of the people, Mr. Tilak by his bold, persistent and unwavering opposition, extended and consolidated his influence far beyond the limits of Maharashtra. It has been said against him that he leaves behind him no constructive work to his credit. In the history of a nation it is extremely difficult to draw a line between what is destructive and what is constructive. The extinction of slavery was a merely destructive measure, but without it the ground could not be cleared for the brotherhood of man. Much social reform work during the last century has been condemned by the orthodox as merely destructive.

We have been often asked as regards the abolition of caste, as we are asked today about non-cooperation, what is your alternative? Our reply in the one case as in the other, is that there is no need for an alternative. Caste must go in order that the nation may grow. Mr. Tilak started in his public career with the conviction that there can be no political salvation unless the bureaucracy was destroyed. The conviction was forced upon him at first as it has been forced upon many others since by slow degrees, solidifying, owing to the O'Dwyer-Dyer doings in the Punjab, into an article of faith that will last as long as the last vestige of bureaucracy. As the bureaucracy marched from repression to repression, the old guard of Indian politics fell back discredited in the eyes of the public and finally left the field to be fought entirely between the aggressive bureaucracy and an inflamed nationalism. Mr. Tilak was easily the most gifted, the most courageous, the most skilful, and latterly, the most experienced general leading nationalism to the attack.

"A man does not become celebrated," observes Lord Morley, "in proportion to his general capacity, but because he does or says something which happened to need doing or saying at the moment." The distrust of the bureaucracy is the one great sentiment which unites today all castes and creeds, the rich and the poor, the merchant, the manufacturer, the professional man, the toiler in the field. And Mr. Tilak felt it through all his being and became the most determined and uncompromising exponent of it. Others equally convinced of the evils inherent in the system, cannot but recognise that its record in India, especially in its earlier stages, was illuminated by not a few great names of men who laboured sincerely for the country's good. Mr. Tilak was too well-read in Indian history not to appreciate this fact. But he was possessed by the sense of a mission to do battle with the bureaucracy and would admit to his judgment no consideration that did not add to its imperativeness. In this respect, he was merely the counterpart of many Englishmen who are resolved to see no blemishes in their rule in India. Unlike many, if not most, others who have climbed to leadership by denunciation of the bureaucracy, in point of general capacity Mr. Tilak stood in the front rank of contemporary minds. His researches into the chronology of what is called pre-historic India, show consummate qualities of patient investigation, accurate scholarship, and illuminating insight. His commentary on the *Gita* is evidently the exposition of his own philosophic creed. In his last days, it is said, he seldom spoke of politics, but frequently recited his favourite verses from the *Bhagavad Gita*. His last words before he lost consciousness are reported to have been the

memorable verse which declares that the Cosmic Soul graciously condescends to our world whenever the moral order is in danger of destruction. Another great book puts the same idea in a different form when it says that God has not left Himself without a witness in any age or country. This ancient intuition is crystallised in the common experience that, in communities not devitalised by their own spiritual derelictions, the hour always brings forth the man it most needs. For a patriot, painfully conscious of the wide divergence between endeavour and achievement, there can be no affirmation more full of comfort at his last moment. It is an inveterate Indian belief that men's last thoughts are the true index of their pre-occupation. Politics were not Mr. Tilak's pre-occupation. The dim depths of the past and the effulgent unfolding of eternity in Time, were the high themes most congenial to his spirit. We remember to have read that he often said so. It was his country's need that constrained him to a sphere which, under the circumstances, is singularly barren of creative opportunities for children of the soil. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendous odds. He scorned delights and lived laborious days. Here, again, his *Gita* philosophy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. He lived what may truly be called a dedicated life. All through the thirty years of its existence, there have been few points of agreement between the policy of the *Reformer* and that of Mr. Tilak. But always it has admired the greatness of the man behind the politician who treated social reforms as a matter of expediency. And now that he has passed behind the veil, we think not of our differences but of the abiding contribution which he has made to the nation's heritage. Mr. Tilak could have hardly failed to realise that the cause for which he fought is now assured of final triumph. The battle has gone decidedly against the bureaucracy and it has been declared by high authority that it is now only a question of time when the bureaucracy will be no more. The premises on which Mr. Tilak founded his policy are thus profoundly altered. We are no longer called upon to fight an aggressive bureaucracy claiming permanency of tenure, but a conciliatory one asking merely for time to wind up its affairs. Mr. Tilak's sacrifices and sufferings have largely contributed to this result. More than that, he has left us the example of a selfless patriot, working single-heartedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people.

AN APPRECIATION *

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR).

It was the Poona season of 1872; the Legislative Council of the Government of Bombay was holding its session in that city then. The late Mr. Murarji Gokuldas who treated me almost as a son and who was then a member of the Legislative Council had taken me with him to spend some time there. One evening I accompanied the late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit for a walk and there met the late Mr. Agarkar, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Apte. Of these three I knew Mr. Tilak only. He had been at Elphinstone College for six months in the same class with me and we had passed the B. A. examination the same year. At College he was one of the quietest of students in the class and was never obstusive or anxious to display his abilities although we knew that in Mathematics and in Sanskrit he excelled all in the class except one who was regarded as the brightest—Dhondo Hari Agashe whose premature death soon after he had taken his M. A. degree was regretted by all his class fellows. When during the walk I have referred to Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit met Mr. Agarkar and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Apte, Mr. Agarkar said they were going to see him and take his advice about their intention to form a body consisting of themselves and others as life members for the purpose of starting a high school which was later on to be developed into a College and also publishing two weekly newspapers one in English and the other in Marathi to be called the *Maratha* and the *Kesari* respectively to advocate the popular cause. They informed Mr. Pandit that they had consulted Mr. Ranade and that he had accorded to them his sympathy and support and that they had come for Mr. Pandit's advice. Their spokesman on the occasion was Mr. Agarkar; Mr. Tilak was silent. Mr. Pandit was sympathetic. Then we parted.

Next morning Mr. Pandit and I went to see Mr. Ranade. Mr. Pandit had a talk with Mr. Ranade about the interview he had with Mr. Agarkar and with Mr. Tilak. There was some talk about the *Deccan Star* newspaper, which had been writing what were considered rather violent articles against Government and social reformers, just before that. The editor of it was the late Mr. Nanjshi and Mr. Tilak was among the editors of the paper. Some doubt was expressed as to whether the new society with such elements in it might not prove totally antagonistic to Government and to social reform and to social reformers. Mr. Ranade with his broad spirit of toleration said, "Here you see now our public workers have been men earning their bread by service under Government and sparing such time as they can get for public work. But now here are these young men, whatever their opinions be, ready to sacrifice themselves entirely for the service of the country. The second stage of our public life has come and it is our duty to encourage them instead of microscopically considering their faults and shortcomings." There the conversation stopped. The history of the Deccan Education Society founded by Mr. Agarkar, Tilak, and others with the present

Fergusson College as its visible monument and the history of the *Maratha* and the *Kesari* have become part of the history of India. Every school boy knows that. My own differences with Mr. Tilak and his papers are well known. But now that he has gone, mourned deeply by India, by friend and foe, at an age the same as mine, my thoughts turn back to the year when he started his public life in 1879. It was the time that brought forth its man. It was the year when Lord Lytton's reactionary policy to govern India by crippling her liberties and going back upon the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 sowed the seeds of discontent. The Indian Arms Act, the measures taken to shut Indians out from the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Vernacular Press Act, gagging the vernacular press, the Indian Forest Act, initiating the policy to arm the Executive with judicial powers, the famine policy which declared that the Government was not bound to save each and every single famine-stricken person from starvation, and which created a storm of indignation, first in India, and then in England and had to be recanted by Lord Lytton's Government in deference to English public opinion—all this had prepared the soil for a man to prove a thorn in the side of Government, and Tilak became the man.

The idea of opposing government, of creating in the people a spirit of strength, amounting to revolt against it, possessed him completely and in that he never wavered. He pursued it as his one ruling passion of life and ideal. He had the defects of his character and serious defects they were. But they were the defects of his virtues. He was a politician and a politician of an age which forced Indians to be destructive critics rather than constructive statesmen. It is said and, I think, said rightly, that there was very little of the constructive statesman in him. If he had cared to develop the constructive side of his genius I dare say he would have developed it considerably to the country's advantage. I think he deliberately discouraged that development of his great talents. There was a public meeting held at Bombay in the early nineties to oppose some measure planned by Government, I do not remember now exactly what measure it was. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presided at the meeting held in the Framji Cowasjee Hall. Sir Pherozeshah had invited Mr. Tilak specially to attend the meeting and join the deliberations. Before the meeting was held there was a private deliberation at which Mr. Tilak happened to be present and some one at that informal deliberation said, "What is the use of holding a public meeting and merely criticising and opposing the measure of Government unless you are ready with a constructive measure of your own." Mr. Tilak, who till then was sitting silent, at once burst out and replied, "I do not think it is our duty to formulate constructive measures and help the Government which does not take us into its confidence by enabling us to share its highest offices, executive and administrative, and bear the responsibilities of Government. Constructive measures are the duty of those who are responsible for the Government of the country and we are not responsible."

* This article first appeared in Friday's Times of India.

It would seem that that idea grew stronger and stronger as he advanced in politics and age and he became absolutely dominated by that principle. His fearlessness, his love of the commonalty, living among the people as one of the people, accessible to all, his forceful and yet simple Marathi and above all his pure private character, gave him a hold on popular imagination amounting almost to the divine. Even these would have fallen short of what they have been if he had not the heroism of suffering. That has led many to deify him. With many or most of his admirers he has been a hero for the protection of the Hindu religion. While the first of his trials in the High Court of Bombay for sedition was proceeding, one evening I drove over in a carriage to the Alexandra institution to fetch my daughter home from the school. While I was waiting outside the carriage a Mahar, who afterwards I found on enquiry was one of the servants of the Bombay Gymkhana Club, approached me and asked "Saheb! what has become of the trial of Tilak Maharaj." I answered "It is still proceeding" and asked him "How are you interested in it." He said, "Tilak Maharaj is the Saviour of our Hindu religion." And then I asked who and what he was. He said he was in the service of the Bombay Gymkhana Club and that he was a Mahar. I have been in the villages in the Kanarese districts, and in the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency and there found some who adored Tilak on the same ground and in the same light. Now that he is gone our personal and political hostilities such as they were of this mortal life, are laid to rest. Whatever our differences and personal conflicts and vitifications, the man's fearlessness, doggedness, love of his country, his desire to arm it with self respect and the singleness of purpose with which he pursued his aims in his own way without abating his ardour a bit to the last of his life, and the courage of doggedness with which he carried on his campaign against death and disease in his last hours just as he had carried on his political campaign throughout his life, all these will be remembered for ever. He has made his mark in history, and as one who differed from him seriously and held some of his methods to be detrimental to the abiding interests of the future of the country, I join in the deepest mourning over his death and in mourning and paying my respectful memory to him—all the more respectful because I have all along been opposed to him in politics and social reform. Let me add that his purity of private character and his genius of scholarship have given him that strong hold on the admiration and the adoration of the people which he has attained and which he would not have perhaps attained but for them. His figure has become history—and it has its lights and shades but the shades should fall back and the lights become our beacons.

THE NEW CHILDREN.*

This is the title of a very readable little volume by Mrs. A. Hutton Radice (Shiela Radice) giving a popular exposition of the theory and practice of the

* Hodder and Stoughton. Price 4 shillings nett.

Montessori system. Much of the material in the book is derived from talks with the most outstanding figure in education to-day, as the Right Hon. H.A.J. Fisher styled Dr. Montessori, during her visit to England. Mrs. Radice is an enthusiastic and admirer of Dr. Montessori as of her system. To many readers of her books, Dr. Montessori has remained a mystery. Mrs. Radice lifts some part of the veil. Even when a little girl of ten, Dr. Montessori had a will of her own. She decided as a child that she would learn Engineering. There was then in Italy only one profession for which women could prepare themselves namely, that of schoolmistress. It is a curious fact that this lady whose contribution to the science of education has been the most noteworthy in our time, had made up her mind even as a child that she would not be a schoolmistress. Another curious fact is that Dr. Montessori, the keynote of whose system is the sympathetic understanding of children, is unmarried and has no children herself. "Although she has never been married, never had children of her own, I know", writes Mrs. Radice, "that she knows far more about new-born children than do most human mothers—about their reaction to light, to colour, to sound, to the unexpressed emotions of the people about them, about their powers of communication with their mothers at a distance, things which, if mothers know, they do not say for fear of being laughed at—at least in this rough Anglo-Saxon world where baby and mother are always to some extent a joke." Maria Montessori had to attend a boys' public school in order to acquire sufficient mathematics to fit her for the course of engineering. The position of women's education in Italy during her childhood recalls many features of it in India not many years ago.

One of her parents accompanied her to school every morning, and the other back from school every night. In class she sat alone; during the dinner hour and the recreation hour she was shut away in a room by herself, with a guard set upon the door.

Later she changed her mind and studied for medicine. No woman had ever before studied medicine in Italy, and she was, in fact, the first woman to take an Italian medical degree. Just as she had sat alone to study mathematics, so now she had to work alone for hours at night in the anatomical laboratory, a place of horror to many students even by day. After she had taken her medical degree, she felt the need of studying the problems of human existence from a standpoint other than medicine, and she went back to the University and took a four years' course in philosophy. Dr. Montessori's colleague, Signorina Anna Muccheroni, in a letter to the *Times*, remarked that school-masters cannot be expected to initiate educational reforms. She wrote:

It will be rather a body of research workers, university students, unlettered by present educational conditions and the limitations of a definite calling, who will carry on this science, cultivate it, possess it, and make of it a portion of the general culture of their time. The mind of the student is required for this work, free from professional bias and capable on that account of envisaging the new.

Pasteur who revolutionised medicine was not a doctor. The professional man is much too wedded to the settled principles of his profession, to strike out for himself. Dr. Montessori's equipment for her great work was positively and negatively ideal.

Dr. Montessori's attitude towards earlier educational scientists as also the pith of her own system, if it may be called so, is well indicated by Mrs. Radice in a few sentences.

Herbart and others are to Dr. Montessori, "all talk": Pestalozzi and Froebel are also mostly talk, though of a pleasanter kind. All educators have always said that the children must be good, must be industrious. But if the children preferred not to be industrious, but to throw paper pellets at one another or carve their names upon their desks, the teachers had no means but punishment to make the children sit still and listen. Dr. Montessori took up the position that it was best, before leading the horse to the water, to find out what it was that the horse would be willing to drink. For with her sound practical sense she could not bear a school where every one was getting on every one else's nerves and wasting every one else's time.

Is there then no "discipline" in the Montessori classes? Nowhere in the world has that word been more grossly abused than in India within the last thirty years by "educationists" at a loss to find an easy substitute for a sympathetic understanding of pupils, which they did not possess and were much too busy about other things to acquire. Dr. Montessori, however, has found the true secret of discipline. The discipline of her school is founded on the materials and on the interest which the child takes in it.

When the attention becomes to fix itself, new phases of character appear, and it is this that makes free work possible. The children who before would have disturbed the others now stick to their job. All those phenomena that we are accustomed to call silliness and naughtiness disappear. The child pulls itself together and begins to organize itself. If teachers bring about this same self-organization on the part of the child by means of oral lessons and set tasks, they will not succeed. There are only two alternatives: either the provision of sufficient concrete interests for the child, which will bring about self-discipline through attention, or else a formal imposed discipline by word of command.

Wherever and in whatever form the formal imposed discipline is the keynote of school discipline, whether the word of command is given by the master or by a senior fellow-student, the system is in its essence the Prussian system which is the antithesis of the Montessori system. It is profoundly significant of the unity of thought in the epochal periods of the world's history that Dr. Montessori's protest against Prussianism in education and her plea of 'self-determination' for children, should have preceded by a few years the political movement towards the same ends in national affairs, which found violent expression in war. We were reading the other day an article by Professor W. Meston in the *Harvest Field* in which he remarked on the coincidence of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission report and the constitutional reforms. It is a 'coincidence' only when we fail to perceive the organic unity of ideas governing human thought at a given time.

The last place where one looks for organic movement is Anglo-Indian history—nothing is allowed to take root—but the laws of thought lay their dominating hand even on it. The establishment of the Universities concurrently with the transfer of the Government of India to the crown and the transfer of education to Indian ministers concurrently with the introduction of the elements of responsible government, are not accidents. The Englishman does not theorise, he likes to think that he is inventing everything as he goes along. Especially, he likes to think that the Indian Empire represents some thing which never existed before and will never repeat itself again, and that its problems, therefore, are not helped towards a solution by history or philosophy, but by the "man on the spot" with the aid of his immediate sensory impressions, in other words, the animated camera planted in different parts of the country, with prejudices for ideas and Kipling in place of Christ. But we are digressing. Our excuse is that the basic ideas of the Montessori system form together a theory and principle of life with ever-widening vistas of application. "Discipline" in this system can only be achieved by engaging the interest of the scholar and that can only be done by studying his activities with sympathy and insight. And the result of such a study in a very large number of cases, is crystallised in these pregnant sentences:

At the end of a year of school-work in Rome some of the recognized fatigue-tests were applied by a number of outside specialists who asked to be allowed to do so. Dr. Montessori has no very great faith in psychological tests, but she was glad to hear what was already obvious to her, that there was no evidence of fatigue. She deduces from this and such other evidence a fact which she considers to be of incalculable social importance, as indicating the eventual solution of the problems of labour—that work, spontaneously chosen and rightly undertaken, does not tire. Rest, both mental and physical appears to consist not in inaction but in work plus interest.

Dr. Montessori's prejudice against psychologists is due to the old methods. Important psychological work is establishing the same truth as that contained in the sentences italicised. At the bottom of most nervous breakdowns attributed to overwork, is generally to be found an emotional complex arising from imperfect enlistment of the interest of the worker in his work. The only real joy of life is the joy of congenial work, that is to say, work in which the self of the worker seeks expression for itself. This is as true of children as of older persons. The fundamental objection to a foreign system is that this is inhibited in it.

THE DUTY OF LEADERS.

(BY MR. S. SADANANDA)

A leader of public opinion is a faithful Trustee. His vocation demands that he be gifted with that larger vision that can see into the hidden heart of things. That he possesses a true sense of justice coupled with the courage and determination to speak out the Truth, cost what it may. It is to the faithful Trustees as

leader of thought, that our country and especially our young people have a right to look for guidance during the days of storm and stress that lies ahead. The faithful Trustee as leader has a grave responsibility, for on his faithfulness depends the future of the State. Had the leaders of Germany not failed in their trust, we should have had a happier Europe to-day. In like measure, our own happiness as a nation will be enormously advanced when we succeed in securing a larger number of faithful and enlightened leaders to guide the nation's activities into right channels:—
Bibby's Annual.

The events which have culminated in the proposal of Non-cooperation as a programme of practical politics have given rise to a grave situation in the country. The conduct of the Dyer debate in both the houses of Parliament, the attitude of the vociferous section of the European community in India and the policy of the Allies towards Turkey have only helped to render an already difficult situation more acute. As matters stand today, it is no exaggeration to say that there is a complete bankruptcy of British statesmanship. Added to these factors, there is intense discontent as elsewhere on account of high prices and post-war conditions and also considerable labour unrest. At such a critical juncture in the history of this country, the consequences of any guidance that a leader may give to the masses are so fraught with far-reaching consequences, that it is the duty of every leader not to merge his individual responsibility into the shades of collective responsibility of an institution as the Congress or the League, but to have the honesty and courage to bear his full share of personal and moral responsibility for the lead he may be a party to, for giving to the country.

The *Reformer* has given its considered opinion on Non-cooperation in no halting language. And whatever one's differences of opinion with Mr. Gandhi, one cannot but appreciate the candour and courage of conviction which characterise all his activities. Mr. Gandhi does not leave his followers in doubt as to what his opinions are and where he intends leading them. One should be less sceptic of the chances of success of Non-cooperation, if Indian public life evolved more leaders like him.

I have been led to make these remarks because of the variety of subterfuges to which a number of Indian leaders have resorted in order to avoid giving a definite lead to the country, for or against Mr. Gandhi's Non-cooperation. A few such glaring instances were seen, firstly at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, when instead of giving its considered opinion on Non-cooperation, subject to the confirmation of the Special Congress, the whole matter was shelved for many months till the Congress met; secondly in the typical attitude of Mr. Tilak and, thirdly but not lastly at the Madras Provincial Conference, when Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar enunciated the dangerous doctrine that a leader must not only lead but should also be prepared to be led, when otherwise he cannot retain his position as leader. To lead or to be led, as circumstances dictate, may be a sound policy in the

game of retaining power but it would be a degradation of the sacred office of leader as a faithful Trustee.

While the Liberals have done their duty, even though negative only, that of warning the country of the dangers of Non-co-operation, other Indian leaders have yet to justify themselves in the public eye. It is useless as the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyya did the other day, to ask Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjutors in Non-cooperation to postpone action till the Congress and the League have given their verdict and to ask the people to possess their souls in patience till then. As far as Mr. Gandhi and the Central Khilafat Committee are concerned, Pandit Malaviyya's diplomatic advice has gone unheeded, and in my opinion, rightly too. For Non-cooperation, by itself, is either right in principle and policy or it is not. The decision of the Congress and the League in September next can only bear testimony to the depth and intensity of feeling in the country for or against Non-cooperation; but in no way can it affect the character of the Non-cooperation movement. If the Congress rejected Non-cooperation, it will in no way make it wrong, if it is intrinsically right, and equally, if the Congress accepted it, it will in no way make it right, if it be intrinsically otherwise.

Whether the country follows them in hundreds or myriads, Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers have launched the Non-cooperation movement on the first of August. It speaks volumes to the high character of Mr. Gandhi that rightly or wrongly, convinced of the righteousness of his policy, he has stuck to it, while the Indian nationalist leaders do not seem to know their own mind. The result is they have no lead to give to the country and Mr. Gandhi alone has a definite lead to give, excepting for the Liberals, who have thrown the weight of their moral influence against Non-cooperation. It is natural one should prefer even a wrong lead from Mr. Gandhi, to having no lead from others.

It is time, that the Indian leaders shake off their lethargy and make up their mind definitely on Non-cooperation and go to the Congress with some positive ideas about it and not with blank minds, willing to be tossed to and fro in the storm of passion incidental to all large gatherings.

The Return of the Langoti: A valued mofussil correspondent writes: "I was much amused on reading your note on the return of the Langoti. The 'shorts' have really become a fashionable attire. European officers in the mofussil now see all Indian visitors, of whatever rank, in 'shorts' and a shirt, dress which before the war was meant only for the inner apartments of the house. Following the example of their European brother officers, I am told even Indian civilians do the same. You have graphically described the sight in your note. It must own the fair skin does not strike the eye so much as the black or brown." That white thighs in 'shorts' do not outrage Indian eyes to the same extent as black or brown, is due to the fact that Indians are accustomed to expect more decency in clothing from their countrymen than from Europeans. We are sure that there are many Englishmen who feel as we do about the indecency of the exiguous garments known as 'shorts.'

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE
OPIUM TRAFFIC.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

May I call public attention to the great danger of the Government of India renewing the opium traffic for revenue purposes by back-door methods into China? The opium revenue returns show a steadily increasing sale in Indo-China and I believe also in Java and the Straits Settlements. In these countries, and especially in Indo-China, the sale of opium from India is several hundreds of times (I believe I might have written 'thousands' instead of 'hundreds') in excess of the maximum medical requirements. Could there not be an absolutely fixed rule that the sale, not only to China but to every other country, shall be limited to the maximum amount required for medical purposes? Perhaps, Sir, you could be able to quote the actual figures which, I believe, will fully bear out my statements. If they do, and if in this matter, I am not mistaken, could not some searching questions be asked at the coming Imperial Legislative Council at Simla and could not the request be made that our opium policy shall be defined? The whole question of the opium traffic is quite certain to come up at the assembly of the League of Nations in November next. It will be a most humiliating position for India if it can do nothing more than plead guilty to back-door methods of sale after the front door has been closed into China.

Yours faithfully,

C. F. ANDREWS.

Bolpur.

THE LATE SADHU SUNDER SINGH.

Speaking of Sadhu Sunder Singh, we are reminded of the great work, he, in God's providence, has been called upon to do in western countries. From all accounts, his ministry in England has been of immense value in lifting many from the suffocating atmosphere of the feverish activities and anxious struggles for existence, of the modern world, to a region of peaceful trust and confidence where God and Jesus Christ are realities. That an Indian Christian Sadhu should be need of God for delivering the message of the East to the Christian West is prophetic of the great spiritual contributions which India illumined by Christ is destined to make to the world. The Rt. Hon. H. Pike Pease, M. P., speaking at a conference of the Laymen's Missionary Movement of Great Britain last March said: "During the last few days I have met two men who have had a vision of Christ Himself. One was a member of Parliament next to whom I was sitting and who told me that whilst walking down a street he suddenly saw a vision of Christ. He was twenty-one years of age at the time, and it has changed his whole life. The other is Sadhu Sunder Singh, the Indian Sikh, who at a luncheon yesterday told us that he changed his religion entirely on account of the fact that he had seen a vision of our Saviour, and from that moment has given up everything in the world to the service of Christ." At the same conference another speaker said: "In men like Sadhu Sunder Singh, the East is showing us examples of devotion which if we follow them will pinch us very hard." That well-known weekly, the *Indian Social Reformer* recently suggested that, in view of disorganisation of religious thought in Europe, we should look forward with much hope to an Asiatic propaganda in Europe comprising the great truth of religion.

The presence of a man like Sadhu Sunder Singh in the West emphasises in a remarkable manner the vital idea for which Asia stands—the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. When this message which, after all, is the message of Christ is understood and applied by the modern world that much-needed work of christianising Christian nations and communities will begin and we will see the Kingdom of God coming with power into our midst.—*The National Missionary Intelligencer*.

THE NIRGUDE CHARITABLE GIRLS' SCHOOL,
BOMBAY.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The Namdeo Shimpi community, which is comparatively very backward in point of education and, especially that of girls, must feel proud to have to record the earnest and sincere attempts of a widow, not much educated, from that community to establish a girls' free primary school in memory of her late beloved husband Mr. Hari Bhanu Kaloji Nirgude. Mrs. Bhagirthibai Nirgude sought co-operation in her early attempts from persons, who favoured the cause of female education, and succeeded with their help, in starting on the 8th July 1917, a primary school with six girls in her own house situated in 1st Carpenter Street, Bombay.

Soon after, Mrs. Nirgude and her co-workers approached for advice Mr. Gopal Krishna Deodhar, M.A., Senior Member of the Servants of India Society, Bombay, who impressed upon them the necessity of having a good committee to look after the management and supervision of the school. This suggestion was unanimously accepted by all the workers, and a managing committee was formed on 3rd November 1917, Mr. Deodhar accepting, at the earnest desire of the workers its Presidentship and Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhalay, Mrs. Sushilabai Jaykar and Mrs. Chandrabai Yande its vice-Presidentships. To meet the monthly expenses of the School, the Committee raised subscriptions among themselves and resolved not to approach rich persons until a good number of donations were received from the middle class people.

There were only six girls when the school was started. The number of girls rose gradually, as the school became popular in the locality and satisfied a want which was felt by the neighbourhood. There were classes up to 3rd standard (Marathi) for the first two years and the 4th standard was added in April 1919. Besides the grant of rent-free quarters, Mrs. Nirgude has been working as an honorary teacher and has been also spending a considerable amount every month for purchasing furniture for the school and carrying on repairs to the building. It is worthy to note that the number of girls on the roll at present is above 90, most of whom are from those classes, wherein very little liking was shown for education, especially education of girls. This fact must be attributed to the indefatigable and earnest efforts made by Mrs. Nirgude, the proprietor of the school to persuade the guardians of the girls and also to the discipline and efficiency that is maintained in the school and to which testimony has been borne by the officials of the Educational department.

The school is at present receiving an annual grant of Rs. 266 from the Bombay Municipal Schools Committee. The Municipal grant for the year ending 31st March 1920 has been found quite insufficient to defray the school expenses and the Managing Committee of the School will soon have to appeal to the public for help.

In this connection special mention must be made of a very interesting function viz. the prize distribution ceremony that

took place in the Marwadi Vidyalaya on the 4th July 1920 under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Manjulabai Laud. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen. After the reading of the Report, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhalay, Messrs. Keluskar and Khandre and Mr. K. P. Khandke—the prominent leader of the Namdeo Shimpi community—made speeches in support of free and compulsory education of girls, especially from the backward communities. In her presidential address, Mrs. Laud explained the need for pushing on the cause of female education even at great self-sacrifice as Mrs. Bhagirthibai Nirgude has done for this institution. Mr. Deodhar while thanking Mrs. Laud for her generous donation of Rs. 100 and the Hind Mahila Samaj, the Pathare Prabhu Mahila Samaj and the Ladies Social Club for the contribution of Rs. 150 for the prize distribution ceremony, appealed to the audience for financial help. With the singing of the National Anthem the proceedings concluded.

HOSPITALS IN BOMBAY.

The Government of Bombay has given the most earnest attention to all questions connected with the health and physical well-being of the people and much has been accomplished for the hospitals of all parts of the Mofussil, as well as for those of the capital. Among the more important might be mentioned schemes for the removal of the Byramji Jijibhoy Medical School in Poona to a new site to facilitate much needed extensions to the Sassoon Hospitals; the removal of the Huttesing and Premabhai Civil Hospital in Ahmedabad to a larger and more salubrious site which will make its expansion practicable; the building of a new Civil Hospital in Godhra to replace the existing one; the acquisition of land adjoining the Civil Hospital, Surat; and the enlargement of the Civil Hospital in Hyderabad, Sind. In addition to the above a large and up-to-date hospital has been completed in Sholapur, a Maternity Ward has been added to the Civil Hospital, Dharwar, and 12 new Government aided dispensaries have been established at various centres. New Out-patients' departments have been sanctioned for the Civil Hospitals at Ahmednagar and Nasik, and Maternity Wards for those at Ahmednagar, Dhulia and Godhra, and a clinical Laboratory for that at Bejot. Grants have been sanctioned towards the building and maintaining of Female Hospitals in Jacobabad, Hala and Dadu, and applications for grants for other similar purposes are under consideration. Tuberculosis wards have been sanctioned for Dharwar and Ahmedabad, and the question of a tuberculosis dispensary at Karachi is under consideration. An X-ray outfit has been sanctioned for Hyderabad Sind, and one is under consideration for Belgaum. An Eye Hospital created by private benefaction has been added to the Civil Hospital in Karachi, and is maintained by Government. A similar institution is under consideration for Hyderabad, Sind. The establishment of 10 new Government aided dispensaries is under consideration, and in order to encourage the formation of such institutions, Government has offered, besides bearing a moiety of the initial and recurring expenditure, to advance on easy terms to poor Municipalities and local bodies, the other half of the initial expenditure.

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and that interest at the rate of nine per centum per annum will be charged on all amounts not paid on the due date from such date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will only be accepted if the amount covers the Call due on all the Shares of which members are registered as holders on the 12th day of September 1920 and upon production of the Notice which will be sent to all such shareholders through the post. Any shareholder not having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 should immediately communicate with the Tata Industrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a duplicate will be issued.

All remittances must be made in Government Currency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be returned.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1920, both days inclusive.

By order of the Board.

R. H. PARKER,

16th July, 1920.

Secretary.

Batilwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.

Batilwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 2 each bottle of 100.

Batilwala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.

Batilwala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.

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

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 (Central Situation)
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 If you wish to buy genuinely pure and best Saffron it
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 Mouth Refresher.
GOOD FOR
 Headache, Vertigo,
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 Diarrhoea, Billiousness, and Dysentery.

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Price :—Small Packet...	... 0 1
Middle Packet with Tin Case	... 0 4
Large Packet with Fancy Case	... 1 0

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STARCH and BLUE
 Your **LINEN** will then be as **WHITE** as
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Incorporated by Special Charter of the
Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 60,000,000
Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 37,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,730,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
FOOCHOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
KIUKIANG	BATAVIA	KAGI
SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINOHUKU	KEELUNG
TAKOW	TAIOHU	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.

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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 Ra. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund „ 66,00,000.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 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.

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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 dividends 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.

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Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 189

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari, Mehsana, and Sure

Capital Subscribed.....Ra. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up „ 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund „ 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, O. I. E., Chairman
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth,
Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalkar, Sur Subha, Baroda
State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court
Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ld.
Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, 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. 5 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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15-4-12. Manager.

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Established 1880.

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Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.

Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

Head Office:—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies at Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Changchun, Chi-Nan, Dairen, Fengtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kaiyuan, Kobe, London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Rangoon, San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoseki, Singapore, Soerabaya, Sydney, Tientsin, Tokio, Tsingtao.

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I. NISHIMAKI,

Manager, Calcutta.

1-12-17,

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(REGISTERED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES'
ACT OF 1913.)

At Bombay the 11th November, 1919.

REGISTERED OFFICE.

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AUTHORISED CAPITAL	5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	4,00,00,000
CALLED UP CAPITAL	80,00,000
PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. Rs. 59,00,042-8-0.	

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SAVINGS BANK: Interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

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14-3-20.

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Reserve Fund	19,00,000

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Chandavarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Beaman, the Hon'ble
Sir S. L. Batchelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. H. G.
Gell, M. V. O., Col. R. H. Forman, B. A. M. C., P. M.
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HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Bombay.

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(Chairman), Madhowji D. Thackersey, Esq. the Hon. Mr.
Lalubhai Samaldas, the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, G. K.
Devadhar, Esq., the Raja Sahib of Malegaon, Sir H.
Stanley Reed Nanabhai Tallackchand Esq.

Share Capital (full 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 undersigned.

2 Current Accounts are opened for Co-operative Societies and
institutions working for their benefit. Interest is allowed at
2½% on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 25,000 and 2% on
balances over Rs. 25,000.

3 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies
in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the
Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

4 Accounts are audited by a special Government
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20-5-17.

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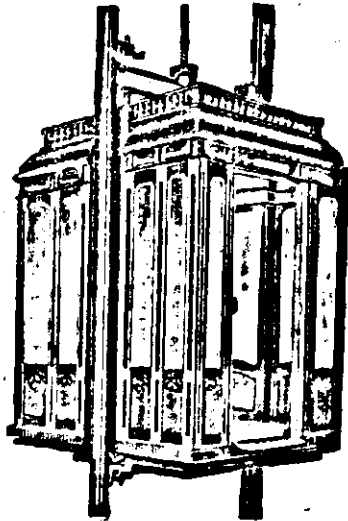
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling.

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY,—SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1920. No. 30.

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

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NOTES.

The Auxiliary Force Bill: The draft of the Auxiliary Force Bill, which is published in the official *Gazettes*, defines as follows the classes who may be enrolled:— Every person who is a European British subject as defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, or was on the 31st March, 1920, enrolled or deemed to be enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act (not being a person enrolled under the provisions of section 12 of that Act), or is a British subject of European descent in the male line; or not being a British subject, satisfies the conditions prescribed for enrolment of persons of that class. In plain language, this means that Europeans, Eurasians, and Goanese alone are eligible for admission under this Bill. The care with which Indians enrolled in the Indian Defence Force are specially excluded from the Bill, is remarkable. This Bill makes an invidious racial distinction and is a violation of the equal citizenship of Indian and English subjects of His Majesty in this country. It will meet with opposition from Indian non-official members if it is sought to push it through in the present form. The Government will either have to modify the Bill so as to eliminate race discrimination or, at least, produce along with the present Bill its scheme for organizing an Indian Auxiliary Force. We note that two members have given notice of motions for the next session of the Indian Legislative Council that the invidious race distinctions in the Criminal Procedure Code ought to be omitted.

The Next Viceroy: Rabindra Nath Tagore is reported to have told an interviewer that the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Lord Chelmsford's successor in the Viceroyalty of India, would be the best that could be made. The most recent news is that the poet is engaged in promoting a memorial to the Prime Minister urging that Mr. Montagu should be appointed the next Viceroy. This is rather going out of the way for the poet, and we are not sure that it will serve its purpose. On the merits of the suggestion, too, we are not convinced that it is the right one. While we recognise that Mr. Montagu has laboured hard for India in a spirit of

real enthusiasm, we do not think that he would be the best successor to Lord Chelmsford. Apart from the fact that he would have to waste much of his time and energy in overcoming blind prejudice, it is fairly certain that he will not secure the unanimous support of Indian politicians. The Congress section, which is by far the largest section, is deeply dissatisfied with his conduct of Indian affairs both with reference to the reforms and the Punjab troubles. Even the Moderates feel that his attitude in the Punjab matter has been actuated more by tactical considerations than by sound constitutional principle. We are inclined to think that the appointment of Mr. Fisher, the present Minister for Education, who is also spoken of as a likely successor to Lord Chelmsford, according to the London correspondent of the *Times of India*, would be better than that of Mr. Montagu in more ways than one. Mr. Fisher, as a member of the Public Services Commission, acquired considerable knowledge of Indian politics, and he impressed all with whom he came in contact in India as a statesman with the broad outlook of a scholar and thinker. Educational problems are just now claiming attention everywhere and Mr. Fisher as Viceroy will be able to give valuable guidance in that all-important department of our administrative activities.

The New Law Member: The appointment of the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bhaur Saprú should give general satisfaction. To begin with, it is the first instance that the Law-membership has been conferred on a Vakil, under the provisions of the new Reform Act. This was urged for years by the National Congress. Dr. Saprú joined the Allahabad Bar in 1898 after three years' practice at Moradabad. He had a brilliant career at the Bar as he had at the College. For years he has been one of the leaders of the Vakil Bar and practically its acknowledged leader since the death of Sir Sundar Lal. He has been held in the highest esteem by the judges and the public alike for his forensic ability and integrity. He refused a few months back a High Court judgeship. He is one of the most prominent social reformers and has presided over the U. P. social and political Conferences. Of late he has been a prominent member of the Liberal party and is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Leader*. He is in his forty sixth year and has represented the U. P. Council since 1916.

The Bombay Government and the late Mr. B. G. Tilak: The *Dnyanodaya*, the well-known Christian Missionary journal, voices the public disappointment at the action of His Excellency the Governor in disallowing a resolution of condolence on the death of Mr. Tilak who was once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Our contemporary observes:—"It is matter for profound thankfulness that the Non-co-operation movement has so far proved unsuccessful and that the powers that be have acted so wisely in keeping

hands off Mr. Gandhi, thus letting the movement 'kill itself in idleness.' It is, however, matter for profound regret that the Government of Bombay has not acted with equal wisdom, tact and judgment in relation to the passing of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak. For at least one hundred thousand people—one report says two hundred thousand—to assemble for the funeral of a popular hero and no representative of Government to be present is, to say the least, regrettable. More unfortunate still, in our opinion—for we have a consuming desire that Government shall stand well with the people—was His Excellency's refusal of the earnest request of seventeen non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to pass a resolution of condolence, the refusal being on the merely formal ground that it was 'out of order for want of notice.' We have differed as fundamentally as either our contemporary or the Government from the late Mr. Tilak but when we remember that, despite all his defects, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the first Indian scholar in Western India to set the self-sacrificing example of living on thirty rupees a month in order to help his people, when we remember that his 'purity of private life made him a model husband and father'—so ran a resolution of Bombay Indian women, and they ought to know—we say that a great opportunity has been missed by Government and others of identifying themselves with the feelings of the people."

Science Colleges in India. The Royal College of Science in Bombay was intended to rectify the mistake committed in placing the Tata Institute of Science in Bangalore which has nothing but a beautiful climate to recommend it for such a purpose. We are sorry to say that the Government of Bombay's choice of a Principal of the Royal College has not filled the public with high hopes regarding their intentions as to its future. The special qualifications of Professor Fox for the post are not evident. The public certainly expected that Government would secure the services of some distinguished scientist from Europe or America for the place. As for the Tata Institute of Science, the excellence of the climate of Bangalore seems likely to prove a serious disadvantage to it. We cannot think of any other reason why Sir Alexander Cardew who was recently a member of the Government of Madras, should be proposed for the Principalship of the premier scientific institution in this country. We are glad to associate ourselves with the observations of the *Citizen* of Madras on this contemplated appointment, as our contemporary is not likely to be ignorant of Sir Alexander's qualifications, if any, for the place. The *Citizen* which, by the way, is the organ of the Madras Moderate party writes:

On the 19th June the Council of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore met to discuss the appointment of a successor to Sir Alfred Bourne, its present Director, who is to retire in October next. The two Indian members of the Council proposed that the new incumbent should be a distinguished scientist able to supervise the work of the English Professors of Chemistry besides possessing administrative capacity. They suggested Sir J. F. Thorpe D. Sc., P. H. D. F. R. S. who was President of the Chemical Services Committee, for the post. But the European members who are in a majority put forward Sir A. G. Cardew (of all others) as a suitable successor to Sir A. Bourne. This is apt to take one's breath away. The only qualification which Sir A. Cardew possesses for this new role of man of science seems to be his European descent coupled with his willingness to accept the job for Rs. 1,500 per month—a thousand less than what the present incumbent is earning. A Director of the Indian Institute of Science, it

goes without saying, ought to know enough science to enable him to exercise intelligent supervision over the work of the Professors in the laboratory. We should like to know what Sir A. Cardew's attainments are (if any) in this branch of human knowledge.

The Indian members who proposed Professor Thorpe had suggested Rs. five thousand a month as his salary. But the majority was overcome by an unusual passion for economy and voted for the ex-civilian or Rs. fifteen hundred a month. We trust that His Excellency the Viceroy, with whom the final decision rests, will prevent the perpetration of this flagrant jobbery.

Indians in Africa. Our fears in regard to the so-called "voluntary repatriation" of Indians from South Africa are confirmed. Mr. Andrews has received serious news concerning the application of the scheme indicating extensions beyond what it professed to have for its object, namely, the helping of destitute Indians to go back to India. We print his letter in another column. The action of the Asiatic Commission in travelling beyond the limits of its reference to make this interim recommendation, and the eager haste with which the Union Government accepted it and put into force, showed that there was more behind the device than what appeared on the surface. It must be now clear to all that 'voluntary repatriation' was, as we have all along been maintaining, a subterfuge and that the real aim of the scheme is to drive Indians out of South Africa. By a melancholy coincidence, the news from East Africa received on the same day is even worse. The East African Governor announced his Indian Policy as follows: "Franchise only two Indian members, racial segregation strictly enforced. Land purchase in low-lands only; education to be improved; Railway policy July upheld; immigration unchanged; Indians not allowed purchase Natives' business plot." This is a flagrant breach of equal status repeatedly affirmed by the Viceroy.

The Viceroy and Indians in East Africa: It has been often our unpleasant duty to criticize adversely the measures and policy of Lord Chelmsford's Government. It is with special satisfaction, therefore, that we note that His Excellency's reception of the deputation of Indians in East Africa was very sympathetic. Lord Chelmsford has taken up from the first a strong attitude on this subject, and we earnestly trust that His Excellency's representations to His Majesty's Government on behalf of the Indians in that country, will reflect clearly the strong sentiments of the Indian people in regard to the wrong that is contemplated by some of the measures just announced.

Bakrid in Hyderabad: We have received the following press communique for publication:—"His Exalted Highness has been graciously pleased to order that although the sacrifice of cows and camels is allowed in Islam yet, in view of the unfavourable economic conditions prevailing at present, the sacrifice of these animals is strictly prohibited in the Hyderabad State during Fedussaha and that goats and sheep only should be used for the purpose in future." By this order, the premier Indian ruler has put the stamp of his approval on the Hindu-Mahomedan rapprochement which is the most hopeful feature of the situation.

Sadhu Sunder Singh: We much regret that through flagrant oversight the extract reprinted in the last issue from the *National Missionary Intelligence* was headed: "the late Sadhu Sunder Singh," instead of Sadhu Sunder Singh. The Sadhu's latest movements are indicated in a letter which we print to-day.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 15, 1920.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN BOMBAY.

His Excellency the Governor outlined in a speech at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council the Government scheme for solving the housing problem in Bombay city. A broad idea of the magnitude of the problem is supplied by the following figures. In July, 1919, the Municipal Commissioner reported that out of a population then estimated roughly at 1,200,000 nearly 892,000 resided in one-room tenements; that taking 4 persons per tenement the number of tenements required was 223,000, whereas the number existing was only 174,000; that there were further 15,000 tenements which, either because they were unfit for human habitation or were structures of a purely temporary nature, ought to be replaced; and that the total shortage, therefore, was 54,000 tenements. Of this number, it is believed that 14,000 tenements can be supplied by the conversion and improvement of tenements now considered unfit for human habitation, and also by vacancies due to the migration of members of the middle classes to the new houses which are being built in the northern part of the island. The balance of 50,000 rooms represents a minimum for which arrangement will have to be made. A rough estimate of the cost of these 50,000 tenements is some 5½ crores of rupees, and it is expected that the scheme will entail an annual loss of about 18½ lakhs of rupees. The land for 36,000 tenements is expected to be provided by the Improvement Trust out of the large areas which they will acquire under their schemes in the north of the island. That for the remaining 14,000 can, it is believed, be provided by reclamation in certain parts of the island. We assume that the estimate of 5½ crores of rupees includes the cost of land.

His Excellency gave some reasons for thinking that this work can be executed neither by the Improvement Trust or by the Municipal Corporation. We do not dispute these reasons, though we cannot wholly accept the statement that the provision of housing accommodation for the working classes on a large scale was never intended to be the duty of the Trust. It is now over 20 years since the Trust was established. The population at the last Census of Bombay City was 979,445. Twenty years ago it was only 776,007. The housing question was certainly part of the problem with which the Improvement Trust was instituted to deal and if, instead of wasting its energy and resources on less urgent schemes, it had concentrated on the relief of congestion, the problem to-day would not have attained the dimensions that it has attained. We agree that neither that body nor the Municipal Corporation as at present constituted can deal effectively with the problem as it confronts us to-day, but it does not follow that direct Government action is likely to be more effective. Our chief reason for agreeing with the view that neither the

Improvement Trust nor the Municipal Corporation is equal to this task, is that the methods of these two bodies so nearly resemble the methods of Government. We are not prepared at the moment to suggest off-hand what other alternatives are possible. We can only indicate in a general way that some scheme which leaves the initiative in the hands of a non-official body with the Government in the background, will probably be found to be the most efficacious. The utility of having non-official advisers on the agency which deals with such vast questions, found striking illustration recently when it was proposed to lease a large area of excellent building land for a sectional purpose at a rent much below what it would have fetched in the open market. Under the new scheme, the whole matter would be disposed of by one man before any one heard of it. The idea of a new Development Department with a high-paid expert (Sir Lawless Hepper is to be paid Rs. 6,000 a month which is one thousand rupees more than the Chief Justice and Members of Government are paid) with vast discretionary powers, building, and eventually owning and letting 64,000 one-room tenements, does not seem to us to be quite the best means of solving the problem. At any rate, it is likely to create new problems which Government itself may not find it easy to deal with, with a Dictator at the head of the Department. In passing, it is not clear what the position of this Department will be in the new scheme of things six months hence. The question is essentially one pertaining to Local self-government and should come under "transferred heads." If so, we are not sure that the Minister in charge of the portfolio will be glad to be tied hand and foot to this white elephant. If not, it looks like a device to defeat in detail what the reforms concede in general.

How a Government Department could elaborate an extensive scheme with utter indifference to its effect on the people is well illustrated by the proposal to acquire the thickly populated houses round about Grant Road Station in order to provide a terminal station for the Bombay, Baroda & Central India Railway. The whole scheme was hatched in secrecy and the first intimation of it to the public was the notification in the *Government Gazette* for the acquisition of the locality under the Land Acquisition Act. The scheme has been under elaboration for months, and has been discussed between the Government of India and the Local Government, without anybody noticing the absurdity of rendering homeless some 10,000 persons at the very time when Government are starting a Development Department to cope with the housing problem. The Municipal Corporation, we are sure, would never have perpetrated this absurdity. It has, in fact, passed a strong resolution protesting against what Mr. N. M. Dumasia called this act of contemplated vandalism. In another matter, that of building a Council Hall on a small part of the Oval, Government hastily abandoned its plan which, in our opinion, was not a thousandth part so objectionable as this fatuous scheme for

de-housing a large number of families. That is the soulless method of departmental development. Another wild-cat scheme for which Government sought the sanction of the Legislature and carried their motion by the casting vote of the President—it is stated that this has since been abandoned at the instance of the Government of India—is to build a mammoth hotel at public cost to house the passengers arriving and departing by the ocean-going steamers. This was defended on the ground that it was on the same principle as that on which sheds were provided for passengers by coasting boats! What guarantee is there that the Development Department will be exempt from the inveterate proclivities of other departments? When the idea of the Improvement Trust was originated twenty years ago, and it was decided to have some non-official representatives on the Board, it was not because the Government of the day was not addicted to the idea of a Development Department. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was in the Council and he knew well the ways of Departments. It is surprising to find the successor of Sir Pherozeshah in the representation of the Corporation in the Council, applaud a proposal to constitute a Development Department on the lines outlined by His Excellency. We fully realise that the housing problem has to be solved and solved promptly. But we have serious doubts about the agency which it is proposed to set up to deal with the problem. If the Improvement Trust, in spite of its having had the advantage of the advice of redoubtable non-officials like Sir Dinshah Wacha and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, has been remiss in carrying out the most important part of its work, we can scarcely hope that a Department acting on its own motion will solve a problem so intimately connected with the domestic life of the people. On the other hand, is there no risk that hasty and indiscreet dictatorial action in a matter so intimately connected with the home life of the people, may lead to situations of great and acute complexity? Is there any courage or statesmanship in flying in the face of experience?

The method proposed to finance this scheme is open to grave objections. It is to levy a duty of one Rupee on every bale of cotton which comes to Bombay. The only reasons that have been adduced to justify this are that it would bring in the requisite amount and its incidence would be inappreciable. A tax on railway tickets issued to Bombay may also bring in a large enough sum of money and, from at least one point of view, it will be a more equitable way of raising the funds needed than the proposed duty on cotton. It will probably be disregarded as academic if we urge the well-known principle that raw materials should not be taxed except under exceptional circumstances. That principle is common ground between Free Traders and National Economists—we quoted some weeks ago List's opinion on the point—and, therefore, His Excellency's somewhat airy disquisition on exploded economic doctrines leaves it untouched. Because one part of

the old Economics is found to need modification, it does not follow that the only thing to do is to discard the guidance of any principle. We can not appreciate the justice of mulcting the ryot who grows cotton for the benefit of a wealthy Imperial city. Elsewhere, they give bounties to cultivators to grow this raw material which, next to food-grains, is a bare necessity of life. The conditions in which much of the cultivation of export crops are carried on in this country, are such that the middlemen who are in a position of supremacy in relation to the cultivator, will exact from the latter a toll in excess of that which it is proposed to levy. It is significant of the trend of the new angle of vision, that the voiceless ryot no longer finds in high officials the champions he used to have in days gone by. He is to be made to pay for housing the operatives in industries from which fortunes are being made by Indian and English capitalists. In our opinion, the arrangement for financing the scheme is not the least objectionable part of it.

NON-COOPERATION.

We publish today two letters from correspondents on Non-Cooperation. As regards the possibility of a strain on Hindu-Mahomedan relations if Hindus do not join the movement, we do not think there is any such probability. Many Mahomedans of light and leading do not believe in Non-Cooperation. The question is not one of religion. It should be discussed and decided upon on its merits apart from any sectarian considerations. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the strong feeling entertained by Indians of all communities that it is not only their public duty but also a personal duty to promote by every means in their power close and cordial relations among all of them. This does not mean, however, that we should abdicate our right of judgment and blindly follow whatever the most vociferous section of a community insist upon. Our Mahomedan countrymen are far too patriotic and broad-minded to mistake honest difference of opinion in regard to Non-cooperation for want of sympathy with them is all that concerns their prosperity and progress. As for our other correspondent, we confess we have no sympathy with men in his position. He seems to be against Non-cooperation—he says he is not for it—but in view of the irresponsible attitude of Government, he is unable to make up his mind as to whether he is right or not. In our correspondent's state of mind, we are bound to say that his duty is to throw in his lot with Non-cooperationists. Sitting on the fence is the cardinal sin of public life. It misleads the public as to the real merits of measures and movements. When the arguments on opposite sides in any public matter seem to one to balance each other evenly, the safe course, from the point of view of character, is to choose that which promises to involve the least personal comfort, convenience or gain to one. Now, between Co-operation and Non-cooperation, it is the

latter which is immediately fraught with most personal inconvenience, and, therefore, if any one is unable to make up his mind one way or the other, he should understand that for him the arguments against Non-cooperation are unduly weighted by considerations of purely personal validity.

Let us state our position as plainly as we can. Non-Cooperation is no new idea. Many years ago, Seeley, in one of his lectures on the expansion of England observed: "If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there (in India,) only feebly—if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist... The moment India began to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be, a conquered nation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her." It is only one of many instances of the scant regard paid by Anglo-Indians to the warnings of history that, with Seeley's solemn words before their eyes, they have favoured a policy of making Indians feel that they are a conquered race to be held down by repressive laws administered by the Executive Government. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and their supporters in India and in England, have carried this policy to its logical climax. That, in our opinion, has fostered the idea of Non-cooperation, has made the Non-cooperationists feel, in the prophetic words of Seeley, that it is shameful to assist the British in maintaining their dominion in India. Seeley delivered his lectures forty years ago. Since then the achievements of science applied to mechanical arts has greatly augmented the strength of organised Governments. The British Indian Empire is, as a consequence, much stronger now than when Professor Seeley made his observations in its power to put down any organised rising. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that his conclusion is as true today as it was then. The complete success of the Non-Cooperation movement would make British rule impossible. For, as Seeley said, "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 inquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be ruined financially by the mere attempt." The question, therefore, is, does any considerable section of intelligent Indians wish British rule to be made impossible? Not so far as we know. Every political party in India is pledged to work for the goal of self government within the British Empire. For any of them to adopt Non-Cooperation without definitely changing its goal, would be inconsistent not say disingenuous. No honest man will enroll himself in a movement unless he intends that it shall succeed. And, in this case, as we have seen, the success of Non-Cooperation means necessarily the disappearance of the goal which all our political movements have placed before themselves.

We are not concerned to argue at present whether the goal of self-government within the British Em-

pire was or was not wisely adopted by the National Congress and other political bodies. We were ourselves not convinced of the wisdom or the need of fixing a limit to India's national destinies, as our columns at the time bear witness. But the goal was solemnly adopted after much consideration by all our leaders. If this is to be changed, it should be done equally solemnly. It should be done openly and in view of many more considerations than the one or two on which Non-Cooperation is advocated. It is not right by a back-door to adopt a method which, if it succeed, will make the goal impossible. We are not sure that Mr. Gandhi quite understands what the success of Non-Cooperation must inevitably mean. We are sure that he would not have started it unless he meant that it should succeed completely. If he had fully realised its consequences, we are sure that before he started this movement he would have invited the country to revise its goal as adopted by all political parties. That he has not done so, is, in our opinion, to be explained only by assuming that he does not intend to push the Non-Cooperation principle to its logical limits. A movement like this, however, is not easy to start, but when once started it is not easy to stop either. Our notion that Mr. Gandhi's Non-cooperation does not exclude cooperation is confirmed by the last paragraph of his letter to the Viceroy resigning his medallion. He writes:

Whilst I shall pursue the policy of non-co-operation in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of the recognised leaders of the people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate the Mussalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that His Excellency should convene a conference of Indian leaders implies, of course, that he, as one of the leaders, is willing to cooperate in it while pursuing his policy of Non-Cooperation. It may seem a paradox to many people but it shows that Mr. Gandhi's idea of cooperation is not what it is understood to be by some of his more zealous supporters.

PARTY NAMES.

Three years ago we suggested that the terms Moderates and Extremists should be discarded as the names of Indian political parties in favour of 'Liberals' and 'Radicals' respectively. Our reasons were that while the word "Moderate" did not do full justice to the aims of the party to which it was applied, being nearly almost synonymous with "half-hearted", the term "Extremist", originally designed for advocates of physical force in politics, was positively unjust as applied to the adherents of the National Congress. The Moderates have officially adopted our suggestion so far as they are concerned, but some of them insist on calling the other party, Extremists. The danger of persisting in this archaism, is well illustrated by Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's lapse of phrase, for which he has hand-

somely apologised. The incident is sufficiently explained in Mr. Sastry's letter to the *Hindu*. He writes :

What I said about Nationalists in my Tamil speech at Tanjore on the 31st July last was that some of them went the length of defending the use of bombs as necessary for our political salvation in present conditions. This carries a grievous imputation and I am sorry I was betrayed into making it. I expressed regret the moment it was pointed out to me, which was after the meeting dispersed. It is a pity I was not interrupted when I made the unjust criticism, as I was interrupted at several other points. Had I should have unhesitatingly apologised there and then.

If some Liberal leaders had not stuck to the habit of thinking and speaking of Indian Radicals as Extremists, Mr. Sastry's unfortunate lapse would not have occurred. An influential school of modern psychology bases its curative method in mental cases on inducing patients to "betray" themselves by giving random lists of words from whose associations the "psychiatrist" seeks to arrive at the "complex" underlying their obsessions. When the patient sees this "truth", he is cured. This, of course, is the lawyer's art of cross-examination applied in a different sphere. Now a practitioner of this school would have infallibly traced Mr. Sastry's lapse to the sub-conscious association arising from the original denotation of Extremists as bomb-throwers. So long as some Liberal leaders persist in calling or thinking of their opponents as Extremists, so long lapses of this kind must occur. If a trained and disciplined speaker like Mr. Sastry could be "betrayed" into it, the chances of the average politician doing so are far more. And that is not the worst. Sometimes, without saying so in words, some leading Liberals by their manner—the twinkle in the eye, the inflection in the voice—suggest that Extremists are not what they seem. Moreover, even when the speaker does nothing of the kind, the hearers are carried away by the association of ideas. Politics in a healthy sense is impossible so long as one party consciously or sub-consciously regards another as potential bomb-throwers. We are not without hope that the wonderful unanimity of the tributes paid to the late Mr. Tilak by political friends and opponents alike, may be the starting-point of a great movement of conciliation as the greatest and most enduring monument to the memory of departed leader. In any case, in the interests of healthy and honourable politics, we once again appeal to Liberals to discard "Extremist"—the word and the thought—as a name for the other party from their political vocabulary. This is not a difficult thing to do. We have discarded the term "Extremists" as denoting an Indian political party in these columns, and an eminent English editor assured us two years ago that he does not like to see the word so applied in his paper.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION FROM NATAL.

(By Mr. C. F. ANDREWS).

In receiving, by the last steamer, information from Natal about recent speeches and events, I wish at once to confess to you that your fears concerning

'Voluntary Repatriation' were more well-grounded than, at the time of my correspondence with you, I imagined them to be. I see the need (which Mr. Gandhi has expressed) of the greatest caution, lest this principle be carried still further by the authorities in Natal, without Indian consent.

I wish first, however, to state emphatically, that I do not at all withdraw from my position, that, for humanitarian reasons, the extremely poor and depressed labourers in Natal should be brought home as soon as possible. It does not seem to me to make any material difference, in the case of these, whether they forfeit their right of domicile, or not: for none of those, who are now taking the free passage, would ever wish to return to Natal after such bitter experiences as they have had; nor are they likely to have the pocket-money to do so, at their own expense, with the passage rates so extravagantly high. It would cost a family of four to-day nearly £80 to make the return deck passage! Therefore, with regard to these poor ex-indentured Indian labourers, who implored me to take them back, I made a promise that I would try to do so, and I wish to fulfil it. My own duty is a clear one; it is to urge for shipping to take them back.

But I wish to confess my mistake in minimising the danger of the political situation, and not clearly foreseeing, as you did, Mr. Editor, that the South African Union Government would be likely to drive in the wedge of repatriation still further. The information, which I have had from Natal, is in the form of a speech by Mr. Wynne Cole, who is the special officer appointed by Government to facilitate voluntary repatriation. I wish, first of all, to point out, in his speech, one of the most significant admissions ever made about the indenture system by a responsible Government official. The *Natal Witness* reports his statement as follows:—

"Questioned as to whether the Indian newspapers had not said that the Indians in Natal were badly treated, Mr. Wynne Cole replied, *that, under the indenture system, he had himself seen Indians in Natal, whose condition was that of abject slavery.*"

It must not be forgotten, that there are 4000 of our Indian fellow countrymen (chiefly Tamils from the South) who have actually reindentured themselves into this condition of abject slavery, simply because they have not been able to get home. Surely this single phrase of Mr. Wynne Cole proves all that I have tried to say about these poorer Indian labourers in Natal.

But Mr. Wynne Cole makes other statements, which have seriously alarmed me. The newspaper report goes on as follows:—

"Mr. Wynne Cole advised the Indians not to come to any decision, until they knew what proposals the Government had to put before them. There was no question of turning them out; but the inducements that would be offered to them to return to India would, he could assure them, be very good indeed."

"The white people of Natal could, if they wished, get rid of the Arab (i.e., Indian Muhammadan)

trader in 12 months, but they would not do so, because it touched their pockets; and so long as Europeans were prepared to go on selling and letting land to Asiatics, so long they (the Asiatics) would go on buying and selling."

"The Government of the South African Union had committed themselves to a non-surrender policy of doing everything they could, to induce the Indians resident in Natal to return to their country, where the Indian Government were ready to welcome them."

These phrases were merely used in a public discussion, they are not an official statement: so that it is not possible to come to any conclusion as yet concerning them; but they are of such a suggestive character as to give me considerable alarm, and to make me anxious lest the Union Government should suppose that it could bribe Indians, who were not of the depressed class to take the free passage with forfeiture of domicile. To any such bribery or pressure I should myself strongly object.

The Report of the Commission will be published in Natal in the present month of August, and it should reach us in September. It would appear to be of the utmost importance that the substance of the Commission's proposals should be cabled to India. The South African Union Government, in this matter, is acting with great rapidity; because it is afraid of organised opposition on the part of the Sugar planters. But we cannot allow our rights to be jeopardised; and I know from my own personal experience that the Natal Indian leaders will need council and guidance from our leaders in India. I am sending a cable advising the Indian Association to cable back immediate news; but it would be well for the Government of India to issue a communique, giving the official statement of the findings of the Commission at the same time.

P. S.—I have been intensely thankful to see that the iniquitous 'gold' regulation has been altered. I had the greatest difficulty in avoiding a very serious collision, I was very nearly assaulted by the Custom's officer, while standing up for fair-play towards Indians, on embarkation. In the South African House of Assembly, I am glad to see that M. Boydell stated, that he "regarded, it as quite disgraceful and almost diabolical, that Indians should be relieved of their gold ornaments and jewellery, which they had worn from time immemorial." Other members of the House spoke equally strongly, and the Minister of Finance had to make an apology to the Assembly for what had been done. The thing has now been stopped and Indians are allowed to take their jewellery and also £50 in gold.

To show the scandal in its true light, I saw with my own eyes one Indian deck-passenger stripped of an old gold watch chain, which was evidently a family heir-loom. It was forcibly taken from him. Meanwhile European passengers were allowed to carry their gold watch chains without any confiscation at all.

SADHU SUNDER SINGH.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

While thankful to you for publishing an extract from the *National Missionary Intelligencer* about Sadhu Sunder Singh in your journal of the 8th. instant, I am surprised to find you have printed it under the title, "The Late Sadhu Sunder Singh." I am sure this title came to be inserted by some mistake. I hasten to inform your readers that Sadhu Sunder Singh is alive and is carrying on his noble work as before. From a letter I had from him, only two weeks ago, I understand he has gone to Australia after a very successful ministry among the Churches in the United States of America. He expects to return to India in September.

I shall thank you to publish this note in your next issue and thus remove any misapprehension that may have been created in the minds of your readers by the wrong title given for the extract.

Yours faithfully,

Vepery, Madras, 10-8-20.

P. O. PHILIP.

Editor, National Missionary Intelligencer.

(We refer to this mistake in an editorial note. Ed. I. S. R.)

NON-CO-OPERATION.

I.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

With great respect to the eminent men who have issued the appeal against non-cooperation, I beg to say their appeal is like the blind leading the blind. It leads to nowhere, affords no satisfaction or no solution or, shall I say, it is a case of blind alley. When I write this, it does not mean that I am for non-cooperation. I am one of those whose minds are not yet made up, who are still wavering, studying the pros and cons, and, what is more, honestly trying to get convinced that non-cooperation is impracticable. Naturally enough, you have condemned non-cooperation and it may be true the weight of arguments is, perhaps, on your side. But I should say that Mr. Sadanaud has quite adequately explained the position of non-cooperationists and, if I am still hesitating—pardon the egoism—it is in spite of such closely reasoned articles as Mr. Gandhi's in *Young India* and Mr. Sadanaud's letter in your paper.

The only solution you have given is the reliance on the time-honoured—I mean in no carping spirit—constitutional agitation; but with not the slightest glimmer of hope attached to it, I wish to emphasise. But, pray, how has your constitutional agitation succeeded? When the moderates and the Nationalists passed their respective resolutions on the Hunter Report and the Government's Despatch, you boasted that the Moderates were strong and firm in their demands by saying that the Government of India too must be held responsible and you taunted the Congress Committee's Resolutions as emotional. Now what has become of that? I should say, you have lost in the first round. Not only has the Government of India been exonerated but it has been given a *carte blanche*, knowing full well how "incompetent" the present Government is to bring about peacefulness and contentment. Not merely that; officials like Sir W. Vincent

and Sir G. Lowndes are floundering like the green bay-tree and are never more firm in the saddle.

But what is more ludicrous—and which shows the utter ineptitude or impotence of constitutional agitation—is, the appeal is burdened with a pathetic recital of the wrongs and injustices, in a sort of threatening manner, the signatories, themselves, half doubtful whether constitutional agitation can rectify or end them. During the last two months, in every issue of your paper, there is a pathetic reiteration of the demand to take "prompt and effective steps to ease their minds of oppressive load of humiliation, sense of wrong and injustice and anxiety which weighs on them owing to the failure of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to realise the gravity of the Punjab excesses, the non-fulfilment of the Prime Minister's solemn pledge to the retention of Constantinople, Thrace, Asia Minor by Turkey." This appeal has again and again been put forward by your in- you leaders on the Prince of Wales' visit, on Non-Cooperation, etc., and has been repeated, as I have said, in the manifesto against non-cooperation. Now, are we progressing or are we 'retrograding' or moving forwards the tail as Sir N. Chandavarkar would say? As for the first request, the Dyer debate has shown that half the British Nation and three-fourths if not more of the Anglo-Indians—are not our friends and well-wisher but they mean to hold us and grind us down.

Again, I must say it is exceedingly galling to the proud Indian to see the manifesto affirm the statement made in the House of Lords by Lord Sinha—whom you have yourself chided—"that he would not interfere too hastily or violently in an agitation of this nature" and make an abject appeal—if I may say so—to the Government "and pray these wise words will form the keynote of Government policy in dealing with the movement of non-co-operation." As you said, the Ethiopian cannot change his skin and while the worst features of Imperialism are on, is there going to be any change in the keynote? We shall "wait and see" the result of the Moderate appeal and influence.

Here, I must demur to your proposition that non-co-operation will lead to political suicide. If you do not suggest any other better and more effective method and if the constitutional agitation does not stop these "political wrongs" and "series of systematic acts of maladministration"; then what shall we do? Non-co-operation is certainly not unconstitutional provided it is within limits and non-violent non-co-operation seems to be the only method, I would even say, it is a safety valve. Failing and despairing of constitutional agitation, non-co-operation is an effective alternative or substitute to anarchy. You do not seem to consider the force of Mr. Gandhi's phrase, "the emasculation of the race." If your methods do not stop "the emasculation of the race," your preaching that non-co-operation is political suicide, will only emphasise and accelerate the emasculation of the race and thus lead to political suicide. To put it logically, constitutional agitation, if it pitifully fails of its purpose, would certainly lead to political suicide and servitude and perpetuate the emasculation of the race.

Mr. Gandhi would "risk even violence thousand times to the emasculation of the race." Still, non-co-operation is not unconstitutional, is possible without violence. If I agree with you it is impracticable, what is your alternative. There is nothing for me to hold up my head as an Indian with pride and satisfaction. Will you please ensure us the proper way? or shall we take to the Boycott of British Goods as an alternative to non-co-operation? An all-India movement with an all-pervading will and discipline to bring home to

them our grievances by means of a Boycott of British Goods might be effective. If it is certainly not unconstitutional or disloyal. Shall we adopt this?

"Young India."

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

The special session of the Indian National Congress meeting shortly at Calcutta will be the most momentous event in the history of Modern India. Its historical value will lie in its giving a lead to the country with regard to the greatest and the most absorbing question of the day, Non-co-operation. The success or defeat of the resolution of Non-co-operation will accordingly shape the future destiny of the people of this country. One need not say that the issue is so grave, that failure to exercise prudence, caution and foresight, will bring in a train of consequences disastrous to the welfare of the country. Judging from the views and opinions declared by a number of persons of high eminence and position in public life, one is inclined to think that the movement of Non-co-operation will ultimately die, but certainly not before it has passed through its incipient stage, for the renowned author has invested it with a vitality which will not easily decay. The supreme interests of the country demand that every individual should think deeply on this extremely grave and delicate question, consider it well in all its bearings before he helps the country to declare, in the ensuing session of the Congress, its final verdict, whatever that verdict might be. But as it is, one feels sorry to be compelled to say that Mahatma Gandhi's deep sincerity, probity and high integrity of character have blinded the people into believing in the efficacy of the movement, with which his name is so largely associated. It almost appears that the magic of his name has robbed people of their independence of judgment. The leaders of the Moderate Party have throughout eloquently and vigorously opposed Non-co-operation. The Nationalist leaders of the country have been unusually reticent on this matter. It is, however, whispered that Messrs. C. R. Das, Chuckerbutty and other extremist leaders of Bengal are in no mood to accept the policy of Non-co-operation. The late Mr. B. G. Tilak strongly differed from Mahatma Gandhi on the question of Non-co-operation in as much as he strenuously opposed boycott of the Councils. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar, late Advocate General of Madras, speaking on the subject at a meeting of the general-body of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, while admitting the inevitability of Non-co-operation, if Government persisted in their present policy, said that it was impossible to take it up as the country was not ripe for it. The movement cannot succeed because the country at large is not prepared and willing for such huge self-sacrifices. Its inherent defect lies in its immaturity. It may indirectly serve one purpose, and i. e. Political Education of the people, but with what cost and consequences one feels to say. That there is immense risk in pursuing this untimely policy will be admitted by those who are advocating it with high religious fervour. But there is one supreme danger which can only be ignored at grave peril to the country, which is heaving with great political and social unrest, and that is the failure of the movement through the inadequate and feeble response of the Hindu community. If the movement fails on that account, the Hindu-Muslim Entente might soon cease to be a reality. The fate of the country hangs in the balance. Will not the venerated leader pause and consider well before finally crossing the Rubicon?

P. H. D.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.

Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Eight Per Share.

NOTICE is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of July 1920 a Call of Rupees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was determined that such Call should be paid on the 1st day of November 1920 at the Head Office of the Bank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches:—

BOMBAY :

SUB-BRANCHES:—Shroff Bazaar (Shaik Memon Street.)
Share Bazaar (Apollo Street.)

CALCUTTA :—(28, Dalhousie Square).

SUB-BRANCH :—Bara Bazaar.

CAWNPORE :

SUB-BRANCH :—Chandansi.

HYDERABAD, (Decon.)

LUCKNOW.

SUB-BRANCH :—Hathras.

MADRAS, (9, Popham's Broadway.)

RANGOON.

and that interest at the rate of nine per centum per annum will be charged on all amounts not paid on the due date from such date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will only be accepted if the amount covers the Call due on all the Shares of which members are registered as holders on the 12th day of September 1920 and upon production of the Notice which will be sent to all such shareholders through the post. Any shareholder not having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 should immediately communicate with the Tata Industrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a duplicate will be issued.

All remittances must be made in Government Currency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be returned.

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By order of the Board.

R. H. PARKER,
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16th July, 1920.

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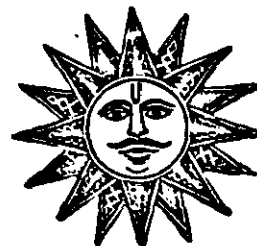
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Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,730,000

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Manager

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Capital Subscribed Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund „ 66,00,000.

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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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Raj Rains Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.
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R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.
A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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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. 5 per half year will be allowed.

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XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, AUGUST 22, 1920. No. 51.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no
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 Non-Cooperation: Renan, himself an unbeliever, declared that few men are entitled to disbelieve Christianity. His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the Legislative Council introduced some observations on the Non-Cooperation movement. We do not believe in the movement, but we do not think that any member of the Government of India connected with the passing of the Rowlatt Act, has a right to throw stones at it. That Act, it will be remembered, was a glaring example of Non-Cooperation on the part of Government with Indian leaders, Liberal and Radical, and the inaugurator of one form of Non-Cooperation is hardly the right man to sit in judgment on the originator of another form of it. The Rowlatt Act, like Non-Cooperation, was repudiated by all thinking people in the country, but Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues had then no faith in "India's commonsense." If you sow the wind, you have to reap the whirlwind, and we are sure that history to whose verdict His Excellency was content to leave the issues raised by the Punjab Martial Law controversy, will find no difficulty in adjudging that Lord Chelmsford, and not Mr. Gandhi, was responsible for originating by the manner of the passing of the Rowlatt Act the "most foolish of all foolish schemes"—Non-co-operation between Government and the governed.

Lord Sinha's New Appointment: It is only by reminding ourselves that Indians have, notwithstanding the explicit promise of the Queen's Proclamation, been held ineligible for provincial Governorships that we can regard Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor of Bihar and Orissa as an event of any political significance. Whatever may be the case with responsible Government, it cannot be contended that Indians have not held with distinction the highest offices in the administration of the country for hundreds of years. Even in this appointment, the invidious distinction between Indian and Englishman is evident. An Englishman who is a Peer and a Privy Councillor, has held office as Under Secretary of State in His Majesty's Government and quoted a great measure in Parliament, would and could aspire to

the Viceroyalty. Lord Curzon's case is the most prominent instance. None of the present Presidency Governors—not even the Viceroy—had the status in English politics that Lord Sinha has. And yet he is appointed virtually to a Lieutenant Governorship. And our Allahabad contemporary cannot contain himself for joy that his countryman has been nominated to a position which most Englishmen of his political rank would have refused as derogatory to English public life! Perhaps, our contemporary is right. They might have posted the Under-Secretary to Assam, or made him a Deputy Governor of picturesque little Coorg of which and whose people, we publish today an interesting account by a modern daughter of the ancient Kadambas. The secret of political happiness in India is to cultivate the capacity to appreciate microscopic concessions doled out with the celerity of the snail.

Voluntary Repatriation. The Editor of *Indian Opinion* was one of those who supported the scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians in Natal. But he, like Mr. Andrews, has come to see that Governments do not speak the same language as the individuals of whom it is composed. Those who deal with Governments have to bear this in mind. Our contemporary observes with reference to Sir Benjamin Robertson's benevolent idea that "for their own good, the Indians must be got out of this country (South Africa), as they will never advance here."

It will be remembered that the suggestion of Mr. Andrews that all those poor Indians who had become worn out by working for starvation wages and who desired but were unable to secure free passages to India, should be offered facilities and possibly a small grant of money to be paid to them on their arrival in India. We are afraid that the Government are not inspired with any of the feelings that prompted Mr. Andrews. During the last few months we have heard a great deal about Indians advancing too much—that they are too prosperous—that they are a menace to the European population. It has even been a matter of complaint that they reside in the best residential areas of the towns and endeavour to live on terms of equality with Europeans. It is also argued that they should not be allowed to own land at all. Sir Benjamin tells us that it is entirely for our own good that we are invited to leave this country. On the other hand, the politicians, egged on by certain interested parties, urge the repatriation of Indians, "lock, stock, and barrel," for the good of themselves. Try as we will, it is impossible for us to regard the Government's scheme as being a demonstration of how much they love Indians.

In this connection, attention should be called to the Viceroy's statement in his speech on the opening of the Legislative Council on Friday. His Excellency said that the Government of India was not consulted and that there was no reason why it should have been consulted. On the other hand, we have

Sir Benjamin Robertson's statement that voluntary repatriation was his idea, and that it is for their own good that Indians ought to leave South Africa. Sir Benjamin is the Government of India's representative, and we should like to know if that Government concurs in these statements and whether it authorised him to make them.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: The *Bombay Chronicle* stated on Monday that, at the request of his friends, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who took his seat on the Bench of the Bombay High Court on being appointed a temporary judge only a few weeks ago, had made up his mind to seek election to the Indian Legislative Assembly as a representative of Bombay City, and that he will resign his office in order to do so. The report has been authoritatively denied. It is true, we are told, that Sir Chimanlal is being pressed by his friends to re-enter public life in a non-official capacity, but it is not true that he has agreed to do so. The contradiction, however, is not conclusive. The impression it leaves on the mind is that Sir Chimanlal has neither finally accepted nor rejected the request, and that it is not improbable that he may accept it. If this is the case, our contemporary's announcement was premature and unfair to Sir Chimanlal. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was the only name which was coupled with that of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as Sir George Lowndes' likely successors in the Law Membership. They both served on the Functions Committee with distinction. Dr. Sapru declined the offer of a membership on the Hunter Committee as also a High Court Judgeship (at Allahabad). Sir Setalvad accepted both. It is probable that in preferring Dr. Sapru the principal consideration was that it was not desirable that one Bombay lawyer should succeed another. A section of the public, however, is inclined to think that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's connection with the minority report of the Hunter Committee, had cost him his chance. Many people were surprised when Sir Chimanlal accepted a High Court Judgeship. In the nature of things he cannot serve long enough on the bench to earn the pension, and there was no other apparent attraction to induce him to close his public career which has been one of continued success. It was freely stated that Sir Chimanlal expected to be incorporated into the official hierarchy, and that the judgeship was only a stepping stone. It should occasion no surprise if Sir Chimanlal does not relish the prospect of having to make a "stepping stone" his domicile for the next three or four years when he will have to relinquish it under the sixty years rule. On the other hand, the prestige of a Judgeship is not enhanced by its being utilised as a stepping-stone whether to the Executive or the Legislative Council. We need not further indicate the delicate dilemma in which the *Chronicle's* premature announcement places Sir Chimanlal.

The Muslim University Bill. It is certainly a feather in the cap of Mr. Mahomed Shafi, the member for Education in the Government of India, that he has succeeded, in these days too of talk of non-cooperation, where his two predecessors failed, in drafting in consultation with the Muslim University Association a Bill to establish and incorporate a Muslim University at Aligarh. It is to be a teaching and residential University, open to all persons of either sex without distinction of race, creed or class. In accordance with the recommendation of Calcutta University Commission, the Muslim University will not include intermediate classes. Special features of the University will be the imparting of Muslim religious education to Muslims and the inclusion of departments of Islamic studies

The Muslim University Bill is, we believe, intended to be introduced in the Indian Legislative Council and passed in the forthcoming session.

Useful Publicity. In a recent issue we noticed what seemed to us to be a piece of unconscionable bombast on the part of the Publicity Department of the Government of Bombay in a communication announcing the institution of a certain number of scholarships for lady medical students. We have received this week two communications containing useful information regarding measures adopted by the administration to promote its well-being. Such measures are to be found referred to in administration reports which few people read, and that too, a year or eighteen months after their introduction. Officers of Government are human beings like the rest of us, and are encouraged by appreciation when they do really good work. The measures adopted by the Government of Bombay in its respective Departments to relieve Local Boards and to improve communications by provincializing trunk roads, and to combat malaria by the free distribution of quinine, are wisely conceived. The Director of Information need not have gone out of his way to seek to coerce the judgment of the public by asserting that those who criticise Government are residents of cities incapable of appreciating the value of good roads in the districts. Many of these critics have seen more district roads than the Director could have possibly done. Apart from that, facts are their own best propagandists, and may safely be left to convey their own lesson. We mention this because it is not the first effort of the Department in the direction of the "offensive-defensive" on behalf of Government; and if the object of the Department is still what we understood it to be, a sort of bridge between Government and the Press, it is obviously bad tactics, to go out of your way to tread on the toes of those whose cooperation you wish to secure.

A Bull Dog on the Bench: Our comments regarding the abuse of 'shorts' in public places, brings us a complaint regarding general slackness in the dress and department of a judicial officer in a district. He, the judge, we are told rarely comes to court wearing proper dress. "The trousers are of some brown colour and the coat is a white coat of the sort used at home along with pyjamas. Only at the time of the Sessions, he seems to wear a coat matching the trousers. But never a black coat as etiquette would require nor the gown as laid down by the rules. To crown all this, by the side of the judge's chair, another chair is to be provided for his pet bull-dog and this even on the seat of judgment." Perhaps, the judge is interested in experimental psychology, and it would certainly be interesting to know what the bull dog thinks of the humans in the court. Perhaps—but we should not speculate. The presence of the bull-dog does not seem to be necessary to dispense justice, and it may frighten nervous parties and pleaders.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 22, 1920.

MR. GANDHI ON NON-COOPERATION.

In the leading article on Non-Co-operation in last week's *Reformer* it was pointed out that the idea was not a new one. It had been anticipated forty years ago by Professor Seeley in one of his lectures on the expansion of England, where he said: "If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there (in India) only feebly—if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion—from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist. . . . The moment India began to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be, a conquered nation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her." No one who knows the facts will question the accuracy of Sir John Seeley's forecast. That the British Empire in India exists, and that only five short years ago, the Indian people as one man rejoiced in every measure to share the burdens of the war, show that in the interval between when Seeley wrote these sentences and the present time, India and her people have not begun seriously to think of themselves as a conquered country and people. In other words, they have not begun to think of the Government of India as a foreign Government in the ordinary, offensive sense of the phrase. We publish to-day from the pen of a diligent contributor a melancholy conspectus of the multifarious grounds of grievance against Government, which the Indian people have in many directions. Several of these are supported from citations from these columns, showing that we have not been oblivious to them or wanting in the spirit of protest. The cumulative effect of all these grievances in promoting discontent is, of course, very great. But when it is clearly understood that the complete success of Non-Cooperation is the cessation of the British Indian Empire, there will be very few persons in India, we think, to wish it complete success. It is a fact which cannot be seriously disputed that, while all these grievances put together constitute a formidable indictment of British rule, in any impartial estimate of that rule, they cannot outweigh the benefits which it has conferred on the people of India. The list of wrongs is mounting up and, unless meanwhile rapid progress is made along the road to full responsible Government, some day the advantages of British rule may cease to balance them. But that time is not yet.

Mr. Gandhi himself does not desire full success to his movement. He told a representative of the

"Madras Mail" in reply to the question whether he was satisfied that Non-Co-operation would extend to complete severance of co-operation with the Government: "No; It is only fair to say that nor is it at the present my desire that it should. I am simply practising Non-Co-operation to the extent that is necessary to make the Government realise the depth of public feeling in the matter and the dissatisfaction with the Government of India or by the Imperial Government, whether on the Khilafat question or on the Punjab question." We take the passage from the report of the interview as it is reproduced in "Young India," Mr. Gandhi's own paper, so that the possibility of mistake is reduced to a minimum. It is clear from these words that Mr. Gandhi has not taken up Non-Co-operation as a substantive movement but only as a demonstration to Government of the feelings of the people. His view seems to be that Government is blind and deaf to the ordinary methods of constitutional representation. Something more concrete may appeal to them, and Non-Co-operation without violence may operate as a brick so composed as to crumble harmlessly into dust as soon as it comes in contact with a human head. This position is absolutely logical but it ignores certain hard facts. The first is that when you lose an avalanche, its destination does not depend upon your intention. The mass-mind is an avalanche and all deductions regarding its operation from the analogy of the workings of the individual mind—and that so exceptional a mind as Mr. Gandhi's—are devoid of substance. Mr. Gandhi may be simply practising Non-Co-operation within certain limits which he has strictly defined to himself, but many others who speak of Non-Co-operation do not do so and do not profess to do so. In any case, when the idea permeates to the masses, qualifications and limitations will be left behind. Mr. Gandhi is, of course, entitled to protest that he is not responsible for the fatuous lengths to which stupid people may carry his great idea, and if the doctrine was preached only to those who have assimilated all the rest of his life principles, the protest will be unanswerable. The Special Congress when it deals with the question should place this issue prominently in view: Does the country seriously wish the British connection to be made impossible? That is the issue raised by Non-Co-operation, and without bearing it closely in mind, no right decision can be arrived at regarding the question. The country, in fact, has already answered the reference to the Special Congress, so that that body can have no difficulty in pronouncing its verdict. Mr. Gandhi himself no longer feels sure that that verdict will support his action, which is the only meaning we can attach to his declaration that a Congressman need not await the decision of the

Congress before launching a new political propaganda which, as we showed last week, is diametrically opposed to the goal which Congress has solemnly set for itself. The first of August has come and gone, and with the exception of a few Khan Bahadurs, Sub-Inspectors and Honorary Magistrates, no one has resigned anything. The growth of the Hijrat movement in spite of Mr. Gandhi's deprecation of it, shows that the masses are prepared to go with him only so far as he goes with them.

An ounce of personal experience is worth a ton of theory. This writer has been pondering within himself as to what participation in Non-Co-operation on his part would entail. He has no titles to resign and is never likely to have any. He was made a Justice of the Peace last year and the facts that his name was wrongly spelt and an additional initial letter was unwarrantably foisted on to it in the official announcement, sufficiently show how little he had sought this distinction. It will be a mockery to resign a thing to which he attaches so little importance, under the high-sounding name of Non-Co-operation, especially as he has not been asked to co-operate with anybody in any matter in virtue of that office, title or distinction. Then he is a member of the Municipality in which he has made his home for the last twenty years and more, and is specially interested in the educational work of the Municipality which is the first to introduce compulsory education for both boys and girls in the country. This is honorary work, but he is unable to satisfy himself that he would help the country's cause by refusing the time that he now devotes to the civic interests of the community of which he is a humble member. Then he is a fellow of the University, nominated thereto by Government. This, it may be said, offers a good field for Non-Co-operation. Does it? Except that Government nominated him to the Fellowship, there is absolutely nothing in the duties attaching to the position, which can be construed into co-operation with Government as apart from such modest service as is within the capacity of the writer in the cause of University education. Then, as an Editor, he has to co-operate every week with Government by furnishing them along with the rest of his readers with what, he hopes, is a fairly just and impartial estimate of men and measures. Should he cease doing so and take to handloom weaving? Is it any advantage to the country to have a hopelessly, inefficient weaver instead of, he trusts, a not intolerably incompetent journalist? Vague generalities do not help in the least. It has to be shown with reference to the case of each individual that Non-Co-operation even to the extent of resigning titles and honorary offices, is likely to be more useful to the community than continuing to discharge the duties of those offices in a spirit of self-respecting patriotism. Even as regards paid

offices, it is our opinion that this is quite possible except where men are paid to spy upon their fellow-countrymen the latches of whose shoes they are unworthy to unloose. As for withdrawing children from schools, we can only say that Mr. Gandhi does not speak with his accustomed responsibility when he advises it. It is the part of his programme that finally convinced waverers that Mr. Gandhi in his Non-Co-operation is pursuing some will o' the wisp of his imagination. While many persons are not indisposed to experiment with themselves in life, few are inclined to stake their children's future on the chance of what, after all, is a politico-religious speculation. How would the country benefit by hundreds of thousands of its youth loafing about in the streets in the name of Non-Co-operation?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOMBAY.

Mr. Curtis' lantern lecture last Wednesday at the Empire Theatre on the development of Bombay is a sign of the times. One seldom sees at public meetings such a large number of Europeans, men and women, as that which flocked to hear the Hon. Member. The occasion was unique. The bureaucracy—we use the term here in no unkind sense—works in secret and in silence. Articulateness, it is trained to look upon as a weakness characteristic of agitators. The European community in India cannot be said to be intensely public-spirited. But it has an eye for dramatic situations, and the debut, so to speak, of the highly-starched Indian Civil Service, in the person of a seasoned veteran like Mr. Curtis, in the new role of solicitor of public support for its plans, no doubt, appealed to its dramatic interest. Any tendency to nerves on the part of the Hon. Member in his unaccustomed part was, we are sure, allayed by the sight around him of so many officials abundantly prepared to take the will for the deed in respect of what he said or left unsaid. A high tribute is due to Mr. Curtis for the pluck, public spirit and loyalty with which, while nearing the end of his official career, he emerged from "the dim, religious light" of the sanctuary of Red Tape and Sealing Wax, to face the flare of the foot-lights. The lecture, it may be said at once, was not a success, but the lecturer was. Every one present admired the high sense of public duty impelling such a fine, crusty type of bureaucrat, in obedience to the new dispensation, to do his best to explain to the public the plans and intentions of Government in respect of the development of Bombay City. That Mr. Curtis was by no means at home on the stage, was painfully evident. In one thing, however, the stage seemed to have inspired him to high histrionic achievement. When the Old Woman's Island, after the lecturer had more than once dilated on her charms, popped up for the third or the fourth time on the screen, Mr. Curtis' impersonation of Hamlet at the sight of the ghost, was intensely realistic. Only instead of exclaiming "Angels and

ministers of Grace defend us, he turned distressedly to his perspiring Secretary with the sharp cry, "What!"

For the rest, the lecture, and especially the lantern slides, gave one for the first time a general though hazy view of what has been done, what is being done, and what may be done, to develop Bombay into a healthy and beautiful city. It is a good beginning. But it is a very much belated beginning. The public will enthusiastically support a sound scheme of Bombay development. It is convinced that it is an urgent necessity and that existing agencies have lamentably failed to rise to the height of their opportunities. It has confidence in His Excellency the Governor's earnestness and zeal in this matter. But it resents the springing upon it piecemeal, and without a word of explanation as to why and wherefore, of the different parts of a great scheme which must be viewed as a whole to appreciate the bearing of the parts on one another and in relation to the whole. It is said that secrecy had to be observed in regard to intended acquisitions of land in order to prevent speculation. The practice, however, while it effectually prevents the general public from forming a connected idea of official projects, does not seem to be very effective in its object of keeping speculators, against whom it is aimed, off the scent. Publication would at least localise speculation, while vague rumour lead to its being general all over the city. The balance of advantage lies in full and timely publication, adopting, if necessary, fresh measures to eliminate the speculative factor from the estimates of compensation to be paid for lands acquired for public purposes. We urge, therefore, that a full and connected narrative of the problems of Bombay development, written not in the manner of an office note but for popular exposition, illustrated with maps and pictures, should be issued to the public in English and the vernaculars in a handy form and at a nominal price. Intelligent public support, based on knowledge, can alone assure of permanence any scheme originating in the shifting sands of officialdom. Sir George Lloyd will be here for two years and a half longer. His successor may or may not be interested in this question, or he may have a different view of it from His Excellency. Such things have happened before, the most recent instance being the future of the Improvement Trust. The Bombay public, on the whole, is a sober-minded public not inclined to extend political differences to civic problems, but it expects to be treated as such.

Government have made a serious mistake in not calling representative public men in consultation in framing their scheme. Another serious mistake is that even the officially-worked-up scheme has not been published as a whole. Land is notified for acquisition in a crowded locality, and only when there is an uproar from those affected, is it explained that provision will be made elsewhere for them. Whether the provision made is satisfactory to those who are deprived of their homes, does not seem to be a matter of any concern.

We do not find any difficulty in conceiving that a family which has lived in Tardeo for years, may not be satisfied that an excellent building site at, say, Borivli, is a reasonable provision in its case. It is quite realised that these huge schemes cannot but involve inconvenience to some people, but it should also be seen to that the number of such people is limited to as few as possible, and that even the few should consist as largely as possible of persons to whom it will not spell hardship. It is in respect of these vital points that the assistance and advice of representative non-officials are absolutely necessary. The first mistake, namely, the framing of the scheme in secrecy, cannot now be remedied. The publication of the full scheme in a handy form, is still possible, and it should be undertaken without delay. The agency proposed for carrying out the scheme, namely, Government itself, is not the best, but the only other alternatives, the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Improvement Trust, have been tried and found wanting. The appointment of a single man as virtual dictator, however, runs counter to a very strong current of public opinion. He is to be responsible to the Governor, no doubt, but the Governor is—and in the new order of things, he will be—a very busy man with numerous other pre-occupations. Virtually Sir Lawless Hepper will be sole autocrat. We are glad to find that the choice is felt on all hands to be an excellent one, but there is nowhere a disposition to approve of the concentration of all authority in regard to a scheme, requiring intimate knowledge of and sympathy with the people for whose benefit it is intended, in the hands of one man and that a non-Indian. Sir Lawless has been many years in India. We do not go so far as to say that the Indian knowledge of many Englishmen is in inverse ratio to the length of their stay in India. But it is certain that not a few of them cease to acquire any knowledge beyond what they get in the first few years of their sojourn here. Sir Lawless's may be an exceptionally receptive mind, but a large scheme of this magnitude cannot be made to depend upon the exceptional qualities of any one man. We cannot see an alternative to a small advisory board of Indians to share the responsibility of the new department with Sir Lawless. It is unusual, no doubt, to have such a Board attached to any Department of the Secretariat, but this is not an ordinary Department, and Sir Lawless' appointment is itself very unusual. Besides, we are not sure that it will be at all a bad thing if every Secretariat had a similar Committee to work with. We raised in our article last week the question whether the new Department will be, as it should be as coming under the head of Local Self Government which is a transferred subject, under a Minister which, it cannot be, if it were placed directly under the Governor. An assurance that it is not intended to "reserve" this part of Local Self Government, will appreciably affect the attitude of the public to the creation of the new Department.

COORG AND THE COORGS.

(BY MRS O. B. POOVIAN, B.A.)

The population of Coorg is very mixed. English, Musalmans, Parrees, Lingayets and many other races are to be found here, but the history of a quite distinct race of people who go by the name of Coorgs and who form about one-third of the population, is the history of Coorg itself. The rest are foreigners who have come and settled in the place and who have not any peculiar characteristics of a mountain race. The Coorgs are distinctly a mountain people in their build, in their manners and customs. Their descent is traced to the Kadambas of the epic age, who fled from North India to this mountain retreat to escape from invaders, and they are distinctly of Aryan type. Cut off by mountains and separated from the rest of India, these people have preserved unbroken to this day the customs that existed in the epic age. They are the only Hindus among whom many glaring social evils of Hindu society are not to be found. Marriage takes place at a reasonable age in the case of both men and women; child-marriages are not allowed, and widows are allowed to remarry. Men and women lead more or less free, out-door, healthy lives. The ancient joint-family system still holds its sway among them. Different clans have different names and the members of one clan cannot marry within the clan. A clan or joint-family might include more than a hundred members or less than ten. All the members of each clan trace their descent from one ancestor.

A study of fashionable Coorg Society in Mercara, the capital, where the Government officials and rich land-owners mostly reside with their families, will not give us an adequate idea of the true characteristics of this people, unless we betake ourselves to the countryside and watch Coorg men and women in the villages, busily engaged in their field work. There everything is, more or less, as it was one hundred years ago. There the joint families live in one house and work on one big plot of land. All so-called "family houses" are built in one regular unvarying type, with an open court-yard in the middle, and rooms, all around. Each family within this big joint family has some of these rooms allotted to it, and the whole family cook their food in one kitchen, each unit separately or together. About fifty years ago all used to cook together and eat the same food, but now the circumstances are a little changed. Every family-house has a small temple situated on the eastern side, dedicated to ancestor worship, and every village has its own temple with the yearly festival of the gods. Every well-to-do clan has a clan of servants, chiefly pariahs, attached to it and these servants live in huts round about the family house, are much attached to their masters and mistresses, and are proud to call themselves hereditary servants of such and such a clan. They are well cared for and are given fixed customary wages, mostly in kind. Masters and servants work side by side in the fields.

A Coorg village woman is a busy bee. She manages well her household affairs and work in the fields. She seldom sits or rests, but will be always on her feet working from morning to night. It is a pleasure to watch her going about her work in the fields; the traditional custom of bearing heavy loads on her head has given her a graceful and very upright gait. The women as a rule are busier than the men, for the latter will do only the heavier kind of work, like ploughing or chopping the wood, and leave all the countless lighter duties to be done by the women, and of course at the same time they expect their food to be ready, and their children well cared for at home. Most of the children of these joint families, both boys and girls, are sent to the village school. Though there are only two high schools and no colleges in Coorg, a good number of elementary schools are spread all over the country and almost every Coorg child, boy or girl, is taught to read and write. It is a pleasure to watch a group of children trotting along carrying their books and tiffin-baskets and chattering among themselves. Sometimes they have to walk five or six miles from their homes in different mountain recesses, before they reach the school generally built on a flat part of the village. In many cases the girls' school and the boys' school are close together, or sometimes both boys and girls go to the same school. The long walks along the mountain passes make the children as hardy as their elders, and they too lead a free out-door life outside class hours.

The Coorgs have only three festivals in the year. The most important one is the "Puthari" or the harvest festival which is eagerly anticipated by the villagers. Men, women and children wear newly made holiday clothes, and at night before the feast, they all go with music and burning torches to the family field close by, and reap the first handful of the corn. Each holds up a handful of reaped corn-stalks and together they call upon God to bless them, thank Him for the bountiful harvest, and then return home with great rejoicing to feast. The handfuls of corn-stalks brought are hung in small clusters over the arch of every door. This festival is kept up for seven or eight days and on the last day, men and women gather on the village green. The men dance to music performing all sorts of graceful feats with the sticks in their hands and the women sit by and watch them. Both men and women are in full national costume; the men wearing long coats reaching to below the knees, gaily coloured turbans and gorgeous red bands tied round their waists to carry the short knives which hang sheathed from them; the women with their saris tied in a peculiar way and handkerchiefs gracefully flowing behind.

The second festival is the 'Kail Mahurtha.' On that day the men go out hunting and seldom return empty-handed, to be mocked by their women folk at home. After taking their food they gather on the village green for a shooting match. They tie coconuts on the branches of trees and test the accuracy of their aim.

The third festival is the "Kaveri Shankramana" the day dedicated to the worship of the goddess Kaveri, the patron river goddess of the Coorgs. On this day, men and women went their way to 'Bhagamandala' the hill where the river Kaveri has its

source. This is one of the prettiest parts of Coorg, famous for its natural beauty, and from this particular hill-top one can catch a glimpse of the sea far, far away—the only place in Coorg whence the sea is visible. Pious pilgrims from all parts of India come every year on this day to worship the goddess in the temple on the 'Bhagamandala' hill and to bathe in the sacred river. The Coorgs consider themselves special favourites of this goddess and it is said that the goddess bade the Coorg women have the gatherings of their saries behind and not at the front as all other Indian women wear it, and to wear that peculiar handkerchief, so that she might distinguish her favourites from other Indian women. Many a Coorg girl is named after this goddess. The particular reverence paid to this river can be explained by the fact that it is the chief river in Coorg, has its source in the heart of its hills, flows throughout the length of the country and is associated with many tender memories. A long and beautiful legend relating the story and virtues of this goddess is well-known to all the Coorg women and is repeated from mother to child. This is the most important traditional story of the people, peculiarly their own.

The Coorg wedding ceremony is very interesting. Unlike the wedding festivities among the other Hindus which last many days altogether, the Coorg wedding lasts only one whole day. The bride and bridegroom have separate ceremonies in their respective homes. All the relations of the bride gather in her family house, she is dressed in a red spotted *sari*, decked with jewels and flowers, and covered with a fine red veil, is made to sit on a small, round three-legged stool. On one side of her is placed another stool bearing a brass dish with rice and a tiny burning lamp placed in it, and on the other side another stool bearing the same materials together with a 'Milli' full of milk. The bridesmaid stands behind the bride in a protecting attitude. First the mother of the girl steps before her, throws rice on her child's head, blesses her and presents her with some valuable wedding present, which the bride acknowledges by reverently touching the feet of her mother three times; then the ladies and gentlemen present follow one by one, giving their blessing and presents. Young people shake hands with the bride while the elders expect her to touch their feet. It is rather tedious for the poor bride to sit there two hours receiving blessings and presents and returning 'Namaskarams.' A similar ceremony takes place in the bridegroom's house. Early next morning the bridegroom with some of his male and female relations comes to fetch the bride home. At the entrance of the bride's house, seven or eight thick plantain stalks are well planted on the ground and the bestman of the bridegroom is expected to fell each of these with one single blow of the sword. If he fails, the bride's people laugh at them as unworthy suitors. The bride and bridegroom, together, are made to sit on stools side by side and the same ceremony of blessing and good wishes is gone through again; in the end, the bridegroom rises, blesses the bride and presents her with a valuable wedding gift, generally a ring, takes her hand and raises her up. Some of the bride's people and some of the bridegroom's people stand on either side and while the former commit the bride to the latter's care and assert her equal rights to her husband's property, the latter promise to take good care of her and assure her all rights; then the bride is taken to her husband's home. Young men will generally choose their brides for themselves and a man's consent is necessary before the wedding. Both are of an age to judge for themselves.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT DISCONTENTS. I.

(BY YOUNG INDIA.)

If the wrongs and injustices inflicted on us were confined to the Khilafat question and to Punjab affairs alone, there would still be some hope of salvation for our country and some contentment for the people, as in both the cases, some palliatives or compromises, though unsatisfactory, have been affected by the retention of Constantinople in the hands of the Turks and by the verdict of the House of Commons. But these two do not stand alone; the same mischievous and perverse spirit has entered into the vitals of the whole system of administration. This evil spirit of both bureaucratic incompetence and oppression has spread into all the parts of the administration even like the contagion of a plague or influenza. If Dyer did a Jallianwala massacre and if, as you said, Sir M. O'Dwyer perpetrated an additional and reckless literary Jallianwala, the Government of India have been a party to a grievous financial Jallianwala massacre. It does not matter if they were only the instruments of the higher authorities in this financial Jallianwala of reckless and wasteful expenditure, in Military matters, in and outside India, in unduly increasing the already bloated salaries, and in the loss on account of the thoroughly indefensible and disastrous Reverse Council Sales,—for which last financial outrage, there has been no parallel. But they seem to have been more willing than unwilling instruments. Here, I must ask the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma how he came to associate himself with such a Cabinet—so to say—and lend it the weight of his influence and prestige; for, judged by his test alone, the Government falls to the ground and he should never have joined it. When the recall of Lord Chelmsford was passed in the Amritsar Congress, Mr. Sarma opposed it boldly but gave a fairly understandable reason, that though the Viceroy had blundered or had been led into blundering by his advisers, in the Punjab affair, he had a great solicitude for Indian financial interests and he was a great financial friend of India. Even that pretension too has been lost, the hope of a friend of India in financial and economic matters, has been dashed to the ground and the bubble of financial solicitude has burst. It is an increasing wonder how he came to associate with a Government which has caused a loss of about more than 30 crores of Rupees of hard cash to the Indian Exchequer, which has incurred other wasteful expenditure—which I mention later on and which may not solve the Railway problem as he desires—which last is the ground on which he supported Lord Chelmsford. One is tempted to question his sincerity when he opposed the recall resolution on grounds which have been given the go-bye now. One wonders whether Lord Chelmsford's administration has done any good or is going to do any good. What a pity his is and should be one of such unmixed disservice—it evil be a stronger word—to India like that of Lord Lytton's or Lord Dalhousie's!

Again, what is more disconcerting and disillusioning is, we cannot depend on the I.C.S. to safeguard our financial interests and the interests of Indians overseas. Till now, it was quite rightly and genuinely believed by all—by even the most ardent extremist—that the I. C. S. is a sort of bulwark or buffer against the inroads of greedy, commercial London and that, without this firmness of the I.C.S. the financial exploitation of India would have been greater, would have been on a widespread scale. This belief was to a certain extent well-founded and we must thank the I.C.S. for this attitude in the past. They are believed to have displayed the same

unrelenting firmness in the question of the treatment of Indians abroad. Even that claim too to our gratitude has vanished. For one thing, the I.C.S. has become extraordinarily greedy of late and, in other matters, like Railways and Currency, it looks to be more a branch of commercial London or a branch of the London Chamber of Commerce and London Money Market than a rigid, impartial and high-principled administration. As for Indians overseas, even the *Reformer* had to declare that in the voluntary repatriation as recommended by Sir B. Robertson, "nothing more humiliating to India and to the Empire can be imagined."

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND PUNJAB TRAGEDY I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I should like to be allowed to add my name to those of the twenty five or more Missionaries who have associated themselves with the letter on the Punjab disorders published in your columns about three weeks ago. I should have done so earlier, but that I found that the sentence "the sole justification for the proclamation of martial law is the welfare of the people of India of every race and creed", had been misunderstood by some to imply exclusion of Europeans and others not necessarily born in India. Having now the assurance of one of the original signatories that the phrase was inclusive and not exclusive, I sign this in earnest desire to see more, not less, of co-operation and of the fellowship of reconciliation in India.

Yours faithfully,
J. GURDON BENNETT.

Theological Institution, Medak, Deccan.
8th August, 1920.

II.

Professor H. R. Hamley of the Wilson College writes: "I do not know if you want to make any more names public in connection with the letter published by the *Reformer* from Missionaries regarding the Punjab disturbances. If you are, you may add my name. I find that silence is sometimes misinterpreted."

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

The Statutory meeting of the above Bank was held at the registered office on the 5th instant under the chairmanship of Mr. Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw, N. V. O., O. B. E., when the report which circulated among the shareholders was adopted unanimously.

The authorized and subscribed capital is five and four crores of rupees respectively of which Rupees sixty lacs is called up.

The Manager in his short speech said that, in spite of the abnormal stringency of the Money Market the Bank has been able to show a very good progress. A Branch of the Bank was opened at Zaveri Bazar 2 months ago and the Bank intends opening more Branches in the near future.

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College, Trust Society, LAHORE.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.

Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Eight
Per Share.

Notice is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of July 1920 a Call of Rupees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was determined that such Call should be paid on the 1st day of November 1920 at the Head Office of the Bank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches:—

BOMBAY:

SUB-BRANCHES:—Sbroff Bazaar (Shaik Memon Street.)
Share Bazaar (Apollo Street.)

CALCUTTA:—(28, Dalhousie Square).

SUB-BRANCH:—Bara Bazaar.

CAWNPORE:

SUB-BRANCH:—Chaudausi.

HYDERABAD, (Deccan.)

LUCKNOW.

SUB-BRANCH:—Hathras.

MADRAS, (9, Popham's Broadway.)

RANGOON.

and that interest at the rate of nine per centum per annum will be charged on all amounts not paid on the due date from such date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will only be accepted if the amount covers the Call due on all the Shares of which members are registered as holders on the 12th day of September 1920 and upon production of the Notice which will be sent to all such shareholders through the post. Any shareholder not having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 should immediately communicate with the Tata Industrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a duplicate will be issued.

All remittances must be made in Government Currency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be returned.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1920 both days inclusive.

By order of the Board.

R. H. PARKER,

Secretary.

16th July, 1920.

Batliwala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each
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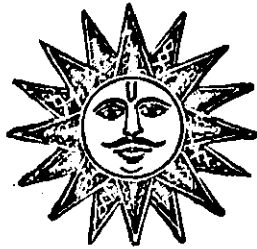
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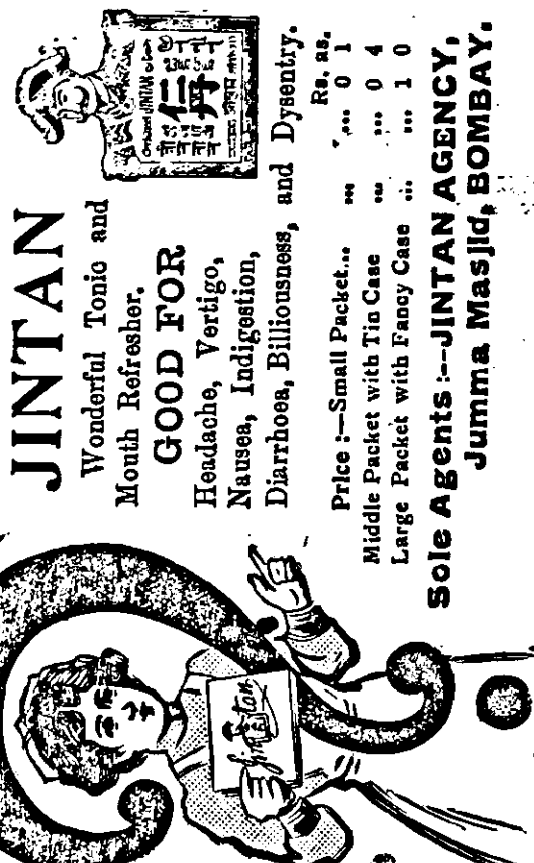


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GOOD FOR
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Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 37,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 7,730,000

Head Office:—Taipei, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

LONDON	SHANGHAI	TOKIO
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HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
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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.

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Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

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Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up....." 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund....." 66,00,000

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Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 5 per half year.

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The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

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Capital Paid up....." 30,00,000.
Reserve Fund....." 14,00,000.

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The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, O. L. E., Chairman
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratan Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vedaagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalkar, Sur Subba, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalle, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., La Baroda.

R. R. Shirgeekar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 500 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. 5 per half year will be allowed.

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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 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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15-4-12.

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Paid up Capital.....Yen. 42,000,000.
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 28,100,000.

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Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

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(REGISTERED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES' ACT OF 1913.)

At Bombay the 11th November, 1919.

REGISTERED OFFICE.

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	Rs.
AUTHORISED CAPITAL	5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	4,00,00,000
CALLED UP CAPITAL	60,00,000
PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. Rs. 59,00,042-8-0.	

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FIXED DEPOSITS: Received for one year and for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

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14-3-20.

Ag. Manager

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Subscribed Capital...	" 1,00,00,000.
Paid Up Capital (30-6-20)	" 49,99,400
Reserve Fund	" 19,00,000

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Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Dalal Street, Fort.

Branches:—Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar, Jharra and Lyallpur.

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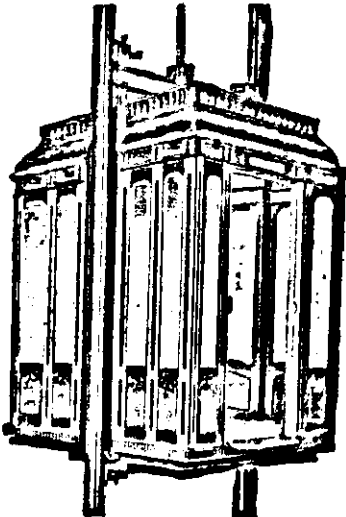
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Special Congress: A number of persons who have declared their dissent from the Non-Cooperation movement have received invitations from the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the President-elect, Lala Lajpat Rai, to attend the Special Congress to be held at Calcutta. We have conveyed our view to Mr. Lajpat Rai. It is that those of us who have declared definitely against Non-Cooperation are obviously out of place in a meeting specially called to consider the question. The effect of any considerable number of them attending may merely be to enable the considerable number of 'leaders' who are sitting on the fence, to preserve their safe position, throwing the brunt of the fight on those who have openly expressed their views. We are strongly in favour of all parties combining to solve national question—we have no superfluity of public-spirited leaders—but we are afraid, this is impossible, till Non-Cooperation is out of the way. Non-Cooperation represents not only a political method, but a philosophy of life and conduct over which there can be no compromise between those who accept it and those who reject it.

A Fanatic's Crime: We are shocked to read the news published on Friday evening of the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Khera (in Oudh) Mr. R. Y. D. Willoughby, by a local Mussulmah fanatic. Mr. Willoughby, who was a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, was assassinated in his house during the absence of his servants at Id prayers, at 10-30 a. m. The murder is said to have been assisted by two others. He has been arrested and is stated to give as reasons for his crime "the oppression of the Mussalman and the imprisonment of a Mahomedan fakir". The fact that Mr. Willoughby's servants were Mahomedans, whose absence at Id prayers provided the assassin with his opportunity, seems to show that the deceased officer had no reason to think that he had done anything to arouse the antagonism of the Mahomedan masses. We deeply deplore the outrage.

Indian Women and the Educational Service: The *Educational Review* (Madras) voices a widely-

felt opinion in its comments on the new rules relating to the Women's Educational Service. Our contemporary writes:

The injustice to Indian interests is in the concluding reflection that there is "a paucity of qualified Indian women" and, therefore, no proportion has been fixed as to the number of Indians to be appointed to the Service. We know that the claims of 'qualified' Indians have not been considered impartially and we can easily mention several Indian ladies with high Indian and foreign degrees who have not found a place in the Women's Indian Educational Service. Some have had to seek scope for their talents in Native States while others have had to content themselves in subordinate positions under European ladies of far inferior qualifications. What makes the position more provoking is the circumstance that this is a feature pervading the women's educational service in all grades in the country. The spectacle of an Indian lady with University degrees being subordinate to a European lady with inferior and sometimes no University qualifications is a very common one and is by no means complimentary to the sense of justice possessed by the administrative authorities responsible for it. This is a matter calling for more immediate redress than injustice in other departments.

A point our contemporary has omitted is that even when an Indian woman gets admission to the Service, she is made to feel by her European colleagues and superiors that she is an interloper whose presence can be tolerated only if she falls in with their views. The real remedy is to make European appointments the exception instead of as at present the rule in the higher ranks of the service.

The Indian Auxiliary Force Bill. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K. C. S. I., C. I. E. writes to the *Citizen* of Madras. "I have just had an opportunity of seeing the provisions of the Indian Auxiliary Force Bill which is to be introduced by the Government in the next session of the Viceregal Legislative Council. The Bill repeals all the enactments relating to volunteering in India including the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917. The only section of the Bill to which it is necessary to draw attention is clause 4. Under this clause the persons eligible for enrolment are European British subjects and members of the domiciled communities and presumably other Europeans who are not British subjects. The Indian subjects of His Majesty are entirely left outside the Bill and there is nothing in the statement of objects and reasons to explain the reasons for this exclusion. So far as the other provisions of the Bill go they seem to be cast on sound lines. Speaking as a layman I am unable to see why clause 4 should not have been framed more comprehensively so as to provide for the training of all British Indian subjects, whether European or Indian. The Government can hardly complain if the public believe that the Bill bears on its face marks of racial discrimination."

Parsi Charity Organisation Society. The first annual report of the Parsi Charity Organisation

Society, a copy of which has been sent to us, shows that, the Society has laid a solid foundation for its work during its inaugural year. It has compiled a Register of the names of Parsis in the city, who receive periodic help from the different charity funds in Bombay. In addition to their names, the Register contains their addresses and the amount of assistance they receive. The Society has been fortunate in obtaining the cordial cooperation of all the principal Funds in its investigation. As the result of its examination into about 100 cases referred to the Society by the several Funds, the Executive Committee observe in their report that there appears to be no reason to doubt that the motives to self-help and the sense of self-respect have been considerably undermined by the ease and facility with which outside help could be obtained from many different sources. The Committee feel that the most effective method of treating poverty is not the provision of periodic doles, but the foundation and organisation of industrial homes and work classes, for both the sexes, offering reasonable opportunities for employment to the able-bodied and even the defectives.

Officials and the Press. We have received a copy of the fourth edition of "A Collection of Rules and Orders relating to Public Servants," compiled by Mr. G. K. Roy, retired superintendent, Home Department, Government of India. This book is sure to prove useful to officials and the fact that it has reached a fourth edition shows that it is well in demand. It is priced Rs. 2-4-0 and can be had from the author, Simla E. It is interesting to note that the rules of the Public Service do not absolutely preclude officials from writing for the Press. They should on no account make use of information which they obtain in the course of their official duties. But, subject to this rule, "a Government servant may contribute anonymously to the Press, but must confine himself within the line of temperate and reasonable discussion." If his connection with the Press is contrary to the public interest, the local Government may withdraw his liberty to contribute.

The Hind Mahila: We have received a copy of *Hind Mahila* (Indian Women), an English monthly devoted to the cause of women in India and edited by Miss Reuben, a distinguished graduate of the Bombay University. It is the first of its kind in Bombay and gives the opportunity to the women of India, to use its own words, "to air their grievances, to voice their aspirations, and to demand their rights and privileges." That the *Hind Mahila* is not content with the discussion of questions of academical interest only but seeks to solve some of the pressing problems intimately connected with women is seen from Mrs. Hallows' "Open Letter to the Women of India" and the editorial comments on it. We accord a hearty welcome to the *Hind Mahila* and hope it will meet with success worthy of the cause it advocates. The annual subscription is Rs. 5 and a single copy costs 8 annas. All communications should be addressed to the Editor, *The Hind Mahila*, New Nagpada, Byculla, Bombay.

The late Mrs. Mackichan: News has been received in Bombay of the death of Mrs. Mackichan in Scotland. All through the long and distinguished career in Bombay of her husband, Mrs. Mackichan was his true help-mate greatly respected by all who came in contact with them. The sympathy of a very large circle of friends will go forth to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan in his bereavement.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 29, 1920.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The decisions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the grievances of Indians in East Africa were announced early this month by Sir Edward Northey, the Governor of the Colony, to the Standing Committee of the East Africa Indian National Congress. These decisions on the subject of Indian policy in East Africa were arrived at by Lord Milner after frequent discussion with the Governor of Uganda and Sir Edward, and after his lordship had received a deputation introduced to him by Lord Islington which included Indian representatives sent from East Africa. The Indian demands were formulated as under in the representation presented to Lord Milner by the London delegation:

1. **Franchise.** The extension to Indians of the electoral franchise and equal representation on the Legislative and Executive Councils.

The extension to Indians of the Municipal franchise and equal representation on the Municipality with Europeans.

2. **Land Rights.** The removal of the power of veto on the transfer of lands to Indians and all other differentiating prohibitions regarding the acquisition or transfer of lands by or to Indians. There must be absolute equality of treatment in the ownership of lands.

3. **Segregation.** The repeal of the Segregation of Races Act 1919.

4. **Immigration.** The assurance of freedom from unnecessary or undue restrictions on Indian immigration and of equality of treatment in this respect.

5. **Racial Disabilities.** The removal of racial disabilities. The admission on equal terms of Indians to the higher ranks of the Civil Service, and to all other Public Offices without distinction, the recognition of Indian degrees in the professions for purposes of practising the same; grant of the right of trial by jury; removal of disabilities regarding the grant of prospecting licences.

6. **Education.** Proper provision for the education of Indian children on the lines conformable to the needs of a modern civilized community.

7. **Exchange and Currency.** A reversal of the policy of exchange recently instituted and an assurance that their will be no tampering with the currency.

Lord Milner concedes the principle of election instead of nomination both as regards the Legislative and Municipal Councils. But the Indians are to elect only two members, and that by some special "fancy" franchise to be devised by the Kenia Government. In support of this arbitrary decision, Lord Islington is quoted as having said, in introducing the East African Deputation, that a solution of the present difficulties could not be found in granting the franchise to Indians in the Colony generally on the same basis as to the Europeans. The *East African Chronicle*, the Indian weekly published at Nairobi, reflecting no doubt the bitter disappointment of East African Indians, is inclined to scoff at Lord Islington as an authority on Kenia conditions. His lordship was chosen to head

the Indian deputation to Lord Milner, and he has consistently taken a friendly view of Indian matters both in and out of office. We do not know why he expressed that opinion, but we have no doubt he did so in perfect good faith. While upholding the Indian claim that there should be no invidious distinctions between the Indian and European East African subjects of His Majesty, we would like to have before us the detailed proposals of the Kenia Government definitely formulated, in order to see how far and in what respects they fall short of the European franchise. If there is no substantial difference, the mere fact that the two schemes differ in some unimportant details, should not come in the way of a settlement for the time being of this question. The number of members assigned to the Indian community, namely, two, is ridiculously inadequate and should be increased. If this is done, the issue of an identical franchise may, we think, be waived for the present. This remark applies with even greater force to the municipal franchise. Indians in the Nairobi Municipal area pay in taxation more than 50 per cent. of the Municipal revenue and they number 60,000 as against 20,000 Europeans in the town. Yet the Indian community have only two seats as against 15 of the Europeans. This is palpably unfair.

Lord Milner's decisions on freedom of immigration, the practice of the legal and medical professions, and education seem to be fairly satisfactory. Trial by jury is to be tried experimentally. This is now well established in India and we do not see why it should be an experiment in East Africa. The Secretary of State's silence as to the admission of Indians to the public Services and to the issue to them of prospecting licenses, is regrettable. But it is his unbending attitude in regard to land rights and the segregation principle, which arouses the most serious apprehension in East Africa and in India. Mr. Mahori Ram, President of the Indian Association at Nairobi, puts the matter in a nutshell when he says that the "Segregation of Races and the Land Ordinance was at the root of future troubles and the Government instead of eradicating it had, on the other hand, nourished such an idea and made it permanent." The Land question is thus stated in the memorial to Lord Milner:

The restrictions imposed on Indians in regard to acquisition and transfers of land is one of the gravest counts in the indictment against the Administration as regards their treatment of the Indian community. For any sort of transfer of land the consent of His Excellency the Governor is essential and his veto has been exercised without exception against Indians only. In this manner Indians have been totally debarred from acquiring land in the agricultural areas in the Highlands (parts of East Africa over 5000 feet above the sea level, where the climate is temperate), on the ground of so-called "administrative convenience" and they are also barred in the township area on the principle of the segregation of races, based on the report Professor Simpson, an expert sent by the Tropical Society to East Africa and Uganda in 1913. From 1908 until 1918 this power of veto on transfers of land, in the interests of "administrative convenience" was confined to the agricultural lands of the

Highlands, but by the passing of the Crown Lands Ordinance in the latter year this discretionary power to veto transfers of lands between members of different communities has been extended to the acquisition of lands in the township areas also. More than this, however, a policy of racial discrimination in the sale of Crown Lands is openly carried on by the insertion in the "conditions of sale," in such case, of the clause that no one "other than a British subject of European origin is entitled to bid." Only recently, though it is known that the whole matter is under appeal to His Majesty's Government, a large sale of Crown Lands has been contemplated under this prohibitive condition. The reservation of township lands for Europeans only, although ostensibly based on Professor Simpson's scheme, is in reality due to commercial rivalry between the Indian and European communities. The object of the European settlers, as in South Africa, appears to be entirely to oust the Indian from the commercial area, and this object is assisted by the policy of the administration in refusing sanction to the alienation of or transfer of lands to Indians. It is impossible to understand on what ground of "administrative convenience" this policy of exclusion can be defended. It seems to have no excuse or motive behind it but that of racial preference.

Lord Milner in upholding this iniquitous invidiousness argues that he is merely following the policy of his predecessors and he does not feel justified in reversing it. This may be so, but it does not justify the continuance of an arrangement in itself unjust. By way of further justification, it is urged that "if the limited area on which alone European settlers can live were thrown open to the competition of Asiatics who are physically fitted to settle in other areas from which Europeans are by nature excluded, there would be, taking the Colony as a whole, a virtual discrimination in favour of Asiatic as against European settlement." In other words, this measure is invented as a handicap on the Asiatic settler for his capacity, by nature, to thrive in all lands. India may well ask whether it is the part of the British Empire to restrict the opportunities for which nature has fitted her. This decision and even more the reasoning on which it is based, involve a serious menace to India's position in the British Empire, and must be promptly and peremptorily challenged by the Government of India on behalf of the Indian people. The next question, the segregation of residential areas, is closely connected with this. Lord Milner declares that "he is convinced that as long as the Indians are fairly dealt with in the selection of sites, the principle that in the laying out of townships in tropical Africa separate areas should be allotted to different races is not only from the sanitary point of view but also on the grounds of social convenience, the right principle, best for all races, European, Indian or native." The best comment on this argument is that even the Germans did not act upon such a principle. Mr. Andrews has published some notes given him by an Indian friend on his experiences during the War in German East Africa. We take the following from them:

Though Indians were not treated in the same way as Europeans by the Germans, they were treated in a civilized manner. There was no segregation of races of any kind whatsoever. I am speaking of my experiences at Muanza,

the chief German port on Lake Victoria Nyanza. Germans, Greeks, Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and others resided side by side in the same street on quite friendly terms and without any segregation restrictions. The women of one nation often passed their afternoons with their sisters of another nation in friendly talks. Children of all races played together in the streets and open spaces, their medium of talk being Swahili. The barefooted German children of my neighbour would enter my house and take food with my children, enjoying our Indian *roti*.

Many of us had thought, and some still persist in thinking, of the British Empire as a first big step towards the brotherhood of man. If Lord Milner represents its policy, this is a mistake. It simply is an agency to institute and maintain on a vastly larger scale the Indian caste system, with the Europeans as a caste of money-making Brahmins and the coloured races as fighters and coolies to defend their lives and property and to toil in order to make them rich and powerful. Lord Milner's policy crosses the path of Justice, and it will be so much the worse for it. The people and the Government of India are of one view on this East African question. They will fight this policy every inch and by every constitutional means till the just and equal rights of Indians as British subjects are fully secured to them.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD'S CONVOCAATION ADDRESS.

The Hon. Justice Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, delivered the Convocation address this year. After paying a graceful tribute to the late Messrs. Gajjar and Tilak, Sir Chimanlal plunged into his "modest task of drawing attention to the report of the Calcutta University Commission," which, he thought, was destined to have far-reaching effects on the future development and organisation of education in India. He said of it: "The production displays such exceptional knowledge of the theory and practice of education, such thorough acquaintance with the history of education in this country and deep insight into the present conditions surrounding it and, above all, such a mastery of English style, that it is bound to be assigned a high place as a standard work, on educational problems affecting this country, which will continue to supply guidance for a long time." The Sadler Commission's report is a meritorious piece of work but it is not without defects—and serious ones at that—springing chiefly, as we remarked once before, from its failure or inability to appreciate the fact that the Government in India is not the same as the Government in England. Judging from Sir Chimanlal's encomium, educationists in Calcutta, who are more immediately concerned than we in Bombay, should have welcomed the decision of the Government to give immediate effect to the recommendations of the Commission. But this is not the case. The University of Calcutta as well as non-official educationists, are thoroughly alarmed at the probable effects which the partial introduction of the recommendations of the

Commission may produce. The crux of the whole educational problem is money. No Commission was required to tell us that, and the Sadler Commission has laid stress on that requirement. Now, we seriously ask, why, if the money is forthcoming, should we not first try the effect of better salaries to our teachers and better buildings and equipment to our schools and colleges? Education has been starved, and let us first see how much good nutritious feeding will accomplish. In our opinion, without seriously disturbing the present system which has grown up in response to its environment, it is possible by improving the pay of teachers, by insisting on suitable buildings and playing fields, and by such other ameliorative means, to improve our standards very substantially. We are sometimes told that higher pay will not make better teachers. This doctrine is never applied to the case of the Services recruited in Europe, but is reserved only for Indians and especially for school-masters. We hold the contrary view. However that may be, it is a notorious fact that many Indian teachers have to give two or three hours a day to private tuitions in order to make both ends meet. The teachers' work requires the utmost physical fitness. It involves a constant drain on their vitality. Much of the aimless discontent that we see around us is clearly the outcome of temperaments infected by contact at an early age with masters to whom life was a growing burden.

We say that, if the necessary funds are forthcoming, let us at once apply them to improve the condition of schools and teachers, without making any root-and-branch changes in the system. If the money is not available, there is no use talking about the Sadler Commission's recommendations because they cannot be carried out without a very large addition to the present educational expenditure. Sir Chimanlal is not altogether oblivious of this fact. But his reference to it is perfunctory. "No sacrifice can be too great and no expenditure can be too heavy", he said, "for putting national education at the requisite level. We should not be deterred by the burden of the cost that may be involved; we must realize what will be the cost of doing nothing." It is all very well to speak in that airy fashion, but who is going to give the money? And let us tell Sir Chimanlal, and others of his view, this: Education is to be a transferred subject managed by an Indian Minister in the new scheme of constitutional reform. The first duty of the Minister should be to get the public spirit and the social momentum of the community behind the educational system and, by that means, reduce to a minimum the purely mercenary basis of the profession and practice of education at present; and to find the considerable sum of money which, even when that is done, will still be required for maintaining our educational system at the highest possible standard. And let us add here that that standard is not absolute for all countries and communities. It varies, and must vary, according to the needs and capacity and opportunities of each community. In our opinion, therefore, discussions about radically

changing the present educational system without giving it a fair trial is altogether premature. Our educational system is the only side of the administration that has grown up in some sympathy with the social life of the people. That is why the Englishman in the Educational Service is, generally speaking, rather more sympathetic to and appreciative of Indian aspirations than other Englishmen. To introduce revolutionary changes in it, especially at such a constitutional juncture, is to render impossible any comparison with the working of education under the Minister and in the present closed regime. We are sure that an Indian Minister, if he approaches the problem with an independent mind, will be able to improve in many respects on the suggestions of the Sadler Commission, some of which—and these not the least important—he may even find it necessary to discard. Sir Chimanlal approaches the Report much as the orthodox Hindu or Mahomedan approaches the Vedas or the Koran. We are sure that some of the members, who are keenly conscious of the tentative character of their main conclusions, will blush to see the Report spoken of in terms which could not have been exceeded in the case of documents claiming plenary inspiration.

Sir Chimanlal's comparisons are hasty. He compares the scope of the three Educational Commissions—the Hunter, Raleigh and Sadler. The first was not allowed to deal with University Education. The second was entitled to deal only with University education. The third, Sir Chimanlal thinks, was given the whole field of education to cover, and that is why, he thinks, its recommendations are more valuable than those of previous Commissions. As a matter of fact, however, the Sadler Commission's terms of reference were as restrictive as those of the Raleigh Commission. It was only by greatly stretching and straining them—the palpable device being that part of University education was really secondary education—that the Sadler Commission managed to bring secondary education within the scope of their recommendations. The result is visible in the partial and inconclusive character of its recommendations under this head. The Commission was unable to find any device which would enable them to get at primary education, and they admit that they have to leave it untouched. Then, Sir Chimanlal instituted a comparison between the educational features of Bengal and Bombay. He compared the number of undergraduates in Bengal with that in Bombay, without taking into account the populations of the two Presidencies. Now, Bombay has much less than one-half of the population of Bengal, and if this fact is taken into account the difference in the numbers of undergraduates is much less than it seems from a comparison of the latter alone. We have repeatedly said that the cardinal mistake of the Sadler Commission was to start with the number of scholars, as if that was the most important consideration in an educational problem. The fallacy of this idea was strikingly illustrated in the reasoning which led Sir Chimanlal to the conclusion that the bulk of educated Bengal energy spent itself in clerical work. If we

get over the obsession of numbers and look at the question from a less superficial point of view, we shall see that this conclusion cannot possibly be right. Not to speak of the past, at the present moment, nearly all the outstanding figures in Indian public life are Bengalis. Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Rabindra Nath Tagore are Bengalees, products, directly or indirectly, of the much-ridiculed Calcutta University. In Sir Chimanlal's own profession of Law, where is our Bombay Rash Behari Ghose, scholar, jurist, philanthropist? Taking even the doubtful test of the capacity to get high official positions, where is the office-seeker in the whole country who does not envy Bengal her Lord Sinha? Greatness of every kind, and in any walk of life and realm of thought, necessarily implies a certain high level of culture or capacity diffused in the community in which it manifests itself. A President of the British Association observed that scientific research prospers only where there is a large diffusion of scientific knowledge in a community. Lord Morley approaching the same topic from a larger stand-point, tells us that "in all cases the possession of a new idea, whether practical or speculative, only raises into definite speech what others have needed without being able to make their need articulate." In other words, the whole community unconsciously co-operates in producing the great work or word at a given time. Judged by this test, the educated mind of Bengal is not concentrated on clerical work, though many educated men may earn their livelihood by it. The educational problem in Bengal or Bombay cannot be treated as being primarily a problem of livelihood. It should be regarded as the problem of enabling the youth of a country to grow to the full height of their capacity, and if there is no scope for the products of such a system in the country, it is high time to enquire why it is so, and if it should continue to be so.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT DISCONTENTS II.

(BY YOUNG INDIA.)

It would be interesting to take stock of our gains and losses. Not to speak of the numerous grievances which the Resolutions of the Congress and Conferences depict, let me try to enumerate and reiterate the more recent and important ones. For that, it is enough if one refers to the *Reformer* of July 25, which, for a paper usually of an optimistic nature, is a doleful issue.

(1) Fiji Troubles. Nothing has been done except the publication of the official version which bears "a family resemblance to the official version of the doings at Amritsar in April 1919."

(2) South Africa. No settlement of grievances. But the question has been side-tracked to Voluntary Repatriation, with the possible forfeiture of jewellery, which means an exile or deportation to many to whom South Africa was a home. After giving all their best to make that country rich, they are to be turned out unlike even old horses and dogs. This is our pride of Imperial connection and no

wonder Mr. Gandhi says what "affection" can be have for such a rule.

(3) British East Africa. Manifold troubles and curtailment of existing rights.

(4) German East Africa. One wonders what has become of Mr. Gokhale's pet scheme that India should be given German East Africa. The colonies which helped Britain in the War, have all been given mandates over German Territories. The only reward of India is the curtailment of her existing rights and the passing of Rowlatt Act. What does the Aga Khan say to whom also this ownership of G. E. Africa by India was a pet scheme? Meanwhile, German East Africa has been quietly gobbled up and grabbed by the Europeans. Poor Mr. Gokhale! his soul must be burning in his grave on seeing such unlooked-for injustices. B. E. Africa, G. E. Africa and Uganda will become more or less like S. Africa to the Indian. The *Reformer* has said "we think we can guess what Sir Benjamin Robertson's recommendation will be."

(5) While such is the case, Indian blood is still bled and Indian money poured in Mesopotamia and Persia. The Colonies are not spending a pie but are busy exploiting the German Territories. For example, Australia is busy prospecting for oil in German New Guinea or Bismark Archipelago and busy and happy with the Prince of Wales. For us, no new lands, even existing rights curtailed, Rowlatt Act and still money and men spent in the Middle East for Imperial purposes. Why India should incur military expenditure in Mesopotamia or £ 500,000 in Persia, our Government does not tell us and seems to be only too willing. These are the watchdogs of our purse. And, yet, how apologetic in protesting and taking action against the treatment of Indians overseas. Lord Chelmsford's feeble protests and apologies cannot make headway against "Lord Milner's sophistries" and all the same, they would send men and money outside India.

(6) Our Military Expenditure has been raised to the utmost. In addition to it, there have been huge increases of salaries. The *Leader*, in its issue of August 5, under the heading "Blood thicker than Water" says the increases come to £2,540,000 or 3-8 crores of Rupees. It adds, "the increments actually given were excessive beyond all reason". "Generosity at other people's expense has been light-heartedly practised by the possessors of authority and the dispensers of patronage" and "the meanness of the whole transaction and the attitude of mind it betrays becomes the more flagrant." The I. O. S. has succumbed to the temptation and Mr. Montagu is in shivers whenever Col. Yate and Sir J. Hicks get up and he is too willing to yield on this point. The I. O. S. must erect a statue for Mr. Montagu, not Mr. Bomanji.

(7) Then there is the most recent action, the sale of Reverse Council Bills. Experts have thoroughly discussed it. I need not enter into details. Only India has lost about 30 or 35 crores of Rupees. To England and Englishmen, it is ill-gotten wealth

The constitutional agitation age has failed but only broke into impotent fury and left some words like, "organised loot," "legalised plunder" and "daylight robbery." Does Mr. Bomanji know that Mr. Montagu is a party to this?

I have gone at some length even to the extent of wearying readers, on these points. To the idealist in Punjab affairs and Khilafat it looks great wrongs have been done. To the practically minded, in addition to these two, greater wrongs have been done in other matters. How does constitutional agitation seek or propose to remedy all these? Our mind reels with despair and seems inclined to clutch at anything, Non-Cooperation, Boycott etc., The onus lies on those who advocate constitutional agitation to show the way. Those who oppose Non-Cooperation and such like methods must visualise all our troubles and grievances and must show some active programme. It is no use repeating the performance of last year when the Moderates simply issued an appeal against Satyagraha and then kept quiet. They must be up and doing with their own methods. Otherwise, the country will blindly or openly, fall into Non-Cooperation, etc. Even Mr. Chintamani was forced to admit, he sympathised with Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai in his Non-Cooperation, if he were to sit with Mr. Thompson in the Council. Also Mr. Chintamani adopted a form of Non-Cooperation by resigning his membership of the Advisory Committee for Reforms Rules. He even wrote "that almost no single proposal of any consequence that had been made by the Non-Official members was accepted by the Government of India." It is a melancholy and thoroughly belated confession.

To the constitutional agitator, the whole country now turns round and adjures. Show us the way to get rid of these injustices or shall we fall into Non-Cooperation, Boycott, etc.? This crisis is great and acute; the tension is in the breaking point. What is the constructive reply of the constitutional agitator? Pray don't parley too long.

Before concluding, I desire to make an appeal on behalf of 'Young India' to eminent leaders like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and you to attend the Special Congress. We have a right to expect some guidance other than mere manifestoes. Mr. S. Sadanand is wrong in saying leaders must have already made up their minds and not leave themselves to be carried away by the democracy of the Congress. We must abide by the decision of the democracy; but there the Subjects Committee, the elect of the Democracy, decides our Nation's destiny. Here, the best brains, great intellects and powerful leaders meet and exchange notes. Each leader cannot decide his own way but must consult his compeers in Subjects Committee. If constitutional agitation is to be adopted, the leaders must decide on some active steps. If non-co-operation, they must discuss the various ways good and bad. Or it may be Boycott of British goods. Non-co-operation in taxes is inadvisable, because the elements which even now seek to evade taxes, will be emboldened. Non-co-operation in titles, is an effective form of protest, if universally adopted. Non-co-operation in Councils is not approved as it would mean, presenting the seats to reactionaries. We look for guidance from all the leaders and we request leaders like you to attend the Special Congress and mould the decision in the Subjects Committee.

COORG AND THE COORGS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In the very interesting article on "Coorg and the Coorgs" published in the current issue of the *Reformer*, I notice many similarities between the habits and customs of the Coorgs and those of the Syrian Christians of Travancore and Cochin. These similarities are:—Joint family system and restrictions as regards marriage; erection and architecture of joint family houses; keeping of hereditary servants; duties of women; education of children and the observance of "Puthari" which we call "Puthari Perunnal" or festival of the new corn. On this festival day bundles of newly-cut corn are taken to the church where they are blessed by the priest who gives an ear of corn to each man, woman and child. The corn so given by the priest is hung in the most prominent part of the Syrian Christian home. The festivities which follow the thanksgiving service in Church, are exactly like those of the Coorgs, except dancing.

Guardian Press,

Bombay, August 26,

M. G. JOSEPH.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND PUNJAB EXCESSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

If, before its publication in your columns, I had the opportunity of signing the letter from Missionaries regarding the Punjab trouble, I would willingly have done so, being in full sympathy with the attitude of mind expressed in that letter. If, therefore, you are publishing more signatories, I would be glad to have my name added to the list.

Wilson College,
Bombay, 25th August 1920.Yours faithfully,
JAMES KELLICK.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Reuter's summary of Colonel Amery's reply to Sir Owen Thomas with regard to the town planning in Kenia Colony in the House of Commons is in fact the practical confirmation of what Lord Milner told a few days back to Lord Islington. The decision of the Imperial Government in favour of the segregation of races on the principle of sanitation is decidedly the most wicked wrong inflicted on His Majesty's self-respecting Indian subjects in that Colony. The defence of the sanitary experts had advised that the different races should be kept apart as far as possible in planning the towns and that the Indians would be given ample accommodations in their part of their towns (Italics are mine) is simply sneaking and the most insulting plea brought forth to avoid the Indians from the areas which should otherwise in all justice, if justice at all exists, be meant for common habitation for all the races of the Empire; and a further indication of the systematic efforts to belittle India and an utter callousness to her self-respect. Sanitation is and must be preserved at all costs but no differentiating parliamentary defence in the form of an ordinance is necessary. It can well be secured by municipal laws and bye laws. It is plain that racial trade jealousy is at the bottom of all this. How fallacious and humiliating this plea is has well been made clear to His Excellency the Viceroy by our deputation. His Excellency

the Viceroy has promised every support of the Government of India on this point. I now venture to warn all the public bodies in India that the declaration made by Col. Amery must awaken all of us to defeat this wicked attempt against us. I, therefore, trust that all these bodies shall do their best to strengthen the hands of the Government of India by bringing upon the Colonial Office effective pressure by all necessary sacrifices even of the philosophical goodwill of the Crown Colonies towards India, as the Common Constituents of the Empire.

Bombay 7th, August 1920.

Yours etc.

B. N. ANANTANI, (Zanzibar.)

The Reuter's telegram which Mr. Anantani refers was dated August 4, and ran as follows: "In the Commons replying to Sir Owen Thomas, Colonel Amery confirmed that the scheme for a Government deep-water wharf at Kilindini had been approved and that specifications were being prepared. Colonel Amery added that the close consideration was being given to town planning in the Kenia Colony. Sanitary experts had advised that the different races should be kept apart as far as possible in planning the towns. The Indians and the natives would be given ample accommodations in their part of their town.—Ed., I. S. R.

MR. B. P. HIWALE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

All patriotic Indians of every religious community will be glad to read of the success of a fellow-countryman Mr. B. P. Hiwale, a B. A. of Wilson College, Bombay, who has for three years been studying theology in the Andover Theological Seminary, one of a group of professional colleges connected with Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in America. Mr. Hiwale has proved himself a man of decided intellectual capacity, and has made excellent use of his opportunity for study in one of the chief educational centres of America. From that institution he has now secured the degree of B. S. T. (Bachelor of Sacred Theology). He has also made mark as a forceful and tactful speaker in many churches, conventions and associations of various kinds. Also he has commended himself by his modest, kindly, winsome spirit. This combination of qualities has made him acceptable to very many, and has enabled him to secure exceptional opportunities for financing himself.

Long ago he definitely dedicated himself to become a preacher and religious worker. In pursuance of this purpose he was ordained and consecrated to the Christian ministry by a Council of Congregational Churches in Cambridge on June 15 1920. The main address of the occasion was made by his missionary brother, Dr. R. A. Hume, who was then on furlough in America. The Right Hand of Fellowship from Congregational Churches was extended by the Rev. W. L. Sperry, the pastor of a large church in which Mr. Hiwale is an associate member. Welcome to service in connection with the Marathi Mission of the American Board was expressed by the Rev. Brewer Edly, Secretary of that Society.

It is gratifying that on his return to India Mr. Hiwale is to have equal voice and vote with American missionaries in the Marathi Mission in conducting the policy and management of that Mission's work.

In connection with an enterprising lecture organization, Mr. Hiwale is to go about through some parts of America for about six months. He expects to return to India early in 1921.
Boston America, June 16-1920. R. A. HUME.

DEATH OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA'S WIDOW.

Under the heading "Maha-madhi," the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Mayavati) records the death of the widow of the Swami Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Our contemporary writes:

We are extremely grieved to announce that the Holy Mother, the divine consort of Sri Ramakrishna, after her life-long good services to the world, left the mortal regions in Maha-madhi after a protracted illness of several months at the age of sixty-seven and passed into the life eternal in Calcutta, on the 21st July last, at 1—30 A. M., leaving the whole world of devotees to mourn her irreplaceable loss. After the passing away of the Bhagavan, the holy Mother lived, sometimes in her village home and sometimes in Calcutta, as His representative and as a perennial fount of inspiration and strength, to all through cloud and shine. The profound gulf created by her disappearance at such a time when the garland of Sannyasins left by Sri Ramakrishna are bidding farewell to the world one by one, will never be bridged by any thing else on earth. It is needless to remark that in her, one could see realised that wisdom and sweetness to which the simplest of women may attain, and yet the stateliness of her courtesy and openness of mind were almost as wonderful as her Sainthood. Her life was one long stillness of prayer and singleness of devotion. With her seraphic love and overflowing affection, the Holy Mother was an unfailing solace to all the troubled hearts that sought refuge at her feet for eternal peace and liberation from the worries and anxieties of worldly life. Such was the kindness and openness of her disposition that none ever turned back disappointed from her ever-open doors. Men and women who approached her in season and out of season to be relieved of the extreme tension of their afflicted souls, became the recipients of her immortal blessings and sweet words of love and wisdom which stilled the throbbing pains of their hearts for ever. Her life was a synthetic embodiment of the perfect ideals of Jnana, Bhakti and Karma, which are rarely to be met with in such a harmonious blending anywhere else in the world. She was indeed Sri Ram Krishna's final word as to the ideal of Indian womanhood.

The last ceremonies were unutterably solemn and the sublime pathos of the occasion has left a deep impression on the minds of all present. Next day at about 11 A.M. the hallowed person of the Holy Mother bedecked with garlands and sacred fragrance, was borne by the Bhaktas amidst songs in praise of the Lord to the Belur Math. After Aratrika her holy person was bathed in the Ganges and adorned with new clothes by the female devotees. Then amidst teeming tears the mortal frame was consigned to the flame and in a couple of hours the last vestige of her phenomenal existence melted away into the five elements. But though the mortal body was reduced to ashes the Soul of the Holy Mother enshrined in the hearts of her Bhaktas will ever enjoy their offerings of love and prayer, guide them through all circumstances, safe and sound to the haven of eternal bliss and shower everlasting blessings on their devoted heads through all time to come.

Om Shanti! Shanti! Shanti!

DERA ISMAIL KHAN'S CITIZENS' MEETING.

A crowded mass meeting of Zamindars and citizens of Dera Ismail Khan District was held on Thursday the 8th July 1919 at 6-30 p. m. in Sarie Gissai under the presidency of Maulvi Ahmad, the learned Imam of Jamma Masjid when the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

1. Resolved that the Zamindars and citizens of Dera Ismail Khan District condemn most strongly the Hunter

Majority Report and despatches of the Government of India and Secretary of State as being not only exceedingly partial and based on ex-parte evidence and racial prejudice with deliberate attempt to whitewash the atrocities and cruelties of Martial Law Officers, European and Indian, who have disgraced not only England's fair name but humanity as well, and also they be prosecuted as early as possible.

2. This meeting affirms its conviction that there had never been anything but imaginary Rebellion in the beated brains of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and his guilty subordinates.

3. Resolved that His Excellency the Viceroy should be requested to kindly release Messrs. Sava-ker Brothers Chowdhri Bugge and Mahashe Ratten Chaud and other Political prisoners of Punjab and Frontier Province as ordered by His Majesty's gracious Proclamation of 24th December 1919 as otherwise the Frontier Province will be compelled to advocate the policy of "Non-co-operation" with the Government.

4. This public meeting sympathises with Dr. Mani Ram of Amritsar whose innocent young son was cruelly murdered at Jallianwala Bagh and will be glad to help him in every possible way if he proceeds to prosecute Sir Michel O'Dwyer and General Dyer.

5. Resolved that the serious attention of the Indian Government should be drawn towards the disgraceful condition of Indians in South Africa and if the South African Government do not treat Indians there justly, the people of South Africa trading with India should be similarly treated in India.

6. This meeting resolves to present an address and Gold Medal to all those patriots like Sir Vishaldas Thackersey in consideration of their valuable services rendered in promoting Social, educational and Political advancement of India, for generous charity in edowing Womans' University, Prof. Karve and Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

TAHL RAM GANGA RAM.

Zamindar,

Hon. Secy. Public Meeting D. I. Khan.

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Capital Called up „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund „ 66,00,000.

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Capital Paid up „ 20,00,000.
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Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.
Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbaiker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.
Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.
M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., La Baroda.
R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.
A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

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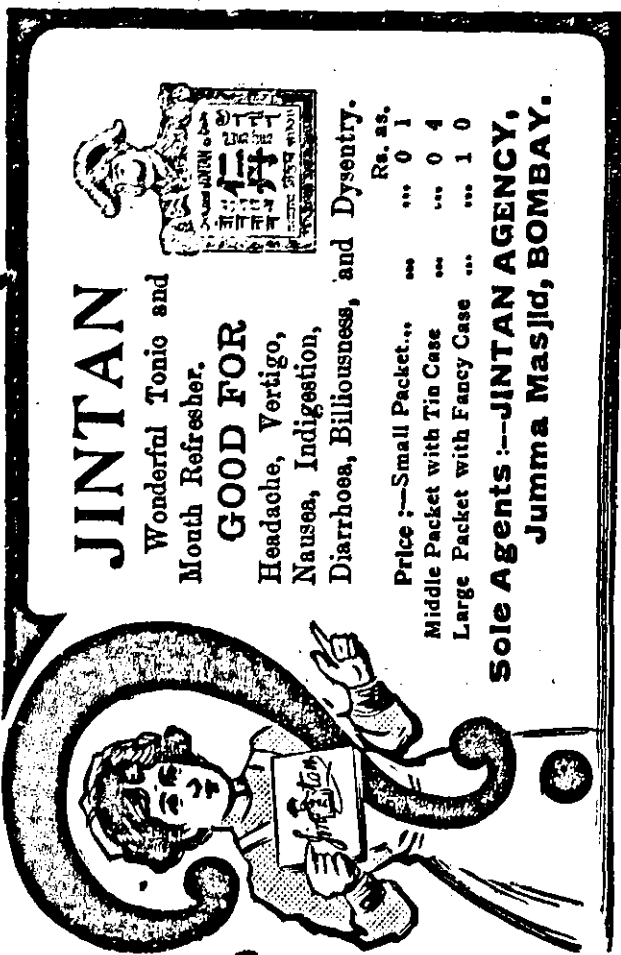
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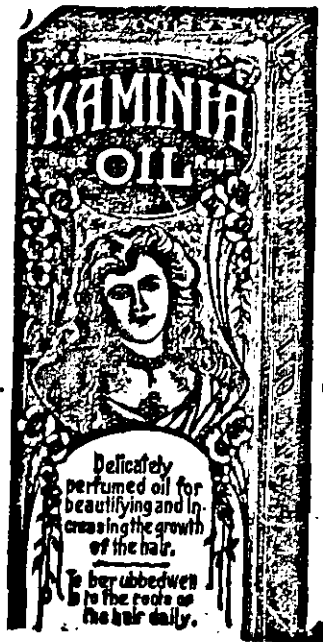


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AMUSEMENT WORLD.

of the Chamber of Princes. The cases of Members of the Central Government and high officials accepting posts in Indian States, have been on the increase. The objections to Members of the Central Government looking forward to service in Indian States or in connection with them are obvious; but the practice is bound to cease with the inauguration of responsible government. Sir Sultan recently visited the Viceroy and Congress Party leaders in Delhi and it was supposed that he was doing so on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, with a new formula for composing differences with the Muslim League and persuading it to send five men to the Interim Government. Sir Sultan has denied that his visit to the various personages in New Delhi was in his capacity of Constitutional Adviser to the Chamber of Princes. He avers that his visits were in a purely personal capacity. Sir Sultan in his personal capacity points out that the differences between Congress and the League are mainly on two matters, namely, the inclusion of a Na-

tionalist Muslim in the Congress quota in the Interim Cabinet and the interpretation of the proposals regarding the grouping of provinces in the Constitution-making Assembly. Sir Sultan Ahmed's second point is supererogatory in view of the fact that Lord Pethick-Lawrence and the Viceroy have declared that the proposals as interpreted by Sir Stafford Cripps soon after Gandhiji's interpretation was published, stand and that the Congress has since accepted the Cabinet proposals in their entirety which he means the interpretation of the proposals also. As for the inclusion of a nationalist or non-League Muslim in the Congress quota, Sir Sultan's position completely violated elementary rules of honour as to placate Mr. Jinnah. Congress are advised to throw its Muslim friends overboard and let Mr. Jinnah choose all Muslim nominees from his league. The Congress President's declaration that the door is still open to the League, has led to the defection from it of Mr. Fazlul Haque who has

announced his entry into the League. As a Leaguer Congress will have to accept him if Mr. Jinnah chooses him. If the Congress attaches more importance to the League Muslims than to its long time adherents, it may expect more defection of this type. Even if the Nationalist Muslims should themselves offer to stand aside to placate Mr. Jinnah, the Congress would suffer greatly in the estimation of the non-partisan public by accepting such renunciation from its Muslim supporters. In the not very long run, the betrayal, because betrayal it is, will react in ways which cannot redound to the reputation of the Congress for political integrity. Mr. Jinnah's acceptance would be bought at a terribly high price and it is by no means certain that more will not be demanded for keeping to it. The Congress should tell the League in the words of the Poet: "I cannot love thee, Love, so much, Loved I not Honour more." We are shocked that Sir Sultan should seriously suggest this course to Congress.

TO END STARVATION

Many millions of Indians and many more millions of Chinese will be able to look forward to a world in which the "have nots" will be able to eat a little more, and in which famine will have disappeared if success attends the World Food Conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark, 2nd September, 1946.

On that date representatives of many nations met as members of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation having it in their power to open up a new era for mankind. They endeavoured to banish for ever that grotesque situation before the war under which more than 1,000,000,000 human beings were destined to live on a level not far removed from starvation, while in other parts of the world huge quantities of food were deliberately destroyed, or farmers were called upon to reduce production, in order that prices might be maintained.

Today in the wake of the devastation left by a war the nightmare of an extensive famine is a horrible reality. As far back as June 1943, at Hot Springs, under the sponsorship of the late President Roosevelt, the United Nations accepted the obligation to work together with a view to realising one of the Four Freedoms—Freedom from Want, which to the great majority of the mankind was the most urgent of freedoms.

To many of its supporters, this freedom had little personal meaning—was no more than idealism. When last October the Charter of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.) was drawn at Quebec, it was given no effective powers apart from being established as a fact-finding and advisory body. The

Director-General of the F.A.O. Sir John Boyd Orr did not conceal his disappointment with the limitations imposed upon the F.A.O.

But the collapse of the world food situation last winter compelled governments to realise that the choice was between the "Utopianism" of F.A.O. and the grim reality of uncontrolled famine.

The United Nations, therefore, called upon Sir John to prepare a long-term plan for food. The short-term problems were dealt with by temporary organisations like UNRRA, Combined Food Board, and the International Emergency Food Council, all of which will dissolve soon, or are already in process of dissolution. But human hunger is a persistent factor, and therefore only a permanent body like the F.A.O. preparing its plan well ahead can secure success in a situation of such vast scope.

Sir John has drawn up and published plans for a permanent world food administration and urged the governments of the world to have the imagination and courage to give it the "teeth". That will be decided at Copenhagen.

The essence of Sir John's plan is neither Utopian, revolutionary, nor even novel. His proposals, in some form or another, have been successfully applied in many countries, and during the war were practised on an international level.

His first step is to set up a World Food Board with authority to stabilise the price of agricultural commodities in the international market. It was the violent fluctuations in price of foodstuffs (e.g., between 1928-38 price of wheat on the world market fluctuated by 70%) which resulted in wholesale destruction of

foodstuffs while millions starved. When a good year's harvest brought on to the market supplies even slightly in excess of the market demands prices collapsed and food was destroyed, or production restricted.

Thus, when there are bumper harvests, the Board will buy unmarketable surpluses which will be stocked in all countries and be released in periods of scarcity or harvest failure. "Deficit" countries like China and India which never produce enough to feed themselves will benefit vastly under this scheme.

The Board will establish an International agency with power to buy and hold stocks, amounting from six to twelve months' trading of the staple foods. It will also provide funds for financing the disposal of surplus agricultural products on special terms to countries in most urgent need of them. In this way prices of agricultural goods would be stabilised, and agricultural slumps avoided.

The Board will also directly, or through some other organisation such as the International Bank, supply long-term credits to institute agricultural development schemes in the more backward countries. At the moment F.A.O. mission is advising Greece on a 25-year scheme for agricultural development. In a large part of the underdeveloped areas it has been the food-growers who, through lack of sufficient capital and agricultural technique, have been unable to produce enough to feed themselves. Nor have they had the money to purchase foodstuffs from "surplus" countries.

These then are the main features of Sir John's proposal to bring plenty to the world. As it stands, the scheme is eminently practicable.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1946

THE NEW ERA

Ninety years ago Lord Dalhousie left the Indian shores. With him closed the acquisitive chapter in Britain's history in India. The Indian Mutiny which followed within a year of his departure had no support from the civil population and it was crushed with appalling severity. The Government passed from the Company to the Crown. Within a few years Britain came under the spell of German Imperialism. The Rhine flowed into the Thames. Theories of racial superiority became popular. Rudyard Kipling became the idol of the governing classes. The idea that Indian Muslims were the friends of Britain and that there should be discrimination in the treatment of Indian subjects first found expression in the letters of Queen Victoria. Divide and rule became the official though as yet unacknowledged policy. British Imperialism reached its zenith at the end of the nineteenth century. The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign and the Coronation of King Edward VII were celebrated in India with lavish magnificence. In between these two events, plague and famine began to ravage the land. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal. Bombs and revolvers became political weapons. Repression followed. The Press was the first to suffer. New Delhi became the capital of India. The first World War broke out. India was laid heavily under contribution in men and materials. She was "bled white." For reward, she got the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala massacre. The communal poison injected into the Indian political system in 1910 had not begun to work. Congress and Muslim League united in support of the effete caliphate and their efforts to retain it only hastened its final abolition. It is difficult to fix the precise point at which the two organisations began to drift apart. It was somewhere about the issue of the Nehru Report on constitutional reform. Since then every effort to bring the two again together has resulted only in driving them further apart. Today the gulf between them is wider and deeper than ever. Calcutta a few days ago was a manifestation of the political-communal feud. Bom-

bay has caught the infection. The British Government through sheer disgust at the intransigence of the League turned to the Congress to form an Interim Government. The members of that Government consisting of a majority of Congress leaders with a minority representing minorities including Muslims, became the Government of India on Monday, September 2. On the whole it is a strong Government which a large majority of people wish to support, if they are not prevented by serious mistakes from doing so. The first mistake the Interim Government should avoid is to betray lack of confidence in itself. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound who will prepare himself for battle? At his first Press Conference after assuming office, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru repeated the assurance that the door was still open for the Muslim League to send five men and lost the five nationalist Muslims from the Government. Whether or not the Pandit sticks to this formula of his own free will or out of deference to Lord Wavell, it is one which seriously impairs public confidence in the Interim Government to shoulder its burden. There is more peevishness than reason in the complaint of the Muslim League that it has been bypassed by the Viceroy. The League first accepted and then withdrew its acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation. Surely it is absurd to speak of the Viceroy bypassing it. Lord Wavell repeated his assurance and his invitation after the announcement of the names of the members of the Interim Government. Mr. Jinnah called the Viceroy's broadcast adding insult to injury and the Congress offer as more or less a trap. The Nawab of Chattari seriously maintains that this was extending the hand of friendship. The Nawab held high office in British India and in the Nizam's Dominions. He certainly understands that it is not extending the hand of friendship to say that the Viceroy has added insult to injury. The Interim Government cannot even begin to function if five out of fourteen members have to carry on their duties in the expectation that

they may be relieved of their jobs if the League decides to send five of its men. It is obvious also that if the League come in at this stage, it will come in only to thwart, harass and paralyse the Interim Government. The chief and only task of the Interim Government is to help on the work of the Constitution-making body. This it will not be able to do, if five of its members act in concert to frustrate the objects of their seven colleagues. The Pandit said that his Government would view all questions from the Indian not from a communal or provincial standpoint. This will be impossible if every time he is looking round to see how the League responds to his overtures. The Pandit also said that he was not a man of prayer but that he entered his task in a prayerful mood. He and his colleagues, even if they do not themselves pray, have the prayers of thousands—who pray for their success. The riots in different places on their assumption of office will soon subside; there is no vitality in waving black flags. They only excite the mob to acts of incendiarism and murder. The Police and the military are the proper agencies to deal with crime. The two vacant Muslim seats should be filled without delay by men of proved ability. Fazlul Huq, the ex-Bengal Premier had a claim to be included in the Congress Government. He has now declared his readiness to join the League. Clearly he has been led to do this by being slighted by the Congress. Most men in the position would have waited for a time and given some plausible reason for their crossing over to the opposing side. Fazlul Huq has now done that. A Sind Muslim would be a source of strength to the Interim Government. Negotiations with Haji Maula Bux, the brother of the murdered Allah Bux, would seem to have failed. The Congress Parliamentary Board might have had good reasons, but the public are entitled to know what they are. The Board is not infallible. It has shown itself capable of being moved by considerations other than merit in making the other selections.

A BANDRA DIARY

Bombay has been in the grip of mob frenzy from last Sunday evening. On Monday, the Interim Government was to be inaugurated. Muslim League leaders had enjoined their people to mark their disapproval of the event by hoisting black flags on their homes and institutions but not on any account to indulge in violent demonstrations. The Muslim day is from sunset to sunset. Monday, therefore, began for Muslims on Sunday evening. Black flags were run up in several localities. The feeling of disapproval which they were intended to symbolise intensified into one of resentment, sullen at first, but soon broke out in acts of arson and stabbing. Police precautions had been taken but they proved inadequate. Troops had to be called. Curfew in the worst affected area was imposed for twenty-four hours, and for twelve hours in areas less affected. They were effective in those areas but trouble extended to other parts of the city. On Wednesday evening the situation was officially acknowledged to have deteriorated, and the greater part of Bombay city was brought under strict curfew restrictions.

* * *

The country has not recovered from the shock of the Calcutta catastrophe. Bombay, unlike Calcutta, is not the capital of Muslim majority province. A Congress Government rules in Bombay while a Muslim League Government rules in Calcutta. The Muslims of Bombay are a peaceful and prosperous community. They are not a backward community judged by the test of education or economic status. As traders and businessmen, their interests are inextricably intermingled with those of other communities. Until a few years ago important sections of them were subject to the Hindu law as regards family and property. Even today many of them are in practice governed by the old ideas. They cannot and do not, therefore, think of themselves as a separate nation with a different way of life from their Hindu neighbours. They are co-sharers in every sense of the term in the prosperity of Bombay. The troublesome element is cosmopolitan. It is composed of the overflow from other provinces and States, mostly the latter, attracted by the opportunities of loot afforded by Bombay's prosperity. This group is always ready to swell the rank of legitimate discontent and to turn lawful demonstrations into unlawful outbursts of plunder and burning. They shout any slogan and wave any flag that may be in vogue for the time being. Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Communists, are all the

same to them, opportunities of loot and violence. It is unjust to blame any one party for such outbreaks. What is expected of them all is that they should sternly dissociate themselves from rowdyism and not use them, tacitly or expressly, as means of advancing their respective causes. They are a source of weakness to every movement which they espouse as a cloak for their nefarious ends. Mr. Jinnah never said a truer thing than when he denounced a recent outbreak as playing into the hands of the enemies of the Muslim League.

* * *

The view that these troubles are primarily due to the presence of a large hooligan element and not to any political or communal ideology, is suggested by my own recent experience. I have lived in Bandra for well-nigh half-a century, for the greater part of it in the same house. In all these years there was not a single occasion on which I have been the object of violence. Petty thefts there were but even they were very few. In the opening paragraph of this Diary five years ago, I paid a tribute to the calm and peaceful atmosphere of Bandra when there were violent outbreaks in Bombay city, with only a shallow creek between them. This, I cannot repeat today. There are more thefts. Violence is also increasing. A month back, at about one o'clock in the morning some one or more, while I was asleep, hit me on my head and shoulders with a piece of wood several times until it broke in two pieces. The man or men fled down the stairs. I was quite dazed, could not understand what it was all about. I am told that beating generally is for the purpose of stunning people in order to prevent them from raising a hue-and-cry. This seems likely, as a few days previously thieves had entered and taken away things from the house. My own feeling was that the assailant was someone whom I had offended, though think as hard as I could, I cannot think of any one. Strange to say, I was not much hurt. For a man verging on eighty, it is a miracle. But the days of miracles are not past, I believe in miracles. They happen every day. If we are observant, we can note it each in his or her life. Since there have been several thefts, assaults and dacoities in the Suburban district of which Bandra is the chief town.

* * *

The Suburban district was included in the jurisdiction of the Bombay city for Police purposes about a year ago. Those who are opposed to the Greater Bombay scheme, maintain

that the deterioration in Bandra, is a forerunner of what will come from amalgamation with Bombay. On the other hand, I think that it is due to the partial and incomplete execution of the scheme, which is responsible to some extent for the trouble. The Suburban District is in a state of transition and all transitional periods are liable to be attended by a measure of unsettlement. The completion of the whole scheme will remove this cause of complaint. And it is not the major cause. That is, the general unsettlement throughout the country and, for the matter of that, the world. Defiance of authority, as such, under the names of "Direct Action," Civil Disobedience and so on, has been elevated to the dignity of a religious creed. What used to be condemned as theft, practised on a large scale and under legal sanctions, glorified as Communism, Socialism and so on, is now the core of many official programmes in and out of India. The war and its aftermath of famine, and the wholesale executions of "war criminals" in Germany and Japan, has virtually effaced from the moral code the injunction against murder. It is a topsyturvy world we are living in. It will not last long. Sanity will reassert itself. Meanwhile, the thing to do is to cultivate patience. Patience is the most potent power. It can triumph over all obstacles. It is another name for Faith. Only the faithful can be patient.

* * *

Patience, however, does not mean passivity. It means incessant and strenuous effort, in face of discomfiture and defeat. In the present case, the main difficulty, is the utter helplessness of the civil population and its liability to moral collapse at the slightest disturbances of torture. Owing to its total ignorance of the use of arms, it has an absurdly exaggerated fear of the man with a weapon. The Policeman is, after all, a chip of the same block and he shares to a large extent the weakness of the civil population. If the civil population were familiar with the use of arms for criminal purposes it would become far more dangerous than it now is. And, of course, there is behind all the spirit and tradition of individuals and classes. The son of an old Mahratta friend, who owns a house in my neighbourhood, and is returning after many years, to reside in it, saw me the other day. I told him of the troubled state of things. He replied without a moment's thought "I am descended from Pindaris. The dacoits will have to be afraid of me and not I of the dacoits."

RECLUSE

"A WARPED OUTLOOK"

Sir.—With reference to my letter on European Christianity, taught and practiced in St. Mary's College, Kurseong, published in your paper of 15th June, I read in your issue of 27th July an obscure letter, a mixture of prose and poetry, published under the significant title of A WARPED OUTLOOK.

In it Mr. Roy, its estimable author, tries to answer my letter.

In order to prevent Mr. Roy, who seems to be wholly possessed by his impetuous poetic tendencies, from falling under the illusion that with his magic-pen, whence gushes forth streams of both poetry and prose at

the same time, he has crushed and completely evaporated all the charges brought against his dear St. Mary's College of Kurseong, I shall try to examine closely his letter, weigh it carefully and declare its value.

First of all, how does Mr. Roy proceed in his task of answering my letter?—in the 43 lines of his epistle Mr. Roy does not clarify a single question of those I suggested in my letter by adducing concrete facts. He does not explain why St. Mary's College treat India as infidel, uncouth and uncivilised. He does not answer why there is not a

single Indian professor on the staff. Why the only Indian priest actually teaching in the College is not considered a member of the staff. The following episode will perhaps help Mr. Roy to understand the true reason. In his paper *Young India* (October 14, 1926), Gandhiji writes: "There were Christian Clergymen travelling to the Holy Land. A Negro Clergyman from Southern States was to travel with them. His fellow white clergymen refused to allow him to travel with them. The passage was refunded and compensation paid, and thus they got rid of the coloured man."

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No. 20

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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Lop-sided Provincial Autonomy:—The revelations regarding the raids on Communist Party offices all over the country bring out, among other things, a curious aspect of provincial autonomy. It would seem, if the message of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Mr. Palme Dutt is to be taken at its face value, that the Police machinery all over the country was set simultaneously in motion without the knowledge of the Home Member of the Government of India or the Ministers in Bombay where the order is said to have gone from or in other provinces where the raids were made. Provincial autonomy prevents the intervention of the Centre but it does not prevent one province from throwing the whole country into an uproar. The dog cannot wag its tail but the tail can wag the dog. The police have no politics. They are not expected to understand or take note of the All-India, and, indeed, world, repercussions of any step which they, under the powers vested in them, may take. For that the Government of India and the Provincial Ministers are responsible. The statements of Government and the Pandit leave room for controversy. If some Executive official set this process of Communist baiting in motion without the

knowledge of the responsible Minister, he should be called to account promptly and publicly. In default of this it must be presumed the Minister knew though he may not have formally sanctioned the step. The Bombay Government cannot maintain silence over the matter.

India's Ambassador to China:—The Government of India and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Member-in-charge of External Affairs, are to be congratulated on the happy choice of the first Indian Ambassador to China. Mr. K. P. S. Menon is one of the few Indian members of the Indian Civil Service who was attached to the Political Department. For some years he has been Agent of the Government of India in China. During his stay in China he did not confine himself to his official duties. He made himself popular among the Chinese by his keen interest in their culture and civilisation. His historical feeling led him to undertake the arduous journey to China by the long route, which the Chinese pilgrim Houen Tsang took when he came to India three centuries ago, and he was able easily to identify several of the localities mentioned in the travel diary of the Chinese Master of the Law. The short statement which Mr. Menon gave to the Press on his

appointment was felicitous, hearty and finely phrased. Mr. Menon spoke of China as his second home. His tenure of office will assuredly see the cementing of closer relations between the two countries. A thousand million people, industrious, pacific and inheriting the two most ancient civilisations in the world will be a surer guarantee of world peace than international organisations though these too have their use. Mr. Menon is a near relative of the late Sir Sankaran Nair, one of the makers of modern India.

Police Campaign Against Communists:—On Tuesday Communist premises in several towns were raided by the Police, papers seized and persons arrested. It was naturally assumed that this was done under the orders of the Government of India. On Wednesday, however, a Government of India communique disclaimed responsibility for these concerted raids expressly on its own behalf and by implication on behalf of the Provincial Governments, explaining that the raids were carried out by the Police of various provinces at the instances of the Bombay Police acting on the powers vested in them in connection with investigation in a prosecution against the local communist journal. The sections of the Criminal Procedure Code cited in the 'communique' do not seem to contemplate a concerted all India actions on the part of the Police. However that may be, it is hard to believe that the Police acted without the knowledge and approval, if not the sanction of the Central and Provincial Governments in proceeding against a political party of some importance both in India and abroad. There was a rule that action against political

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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New Delhi:—We are glad that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his first meeting with Press representatives on assuming office as First Member of the Interim Government of India, mentioned prominently the need for getting rid of the physically and morally deadening atmosphere of New Delhi. The "Reformer" supported the removal of the Imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi as it seemed likely to be the first step in establishing continuity between India's past history and the British period.

Lord Hardinge's despatch proposing the transfer used arguments which contemplated such continuity. But the decision to raise New Delhi dashed such hopes. New Delhi has no life apart from officialdom. Architecturally it is a meretricious creation whose artificiality is aggravated by the vestiges of several ancient capitals. We do not think it possible to change the atmosphere of New Delhi. It must be abandoned as Fatehpur Sikri was abandoned by Akbar. The heart of India must be the heart of India. There is neither head nor heart in New Delhi. The rapid development of air transport both in peace and war has rendered obsolete the strategic reasons for having the

capital of India somewhere near the North-Western border. The new capital should preferably be either near Nagpur or Nasik. It will then be equidistant from all parts of India. The Central Provinces will under any scheme of linguistic provinces be distributed among Telugu, Marathi and Hindi-speaking territories. Nagpur is a central place with sufficient elbow-room for the central Government, will be an admirable watch tower from which to supervise the affairs of the whole continent. Nagpur has an invigorating if somewhat tempestuous atmosphere. It is not deadening anyhow. The site of the capital is only indirectly connected with the form of the constitution and need not, therefore, wait until the conclusion of the labours of the Constitution-making body. Nasik in some respects is even better than Nagpur as the site of the Central Government. It has an equable climate. In any case New Delhi is absolutely unsuited to be the seat of a national government.

Linguistic Provinces:—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and others have spoken recently in favour of redistributing provinces on the basis of language.

It is a good idea and should receive general support provided the object in view is administrative efficiency and not the creation of separate nationalities each fanatically holding to its special interests. The areas where a single language is spoken by excessively large numbers should be divided into two or three administrative units. No State or province with more than five or six million people can be regarded as compatible with national integrity. On this basis there may be some twenty provinces or States. We look forward to the time not too distant when the whole country will be taken as a single entity without distinction of the system of administration. Administrative economy and efficiency will be the main consideration. The late Mr. C. R. Das favoured the sub-division of areas too large for administrative efficiency even though linguistically they were a single block. The inexorable logic of events is knocking the bottom out of the idea of a restricted centre with large powers for provinces. Federation can be only a half way house. Unitary India is the goal to which history and political theory unmistakably point.

Knocking at the Wrong Door:—Sir Sultan Ahmed came to the Government of India with a great reputation for intellectual acumen and political wisdom, which he failed fully to sustain. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. In high position faults which may pass unnoticed in lower altitudes show up with exaggerated emphasis. On relinquishing the portfolio of Information he became Constitutional Adviser to the Government.