# WUIAN:SOCIAL-REFORMER. 

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.
: EMMPIHE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.
Editor:-K. NATARAJAN.
XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1819. No. 1.
"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest-a will not equivocate -m will not 1. I will not retreat a single inch—Asd I will be hardi" Wimina Lsoys Gargison in the Itberator.

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## NOTES.

vanmashtami Reflections: 'The gist of the mashtami rellections to which Mr. Kingsley Hiams refers in his letter, published to day, was the petson whom tradition has clothed with ha affectionate teverence and to whom it assigns rauthorship of the immortal Gita, is a great tional hero, and could-not have been a libertine as $s$ been sought to be made out by some Christian :ssionaries. The writer was, not discussing such cstions as whether there was such a person, dether the Krishna of the Gita was the Krishna the Yurana, whether the Gita was composed by cishna at all, whether Krishna is a Hinduised llion of Christ. All these are ratelesting questions, it the point of, view of the writer was the same
 rote that even it all the historical lacts about st were proved to be unfounded, still, the Christwilf continue to evoke the reverence of mankind. paragraph from the Now Dispensation, printed mere, on Keshab Chandra ben's view of Krishna, 1 bearing on the point raised by our corres. ent. W'e have read the quotakon from is kepublic in Mr. William's letior ha: phaterest, comer and Hesiod continued to be , tht to , notwithstanding Plato's dicium. I. are it all sure that from the pedagogical point of it is right to teach chaldren that never up to sime buve there been any quarrels among ths when, as a mater of tect, there trave beet nerable such quarrels. Plato's Republic no means a modet for modern educatisuists voralists. Much of the irrevereace and other Is of character attributed to English educaare not due to it at all, but to the tuthlessi ier in which many Christian Missionaries in ast -who, we are afraid, are not without the!r entatuves at the present day-went about : to discredit names and ideas neld in deep ation by the people. Milton and burke at: rooks of ievertnce, Mill was the saint, as he tea called, of rationahism, and Morley has told it 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 Englisk 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 admirableorganisation 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. I 1 hat same of the Latin races. We never We mayngrys. Lhivn "c upon the womanhood of drew any conclüsthe pito up has quite errnnor if Italy", as our contemponst minauv quite errnnornt in that understood our observations. Werronld hi anvisusiy, ne a from Colonel Snow's report was merely ect in quoting the untenability of seport was merely to point out of a people drawn from the inding the morality them of a particular from the prevalence among has been moved by our commentt. The Standard tions on the character comments to make reflecSaxons, though we belong to netants and Anglocategories. We need bardly to neither of these accept our contemporary's estim that we do not porary is committing the satimates. Our contem. it attributes to Protestants same faults as those which sations, it is pretty safe to sweeping generaliever true or just. In the to say, are hardly same issue, the Standard leading article in the Indian advocates of women suffat against the being placed first in the suffrage, ourselves. quents. The gravamen the category of delin. that they are imitating of the charge is, again, ants. Our contempg Anglo-Saxons and Protest. the evils wrought by what discourses learnedly on of the Christan family" of the "the dissolution "the atomic theory" of modern middle Ages, and we cannot recall the Midd modern socicty but as suit our political outfit to Ages, is it not wise to which we live? Even orthodox Hindus have not
opposed woman sufficage. 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, Madnapalle, write to New India: "A few monthe ago we requested Capt. Green of the Salvation Army in charge of the Buminigedda Criminal Settlement to open our Industrial Section, when be 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 bad disabled bim. A criminal had a serious burn and the doctor teclared that the patient could only be saved it some person would offer bis own skin. Thereupon Capt. Green offered his own skin lor the parpose. 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 Naw INDIA regarding brotherly love, showa under similar circumstances, recalled to our mind this act of noble seli-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 yearbook for the current year, Miss Reuben has given a short, brighlly 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 activites during the past year, Jewish and Bene-Israel statistics, a list of communal institutions in India, a communal directory, Bene-Israel zuthors and publications, and Bene-Israel periodicals. The total Jewish population of the Bombay Presidency at the Census of Igxi was about 16,000 , of which about 15,000 is estimated to belong to the Bene-Israel commanity. 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 com munity, ever siace its first arrival in India, has been settled in the Konkan, adopting. Marathi as its vernacular, Agriculture and oil-pressing were fetheprincipai occupations followed by the spmmunity. Some of detitnembers distinguisher themselves in military service in tite daysol the East India Company. Education is rapidly spreading among the com munity and several of its members are successful professional men, especially io the medical line. Women's education is also spreading.

The Scapegoat: The Challenge (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 bis inten-tions-were, -his earnestress-was-often tiable to misinterpretation by his subordinates, It is precisely this danger which makes the government of India such a profoundiy intricate problem." Either Sir Michael knew what was being done by his subordinates or he did not. If be did, what did he do to set them tight? If he did not, how did lis ieconcile his conscience to occupying a post for which te was obviously unfitted ? Mi. Nundy's article in the Hindustan Reoiew, to which we referred last week, has some illuminating comments on this hackneyed defence of Anglo-Indian administrators, sofar as it pas, any application to this particular case.

For Lord Sydenham and his Friends. Lord Mor loudly complained of the tendency of retired Ang Indian officials to indulge in criticism of Govg ment measures when they ought io be enjoying if well-earned leisure. Mr. Monlagu has even m cause for complaint in this respect than his dis guistred predecessor at the India Office. To L Sydenham and others like him we would comm the example of the great Duke of Wellington. Gmardian (London) recalls in its review of 4 French's "'1914'. that the Duke of Wellington o defended his own decision to say nothing about grievances against the Ministers of bis lime on ground that he was a "nimuk walla", that he eaten the King's salt, and it was not for him to parage the King's servants. The "nimuk wall. of our time, on the other hund, are not happy unis they disparage the country end the ministers of th King whose salt they had eaten. The incident also noteworthy as showing that Indian ways looking at life's problems were not wholly withoils effect on the mind of the great Duke who first what his spure in India.
"Respectable Gentiemen": We have received Press Note intimating that the Government Bombay have decided to make a beginning by pf viding accommodation for visitors in a selected nut ber of revenue offices and residences in which offil are allowed to be held. This is in pursuance of resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Naik in the Legis lative Council, the principle of which Governmed had accepted. We thought that, at the suggesticun of His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Naik agreed to substiture the sensible phrase "members of lici public" in place of the snobbish "respectaily gentlemen. "But we see the resolution as it is ptin) ted in the Press Note retains the meaningless ort ginal. We are glad, however, that the Governm, order itself speaks only of visitors without adjective The traditional ideas of respectabifl| are undergoing complete tranglormation. Th other day a family of the bhangi caste, me women and children, got into a second-claf! compartment in a local train near Bombay. Son of the passengers, thinking that there was a $m$. take, mentioned to them that that was nol a thil class compartment, whereupon the leader of party triumphantly exhibited his tickets (which w of the second class) to the crest-fallen remonstrar The fatter thereupon were glad to cover theif fusion by niasing kindly enquiriè régarding education of the children of the party.

Social Reform annong the Masses. C"nited and Native States affirms that practical social rc, is rapidly making headway even amongi masses. fiays our contemporary: "There, large clas of educated. men who symp with every rapid step taken in social'm and rejoice in the smallest triumph of i, reform. To recall a recent instance, we have ' to refer to what is known as the Calicut Tali ? Pollution case. The lault of the Tiyya Doctut was the first accused in this ceeo was that the 0 . too near the Tank and polluted it. The caserief ed in an acquittal and Dr. Choyi was the reci! of congratulations from all and suadry. Brabmin Vakil who defended him and the public outside who sympathised with bim d evidently consider the acquittal a blow from Hinduism will never secover. There are sco such. instances in which even uneducated seemed to realise the justice of making $r$. readjustments of the existing civil arrangemen lound themselves opposed or thwarted by dd champions of the old order among the ed

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1919.

## THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Viceroy made a lengthy speech $t$ the opening of the Simla session of the Imperial regislative Conncil on Wednesday, reviewing the shief eveuts that have happened since the close of the last esssion of the Conncil. The interval of five months has been a period of mach anxiety and ierions troable both within and withoat. Closely follow' ng the lamentable occarrences in the Panjab, cane (e war with Afghanistan. In the history of AngloIndia, discontent within has usaally been the precursor of troables on the frontier. Bat bareaacracy bas no use for the lessons of history. Entrenched in its own omniscience it regards those who invoke history in politics as prigs and pedants. Thas it came to ; pas that the Afghan declaration of war canght the iovernment of India onprepared. His Excellency - he Viceroy defended his own Government against the severe strictares passed apon it for the serions slefects in the military organistation in the early stages of the Afghan war. But his argaments have failed to convince even our Anglo-Indian contemporaries who habitaally sapport Government. They declare almost with one voice that the Viceroy evaded the real issnes and that His Excellency's " gis and figures leave the matter very mach where Fatood. We do not profess to he military experts ;int there is a simple matter which even a layman $\}_{\text {cau }}$ nuderstand. His Excellency stated that the . leathe per thousand admissions to hospitals (exclading the wonnded) among the troops from the oth May to the 0tt Angast were: British 0.82 and Indians 2:74. He went on to say. "One word is needed with , regard to the relatively high mortality ainong Jidians. This was due to the high incidence of cholera, espeasally among Indian followers whose "atundard of water discipline was naturally lower than that of regnlar troops and who conld not be restrained from quenching their thirat at pools and streams which though apparently pare (wie in reality full of cholera germs." Weare fraid that this explanation of the enormons isp arity between the Britioh and the Indian rates f mortality, will convince no ove who has an fre ${ }^{\sim}$ :nd. It either implies that British troops fopld eudure thirst-the most maddening of animal $f_{\text {ravin_s-better than Iodians and that, at a shade }}$ omperatare of between 110 and 120 degrees ; or that Gee provision for quenching thirst was far less Biberal in the case of Indiaus thun in the case of the flutish. We may be wrong but we sea no other alternative. Farther, cholera is the oldest of investi. gated epidemics in India, und there are simple meane, easily possible in an army, of preventing it. The pools conld have been disinfected, and water from the atreans either boiled or otherwise treated to make it innocnons.

While, as we said, our Anglo-Indian contemporaries nohesitatingly criticise His Excellency's apologia, so far as the Afghan campaign is concerned, as mere eyewash, they seem to be quite satisfied with Lord Chelmaford's defence of the Panjab measares. To onr mind, however, the defence of the administration of the Panjab under martial law, is every whit as lame and onconvincing as the Viceroy's remarks on the Afghan maddle. The secret of the ineptitade in either case is to be found in a sentence in His Ex: cellency's speech. "I promised", said His Excellency, "snpport to the head of each Local Government for such measures as be thought it might be necessary to take and that sapport was given nowaveringly thronghoat." His Escellency seems to be proad of his part bat, in oar hamble opinion, it is very poor statesmansbip after all. We do not want a Viceroy to let the Provincial governinents do what they like and then to find more or less plansible reasons for jnetifying 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 daty of protectiog His Majesty's sabjects from being oppressed oy subordinate administrations. It was Lord Carzon, we think, who laid down that it was the daty of the Government of India to see that Provincial Governments do not degenerate into petty despotisms. It may sound chivalrons to bureancratic ears for the Viceroy to say that he promised sapport to Provincial Governments and carried ont his promise nnwaveringly, bat what does it really come to? It simply comes to this that the Viceroy abdicated his fanctions, ntterly ignored his responsibility to His Majesty's sabjects, and allowed the Panjab satrap to do all that he did under cover of the Governor-General's supreme anthority. In view of Lord Chelmsfurd's confession, the credit dae to Sir George L.oyd's admirable statesmanship in Bombay is mugnified a huadred-fold. His Excellency's theory of the origin of the Panjab sitaation, we are sorry to say, is more ingenions than ingenuons. He said: "List session certain hon. members during the passuge of the Rowlatt Bill gave me waruings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill passed into law there woald be agitation of a serious natnre. I think the hon. members will realise that no Goverament coald 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 oecnrred 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 Legislatare Conncil. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Jinnah and others emphatically repadiated the charge ia the Legislative Conncil and pointed out that they were only echoing the feeling in the conntry. This can be verified by reference to the files of newspapers. We oarselves wrote protesting atrongly againat the Bills as soon as they were prblished, before the last session of the Legislative Conncil met. Other Indiau papers did the same. Mr.

Gandhi entered the liste at a mach later stage and nobody oan asy that his object was to give effect to the alleged threate of the Iodian don-official members of the Conacil. Hin Excellency's theory cannot stand a moment's secratioy. We have only space left to-day to express the geoeral diasetisfaotion felt at the constitution of the Committee which is to ioquire into the Panjab occarrences. In the first place, it is ansatisfactory that the Committee is make ite report not to the Secretary of State bat to the Goverament of India. The Committee consiste of Lord Honter, formerly Solicitor-General for Scotland as Chárman, and Mr. Jnstice Rankio, the Hodorable Mr. Rice, MajorGeneral Sir Georga Barrow, Sir Chimanal Setalrad, and Sahibzada Saltan Ahmad. The faot that the Viceroy felt it necessary to indicste the minor office in some previons Ministry held by the Cbairman, shows that his is not, by any means, a name of great anthority in British politics. Of the five members, three are officials, one is a Gwalior State official who, certainly, cannot be expected to appreciste the British Indian poidt of view, and only one namely, Sir Chimanlal Setelvad is qualified by his pablio life and professional oarcer to take an independent and atrietly jadicial view of the matters ander iaqniry.

## 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 la 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 methot of bringing home offences against person and property to the tribes on the North Western frontie:. It is absolutely unjust when applied to the inhabitants of Nadiad. The Collector of the District, it may be observed in passing, had soon alter 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 2rst April) hap. pily passed away; special thanks are due to those of the leaders who used their iofluence 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 ithey 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 respectiully protest against fining the people of Nadiad for the offence of some, it may be several individuals.

The reasons given for singling out th Bania and Patidar castes for this specii imposition, are reminiscent of Fluellen's logic i Sbakespeare's Henry V. Mr. Gandhi is a Banis and so are Mr. Gokuldas Talati and Mr. Fulchany Shab, Secretary and President respectively of $\mathbf{t}$ Home Rule League. Assuming for argument sake, that these three gentlemen had been reall, instrumental in creating the situation which cul.. minated in the derailment, there is nothing to show that their conduct had anyting to do with the fact of their being Banias or that the Bania community had commissioned them to condust themselves in that manner. Suppose tomorrow the Banis community excommunicates these geatlemen. will that absolve it from having to pay for thd punitive police? What is it that Government expect a caste to do to tree itself from a simular 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. Totalk of Mr. Gandhi's caste as an opera-: tive 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 be is expected to conform to any customs of his caste. His manner of tife, his treedom of social intercourse with all classes and creeds, his close association with the depressed classes, are all against the rules of his caste. If lact, very lew of his friends are interested in th' 'question of his caste. The Bania caste, moreoveto is not one caste. There are Hindu Danias and Jar Banias. The Census Report names twenty su divisions of Banias (Vanis) among Hindus an 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 th follow with some confidence that the Governir, of Bombay will not allow the argument of pres.? to prevent the prompt rectification of a palpable : justice. The incident has a deeper significanct It showa, in our opinion, that the bureaucrac? while it has virtually destroyed the ancient comn, nal institutions of India and absorbed the pows vested in these institutions in its own hands, is in above utilising the laded vestiges of those insti tions for the parpose of imposing penalties on t. penple. It is apparently a question with it ol "heis I win, tails you lose." How can the castes be mat? responstble for the condact al individuals over whe 8 British Indian law and administration do not recos: nise its authority? As social reformers, we ref pectully protest against this attempt to utilise cas. as an accessory to the administration. Apart frc the matter as it immediately concerns Nadi: the question involves a large principle and should : threshed out. The action of Government betri complete ignorance of the constitution and the powet. of caste at the present day. It would, we think, be quite as just to collect the cost of the punitive polic. from all persons in Nadiad who happen to be of thr
same stature $\mathbf{a s} \cdot \mathrm{Mr}$. 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 utlising caste. Mr. Gandbi can help being a Baniz 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 cboose tkem. There is better reason to recover the cost of the additional police from the offisials 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 UNIVERSIIY COMMISSION REPORT. III

Before atating one views on the medinm of instraction in the High Schouls aud the encouragement of the stady of the vernacalars, it is desirable to elaborate oar point that the recommendation of the Calcatia University Commission is against the weight of edacational evidence which was placed before them and that in making it, they have been obssessed by the plausible generalities of Sir Harcoart Batler. There is some donbt even ss to the precise import of the Commission's recommendation. In the opening paragraphe in the chapter containing the Commission's recommendations o3 this question, it is asid that there is an overwhelming mass of opinion pointing to the ase of English as the chief mediam 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 mediam of instraction only in the two University years above the Intermediate stage. At the end of the chapter, however, the Commission sam ap their conclasions as incladiog the redaction of the ase of English as a mediam of instraction op to the present matriculation stage, and its retantion as mediam above that stage. We have locked in vain in the body of the chapter for a means of filling the gap between the opening and the conclading recommendations. There is a recommendation that at the Intermediate College examination, the mediam should be English. Perhaps, it is left to be inferred that the teaching in the course leading to the examination shoold necessarily be in English. A definite statement to. that effect woald bave been desirable. Tarning to the evideace, rather more than half of the witnesses who gave evidence were in favoar of retaining the present aystem. A certain namber of the rest was in favouring of introdacing Euglish earlier than at present. Others were in favonr of iotrodacing it at other points, and those who were in favour of making it the mediam of instruction only after the Intermediate were a emall minority. By grooping along with this mall minority, a!l those who wished English to be the modiam of instraction at more or less earliera tages, the Commission bave obtaiued "an overwhelming mass of evidence pointing to the nse of Eaglish an the chief mediam from the ond of the
intermediate stage npwards." In other worls, this "overwhelming mass" inclades the more than balf of the namber of witnesses who were for retuining the present system; and the minorities who were ia favoar of making Eaglish the mediam of instractiouat earlier stages. This is a very iugenions way of converting a small minority into an overwhelming majority. Bat sach legerdemain cunoot disgnise the fact that a sabstantial majority of witnesses ars opposed to the recommendation of the Commission. A nother noteworthy fuct is that, while the Commission repeatedly quote the resolution of the Government of Ludia of 1913 (when Sir Harcoart Batler was member in charge) they completely give the go-by to the resolations since he left. Sir Sanksan Nrir, the only Indian who has bad charge of the portfolio, has expreased a diametrically opposite view in some of the resolations issued in his time. This the Commission iguore. Neither Sir Harcoart Batler nor Sir Sankaran Nair is an educationist, bat the latter beingan Indian knows where the shoe pinches, whereas the former can at best say as to where the shoe should piach. Sir Harcoart, as Elacation Member, prevented more good than he did to the conatry. Ha was instramental in throwing out Mr. Gokhale's very $c^{\text {antioas }}$ Elementary Edacation Bill, and that does not mark him out as a great educational thinker.

We pointed oat in the last issoe that Sir Harcourt Batler's dictam which has so greably impressed the Commission, has no fonadation in fact and is a mere matter of prejadice. The dictum is that "the boys who are tanght throngh the mediam of the vernscalar until the highest stages of the High School ara reached, show markedly greater intelligence than those whose earlier edacation bas been more largely condacted throngh the mediam of the Euglisis language". There is no province where boys are taught throagh the veroacalar natil the bighest stages of the High School. In the Uuited proviaces where His Honour apent the larger part of his career, English is the mediam of instraction in the two highest classes. In Calcatta, where part of his year. as member of the Viceroy's Executive Cunucil, was spent, the foar highest classes are targht in Euglish. In Simia and Delhi of which he has had experience as member of the Government of India, English is the mediam in the two bighest classes of the IIigh School. In Barma where His Honour was Lieatenant Governor fur about a year or two, Engliatr teaching begins in the first primary class, is parte medinm from the 5th to the 7 th, and full mediam from the 8 th to $10: h$ classes. It is, therefure, difficalt to see where His Honoar fonad boys instracte? through the vernacalar intil the highest stages of the High School, for institating his interesting comparison. There may have been of few stadedts privately edacated who came ander llis Hounar's notice, bat sarely even if, contrary to our experieuce of privately edacated children, these did show sume marked saperiority of intelligence, they coold uck afford a fair basis of comparison. There is one teat which the Commission could have easily apilied to His Honoar's dictam, if they had begun, as all
contrary the Gold Reserve in other conntries was increased during the War beyond their reanonable abere. The recent Committee appointed to inquire into the cost of prodacing gold in the British Empire has foand that the cost is rising ; and that if the production is to be kept ap at the pre-war Jevel, the price woald have to be raised, in order to prevent the lews profitable mines forom being shat down, Bat in thje conntry the price of Re. $33 \frac{1}{2}$ 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, Indis can obtain enough gold as she astually has a faroarable balance even after paying all the Home Charger and other claims against her. Gold in circalation id Indis woald relieve mach of the present pressare on silver in the world and avoid for ever the necessity of tampering with exchange.

The only objection againat onr recommendation, that if at once reasonable and formidable, is that gold once it gets into circalation will be difficalt to mobilize in the opent of an interdational financial crisis. India will, no doabt, absorb a certain quantity of gold for parposes other than carrency, which may be described, with pardonable inaccaracy, as hoards. Bat it is possible to guard against such a tendency ranning to extremes. With a sufficient substitate carrency, the cheaper the better, which however is garanteed to be immediately convertible in gold, the danger to an excessive circalation of gold would be avoided. The abolition of silver will, we believe, make the notes, convertibla, in terms of the gold atandard coin, in the absence of other credit docaments far more popalar than they are to-day. The gold thas azved by the ase of paper may be esonomised and mobilised by being kept in reserve in a Central Bank. And if the isene of notes, placed in the hands of such a central dominating banking institation; is made dependant upon the provision of an equivalent reserve in epecie or good commercial paper, somewhat on the lines followed by the Federal Reserve Nctes in the United States, there would be the easiest transition between metallic carrency and commercial credit, an easy a atomatio expanaion and contraction of the volame of currency precisely in accordance with the requirements of trade.

The gravest defect indeed in the entire currency organisation is the absence of any domidating Bank; isaiing paper corrency and controlling by its position the eatire Indian business world. The Government of India mast part with their bardensome preoccupations in managing a carrency sybtem throngh a department, conspicnously lacking in the requisite experience and expert knowledge. They mast abandon the present system of keeping hage balances idle in their treasaries at a time when the bnainess world most needs them. With a great pablic Bank, centralising the financial reserves of the commanity, and adopting all carrency oaving devicer, as for example the Giro syatem of paymeuta developed by the Reisch Bank in Germany, we shall be free from a frequent' meddling with the exohange at the cost of the conntry's trade
prospects and indastrial organisation, avoiding al the same time the unprofitable employment of an excessive amoant of a costly circulating mediam: Gold:
To carry ont in fall the reforms snggested here, the establishment of a gold standard with a gold carrency, conversion of the carrency notes in terms of gold standard, and the organisation of adequate, ap-to-date banking facilitien, would of course need time, Bat a beginning can be made now that our whole Carrency organisation is ander review. Safficient gold is dae to ns in the Paper Carrency and the Gold Standard Keservés to justify us in the hopo that if decided upon the gold standard wonld not be rendered impracticable for the want of gold. If the condition of our debtors forbid any attempt to realise at once, we may issae bonds of a carrency of from five to ten years, within which it may be reasonably hoped oar sterling debtors woold be able to redeem their obligations, to serve as gaarantee of redemption to the holders of the temporary sabstitate money. If these measares 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 pablic, from whom, in the nltimate analysis, they are derived. Exchange woold become, as it ought to be, a proper concern of the Banks, and wonld flactuate within the limits. set by trade reqairements 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 anch a oniversal scramble for gold as occurred for five yeara daring 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.

## TEE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSEIP ASSOCLATION.

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Association was held on the 28th of Augast 1919 ; the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh presiding. It was resolved to despatuh the following telegrams to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India in Conncil in connection with the sitation in Sonth Africa and Fiji.

The Managing Committee of the Imparial Indian Citizen: ship Assoulation views with alarm the reported deoibion of the Government of Fiji not to eancel immediately the exiating indentares: The Committee is of opiniod that a sjatem ander which besides other glaring evils- prostitation il almost legalised cannot be allowed to continne nader the British Constitution and therefore arneatiy praye that the Government of India and the Right Honearable the Secretary of State for India will eecure immodiate candelletion of the existing indentares certainly before the 81 st day of December 1919.
Regard being had to the lact tiat a Commission is to be appointad by the Government of the Union of Sonth Africa to cover an' inquiry into the position of British Indians throaghoul Soath Africa, the Manging Commitiee of the

Imperind Indipu Citizenship Amocintioe reppertully Fuggent to the Governmeal ol Iedie and if Ifejouty'y Pricoipel Eeoretery of State for Indic, thet the Oommimion shoold
 repreanting the Eeropense' isterest in South Afriong it being anderntood thet the porition of the Indiant in Sonth AFrien shall not in any way be edverealy afiected by the findiags of the Commionion and that the Commintion aball bave the power to sdrien withdrewal ot the Aciatia Trading and Land Owning Aot jut pumed by the Usion Porlitement and that the operation of the mid Act chall reamie in beyence pending ruoh inquiry.

## A HOSTEL FOB INDLAN GIBLS.

Tbe Young Women's Cbriatian Ascociation it confemplating opening a small Epotel for Parse and Indias Girla who artearaing their own living. The Eontel will probebly be in the Girganm, distriote It in intanded primarily for quilified Sraes bat aleo for Teuchers and others. Girls of any religion will be admitted but all mast give tatisicotory prool of good oharsoter befort admisaion.

It is proposed to moke the Houtal coll-enpporting as soon so posible, buk fonde will be resded to start and equip the building. We are thesefort mking Es. 16,000 to cover the eoos of farnishing and goersatee the rent and afatron'e anlary tor tro jeare.

The consoionanes for the veed of the propesed Hostal greve out of a Clab otarted two yeart age for Iadian Bospital Nursel. Contact with the Namet rovenled to the Committes in charge the crying nesd for some safe plaoe for pripate murses to live while carrying on their prolession in Bombey.

There is alse e conidersbls demand for secommodation from girle who are sarning their living in other espacitiots Wo wiah to provide ate and happy Home lor all anoh girlesudin order to cecare it we appeal ta the pablis to belp 88. Donationg may either be eont in lamp sum at once or promices of a certain tam bimanally for two jeart will be received.

Subscriptionamay be gent to Ledy Tats Ron. Tressarar, or to Dilahad Begam, Nawab Mirza Mrs. Johangir Petit Miss Wingute, Secretary Y. W, O, A.

## JANMASETAMI REFLECTIONS.

## The Editor, The Indian Sucial Reformer,

 Sir,In bis article "Janmaghtami Refibotions' jour coutribaior remarks "it mast be obrious that the "Eroticiem' of Krishas's yonth in merely the exaberance of the poetic ehroaiclora."

He seem: to forgot that Kitiohas hat been sooused of olber thing ving liet, depeits theft and marder, Ars theos peosedillop "hate exubaresee of the potic chronigler's" toe I

There if no need to anggevt, en your eontributor doen that the denamciation of Krishan is the work of Chrintian ( sad presumbly, therefore, prejadiced) misaionarion Tbree handred Jaart gid mort bef ne Christ, Plete wrote the rueurworable trath. Can jos find room for a rather long quotetion?

Socrite ad Adeimentes are disensing the ednention of the joung for citisenship "The first shing will be to ectebliob - centorbip of the Fritere of fiction, and let the cencont receive shy tale of fiction Fhich is grod, sod reject the bed ; wad wo will degire motbert and names to tall their ohildren the suthorisod caet ouly. I Lof them fasbion the mind with such
tales urem mory fondly than they mould the body with thoip handy bot rout of thow whick pro mow in an mat be dimonded" "OI what the ser you spenkisy" Mo mid. - Yoe may find a modil of the laver in the greator," I acd ; - fue they are mecemarily of the tane typt sad thace by anow upisit in boik of thom, ${ }^{*}$
*Tery likely," he replid; "bati I do not in yut know whet
 sarratod by Homer' aod Hocich, and wit of the poite, who have over been the great etorythelleve of manind, ant which storiet do yoa meac," to raid, and whet halt do joa find with thout " *A folt whiok io moct wrioge" I wid; athe funlt of tolling © Its, ad, what k more, o bed lie." "Bet whan is thie feult committedt" $m$ Fhonerer se erroceose reprecentation is mede of the eature of code wa beroelpas Thea a painter painte a portrait not heviog the shadow of a likenere to the original" "Why jen" said be "thome totories are extromely objeotionabla."

FYen, Adeimatos, they are torion net to be repented in our Stale; the joong man thould not betold that in ocmmitting the wort of orimea bs in far trom doing anjthing outregcoulf and that evea it be ehectiont his tether when be doen wroage in whatever menner, be will ouly be following the exemple ot the Erat and greateat tmong the gois, wi entiraly agre with jou" he anid; "垪 my opinion thon thorien are quite unfit to be repental." "s Nather, if whemen one latare guardism to ragard the habit of quarrolling amorg themselvee as of all thinge the baceth, thould any word be suid to them of the ware in heaver, and of the plote and fightioge of the gode against one ascother, for they art not trace $\mathrm{NO}_{4}$ we shall neves mantion the batlue of the giante, or lot thom be embroidered on germents, and wo abell be cilent sbot the inaumereble otiar quarrale of gode and heroee with theif friende and rolatives, tithey would ouly believe ue we would tell them that quarrolling haboly, and thet mover ep to this time hat there bees any quarral belween citimena ; thie it what old men and old womot ahoald begin by telling ohildren, and Then they grow ap, the poete wio atoald be told to compone for them in a similar spirit. But the garrative of Esphantus binding Elers his moker, of how on enothar ocestion Zous cont hire fylug for taking her part whon the wist being beaten and all the batile of the godi in Homer-thace talet mat not be edmitted into our 8tate, whetiber they ars supposed to beve an allegorical menning or not. For soung permon sannot jodge what is allegorical and what in lisarsl; snything that be recaives into his misd at that age in likely to besome indelitio and ubalterabla; and therolore it fa mont important that the talee whioh the joung firat how shand be models of virtaone thoughts." "Thore jna are right" be replied "bet if any one alke whore are sach mojels to be foand sad of thut tales art yos epeeking-how thall we ensmer himt "I enid to bim, Won and I. 4 deimnatas of thin noment are not poute, but lonndert of $y^{\text {g }}$ State: pow the forediry of a ginte ought to Fnow the general forms in whish poete should est thaif tole and the timita Fhich mun be obserped by them, but to make the calen in not thsir bnaiaes.". (Plate Rapaylio pp. 877 th. to Trotel

Yoaris ciscordy, Kizoatir Wickity,
SBI KRIBHNA ANDTHEBRAHMA BAMAS.
The World aed New Dipponationt, the wokly Egalinh ongen of the Eephot ceotion of the Brohma gamoi, if the course of en article on the Bhadrotesv, obooryen: © Bat the mont siguificant thing ben beas the celobegtion in oongection
with Sriknishne, -the Jenmatami fertival. Devout wonls, hers and there, in the commanity have, now and then, spoken or mititen on the beanty and richnem of this great spirit, but this in the Girt time that we mot together in communal worship to meditate on the lifo and teashings of Srikrishnas. Yet it osnnot be asid thet the genias of the New Dispensation left out of eceount the life and character of one who heve entered into the yery bone and marrow of Iadian life. For is was Upadhyaya Goor Govinds Hoy who, in his materly trestiee in Beogeli, Shrikrishnor Feesan O Dharma, has left for an all a dew and living interpretetion of the character and opiritality of thit ancient Prophet of Elarmony: We hope to be able, in a later insue, to translate for onr readern the Forenord to this inspirigg volumes giving an acoonnt of how Keghub by bolding before the Upadhyayn the true Krishne overeame hie prejadice and taraed him into $\begin{gathered}\text { dovont loner }\end{gathered}$ of this singer of the Song Coleatial Krighne as the singer celestisl-mbe ravisher of hoarta, Krishes an the yogacharya of Hinduathan comes in Keshub's yogi-life. Keahah felt the name difficalty and heaitation in spesking abont his Srikrishos as he did about hie revolationery fieion of the Naua. durgar Navasanatana And the devout end oritical atadent of Keshab mant learn to understand Keshab's reserves and -ilences m well in hin recorded ntterences. "

## A ROMAN CATHOLIC CRITICISM.

The Indian Social Reformor of the 24th inatant in the course of a quarrel with the Amrita Batar Patrica on the position of Indian woman iosinnateg that woman in Italy is not very highly regarded. And for proof it goen to the report of a certain Col. Snow of the United Sthtes Medigal sarvice pablished in the Social Hygiene Balletin of New York. "Italy" according to this gentioman 4 is the only one of the larger sllies that allowed tropps in the tront areas to heve access to prostitation." In the first place we ere not eure of the fucts. The Protestant societies that found opportnnity lor work doring the war in Catholio conntries have been on the alezt to make a case for themselves. Wa remember at the beginaing of the war being shown a confilential lottee from a Protestant organjastion which consained fool aspersion on- tro eirin of France who, it appenrs, were burning to be the mistreasen of Inaiea mpapas ad that this partionlar organization was the only eure barrier between the vampires of France and thuir innocent preg from India. If you oan't gat grist for your mill, yon must make ito And even il what Col. Snow sayn is true, what a conolveion for the Indian Social Reformer to draw upon the womanhood of Italy! It oaly siowe that Italy like most Latin nalions weary its sing on ita sleaves fur evary Protestant phariste to peok it. It sarely does not imply that the virtnoue Protentant armies kejt these oamp followers at arm's fongth. The only difference is they did it eleverly and were not found ont-which is the dandly sia of AngloSaxon morality. The Indian Social Reformer has been brought ap in the Protestant Tradition and has saceambed to it on this 40 on other ocoasions,-The Standard, (Madras).

## MR, GANDEI'S RELIGION.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir
In reference to the interanting remding pablished some time baok in your neelul journal regording Mr. Gandhi's views oa Mr, Patel's Bill, may I beg leave to plece before some of your readers Mr. Gandbi'e religious views at gaeged by a Chriatian triand of bis.
"I question whather soy byatgo of religion ota sbolately hold hims. Hie viows are two olosely allied ts Chriatianity ito be entirely Hindu ; and too doeply cetaratel with Hiadu an to bs colloi Christion, and his ojmpathise are ow wide
and eatholic, that one would imagine the has resched a point Whese formule of secte are mesningless.' 'y
${ }^{51}$ TQ him, Jesus Chriet is a bright ravelation of God i but be eanoot set him on in Solifory Zirone: becsuse bo bolieves God has beea incernate agein and ugain. To him, religion is on intensely practical thing. It underlice all action * * Politics, moralg, Commerce, all that hes to do with conscience mast be religion."
"I question whether any religions oreed would be large eṇough to express his views, or any Chaceh. system ample onough to shat him in. Jew and Christimn, Hindu, Mabot medan, Passi, Buddhist, and Confucian, all have their places in his heart, as children of the same Father
I Im not a Theosophiat. There ie ranch in Theosophy the attraots me, but I have never been sble to subsoribe to the creed of Theosophista," "
"That divine love which mocks boundaries of oreed, and limits of race or coloar....... is Mr. Gandhi's ideal." ${ }^{\prime \prime}$

I think it is thim traly Christion catholieity of his mind that explaing his attitudg towards the Depressed Ylasean, notwithetanding his firm belief in Varntghramanharma. But qua were quite right in eaying thet it was dangerons to
 Mr. Gandhi, in a peculiar way. That Vaneshrama-Dharma which tonches the socelled "t untonchablen" with divine love, cainnot reasonably be expected to oppose Mr. Patel's Bill Bat one who does not believe io the untouchability of any buman being will surely come round and help a measure intended to break the bonds of individnol selfdom in society.

Godhra. Yours faithfully: E. A. Dite:"

12-8-13, "G. Gaqdi," by J. 7. Dole, (Satema \& Co.) Chap XXI.

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## Vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1919. No. 2.

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## NOTES.

An Yssidious Allegation: Speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Representative Council ol Missions, the Rev, Ur. Mackichan is reported to have said that "though peace has brought with it many difficult probleme, one of them being an anti-Cbristian spirit in much of India's political hife, 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. 1s it true that the declaration of peace has brought, among other tbings, an anti-Christian spirit in much of India's palitical life? We do not know what Dr. Mackichan's grounds are for bis 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 sceks 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 a mount of race antagonism, there was none whatever as regards religion. The American missionaries at Gujraliwalla were warned by converts to leave hastily and were told "that Indians, whatever their religion, would not be in danger". Some loading figures in the public life of India at the present day are Sir Narayan Cbandavarkar, whom the Hindy Missionary olten chides for extolling the Bible, Mr. Andrews, a true follower of the Cross, if over one was, Sir Rabındra Nath Tagore whose writings, notwithstanding bis somewhat astounding denial in America, bear the impress of the Cbristtouch.

Turaing to the politicians, pure and simple, we fail to see any antagonism to Cbristianity. A
difference there is, of course, between the teachings of Christ and Christianity. We confidently' say tbat at no time was the influence of Curist's teachings more real and wide-spread ini India tban it is today. One of the most powerful Hindu religious reformers of recent years was the late Swami Vivekananda. He bad a profound reverence for Christ, and so tad his Master, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa. 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 bim on a visit to Ramkrishna. When be introduced his friend to the Paramahamsa, Ramkrishna bowed bis 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 op-Krishra: Don't-your 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 Ohristian 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 Uhristianity. 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 Oburch 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 Wedresday Review, published at Tricbinopoly, 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 Reviewe, with Justice, are about the only Indian-edited journals which indulge in such relerences 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 anytbing but one of high respect tor his intentions and character. However that may be, we must emphatically protest against the Wednesday's comments on Mrs. Saroinii Naidu's evidence before the Joint Committee. The Trichinopoly journal begins by saying that her evidence is a tair sample of the funny things said about India for the edification of the Committee. It continues :
We are wold thit ebe apparrod an the reprosentative of Indian manien wbo desire enfracolicemento Indino momen

Who mey wish to $\mathrm{g}^{\circ}$ to the polls and who have conided thir desire to Mrs. 8nrujiai Maidw, miy amonet te a dosen all told The quention is mot whetber Iadian women sbould be given the rebe or not. To toll the Comittee wolemaly that there are woman hore who denive the vote and they have wont - regresentative to lay thoir ean beforv the Comanitice, it sheer cemanflage. It in ment to thow who and hare, whatover it may bo to thove livieg six thoognad nilos off. Me. Montagn loomed oe the Iedian borime and by July 1811, he laocched out his ceheme of reform and in 1919 Mr
 cinters bave so far advanced in edacetion st to demend the vost. Thie is too quick aven tor the Montagn proos Lond Balborne ceems to bove been gashingly shivalrope and epoke of Mre Naidr's memoraedom of ovidence ex illaminating
 might have had brase band in sttendasee when sbe wat giving ovidenoe so that thore comld bave bees a musical totch ad well. That would have made a fit cotting to the avidenee of the kind tendered by Mrm. Sarojini Naidn.

The Wedresday Revier 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 gratefal to Lord Selborae 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 Wedwesday about Lord Selborne's gusbing chivalry and the brass band, gives point to Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's remark about the lack of culture of some educated Indians

The Puajab Inquiry Committec: Mr. Gandhi writing in Young lndia deprecates criticism of the constitution and personnel of the Punjab Enquiry Committee. He says:
In my hamble opinion a Commission appointed from Delhi can be juat as effective as a Royal Oommission. Aud Boyal Commisaions have been known in our own times to have bean parfectly abortive. In a cese, however, like that of the Panjub an inquiry is the neoessary seqvel. We seed not cherefore complain of the inquiry not boing a Royal Comminnion, bat we have every right to extmine ita personael and shoagh Lhord Hantor doen not enjay a world-wide repatation it need not be donbted that he bus a repatation to lone. After all he mast be proemineatly Mr., Montuga's ohoice and I- woald besitute to distrant his chaiot or hic in. tentions, even thongh be han quite anjumtly and un warrantadly pat in an energetic defonce of soms of the masarice adopted or approved by the Government of Iodia. Nor man ons cavil to the appointwent of the other mambers.
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 Com mission before which Indians in South Africa under Mr. Gandhi's advice refused to appear and state their case, it becomes the daty of publicists to indicate belorehand the measure of pubtio 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 pablic. We cannot sit quiet now and seem to accept the personnel as satislactory, 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. Montago. We have great confidence in Mr. Montaga, which we have expressed in another context to-day, but we must remember tbat as Secretary of State he cannot always give free play to his own individual judgment -his plea for the Rowlatt Act is, perhaps in pointand that the British system of Government rests on the assumption that those who sufter or expect to
suffer will represent in time their suffering or lears to those in authority. Royal Commissions have, no doubt, oftex proved abortive for the purpose for which they were cunstituted, bat they have always been uselul in the sense that they did their work of exploration thoroughly and impartially, end let in light in many places which bad thernto remained hid from the public eye. This, after all, is the main purpose of most public eaquiries- 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 Comenittee reporting to the Government of India hat obvious himitations. And, it is especially unsuitable in this casc, because as Mr. Gandbi bimself suggests in anotber part of the article. His Excellency the Viceroy "atsads ia the same box as the Panjab Government to be judges by the Commission" inasmuch as he of bis own showing gave the Puajab Goverament a blank card. The report of a Royal Commission is, as a rulo, published unedited; there does not seem to be such a rule as regards Enquiry Committeos.

Brahmans and the Depressed Clasess. In May last, the Rev. Joha A. sharrock read a paper belore 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. Ree! is quite as much an extremist on the one side as Mr. Sharrock, on the other. The trutb about caste as a social institution and as a factor in feform, lies midway between the Rees and Sharrock pointa, Mr. N. M. Samarth wat one of the speakers in the discuesios which ensued on Mr. Sharrock's paper. In the conrse 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 bold in Bombay where Brabmans were working among the depressed classes. We bighly. appreciate bia relerence in particular to Mr. Sohonis work in Parel. They are so just and well-deserved that we abould quote them, "Had be (Mr, Sharrock) lived in Bombay" said Mr. Bamarth, "he woold have fonnd an lastitution there connected with the depressed classea-m hostel and a school, where the boys and girls of the depressed classes had board, lodging, and primary education given to them-and be would have found there a young Mahratta Brabman with his wife and children living at that institation, 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 upe lifting them from darkness anto light. He would have found, forther, that the children of that Brahe man gentleman were not sent to some other scbools but were receiving their education along with the children of the depressed classes in the same lastitution. He would have forndalso severat sight. schools for the depressed classes conducted by Brahman teachers at Bombay. None of them was outcasted. They are enjoying the same privileges in the Brabman community as they woold have enjoyed had they never toacbed what have been called the untouchable classes." This is at creditable to the Brabman commanity as to Mr. Sohoni and his coworkers, and we are glad that Mr. Bamarth took the opportanity of mentioning it prominently in his speech.

A Misleading Refercoce: 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 Brabman. He bad for sometime the privilege and honour of being the elected representative of the Bombay Uaiversity on the Bombay Legislative Council. At toe 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 Brabman vote of that constitutency 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 ondeavoured to advance his candidature by pleading his caste. We are aure 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 judgmens 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 bis 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 "illaess 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? $\Delta$ contributor to the Hirdu 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 bave 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 babits 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 Sabba, himseff a retired weaving master. Mr. Nare conducted a free. night school for over 35 years, and we are glad to learn that his son bas continued to keep it up after the death of his father.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> BOMBA Y, SEPTEMBER 14, 1919.

## NEO-HINDUISM.

The Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, AdvocateGeneral of Madras and President of the Hinda Social Reform Associstion, delivered an interesting lectare on Nea-Hindaism on the 2nd instant at the Young Men's Indian Association of that city. Mr. Iyengar prefaced his obsarvations with the remark that Hindaism was a living and growing religion. It was not a thing which they coald discover in a set of formalae and, therefore, it was that there were intrinsic difficalties in stating exactly what Hindaism was. Divorce of practice from precept and the fact that aathoritative books on the sabject were written in Sanskrit, not a spoken langusge of the people, were additional difficalties in the way of defiaing Hindaism. Nevertheless, said Mr. Iyongar, he would place before his andience a set of propositions arrived at as a resalt of the faith that was in him merely for the parpose of provoking the faith which was in every Hinda and which made him feel proad that he was a Hinda. The central featore of Hindaism, its root idea, was that this world was merely a stage of preparation for the world beyond. Its whole acheme of life here was framed in view of the life hereafter. Hindaism in common with other great religions upheld the ideals of sacrifice and self-sarrender. It laid more emphasis than other religions on the idea of God in min. It inesicated an idealistić attitude of mind and laid great store by the quality of reverence. The distinctive festares of Hindaism, in the opinion of Mr. Iyengar, was the Vedantic interpretation of the Universe, and the doctrinea of Karma and Sam. ara which, be said, were imperishable possessions with them. He sopposed that it was dae to these that "taking things as a whole, the sverage Hindn was happier than the average citizen of the world elsewhere and to the extent to which the Hinda fell below that average to that extent the difficalties of materialism wonld come in." The kayatone of NeoHindaism was in that part of the Gita's teachings which were trae and aoand for all time. "There were different values attached to everyday virtnes," Mr. Iyengar went on to eay, "by people of different religions. Trath to the Binda, Chastity to the Hindn, Society to the Hinda, mesnt a quite different thing to what it was to other people. The whole thing was bottomed in their own concept of other-worldinese."

There is a good deal of scope for difference of opinion in regard to each of the special featares of Hindaism mentioned above. In fact, these difforences constivate the different schoole of Binda philosophy or metaphysics ench ae the Sankara, Ramanoja, Madhva and others. Mr. Jnstice T. V. Seehagiri lyer, also a devoted Hinda, who presided at the lectare, while agreeing, iu the main with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's views, indicated certain points on which "he wished to reserve an expression of his viewa for another occasion." Bat both the lectarer
and the Chairman were agreed that Hindaism was emphatically not the accial arrangementa with which it happened to be associated at present. Said Mr. Iyengar:
Those who looked apon onsto an idention with Eindaiom did injuatice to the tandamental basis of Einduiem, and to the extant to which Einduine wal ideatifiod with ceste, to that extent Einduirm wonld loee ita hold on the commanity and porish. Caste wat really a mocial atructare and bed aboolately nothing to do with the roligiona besie of Eliodaistra. Beliel in the supromacy of Brabmens priouthood wit not an cesential of Eindaiom, wor were sacrifioes, coromonialian and saimitaio protioes comsintent with the higher conveptr of Einda religioun thoaght and life

The nocial, religions and economic conditions to which Hindaism was adjasted, said Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer, were not permanent. They came in contact with new nations and new ideas. When s new wave of discontent swept all over the world, unless they were able to adjast their ideas of religion to those environments, they wonld never be able to uphold their religion. He proceeded to obeerve.

One of the greatest echieremente of the past was that their seera were Deergadareces. They were framing their laws and regulatione far in adrance of the timea they lived in. It was becnase thooe ideas had boen oonceived in that fareeecing upirit that they had been ao long sble to make that religion lalt all over the world. It they were to conserve the privileges in their possestion, relligion woald beoome a repronoh in this land and would not give the great good intended by ita anthors. 'They must underotand the circumetances which were now preming apon them. If they did not give a proper turn to the flood which was coming apon them they would be ewept awey. Neo-Hioduism ought to embrace a lerge variety of sabjecte and be woild expreas his idene on another oscasion. The question of caste. and ita relation to religion, the question of marriage and the question of lawe, portions of which had become impracticable and inbuman, had to be monlded according to their new ideas. Tecople worship was noother important metter.

These observations of two Brahman gentlemen who are prond of their religion and devoted to its interests, are a conclusive answer to the Maharaja of Darbhanga's movement confasing Hindaism with the caste syatem. In fact, as Sir Narayan Cbandavarkar pointed ont oloquently in his remarksble address at the Benares National Social Conference twelve years ago, Hindaism has in the Sanatan Dharma an endaring system of spiritaal cnltare, on which sucial systems are reared to suit the changing conditions of life. The Varnashram Dharna was one such eystem. It was not meant to enpersede the Sanatan Dharma. The iden is that men and women bronght ap in the eternsl graces of the Sanatan Dharma may be absolately depended on to adjust their social and domeatic institations to changing environments withoat their being bound down by hard and fast ralea. Rales are for those who cannot rule themselves. The object of the Sanatan Dharma is to implant in the individaal the qualities and the valaes which tell in epiritual evolation. In other worda, given the right type of individual, there is no need to fix once for al
the right type of society. Hindaism, then, is not aset of doctrizes, bat an outlook and - method. It it imposible to convene a great gathering of representative Hindat to diecuse and $s e t t l e$ the broad lines on which the religions and social systems should be readjasted to on present onvironment? Mr. Iyengar's anggestive lectane should pave the way for such a confersuce. Wo do not like the word Neo-Hinduism. Plain Bindaism withoat any prefix would cover all the idens set forth in the speeches of Mr. Srinivasa I jengar and Mr. Jastice Seshagiri Iyer.

## CALOUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT IF.

There is no vernacular in Indis which has deven loped so richly as Bengalee daring the last one handred yeara. Bengalee authors have produced true literatare in no inconsiderable quantity. The common plea arged in other parts of the country that the vernacalars are neglected and languishing, has no application to Bengal. Bengalees have usid that the fact that thay were the earliest and wost onthosiastic to take to English edacation has had a direct bearing on the development of their vernacular and its literatare. However that may be, it cannot be trathfally alloged that Eaglish education has come in the way of the Bengalee langagge. The worst that can be said in that Bengalee haf growa in apite of Englibh edncation. We admit that if, on other groands, it is concladed that veroacnlars shoold henceforth be the priucipal media of instraction in High Schools, Pengalee in the one vernacular the substitation of which for Eigglish would be least opon to the objections generally orged sgainst them, Bat we atterly deny the trath of the main groand on which the Commission reat the case for their recommendation. That groand stripped of its .enphemiam is that the English-edncated Indien is intellectually, morally and politically a failare. It is a strange coincidence that this view rests mainly on the anthority of those who have a vested interent in resisting the political reforms for which the English-educated Indian asks. It is true that it is reinforced by the sapport of Indians, some of them of high aathority, who have been stang into the conclan sion that English education has prodaced a mental sabservience on the part of the Iodian. which aide and, indeed, rivets his political sabservience. It can be easily proved that sill anch generalizations are antenable ; that the average. English-edacated Indian is a better man intellectnally and morally for his edocstion, and that his edacation makes neither for political sabservience tical self-reliance. The facts which prove these thinge are so easily available that only intoreated persons or fanatics can overiook them. We sobmit that a syatem which has done so mach good should not be fandamentally changed except for very mach more and sonnder reasons than the Commisoion have been able to prodace. Wo shall show in the coarse of these articier that the Commiseion began their
onquiry 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) anwieldy namber of andergraduates in the Calcatta University and, with the impression created by the contemplation of it imprinted on their sub-conscions minds, they started their invertigation of the quality of the edacation in the University. That impression remains thronghout as the backgroand of the Commission's recommendations. We sball retarn to this important point in a subsequent article.
The question of the position of English in our edacational 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 sobject will assume a different aspect, thongh we believe that the hold which the. English langaage has already acgnired 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 aympathy with the English-speaking nations of the British and American Commonwealthe. We, for one, are unable to visualise the problem of English in our edacational system except with reference to what we believe to be the futare desliny of Indis among the nations of the world. The Ram Mohan Roy-Macaalay decision, as interpreted by the action of time, is to oar mind the best index of the needs of the country both as regards her present and her fatare. It is a decision resting not on narrow pedagugical considerations bat on those broad expediencies of national necessity which mast always have precedence over provincial and particnlarist considerations. Then again, what is the futare we contemplate for India with reference to her component parts? The two great States formed in the last centary out of a mnititude of small States were Germany and Italy, Bismarct 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 nuified Italy. The idea of a federated India has, perhaps, a larger following among ns at present. Bot the whole past biatory of India protests againstit. The one great lesson written in letters of fire on the pages of ous palitical anasls is that a strong central Governhent is the only secarity of progress within and against aggresaion from withont. Whenever India had a strong imperial Government she prospered. When the central Government weakened she fell to pieces. One of the difficalties of maintaining sach a Government, is the absence of a common lingua franca in the conntry. This omission was being rapidly sapplied by Urda and woold have been completely snpplied ky it, had not Indis been drawn, for her own niltimate good, into the vortex of Faropean politics. It is not fashionable nowadays to speat of the finger of Provideuce in politics or history: we speak instead of sea-power and moneypower. We do not wish to quarrel over phrases bat it is imposaible to read history, especially Indian
bistory, withent being forcibly impressed by the presence in it of a factor incalculable by material neans. We may seem to be travelling wide of the sabject bat the gist of it all is that, perbaps, the great mission of British rale in India is to give a common langage to the conatry in the shape of English.

The Calcatta Uaiversity Commiseion cannot be blamed for not having in view these larger considerations in making their recommendations. That they recognised them bat felt some delicacy in expressing them freely, seemsto as to be elear. They observe:

But we do net wish to prejuige the fature. It is not for us to predict whether the natural desire to use Bengali to the thmost will eventually outweigh the immense adrantages of being sble to use a mediam consoon not only to the edncated elasses throughout India, but to more peoples than say other, and giving access in fffect to the literature and the scientific records of the world. We are diaposed to think that the educated classes in the varions provinces of Indis, will, like those of eome other countriur, both in the British dowinions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual; to use their mother tongnes for those dent and intimate things which form part of life from infency upwarde, and whioh are the very breath and substance of postry and of national feeling; to nee Enge lish ss a mesns of inter-comanaication neosesery for the maintenance of the unity of India, and of touch with other countries; for the matual interchange and etimulation of ideas in the aphers of echolarahip and science; ad for the promos tion of that inter-provincial and inter-national commerce and industry on which the ez monic tature of India will Iergely depend.

We respect the feelings whiol dictated these sage gestions thrown oul with somach hesitancy bat, writing as Iodians, we are at liberty to speak more plainly. The place of English in Indian edacation cannot be determined withoat reference to the fatare. The Indian statesman shoold take a longer viem and alarger 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 ss in other matters should subserve, not dominate, the lerger purposes of statesmanship. There is no analogy between an Eaglish boy learaing French and an Iadian learning English. The English boy lives in a country where the administration is carried on in Eaglish and not in French ; the language of basiness and polities likemise is English not French. The Eoglish boy wante 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 nameroas and important. Withont Eoglish he cannot belong to any of the liberal professions; he cannot aspira to any place bayond a primary achool teacher or a village official. Indaytrial openings are only for men who have received a good English edacation, often in England. In business, even Marwaris nowadays want clerks with a good knowledge of English. Many of the men who bave made their mark in vernacalar journalism have also been either saccessfnl condnctors of Faglish newapapers of conld easily have become so if they had wanted to. They are mostly graduates, somo of them distiognished gradaates, of our Universities.

## THE INDEMNITY BILL

## (By Sie Nabayar Ceamdavarear.)

Sarprise is expressed in some quarters that Indian politicians of all shades of opiaion have opposed the decision of the Goverament of Iadia to introdace an Indemnity Bill in the Imperial LegisIntive Conncil at the earliest convenient moment for the parpose of indemoifying all the officers in respect of their acte in conuection with the recent diatarbances: Moderate politicians are once again charged with joining and phecang Extremista ia this opposition. Theanthority of the consitatioual lawyer, A. V. Dicey, in cited in support of the principle aud poliog of the messare

But Lere is what Mr. Dicey sajs in his book called "A Leap in the Dark":-
"Gf all the lawe which a Legislatare can pase, an Act of Indernity is the must likely to prodace injuntice. It ls on the face of it the legalisution of illegality, the hope of it encourages acta of vigoar, bat it also encoarages violations of law and of hamanity. The tale of Flogging Fitzgerald in Ireland, or the history of Governor Eyre in Jsmaics, is sofficient to remind as of the deeds of lawlessness and cruelty which in a period of civil conflict may 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 op be writes'-
"An ex post facto law is the instrument which a legislature is most apt to use for paoishing the unpopular use of legal rights. There is not a landIord, 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, ac far as the Home Bale Bill goes, why the gaoler who kept Mr. William O'Brien in prison, or the warders who sttempted to pull off his breeches, should not be rendered legally lisble to panishment for their offences agajnat the anwritten law of Irish sedition. No anch monstrosity of legal inequity will, it may be said, be prodaced. I admit this. Bat the very object of prohibitions" (against the passing of an ex post facto law) "is the prevention of ontrageons injastice. The wise founders of the United States prohibited to Congress and to every State legislatary 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 measares to cope with and pat down distarbances of an extraordinary character amoanting to rebellion and when the ordinary law ia insdequate for the parpose and martial law becomes necessary, policy and practice require the pasuing of an Indemnity Act to protect themselves and their officers against liability for any mistakes or excesses committed in the bona-ide exercise of their extraordinary powers. The priaciple of such Iegialation underlies; for insfance, the Jadicial Officers ${ }^{3}$ Act which provides that Jadges are absolutely protected from all liability in respect of
their decisions when those decisions relate to matters within the jarisdiction of the Judge concerned, and that a Jadge is also so protected in respeet of deoicions relating to mattera outaide bis jariediction, if the decisions in anch matters were passed bond fide and not from any by-motive sach as malice.

That priaciple is regarded as applying to the officers who carry out the orders of Qoverameat in coping with lemlesaness by means of martial law on the groond awaslly aesignod that thoy have' a mornl and also legal olaim to be indembified agalnat acti committed bons fide and not from any bj-motive in the exercise of their jariediction ander martial law. They can claim no such right in respeot of acts committed perversely or recklessly, pervarsity and serklessnesn being evidence presamptive of by-motives and walice.
So mach for the constitutional aspect of the question.

Now as to ite application to H. E. the Viceros's two annoancemente (1) that an Indemnity Bill will be introdaced "at the earliest coavenient moment" iato the Imperial Legislative Coancil, and (2) that a Commisaion has been appointed to eaquirs into the canses of and the measares adopted regarding the recent distarbances.

Mr. Dices's opinion quoted sbove from his booklet "A Leap in the Dark," pablished in 1803, examined into "the leadiog principlea" of the Irich Home Bate Bill, officially styled "The Irish Goverament Act, 1803" introdaced in that yeat in Parliament.'

In Mr. Diceg's opinion, one serions defect of that Bill was that its provisiond relating to the restrictions on and safegaards against the legialative power of the contemplated Irigh Parliament, "contain no prohibition agaiost the passing of an Act of Indemnity" by that Parliament. Sach a prohibition was, he thought, necessary, becansen-

- Circamstances no donbt may arise in lreland, an in other conatries, noder which the maintenance of order or the protection of life may excace or require devistion from the strict rales of legality. Bat the question whether there circumstancen have arisen will alwaya bedecided far more jastly by the Parliament at Weatminater than it can be decided by the Parliament at. Dablin. Cen any one really maintain that a Parliament in which Mr. Healy, or, for that matter, Col, Sannderson might be leader, woald be as fair. tribunal aṣ a Parliament under the gaidance of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Saliebary fordetermining whether' an offioer, who acting ander the direction of the Irish Government and with a view to maintain order at Belfast or Dablin, should bave pai an agitator or conspirator to death withoat dae trial, had or had not dóne his daty?"
"Apply that to ladia, substitate "India" for Iroland, and Simla for Dablic and eo on ia the paseage above, and it ought to follow, on Mr, Dicey's high aathority as a constitational lawyer of acknowledged repute, that not the Indian Legislatare bat the British Parliawent onght to pass an Indemnity Act, if after having considered bether circamstances : necessitating is
have arisen, it conclades that they have. Whether those circnmstances have srisen can be settled by Parliament, only after a Commission appointed by the Crown on its bebalt has enquired and reported the resalts of ite enquiry to the Crown for consideration by Parliament.

That is the soand constitational principle and policy sapported by the high anthority of Mr. Dicey. It justifies the sabstantially namimons Indian protest agaist (l) the appointment of the Commission of enquiry by the Government of Indis instead of by the Crown and (2) the introdaction of an Indemnity Bill into the Imperial Legislative Conncil in India.
That protest is against what ons might well call; adopting Mr, Dicey's phrase, "a leap in the dark:"

## DR. BHANDARKAR's RELIGIOUS WRITINGS AND SERMONS.

## (ByPbinglal G. C. Biatra)

- We hail with delixht the third edition of Dr. Bbandarkar's reliyions writings and sermons in Marathi pablighed on the eighty-third anniveraarg of the birth of the vencrable sage. The book is a bendnome volnme of ahont 73.5 pugea finely printed with fine photos in the Madoraijana Press. In recent years plenty of books have been published in Marathi on religiophilosophical sabjects. But wost of them are mainly translations or adaptations of Sanskrit worka and the style of the writiogs is the dialectical one of the dryasdast type. Bat of books devoted to the exposition of earnest, devotional re, ligions thought, and written in a simple serions style soited to sach a sabject, there is a lamentable lack. Mr. Vaidya, the editor of the present work, matt therefore be congratalated apon supplying anch a want by the pablication of the present book. By way of introdaction, Mr. Vaidya has written what he calls a short aketeb of Dr. Bhandarkar's career. It conaists of 121 closely printed pages and forms a very inspiring and interesting reading in itself. This brief biography bringe oat the salient featares of the life of Dr. Bhandarkar and points oat the manifold activities in which the revered Gara of Mubarasbtra took part. On whatever he nodertook to do he brought to bear his zeal, earnestness and devotion. Consequently he was succeesfal in every ondertaking. Dr. Bhandarkur's life is a living example of what can be aohieved by patience, peraeverance and singleness of parpose. The biography graphically depicts Dr. Bhandarkar as a talented teacher, as an impartial antiquarian, as a Sanskrit savant, as a nocial reformer and, above all, as a religions revivaliat. His life presente, in miniatare, the manifold movernents carried on in Maharashtra daring the last half a centory and shows how every sincere well-wisher of his conntry is bonnd to be an all-ronnd reformer. We strongly recommend the joung and the old of this generation to read this short bot inapiring sketch of Dr. Bhandarkar's career and we request Mr. Vaidya to print it in a eeparate book form.

In the main body of the book, Mr. Vaidya has bronght toxether all the religions writings and sermons of Dr. Bhaudarkar. It consists of $61 /$ pages and is divided into three parts. In the first part, essays and articles on religions sabjects, from the ped 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 broaght out idean of permanent value in the Upanishad literatare. He bas shown how the Upanishads have considered and stated the varioas argaments brought forwprd for proving God's existence, how the religign of the Upanisbads is a naiversal religion capable of artisfying the craving for spiritaality of all men, In this part, too, Dr. Bhandarkar has given an interesting exposition of the tenets of the Prarthana of Brabma Samaja and tried to answer objacbions agsjpat those tenets. This part of Dr. Bhandarkur's book is calcalated to remove the impression that the Prarthana Samaja movementisa mere imitation of the Christian religion and to confirm the right view that this movement was an indigenons growth and is an attempt to parge the exinting Hinda religion of its accumulated dross of saperatitions and to impart to it its pristine parity.

The latter part of the book is still more valaablo Dr. Bhandarkar's nermous and prayers are the overflowings of his devotional beart. They indicate how deeply be had dived in the poetry of Maharabhtra asint and especially Tukaram. Thes also show how Dro Bhandarkar has caught thereilrgions thofghty ado the devotional spirit of the Maratha saints and has come pletely assimilated the teachings of the Bhalti school. This complete assimilation of the teachings of the Maratha suints is a characteristic featare in the life of the first batch of English-edacated apa in Maharastra. Take Rao Saheb Ranade or Wamantao Moduk or Bal Mangeah Wagle or Mr. Parmunand ! all of them were imbued with the devotigpal spirit of the saints and this is to be attribated to the systematic stady of Marathi in their yonth. In the early days of the spread of Westeru edacation on this side, Marathi was a compalsory sabject throughouit the whole course and this early sequaintance with Marathi saints left a permanent impress apon the young minds. Later on the place of Marathi was taken up by Sunskrit in the School aad College carricalum. Now Sanskrit literature bas a twofo'd character. It is either parely secalar, being lova literature of the sentimental romantic type and is thas calcalated to sppeal to the sentimental natare of the young ; or it is parely dialectical and theologicsl and is calcalated to uppeal to the pare intellect and create a love of theological controversy. In fact, Sunskrit literatore is lacking in devotional literatare which is the pecaliar characteristics of old Marathi literatare. Thos the exolosive stady of secular Sanskrit litersture has given a secalar and orthodox bius to the minds of the later generatiop. This undesirable state of things in itself wonld be a strong argament for the restoration of Marathi in our Univeraity carricalam,
and to give it ita rightfal place in a national syotem of education. 1 feel that the complaint of excessive socularity and intellectaality of our yoang mea would diesppear in time if the restoration of Marathi which is now asked for is carried oot at an early date.

Thas it will appear that Dr. Bhandarkar's book is a unique book of ite kind in Marathi. It is bonad to be healthy reading calcalated to lead to elevated thonght and feeling. We think that the book ought to be in the boasehold library of every edacated man. Mr, Vaidya hasincarred a beavg fasncial bar den 10 printing sach a big book and in offeriag it so chesp. We hope the edacated pablic will give a liberal patronage to the valuable book and thas relieve Mr. Faidya from his heavy liability.

## THE LATE Dr. T. M. NAIR.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer. Sir,

At meeting of the Non-Brabmine of Sonthern India beld nt the office of the Soath Indina Liberal Federation, Monnt Road, Madras, on the 2ad Aoguti 1919, the following revolations were carried unanimonsly 1 -

1. That this meeting of the Non-Brahmine of the Madras Presidenoy exprectee the poignant grief and the keen cense of lone which it fcols at the death in Lundon on 17th Joly 1919 of Dr. T. M. Nair to whose leadership, characterined as it whe by frrsighted persiatency of purposs, firmuens of will, learlesanest of exprestion and disinterasted labour and to whose adrocicy of their claims, diatinguibed as it was by rare intellectual gifta and a wide comprehensive oulture, and tis clear exposition, irreaistible logic and readineas of recource the non-Brabmini molading the deprested olasees owe a debe ${ }_{i}^{-}$ which ena never be adequately repaid.

IL. That atepi be taken to pirpetante Dr. Nair's mov mory in a fitting manner and that in the opinion of this meeting this object can be best attained by (1) the trection of buildinge, to be named alter him, for locitiog the offion of the Sonth Indian Libsral Federatica and of Juatica; (2) the establishment of Juetice on a firm and enbetantial bmin; and (8) the erection of a atatue of Dr. Nair.

We hare now to carry ont these objects for which a sum of not less than two lekhs of rapeet will be required.

1t is needless to dwell at length opon the great service rendered to the couatry during nearly in quater of a centary by the inte Dr. Nair. He distingaiched himeell in sereral fielde of aotivity and bie pnblic epirit, force of cbaraster, parconality, isdependence and ea:nctiness of parpses, and his brillient abilities were a great pablic asset. To reler bere specifically only so his ectivities dariag the last $2 \frac{1}{2}$ years, gon will sarely agree with me that daring a eritical junciare in India's Hintory he come forward to champion the eanes of the down-trodden and depressed clacees in Indis in geaeral add the ano-Brabmin commanitien of this Presideney in par. licolar and expesed in his onn iuimitable and characteristio way the protencions of the edncuted fow to fieak and act for the roicelese milliqus in Ivdia.
if, to-day, we find the Government reckoaing aceampoii. ticel fector and have an Andi Dravida in the Local Legishative Couccil, they are dae to the ontiring and ansparing efforta of Dr. Nair. What we are and what we shall be, on clued analyeis, will be found to be due to that one mae who worked and died for ne. We tave eridence, it any were needed, that, even in hie lect momente, his own thonght was the nosBrahgia movemept.

It is to perpetiate the moreory of ouch a gromitad grod aman that I sow appen for tanda. What otber objocice coild astidy hir eoul tha etreagtheniag Jettion the orgen of the now- Brabmin movesuath, and the enose be loved on mach and for which no mocrifica, Dr. Nair thought was toe groas:

1, therelore, appsal with all the apreestamen at ay cum. mand to all triends and admirare of the Jata Dr. Nair and well-riabern of the noa-Brahria moremest to abbaribe libarally towards lif Memorial Fand and maks it a ancosen,
Subseriptione may be mont direot to the Baak of Madras, Medras, in which an acconat bue beot opeacd under the same "Dr. Nuir "Memoriml Fund" or to the uaderaigued. They will be da'y sokeombedged ia the columas of Jnetion.

Yous troly,
P. Tefacaiaja Casty.

Chairman, Dr. Nair Memorrial Commille.

## a bengali-Nair marriage.

To,

> Tte Editor, Indian Social Raformer, Bombay.

Friday lat witnosod the performance of a marriagointeratiog in may waya; iaterenting in the aniquenose of ha seromonies, interesting ia the percons contractiag the marcinge -t Bengelee and a Malsyaleo-interesting in Ita ollioiating priest-Dr. S. Sabramanis Ayjar-between Srimathi Sabeshani Davi, the joangent danghter of Aghoramit Chnthopna dbyay and Briman A. O. Naraganan Nambiar eon of Vengail K. Rama Nayanor. Thert were gathored tho elite of this city and the oream of Madrais youthe and meidens, represoating all elaseen, ereds and anstes. Thare was aprinkling of tom Earopasae -ladies and gentiomen, A epecioas hall rary beanaitally decorated, with a Shaminat in the middle, nimple, get tantofolly and artiatically done, with a gathering of caltared mon and gey ladies presented a charm oll ith owa. The bride dressed in a goldon bue ascee wan led to the sluar by haf siteter, and wat given away io marringe, after a simple corsmonial ride by. her brother Mr. Bhapondrnatth Chatto. padhyay, Aast, Aocsuntant Gongral, Hyderabed State. A commopolitan dinner wat sorrad $t 1$ all gresth is two halla, irrespective of catco, eresd or ssx, who avijeatly an. foyed the estering and the compony. A macieal antertainomat by two gittod maniosl artisth from Hydarabad, inoiadiag some selected, pieces from Horiadranash Cbattopidigay, closed this oovel, nonthelest, inspiring ceremony. In theme daya of so tu3sh luni talk and litile actian, it it really a great reliet to ese à raterm matriage of thic ifpe pers. formed andsr the b:essinge of Iodin's Geaud Old Man and with the moral support and ejmpatby of the goung Ladia. Saoh a marriage will be a ceirice of inepiration to many, no right thinking man will ever deng. All gratitad so thote pionsert who, fecing ridizale, ealomog and ontriciem, here the coarrage of their conrictions and 6gbt their lifert batio all alone mad anailed. Srinati Sabashani Dari and Mr. Nambing have heartiest support and the ainoere ejmpathy of avery patriotie Indion and well-wisher of Social Relorm. in this oototry, is in the noble example they bare eet t) the morld; and ont would really wish that more of our young sien and women will try to ema'ste them, ad set to reconatruot the soeial tabric of oor conatry by more practieal exmaples thes by empty elfarions from bofty platiormes as they do to-dey. Then and then alone will Indie's regeneration be anared.
O. Vrimatachalum.

## INDIAN WOMEN AND THE VOTE,

## The Aga Kiay on Oabolety Vibwe,

Sir,-The ammaries given in The Times of the procced. inge of the Joint Select Committes on the Indis Bill go to show that the attitude of casual negation on the question of women anfirage adopted in the Southbroagh Report, and endorsed by the Government of India, in mithout substantial foundation, Lord Southbrough himself admitted that he was very mach astonishod at the volume of evidence in favour of torasie enfranchisment; bat he brabhes it aside as so mach politioal idealism, It seems he has forgotten that the world in governed by ideas, and that trae progress is rooted in idealism,

One member of the Franohise Committee, Mr. Maloolm Hogg, was in tsroar of the removal of nex diegaalification bnt not of making apeoill arrangement for recording women's votes. 1 entirely diasent from Lord Sonthbrougb's opinion that the regervation 't sobbed the gift of all its merit." We are not aetting up the pablio hastiogs and open voting of a pask age in England, nor is the number of mala electorgsome five million for the whole of Pritish India-large enough lor the joatte of the ballotatation to be ao serious as Lord Southbrongh and Sir James Meston auggested. The great majorty of Indian women of the well.todo classea, e. g., the better clase of cultivators, are not in real seclusion. The offlial witnesses who hold that very few women will go to the polling booth forget that pordba ladjee go into the law aud regiatration conrts sill 'over the oountry, and give evidence in relation to the trausfer of property \&e. As on nere of land and other property, pardah women play parts, in the aftain of the conatrgeide day by day which makea ludicrone the anggention that there would be anything revolationry in recording a vote once in three yeare or leas.

Sir James Meston's otatement that female enfranchisement would present many diflienlties, practical and sorial, is on inatance of the regrettable fact that white many conscientions British officials spend their working lives in adminiatratipe duties in Indis, they never enter into a real noderstandiug of the life or aspiratione of the people-national, rocial, or religicas. Only one man in a handered, Woodroffe in Caleatio, a Follen or a Beaman in Bombay gaing ench real anderatanding, of the people he serves. It is painfal to Indian readers that mea who have attained higb distinotion in the Civil Sorrioe abould have to be eeriously anked if thay woald be shooked at the inclusiun of women in the electorates. No Indian, not even the most conservative, will be ehock ed by the proposal that now that the eacred right of enfranchi ement in to bo given on a babetential scale to meu, pomen should share it jutt an they share the esored rights of property.

I do not believe that Sir James Meston, and Lord Sonthhrough are rigbt in the opiaion that very few women wuald oxercies the leanohise; but the priant is not pertinent to the incure. The queation is one of justioe, and not of the degrea to thioh the right would bs ared. The logioal dedaction af the asestiona of Sir James Meston and Lori Sonthbrough sbons Iudian womanhood mould be to take amay from them the righre of yroperty and of equelity before the civil law they hare eajoyed lor centaricp. Ny general viewe on this quessiou can be seen in sume detail in my book, "Iodia in Tranaition," pablished before the issue of the MontagaCbelowiford Report. Bnt I feel it my dnty to handreds on veusrable aud seasible pardah iadies of position I kuow in Indis to register this proseat againat the obsolete viewa of nura Who bave atiminod to place and power in Iadia, bat who have never takeo the tronble to know the people aceong whom they $\mathrm{d}_{\mathrm{j}}$ office work.

Inw, Sir, your oledient merfant,
aba Kibas.

## THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY BOCIAL REFORM association.

## Elocition Coupetition foe Hisdo Ladizs.

To encoarage pablic spesking by Hindn women, the Bombay Presidency Sseial Raform Association has resolved to bold an Elonation Competition for Eliodu ladies in the middla of Octobar 1919. The following subjects bave bean preseribed for the Compatition:-

## Marathi.

Sabject I.-4For what occapations are women specially fitted ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} 4$ prizes Rs, 18, 10, 10 and 5.
Subject IL,-(For girls under 14). (a). "Trath alone triamphs," or. (b). "Even oil may be extracted by aqueezing dasts of saad." 4 prizes Rs. $10,6,5,4$.
Subject III.-(Will be annoanced 24 hoars before the appointed time) 3 prizes Re. $25,20,15$. The first prize of Res. 25 is common to the best speech either in Marathi or Grjarathi.

## Gujarathi.

Sabject I.-" Sxeial Service of wall-to-do ladies and gentlemen.' 4 prizes Rs. $15,10,10,5$.
Subject II. (For girls mader 14). (a). "Trath alone triumphs,' or, (b). "Patience and perseverence overcome monntains.' 4 prizes Rs. 10, 6, $5,4$.
Subject III. (Will be snnounced 24 honrs before the appointed tiroe). 3 prizes Re. 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 Compatition should apply before the $30 t h$ September 1919 to the Secretaries, Bombay Presidency Social Relorm Absceiation, Servants of India Societg's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, atating their fall name, age, caste, ocoapatinn, addrens and the sabject on which they intend to spaak. Girls under 14 shonld aloo send a certificate of age signed by the parents or guardisn and the Head Mistress of their school or any gentleman.
The anaual General Meeting of the Bombay Presi fency Social Reform Association was held on Saturday the 6th Saptember 1319 at 6 p. M. (S. T.) at the servants of India Societg's Bome. Mr. D. G. Padhye presided. A mong those present were Mesers. D. G. Dalvi, N. M. Joshi, B. N. Motiwallh, I. A. Kalkarni, V. S. Ravat and others. After the minates of the last Anousl General Mesting were read and confirmed, the accompanying report of the Asbociation for the yeare 1917 and 1918 was read and approved. The election of the oflise bearers, members of the Managing Conncila and the Anditors was made for the next two jears. $\Delta$ vote of thanks to the Cbair terminated the proceedings.

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PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.
Office:-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT:
Editor:-K. NATARAJAN.
Vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1919: No. 3.
 exause, I will not retreat a singlè ivch-And I will be heard. ${ }^{*}$

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## HOTES.

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 demore stration held on Thursday in Bombay voiced the leclings of the community in studiously temperate but, on that account, all the more emphatic language, in regard to the Peace terms with Turkey so lar 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 teudatory or dependant countries. It is true that, if this bappens, Turkey will not be the only country to which it has hap. pened. Austria, whose hagrant act of piracy in regard to Bosnia and Merzegovina 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 difierentiates 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 lact, solemn assurance had been given by British and sllied statesmen that nothing would be done to impair the sovereignty of Turkey over her Musalman provinces. In view of this lact 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 bas been won, to ensure that the Peace Terms are such as conform with the dcep-felt sentiments of millions of His Majesty's subjects, Mahomedan and Hindu, in Indıa.

The Pupiab Indemnity Bill. The Pupjab 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 substantsally the feelings of Indians in respect of the doings in the Punjab and the inopportuneness and impolicy of bringing in the Indemnity Bill ou the eve of an coquiry 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 wuuld 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 Legisiature in the domain of Justice. As Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, citing Professor Dicey, pointed out in bis widely quoted article, which we printed last week, ex posi facto legislation of this kind, besides the injustice it may and does often iavolve, is highly impolitic as setting an evil example. If the excesses of officials can be indemnified, why should we biame those who indemnity (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 Goverament 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 Goyernment 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 lndia.

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 Wamen's vollege in Bombay city. The dissenting member was Principal Paranjpye who holds "that it is better that women students who go in for bigher education should study in a larger institution where there will also bc 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 lacilities for recreation, they sit by themselves and walk out of the class rooms after the lectures, Principal Paranjpye's argaments 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 Goverament and the other a Christain 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 infericr 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 Goveroment 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 wreek'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. Mabomedanism is not sprung from the Indian soil, and Hindu-Mahomedan feelings were never more cordial. Mr. Gandhi bas published the message which be 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 Hiodu 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 Muncipal Councillor, and resident of Naupada. Mr. Kazi is not what is called an Englisheducated man but bis 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 bis 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 haided it over to the Hindus. When be was complimented on his noble act, be simply replied that it was his duty to promote brotberly feeling 3 between Hindus and bis 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 Outbuntit : New-Indie 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 Neic India knows absolutely nothing of the great wo:k 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 ws are sure that Mr. Joshi will be very pleased if, when he reaches England, he finds it possible to take Mr. Wadia, wh) is already there, with him in that capicity. We are sure that Mr. Wadia, whose disinterested concern for the working classes is well-known, will, on his part, be glad to cooperste with Mr. Joshi oa bis very important and responsible mission.

The Rev. Dr. William Skinnet: The Kev. Dr. Willam Skianer has retired atter 35 years' service from the Principalship of the Madras Christian Callege. He succeeded the Rev. Dr. Militer, the eminent educationist to whom South India owes so much. Ha was in many respects a contrast to Dr. Miller. Quiet, retiring, scholarly, Dr. Skinoer never mixed himselt up with matters outgide his College, but his iafluence on his students was on that account, scarcely less deep or beneficent than that of the lorceful personality of his distinguished pre. decessor. Dr. Skinner concluded his reply to the farewell address presented to him by the atudents 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 Iodian students all over the Country. "Is it too much to hope that out of a College like this there may apring a school of politicians, und 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 childrea, 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 oije:ts and ceasons attached to the Bill introduced in the Indian Legislative Council to provide more effectual control over the administration of charitable and religious. trustat it is pointed out that the present measure has as its object the simplification and cheapening of the legal processes by which personsinterested canobtain information regarding the working ol both religious and charitable trusts, and the exercise of a more efficient contral 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 trustec to furnish hm with information as to the pature 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 aiso directing that the acconnts of the trast shall be examined and audited. Failure to comply with such an order of the Court would be deemed a breach of trust. The draft Hill only embadies general principles. It is intended that such details as the institution of tome public record of the facts regarding these trusts, the publication of audited accounts, and the zelaxation 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 Mabomedan witnesses before the Calcutta University Commission expressed lively apprehensions regard. ing 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 Jately 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 ns media of instruction in the top classes of high schools. The Principal of the Dacea Madrassah, Shams-ul-Ulama Abu Nair Waheed, said that, it Bengali is adopted as the medium of instruction, the Mahomedan students, especially of East Bengal, will be the greatest sufferers. "English", added the Sbams-ul. Ulama, "is in the process of becoming the lingta 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 Ahsanullah thought that the displacement of English as the medium of examinations would have a serious effect on the study of Engtish; 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' ol secondary schools and used entirely in the high stage, and that bany ill-advised attempt to uproot English from its present position will have a disastrous effect not only upon the study of Euglish but also in the study of the vernacular.' Sir Abdur Ralim 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 belore matriculation. Sir Ali Imam thought that, whatever may be the claims of the vernaculars, English langunge and literature should be the most
predominant subject in the Universities. There were some Mabomedan witnesses who favoured the substitution of the vernaculars for Englisb, 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 Jamshedpur (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 employeesBengalees, 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 industial 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 ate 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, aflect 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 2 comprehensive view of the problem, and only a comprehensive view of it can furnish a right and just solution.

The cosiderations 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 bear. ing 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 exiom 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 tele:cope is although be knows no Greek, but we doubt it 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 "evolation" is the bestknown instance. From biology it has extended practically to all fields of thought and is the favourite plea ol 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 Eoglish 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 scbools, are even more applicable to the plysical 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. Bat the physical sciences are an altogether bew field. The fact is that the very process of making Indian edacation
less literary and more scientific, is bound to fix English as the indispensable medium of instruction. A diffused knowledge of science in lodia will thus necessarily involve 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 of 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 Goverament ol Bombay bave experimentally introduced in selected village schools,

## THE INDIAN THEATRE.

We have received a copy of a leoture delivered by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Inspeotor-General of Elduoation in Mynore, before the Amatenr Dramatio Association of Bangelore on the " Drama in the East and the West'. Mr. J. S. Chakravarti presided, and contributed some ueeful remarkne Mr. Heddi at the ouiset warned his hearers that hit lecture would be rather in the nature of a denaltory talk expecially on the anbject of the Telogn drama. To generalise from the Teluga drama even to the theatre in all provinces of India is, as Mr. Chakravarti pointed ont with reference to Bengal, risky. Mach more so if it to draw conclasions from the Telagn regarding the drama of the whole of the Eiast. Even as regards the Telugu theatro, we are not aure that Mr. Reddy has given a true pictare at the present day. His references to the Indian theatre are throughont conceived in the vein of cariostare. Mr. Kolachallam Srinivasa Rao, who has written an excellent book entitled " the Dramatio History of the World," did much, we thiak, to improve the Telagu drama. A Dramatic Association hat for many years past been engaged in developing the Tamil theatre, and some competent anthorities have apoken highly of ite work. In onr own Presidency the Marathi stage has become a power for good, thongh the Gujarathi stage, observer: tell us, yet ahows a tendency to linger in the wilderness of eroticiam. The Bengali theatre bias reached a high slage of development, among Beagal's dramatista being Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore If Mr. Reddy had iravelled as mach in India ai out of it, his representations regarding the Indian stage woald perhaps have been cast in a lese depreciatory moald. Mr. Reddi'r estimate of the present position of the Indian stage wonld bave been more in perspective if be had looked at the accounts of the English theatre, for instance, at ihe time of Shakespere. Still more would this have been the case if he had before hin mind the open air theatres in ancient Greece. High anthorities have observed that the maltiplication of mechanical scondories in the modern western
theaire hus not been all to the good, Ari, it is a commonplace, consists in a etrict economy of mears in relation to the end intended. The most realistic ocean on the stage cannot compare in reality to the sea as you can sec it any hour of the dis or night from Caffe Parade or Chowpati. Mir. 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 mast have been left to the imagination of the audience, or, perhaps, the andience had little imagination to spare to appreciate the poet's poetry with. Byron has somewhere spoken of the "paliny jargon of the marble mart where pedantry gulls folly."

The art of the drama, like every art, must harmonise with its euvironment. $\mathrm{Mr}_{\mathrm{r}}$. 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 be 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 pieoes, and in your literature. Bat what is known as Barmony, the co-ordination of these into one wellintegrated whole, that was lacking," Mr. Reddi accepted this suggestion without question. As Mr. Chakravarli aptly pointed oat: "To auderstand the harmony of art, coltare is necessary. A man may stand in a garden planned and planted with superb art or barmony, but unless he has got the liey or plav, he may think he is in a forest. So perhaps it was with Mr. Reddy's Frencl critic in the garden of Sanskrit drama, withont the key of spiritaality." Spirituality may be regarded by some as a shibboleih of Indian apologeties 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 aavour, is bewildering to the European who enjoys eating one thing at a time with his whole gastric sonl concentrated on it. Similarly, the European's maltiplicity of sounds In masic bewilders the Indian who likes to elaborate oue particular melody to, what to the Western seems, tediuas lengths. Bat the Earopean as well as the Indian can by taking pains learn to appreciate the bearty in each other's art, whether it be calinary or dramatic. To appreciate the diaiance between the Indtan who accepts a foreigner's impressionist verdict about his ennutry's art and a foreigner who had stadied that art and, as a conseqneuce, has grown to appreciate it, the reader may be recommended to perise Mr. Reddy's leoture and side by side with it, a little book, called "the Indian Theatre" by Mr. Horrowitz. Mr. Horrowitz shows that the dramutic art is a very anoient and well-developed one in India. He observes :

The earliett Sanekrit playt whith are prespived unidenty flach opon onr aight like ligbuiug when it brenke through

- dark thandercluad. Theg seen prifect und full-groms * Minerve when she leapt in complete srnour from Jove's crestive forebe.d. The cuantryman of Humer may well have doubtid the mifacilune conception of the godueen of wiedom, and questioned her fabled birth without anceatral leuiage, the it is quitecertais that Kalidaea, who gencrslly opens the list of playwrighte of Indian literatnre was bat the beir and eusceasor of a long line of distinguished Sa.st rit dramatistiStuoillo, Bhatsa, and others whora the feat himell acknowlejgen. Those, two, were ondonbtedly preceled by ientet writera of Prakrit's plays. This View is corroborated bytibs existence of an oid Samkrit treatise on dramari: art. Tho asay, which is nactibed to the sage, Bharate, abounde. in technieal Prakrit terms, most of them relating to scenis detxiss.

The Indian drama has a great futare. Bat 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 preduced.

## 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 rcforms, 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 rale of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice. . It is a well-known rale 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 sarvey of the genesis of the Legislative Assembly of Travancore will not be quite ont of place here. Until so late as $1 \mathfrak{c} 88$, the work of legislation in Travancore was carried on like any other business of government in the Huzar office and thus the laws were promalgated in the shape of Regulations and Proclamstions. On his accesion to the throne, His Highness the present Maharaja inangurated of his own accord for the purposes of open discussion and matare deliberation a duly appointed Legislative Council which was the first of itskind in all the Native States in India. But the first Conncil was very small and rudimentary, the maximum strength being only 8 out of which only two were to be nowofficials all being nominated by the Maharaja.

From this Connail strielly 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 io the Counc!l were
all nominated bat in this year an elective element was introduced by empowering the Sri Malam Fopalar Assembly to select a member for each of the four Revenue Divisions of the State.

The new Conncil as proposed by the present echeme is distinctly democratic alihough in its very elementary stages. The minimum strength of the Conncil is to be raised to twentyfire and alibough it is not a large one, it is at any rate a substantial adrance on the existent minimam of fifteen, remembaring also the fact as the Diwan observed that it is to be transitional. For the time being it is proposed to have 21 members in the Conncil of whon 1: will be officials and 11 non-officials. Of the later 11, the acats thrown out for election are 8 and the remaining 3 seats will be filled up by the Govern. ment ent of anrepresented minorities.

This is the first time in the history of Travancore that the people will be allowed te have their voice hcard in the legislative Council throngh 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 Marguis of Salisbury " given representation not to aceidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and thore, bat to the living atrength and vital forces of the whole-popalation." The Jenmies and the European planting commanity, it is gratifying to note has each been granted one representative and one sent is given to the indnatrial and commercial interests. The fourth acat $i_{3}$ to be represented by the nou-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 sssiem of direct els stion has been adopted tbropghoat in the soheme ulader consideration.

The two salient fealures of the Regulation are the rights of hadget 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 actoal every day administration..

## *THE FUIURF GOVERNMENT OF ISDIA."*

The anoonncement of the 20th of Angnst 19:7 and the visit of the Secretsry of Sitsie for Iudia with the aroned oliject of discassing consitintional changes removed the ban on polstics as an nulawfal and comewhat enspicions if not ibady parsuif and made it quite respectable. The impilse to omr political literatare slready given by the memorandim of the Nineteen and the Congress-Leagae-scheme' was thas immensely atrengthened. Evergove became a pulitician ad constitation-abking becamefor a sime the

[^2]lashion. Literatora was flooded with schemes, specifics, panaces. In this new literature, the "Fatare Goverament of Iodia" bas its place. It is the biggeat book that we have come soross on the subject written by an Indian. The nim of the book is explainel by the aathor as fullows: "The problem now is to determins the lines of ont adrance. It is with this qnestion of practical moment that this book deals in a critical and constractive ray. The scheme of reform offored tur consideration is iotended to be given effoct to immediately by saitable stalatory provisions and is wo denigned as to give minimam roon to onotention ad controveray on the groand of an ahrapt and sadden break with the pasi". (Pref. pp. V.-VI). This practical and constractive aim is farther emphasizel when be aags "while avoiding abstract oonstitution-making. the book is a sotematic coastrictive exposition of reforms too loug dulayed"p. XIt. It is re-iterated in the Iatrolaytion when the anther asye: "In the following chapters the problem of the ways and means of constitational duvelop anst in Ludia, and the ontstanding questions of latian ad. miuistration form anbjects of constrautive criticis:n.' (p. II). This is a tall claim to make and not eayy to substantiate. The mole of argnment is emphatic and the aathor has no doubts. Tue irony of the matter is that the pablication of the M. U. Ileport and the presentation of a Bill based on it to the Honse of Commons, makes the discussion of this claim of Mr. V jasa Ryo mord or less academic, All non-t ficial projests have now been thrown ints the shada.

Withont, therefore, making any attempt to test the claim of Mr. V. Rao so late is the day, it may be asefal to iodicate the natara of onr disagreement with. bim. To begin with, his work shows in the constractive part, a nervons anxiety to acqnire a repatation for abobiety and staterruanship frum AagloIndians, offioial as well as aonooficial. This is indeed the fault of mach of our political literatare. The resalt is that in our aoxiety for the approval of Aoglo-Indians we concele too mach ad then end by flonndering in difficalties of onr onn making. Thera is too little writing with a refreshing disfen ind for praise or blams from interested parties - is irasa. crate and Boxwalla". We buve been in the habit. of aceepting the conclasions of Westera writers without critically examining them. Ouly in Philonophy aud Religion have we shown ang incliastion for eximining credeatiale, and challenging the conclasions. of Western writers. This process of emancipation bas not it is true gone very far even in Philooophy tod Religion. Bat in Pulitics we are still content to accept almost ang zeneralisation tending to alow down the pace of our derelop neat and thereby nocercarily belping to prolong the sapremacy of Einrope. The ase of the expressions "evolutiou" and "revolatiou" and the namberlese changes rond on thera are a typical example. Evolation we are told is tio may of Natare, Revolation the way of iguorant, impatient. man. Therefore fid'ow the one and avoid the other. And $y \in t$ is it not c'earthat this is a very misleadiog.
onntrast? Is not Revolation very often another and a terrifying name for an obstructed Evolation? Again is not Revolation very often a pawe for any change which vested interests have reason to dislike and dread? And is it quite true that Natore's metbods are always slow and peaceful? Landglides, earthquakes, volconic irraptions, fires, floods and dronghts, are they not processes of Natare as mach as those held op for our admiration and acceptance? The travails and risks of child birth are known to every oae. The pains and peoalties of a new birth, new life no one can avoid. If this is so then, is not the contrast between Evrolntion and Revolation so frequently emphasized for our edification, a gross misrepresentation of Natare and its processes? Is not it safer and soander to trast to an argument rather than an analogy which at the best is an ancertain gaide and at the worst a anare ?

Leaving this deceptive contrast aside and tarning to the "lesson" of Evolation what do we find ? Does Nature always show slow and steady progress as it is comnouly nuderstood? Does not the rate of growth depend on a variety of circamatances? On the Cratral Asian steppes grass shoots ap six feet aud wore in a few weeks while it takes months in the plains of India. To ascertain and assess the rato of growth a stndy of the conditions is therefort essential. Moreover the processes of Natare are conditioned by locality. Left to themselves, there can be no borrowing from other localities. Borrowing and selection has to be done by Mau. Limitations of locality are modified and transcended throagh haman action alone. Bat even then only the rate of growth can be quickened. The namber of stages remain the same. In meatal and moral development alone, not ouly can the rate of growth be quickened, bat what is more, the "stages" can be slipped. In fact, we soou discover, there ars here no inexorable stages of growth, as we are led to believe. Man imitatea, berrows, selects assimilates, in short, learns from experience which is not always his own or that of his community or even bis race. It is this capacity of learning from the experience of his species in all climes und ages that helps Man to compress the expericuce and the development of centaries into as many yeurs or even months. It is a common place to say that India has made great strides in the last five yeare. We have grown in stature thongh our height remains the sume, scales have fallen from oor eyes and we have begun to see how we have been the victims of 1 brases. Oar mental and moral growth bas been murvellons aud it bas necessarily quickened our political growth. It has confonaded prophetaofficis! as well as non-official. Mr. Morley, as be then was, in his first speech on the Iadian Budget in Augast 1 wo asid among other thinga, that for as long a time as his foor ingegination conld pierce throngh, for so long a time the British Government in ludia nust partuke, and in no small degree, of the personal nad sbolute element. From this otatement of the "dry Rationalist" the Imperial Goverament ilself has advauced to the momentons annonncement
of the 20th of Angust 1917 in which Responsible Government is shown in perspective and accepted as the goal of its endeavour. Ia 1219 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 quinquenninm. Shall we call this an instance of Revolation or obstracted Evolation? It is still the bope, it is true, of the Boxwallas, if not of the Bareancracy, that Responsible Government may be so far off as to be practically negligesble. It is their fear that the Bill in the Honse of Commons may bring it within near reach, if the lodians wake up and emancipate their jodgment from the influence of their Anglo-Indian mentors.

Withont this capacity of learning from other people the possibility of haman freedom wonld be so narrowed down, that civilisation woold be and remain s monopoly of particalar races and conntries. This wonld be the theological doctrine of Predestination applied all round. Bat we find that modern civilisation is as exclasive possession of no race or coontry. On the contrary it is rapidly becoming a common possession, a common inheritauce of Man.

Mr. Vyasa Rao, however, is a rigorons "evolationist". He is a firm believer in stages and is afraid of making "an abrapt and sadden 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 pussed before becoming Members of the Leagne of Nations. It onght to be still more bewildering that India took only five years to attain a position in the International world, which it took Canada a centary and more to attain. Time has thas no necessary convection with haman development. The daration will be longer or shorter as the conditions requirs.

What Mr. Vyasa Rao calls his constractive proposals and by which he probably sets great store, are such as to sutisfy the requiremente of a secondrate Indian state, at the most. They are not only inadequate bat, one is compelled to say, ladicrons in their application to British India. The Bill before the House of Commons is a sofficient condemnation of these constructive proposale.

To be quite fair to Mr. Vyasa Rao thongh his propobals of constitutioual devolopment have practically no value, bis remarks on the "oatstanding question of Indian adwinistration" possess considerable merit. He is a facile writer with a gift for taruing a phrase and his pages on the machinery of Crimial Justice (p. p. 161-1~9), to select.one instance, are the most effective we have read. If instexd of dealing with constitational development, he had confined himself to the exposition of such outstanding problems, his work would have been a distinct addition to what little indi genons political literatare we poseese. Even as it is, considerably more than balf of the book is devoted to the discassion of administrative problems. That is his forte.

Puliticts.

## THR DEPRESSED CLASSES, AND HOW TO RAISE TEEM.*

## (By Ma. K Geimival Rao B. A)

These millions of Panchemas are of conrse equal in the eje of Law, with the other clmact. The equality has bean in the statuta Book, but it is oot in the lits., Why 1 Becenter equality is mamemaing without the caltare and charmoter neceamity for the exercise of equal righte of all. It we wat the Panchamst to exercies equal righty with the other elaneen socially, we must develop the conditione under which the Panchamem will bave the neepeary coltare eed character to exercise their rights. The worst of it in that thees 50 millicns and more whom we have boen troating an notonchables and Whowe abadaw is follution, are aftar all the backbone of mociety and without them the clasen would be nowbert Thas we have the tale of social tyranaly of a kind gaknown to the civilized world, in the proteat raised by the Nandes and Kaneken of all eges adi simes. We have got a way of honouring onr Nasden and Kanskas. We cenonise them and we sing shoir songs. We derive all the spiritan benefit we can from their great and anintly lives. We even shed a drop of tear, whea we heir the awry of Nanda and whea we boar anjone propoand to as the great life of Nands, we tay: "Verily, Verily, hers is e Pariah who taght Brabmia. Hery is real man, the Lowest of the low, es wo have mede him and his olen to be, Whe has helped the highest of the bigh. He it really amonget the higheat." Yet have we done by him and bis clese or commouity? We beve takea all that they ona give as but heve given them nutbiag back, and left his comanaity in the old state of ecclosion and slavery. Nay, we treat the Kanaze and Nandas and all those men who have come up
 only exceptione which prove the rale, es epecial deatars and spirital guides whose memory we may respeat syer mu much, bat for all practical parpones and fur socisel hife, they and their commanity mati still remsin where they are. And this is due first and foremost to the theory that they are untonchables. That is the problem. How are we to deal with it? To get rid of it, wo mant get rid of the mocial iden that to any man thia great atigma coald be attached, meroly becuse of his birth. We mast thock that wrung idea on the head and the rest will follow. No man coald be born natoachable or se auch all his life, and propogate only untonchables to the and of time withont any reference to his conditiona or merits. It in this thas has to be preached and practised. The clase diviaiuns sud the caste diviciuns are no longer tenable. Ad wad pointed out the other day at the Conversation (at Majras) precided over by Mrs. Whitehend, what we want is not merely the honsing of the Panchame or educating them or giving them money bat what we want is that this ides of entogohability muet firat go out. Of what avail is it to build mansiona lor the Panchames if you do not menn to remove the atigmin from them eocielly $?$ Lot the highor clesees go dowa to them and work for them as a part of social ecuromy. The munent this attitade is adopted cowards them, our wurk will be exey. What elevates them socinily in the banefit of bealthy contact, and exchage of thoughta. Jant as you bave the contagion of disease, yoa bave gut aloo the contagion of health, the contagion of joy and the contagion of grod ssocianion. What the Panchemas eleim is this bealiby contect this healthy contagion at leart from all the Social liberale, whe would look tpon thom as their fellowmen.

[^3]Thare is going to be oborily an all.ladia Comfereace for pro pagating the enti-antorahability morements. The organisem propeen to bring it sboat is Beaguloren It is, il I may en m, mont appropriate that it should be hold bers. His High. ame the Maharaja in full of aympethy for the Duprowed olmases. Bin Highneas in a bigheonted Hinda and a Patriot Primos, Bia Bighnee the Yavanaja is a tower of arragth to the Soeial Service morement. Sympathy with then great movemant is mot incomintent with the mont rigid depotion to Hinduism.

1 mat congratulace the Myeort Stete on the lead it hat given to the acan. Mywork bee lad the way for deolaring equality of all citisent in mepret of doontional rights and privileges. I Ind that the Mywre State and the Inupector-Ganeral of Education are doing their namont to prah on the backward and the deprosed claseon in spery powible direotion. Bpecial meenares have boón adopted by way of giving the Panchames, soholarahip 00 m to belp their general edocation. Soholarnhipe are sleo provided to help their teehnical educstion. Boarding arrangumente are made in Pachama Sohoola. A Pree eupply of bonks and chas and clothing bee been provided for and their travelling fare from thair villagen to the mbools to and fro is aleo gives. Every inducement in offered to the parenta of the Panobamet boys to wod thsir children to sobool. Inducomente are also offored to temehers in thewe inatitotions by way of special allowencen and granta.

The formation of a Depremed Cleas Advancement Tracts at proposed by Mr. Reddy will, I veatnre to think, complete the links in the chais and give the movement as orgenie and working macbinery from top to batom. In Madras the Hon. Mr. Paddison is ineoherge of the Deproneed Clamen Minion and the latest order of Madras Governmant is that no pablio cohoole and be eatablithed in Chavadies, Agraharame and other places to which all olneses bave not equal cocoms. $A$ nothe it role of the Madrae Goparnment is that ne Grant.ionald onn be given to any eobool which is not open to all oleace equally. The Inspector-Genersl of Edacmion, Mr. Reddy is facing the situation with all tireagth and if be would only antry pablie opiaion with bimin fighting thia grent question, he would have teken agreat otep in the right direotion. It it when the queation casemes a practionl lorm and shepe that the strength end power of sosial liberale and the membere of Social Servion
 minde sad may whethar we are going to rote for antoucasbi* lity of asti-untotubability. Thas is a fair teat of oar practicel ajmpnthy with the banas. If we are going io deny admisaion is our Governanent Beboole to the Panctumen wi are once more practically condemnig 50 millious of ourfatow. med. We are remioding shere of the etigose stteched t) them. Wo are perpetating the anturobmility withoat doing sway with it, Are we right fin thane daya, whea we are claimag the higheat rights of melf-detormianuon, will is not be a sorry curiment un onr public epirit and patriotiom elite, it we canuol face thin problem like mon wud rewolve that bonveforward there chal! be two entonehable in this great conntry, of Remanajecherjs and the Alwark, of Veman,
 numeron to mention?

## A Hindo widow-remarriage.

Under the saspioen of the Hiada Widawe' flome, Boabay, the remarringe of Bai Stantabai Bapeled bslonging to Deen Bbricuali Banis Commonty with Mr, Maganal Kitmochand Vidy: wet celcbrated on the promime of the Home on Thurdey the 28th Aagust 1919. Among thoes preceat to witcens the marriage wort Dr. V. R. Tendulkar, Mesers, $\mathrm{V}_{\text {. }}$ T. Juchi, M. G. Mehta. T. P. Dmai, B, O. Mehta, I. M. Jowhi and A. S. Wagh.

## the indian buy scouts association.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

812,
The priaciplesim and methods of the Indian Boy Sconts Absociation are I presume too well known to need any recapitulatiun. Every movement in Indis bas to be judged from the point of veiw of the fatare of the country. The Indie of tomorrow will need atalwarts who will win and guard the freedom of the Motherlend. . Politics apart from it must be recognieed that Indie will hereafter have to tate a greater chare in tbe wolding of haman desting and that she will be in the fnller enjoyment of civic freedom. "Nations by themeelves are made and if India it to play har role nobly her children mat be worthy of her sid mast therefore be reared in the trae spirit of citizenship.

Sconting among fres Nations has for its sole object the training of the youth for citizenship and the Indian Boy Sconte IAseosiation only hopes snd aspires to do for the youth of India what the Boy Scont organisations of England, America, France, Japan and Switzerland bope and aspixe to do for the yonthe of thos3 conntries. Among all selt-respecting and free peopla Scouting is a National Movement managed and gnidad by private effort and thongh sconts bave always been placed at the disposal of thone governments by the various orgauisatione they heve always shown a firm determination to be free from all departmental official or State control. The I. B. S. A. holds the asme creed.

In the interests of the motherland it is assential that the I, B. B. A. Whioh is the National Soont Movement of the conotry should ramily and spread into every Propince, Distriet, Town and Village and that in the next few years evary Indian boy and girl should be a acont. In Indis if she is nation the weont spirit of Bratherhood, Parity, Discipline Snorifice, and Sarvice mast be dominating every action of ber children-

In Amerios this has been reoognised and the world renowned President Wilson in a Proclamation (reprinted in the August iesue of the Indian Scout) recommende to the Americun people that "the period begioning from Sanday 6th June to Sundey 14th June shall be the Scoat Weet wheu efforts shall be made for attending the Boy Scout Programme to a larger proportion of American Buybood, and atated that *anthing that in done to increase the eligectivenete of the Boy Suouts of Amerion will be a welfare of the Nation."

India too is having ite Scout Weak. Though it ie perhaps too much to hope that His Exvelleney the Viceroy fullowing the example of President Wilson should isene a proolamation asking tho people to eapport the Natival Suout wurement of thair conutry, it is the duty of every patrietio Indian to share in the work of orgauising the south weels oonpaiga is every Pruvisoe, Distriat. Town and Village. The week is from Sopteoibur zith wo Octubar Sih and inclujes our great Scont Dey Ontlet. The parpose of the Week is fourfold: (1) to yopnlorise the movement (2) to oollect fuads for the oentral head quarters (3) to organizo Local oappori for the troop: (i) to inureasu the circalation and advertizuments in tho "Iadian socust". It is assential that onr frioude ahould co. operats with our officers in their efforts to make the Soout Week a vacess. The bead quarterd $3 / 35$ Muant Ruad, Madrat is ever at jour serviee and is williug to dis what it can to help. In the next colamn that $I$ shall bave too privilege of writiog in theme eateemed pages. I shall give moro inlurmation about the I. B. S. A. and mare datails sbout the Sowut Weak compaign. There ie very little time to lose and as the chitel Commictioner points ont it is planaing
before hand that is needed if we should like Scoats "Be Propared" to meet it when it comes and make the best of it. So Brother Soonts and frieads, start at once if you have not already done 80 . All energy withont orgenisstion is fatile. Organisa, Organise now, and Organise well if yon desire that the week should be $\&$ Grand Weak.

Yonrs in the eervice of the Mothorland, V. K. Kishma Mymox, Commissioner, Indian Boy Scoats

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| WONDERRUL TONIC AND |  |
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| JINTAN <br> Thio is a safe and officient remody in all kiode of diseases or distarbancen of the digestive organa It is compoeed entiroly of Veartabli Inoridichis made from the prencription of the following smisent medioal men vis t- <br> NORIHIRO MIWA, M.D. Profemor of the Imporial Modical Acadeany, <br> ZENJIRO INOUB, M, D., Profeesor of the Imperial Medical Acedemy and teatified as to its efficacy by <br> Baroa J. YATSUYO FO, M. D., Sargeon-fespector-Geemele the Imperial Japanese Army. <br> T. MITAMURA Esq., Sargeon-Iospeotor-Ganersi of the Imperien Japarese Navy. <br> Asa digestive it is uneyazlled and will not distarb the functions of the most delionso tomash. Ite antiosptic properties render it very efficaciong in warding off disoase and at the same time it imparte a delightfal fragrauce to the breath of the seer. <br> By virtot of its aroma, it effectally wakes the odear of Tobaceo and Alooholio Spirita. <br> It aoh beneficially on the vocal oords and hat found mach fayour with pub. lic speakers, zetorf, aingars anl those whose vocation vecessitater a severe atrain on the throat. GOOD FOR <br> Billiounnesc, Headacho, Vertigo, Nansea; Iadigeotion, Vierrbeen, and Dysentery, etc., etc. <br> "JNTRA" <br> - <br> To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken oceasionally, well masticated. <br> Price-20 Pills Packet Ry, 0-1-0. 90 Pille Pecket. with Tin cace., Ra. 0-4-0.; 380 pills Pl ok with fancy case., Re. 1-0-0 <br> Prepared by Menser, MORISHITA Con OSAKA, JAPAN. <br> Sole Agents: Jintan Agency (G. R. Chaubai), Jumaimasfi, BombaY. |  |
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vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1919. No. 4.



## GONTENTE.

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## HOTES.

The Depresion of the Vernacuiars: 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 betests 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 Hlusion that by making convincing speeches and drafting unanswerable memorials on the divelgence between the principles and the practice of the administration, be could effect all necessary improvements. The illusion continued to be lostered 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, perbaps, to stimulate demagoguism. English-educated men foreswore social and religtous retorm, detended caste and superstitions, and did therr best to prove to the masses that they were in no way more enlightened than themselves. But is is an ill-wind that blows nobody any good. Vernacular journalism began toflourish, vernacular orators sprang up everywhere. This reacuon is now steadying itself. The point of importance in the present context is that there is in operation a poweriul 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 inta in the Last century. Tha exteosion of the tranchise, sdding 48 kwill to the political importance of the masses, will be a powertul 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 Paramahamsa in. the company of Pandit Sivanath Sestry, and the Paramahamsa's declaration that he regarded Jesus Christ as an avatar of God, the Hindu Missionaryl observes that a person here and a person there may be taking Cbrist 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 Paramabamsa 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 th-Paranrahamsa'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 Hindw Missionary goes on to complain that Sir Narayar Chandavarkar is quoted if ar Amertyan publication as baving observed: "The ideals that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly but sureiy 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 Ma. homedanism 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 bas understood the wonderful underlying catholicism and infiaite charity of Hinduism, who believes he is doing it a service by'picking holes in other religions Ramakrishna Paramahamsa 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-Hiswdw 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 1 Hindu India refuses to be Christianised; Hindu India loves to remain Hindu, loves her Vedas, loves her Scriptures, loves her \&aints and sages, loves her divine incarnations, loves her deathless kishis, loves ber noble spiritual heritage, and bopes-poor India only bopes, helpless Iritia only hopes, $t 0$ remain Hındu! And all this is sadd to be antu-cibristian. When one loves bimsell, it is not true to say that he hates , bis neighbour.

It is right to say that there is a spirit that is proHindn; it is not right to say that spirit is antiCbristian."

What De. Mackichan said: A valucd 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 bas ted to an anti-Christian feeling in some quarters, for Christianity is looked upon as a foreiga 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 loreign 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 troe needs of India, it is natural in a Christian Missionary gentleman. India's true needs are as bard to define as those of any other country, and since countries that have long been Curistian have, apparently, not as yet had their true needs met by the Church, it is rather sagguine to preach it as a panacea lor India's ills. But we respect the faith that is in Dr. Mackicban and shall say no more about it.

The Stage in England. On the opening day of the Conlerence of the Theatre, organised by the British Drama. League, at the end of last month at Stratiord-on-Avon, Mr. Archer pleaded for the removal of the obstacles which block the path of an already existing aad vigorous movement for the betterment of Britist 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 buger 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 phenorrenon 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 considés 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 untoid benefit to each.

[^4]Me. N. M. Joshi's Deputation: Ia view of the ignorant or prejudiced comments in certain quarters on Mr. Joshi's deputation to the Labour Conlerence at Washiogton, we appreciate the very lair observations of the Deccan Ryow Writes our contemporary: - We congratulate the Government of India on the election of Mr. Joshi than whom a better person could not have been lound tor the purpose. We know that Mr. Joshi has certain disqualifications for the character which be bas been now invested with. As he admitted at the entertainment given to him, he bas nevet been a labourer himsell. Nor has be ever lived among the labourers and become one with the peopla whose representative he is to be. He goes to a Conference where distinguished labourers, men who have passed through the vatious stages of labour life, will meet to agsert their rigbts and discuss their needs, Mr. Joshi's position in euch an assembly will not be very comfortable. But that is not his fault. Nor was it possible to avoid the awkwardaess of the position. The conditions of our labourers is so hopelessly unsatisfactory that they could not have beea reasonably' asked to organise themselves for electing a representative. So lar as We know, the higher kiads of our Mill-labourera have got lew among them: who could properly voice the opinions of their brethren: Mr. Joshi, though not bimself a labourer which we wish he had been, is a man of generous sympathies and no prejudices such as mar the character of otr educated people will stand in the way of his fully and Irankly voicing their grievances at tue conferende. He knows the labour lite in - Bombay as well is any nondabourer coald know 'it: Under the kircumstances and in the absence of a more suitable representative, we must be satisfied with his nomination." It is not tair, by the way, to lay undue stress on Mr. Joshin statement that he was not $a$ labouref. In England, the Labour Party now consists of manual as well as brain workers, and that is the right chasaification.

Mr. Jadhav's Evidence before the Joint Committee: A special ford of praise is due to Mr. B. V. Jadtav tor tie moderation and thougntiviness which inspired his evidence belore the Joint Committee of Parliament on constututional reform. We bava never admitted the 'validity of the argument that a majority under any circumstances should not need special protection. A minority is a numerically backwiara category. There are other forms and kiods of backwardness which equally require epecial provision, Mr. Jadhav's guggestions iollowed the lines of the amended resolution adopted, at the All-Iodia Moderate Conference beld last year on the motion ol Sir Narayan Cbandavarkar. Mr. Jadhav's evidence is reported as loliows in, Isdia of the 5 th ingtant: " Mr. Jadhay was heard on bebalf of the Mahrattas, the backward classes, and the Deccan Ryots Association. Mr. Jadhav stated that the B'ombay Presidency was oot homogeneous, and that the Thana district ought to be taken into consideration along with the Central aad Southera Divisional Districts. In this district Mabrattas and others were very backward and illiterate. The Mabrattas and Kunbis ought to -be classed togetber, and on behalt of them and of the Deccan Kyots he asked tor a certain protection in the electorates-not cummunal representation, but the reservation of certain seats io the genctal electurates, at any rate for a few years, He asked for 30 per cent of the seats to be reserved. The Babrattas bad done greater service to the Empire, but be did not ask tur any distinction. By "Packward" classes be meant all whose literacy was below 10 per cent."

One of the Thioge to be Indemnified: One of the more balanced speechen 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 invidious. But the General himself referred to 2 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 kneesif 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 circum. stances were altogether exceptional, and the punishment, though humitiating, was not such as to cause danger to life or physical hurt. Except on one occasion when a body of prisoners was brought dowe 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 bave been considered necessary by other officers in like circumstances. The officer in command at Amritsar will doubtless be prepared to justify his action should be be called upon to do so." There is not a hint bere 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 bave considered such an order necessary. And yet this higb-handed order involving the humiliation of innocent citizens is to be covered by the Act of Indemnity! Even the flogging may in time be lorgetton but this cumpulsory 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 con. ditions 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 bad come, if we remember, on the day that be spoke. Mr. Hailey thinks it lair 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 be expressed in the debate, Sir William Vincent guoted Mr, Gaudhiin 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, thurst 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 ot 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, $F$ 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, bat 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 natioual 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 Hitaishini 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 $A$ mon rice for the winter crop was good, but export and profitering have placed them beyond the reach of the middle and the lower classes of people. The Bhadralohs 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 aboormal rise in prices of food-stuff, clothes and other necessaries of life; but certain parts of it are grievously aflected,"

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY SEPTEMBER 28, 1919.

## PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S GREAT BOOK.

The first volume of ${ }^{\text {P }}$ Professor A. Marshall's Principles of Economics was published in 1890. Since then the pablic 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 bow the publication of the second volume came to be pat off. He writes :

For mony jean alver the pablication in 1890 of the firm volume of my proposed complete Principler of Economicts, I pontinued to work at its meond volume : patt of the tjpe for thet wes ret up is 1904 and in som uned at lat-I ana told that this long waiting of type for ite ultimate appesranee is anique. Shortly eflerwarde I decided to bring oat reparataly a more or lose independent volume, devoted to Induetry and Trade. Lantar on two volunurs appearad to be necemary lor the purpose : and at last is seemed bect to ronod of the preeent volame in such manner that it wa ald be an independent unit.

Professor Marshall adds that bis progress han been delayed not only by weat health and constitutional anfitness for rapid work; bat also by heavy professional duties till 1903; by preparing evidenoe and memoranda for various Royal Commissions on evrrency and other matters; and by service on the Royal Commission on Labour 1891-5, during which, he says, be received from working men and other witnesses, and from members of the Commission, the most valnable education of his life.

Professor Marshall goes on to say how the first bent of his studies was towards Socialism. For more than a decada he remained ander the conviction that the suggestions which are associated with the word "Socialism" were the most important sabject of stady for him. Bat the writings of socialists generally repelled him as mach as they attracted him, because they seemed far out of tonch with realities: and, partly for that reason, he decided to say little on the matter, till he had thonght 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 indiontee that my time for thought and apeech is nearly ended, I see on all oiden marrellone developmente of working-olemethealty: ind party, in consequence, broader and firmer foundation lor socialistio echemen than existed when mill wrote. Bat no socialistic ecbeme, jes advanceed, meems to unke adeqaate provision for the smaintenance of bigh enterprine, and individual erength of ebarnoter ; nor to promine a aoficiently rapid iacrease ia the basinese plant and otber material implemente of prodaction, to onsble the real incomes of the mananl labonr clasees to continue to inoreses anf hast at they have done in the rocent pret, ever it the total inoowe of the conntry be shared by all. The

[^5]average bed of hamon matore in the wetere mortd bre rima bind dariag the leat 6fty yourh. Bot in hee meocod to methat thowe bave mende noort real progroes towarde the distent gal of ideally perfoct eccial orgenistion, the have conoentruted their woergien on some partioclar difficaltios in the way, and sot apent strength on andenvoaring to resh pent them.

Professor Marshall's emphatio restimony to the rise in the average level of boman natare in the Weatern world during the lask fify years, is in pleasing contrast to the conclasions of Profensor A.R. Wallace in his old age. Profeneor Marshall datea his prefuoe in June last, with hin eyes wide open to the war and its consequences. The acte of Germany and the other belligerentu, not to speak of the Bolsheriks, have not indroed him to qualif, his opiaion regarding the rise of the level of heman nature. If, however, the average of haman natare has risen, that fact must exprest inself in the improvement of socisl institationa, inclading indastrial. Profestor Marbhall's last sentence in the pasage quoted above has a speoial lesson for Indian public men.
The present volume is a study of indastry and trade with special reference to the technionl evolation of indantry, and its inflaenoes on the oonditions 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 ocoupied with influences on those conditions exerted by the resouroes available for employment; by money and credit; by international trade; and by nooial endeavour. The work, though primarily dealing with economic questions, has n much wider parview. It ontlook is broad. Every class of reader will, we are sure, profit by perasal of this book. Without letting go for a moment the apecial aime before him, Professor Marshall glances at many objecte of grent practical importance, and his observations always impress one as being wise and helpfal. He has chosen as the motio for his great work a phrase which forcibly recalle a eaying of the Upanishads: "The Mainy in the One, the One in the Many.". He explaina the appropriateness of his eolection thas:

Economic conditiona end rendencien show, even more than moot othert, the One in the Many, the Many in the One I for thoos, which prevail ai may ploot and time, roflect the babits of sotion, thought, felinge and sopirsion of the whole poople, or at lesst ndme lerge part of thene Eech remsts on the ebarnoter of the popoletion : bat the roote of all are deep sot in the buann obarmetaripticed of the place and time, that the One jin seen in the Many. And convernelg oseh tendemegy ambodies in some degree almout srery inflaenco, that ie prowinent then and there: incomoch that a fall wady of it would pretent incidentaliy - mearly eomplete pietare of tive whole : thos the Mang are seen in the Ona

There are few references to India in thin book. In one place (p. 653) Profescor Marshall takee occasion to emphasice Britain's special responsibility in respect of the trade and industry of India. He observes that in all international trade policien,

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 intorests at least as great * weightas if it were her own." In particular, adds Professor Marshallit 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, " nuless a similar prinoiple is applied to selected Indian manufactures, whose youthful strength is insafficient for competition on nearly even terms with rival imports from Britain und other western countrics."

## BOMBAY EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT*

## Thr Place of English in Indian Education.

We have received a copy of the report of the Second Bombay Educational Conlerence 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 Shiksa Vichara Mandala, and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, contributes an introduction to the Report in the course of which be 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". Prolessor Naik comments as follows on this allegation:
Another remedy proposed for preventing wastage in achools is to make the verancular continastion sohools more alt rective, so that the temptation to waste time and energy on the scquisition of a difficalt foreign langange like English mas dot prove too atroug in the ease of poor and intellectoaily inferior atadenta. This, bowerer, is a dream. English may be a difficalt tong of to learn, and ite ase an the mediam of lantraction, wo lar at lemat at recondary inatitation in concerued, mas bu long-tanding and heenly fell grievence, but the almont aniversal feeling, (nay, convigtion) is that a knowledge of Euglinh must lor a long time to come form an eneential feature of any ocuree of inatruotion, whether genera: or technioal. The keenest adroaste of the verniaculars would uador existing condtione rather bave Englinh aned an the mediam of instraction than loes the adrantagen of a knowledge of English it bis ohoice lay betreon the two. Erery boy knows that Ignorance of English means a future of pror proopowt and crippled activities, and tries, it be cand woprevent bis doom being reaied in this fathion. Verneonlar continantion noboola mast continde to oxist for the

[^6]unfortunate onea, bat it is useleps to expect them to rolieve to any great oxtent the strain on Eoglioh Schools. While reiterating its demand for the recognition of verncoulars as medis of instruction and examination, it is to be notod that the Conference adrocated the introdrction of English in foll primary schoole daring the lest three jeara of the coarse, at. sa optional aobject of instruction.

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry also referred to the matter in his Presidential address. Weare not able to correlate some of his remarks at the commencement with those that follow, but bis 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 throagh fortign languagea. Vernacular mast be the national medium of inatroctions in the primary stage, and Iam strongly of opivion that we shonld expand, this syatem of teaching all subjects through the vernacalsis into all schooles, even secondary schocís. So lar as higher edacation is concerned English langrarge ensbles us to become more refined end to enjoy a larger outlook ind to have the capacity of leading a higber life when we receive the benefit of higher aducation Bat I am one of thoes who think that the sdoption of Englieh ns the necessary medinm for bigher edacation is by itself a denial of the benefit that 1 have here described; to a large number of our population who, however, are all intellectaslly fally qualified to enjoy those benefits. They are deprived by an artificial barrier. An apt compariaon may be given by stating that you may anppose that it is the daty or the Railway Companies to build first class convejances. But suppose that the Railmay Companies instend of patting doars have very small openings. Then you wonld not coneider that the Railixay Companieg would make sareat profit, By ivaiatiog on having English as the medinm of instrootion in higher edacation, Government close the benefit of higher education to all who are nuable to asquire a cartsin amount of liberal Euglish acholarship. In their ease Government are somewhat in the poaition of the Ruilway Company who does not know its own basiness, and inflicts a wrong on the people who wish to serve its interest. The Railway Company thas cripples its own avefulness. The Goverament in that case do not folly realise the difficalties of that very harge proportion of our people to whom the acquisition of a loreign lengnage is a grievorsly added difficalty in order to rective the benefit of secondary edacation. A'little forethought on our part and a little co-operation from the Uoiversity wonld' make it possible for ne to convey thic benefit to our people. throngh the Vernacular, and I krow no remson whatever why that reform in onr, educational syatem aboold be, at alls: Fithheld or even postponed. But, as to the advantags of expanding the aystom of pernaculars for higher inatruction $L$ am still somswhat scoptic. I see no halling place bettocen the ue of the vernacular as the nodiwn of inntruction in: sscondary achools and their use for inetruction in the colloges. department. It thint those who advocate the use of the vernacular for highor education are in a position which is logically round; but logic does not coeer all human affaira. By the mere procese of abatract remoning you cannot get far and far anay from the field of prectical politian, and it reems to me no practical politice to think of the vernmoalar as the madiam of instrootion lor colleges. : That problem. wa may well leare to thoee who come alter ai end, perhape, to the sucoesding 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 instraction in higher education, Government closed the benefit of higher education to all who are upable to acquire a certain amonot 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.

## HUMANITARIANISH IN INDIA.

Note:-While hamanitarianism consista in many forms of iocial service, tho objeot in view of this article is with reference to lower animals.

If there is any country whick hes a deep-seated interest in hamanitarianism it is India. The principal reason is that it is an easential part of Hiaduism. Cows and monkey have a special religions aignificance; other animals have a semireligions significance. The Virhnupurana saju that before we are born as men, we are to pasi through various birthi-first we are born as standing forms of life, such as plenta; then as aquatio animals, such as fish; then as amphibials anch as tortoise ; then as birds and beasts ; and, lastly at monkeys, and from monkeys we are borne an men. This theory of evolution shows that ' man has blood relationship even to lower animaly; and, therefore, he is in duty bound to have some regard for them.

In upits of all this, we find that in Indis the principle of hamanitarianism has not beep carefally and anfficiently followed up. Leaving out of consideration the wild animals for whom God direotly provides all necessaries of life, think of our domestic animall who have been deprived of all freedom which is the birthright of every living oreatare. The very fact that they are onr aliaves and our servanta, inevitably requires that wo chould be concerned about their welfare. Think of the dirty and unsanitary aheds where our cattle live; think of the many diseases to which they so frequently fall a yictim; think of the inadequate aupply of food and water; think of the heavy and overtime labour to which they are so vigorounly abjected and think of the bamboo aticks oo mercilessly broken on their backa, just becauso they eannot drag an over-loaded cart or an elka. These thoughte abould eppesl to the conscience of every man to whatever race or religion he belongs.

Animala are a part of God's great creation. He has made un all their trastees. According to Solomon "a man hith no pro-eminence above a beast.' In a higher aense thip is not at all contradictory to the statement in the firat chapter of Geriesis that God gave man 'dominion over the fish of the sea and over the towl of the air and over every living thing that moveth apion the earth." The reacon given by folomon for hif atatement is "what befalleth the sons of mea befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: ss the one dieth so dieth the other ; jea, they heve all one bresthaco. and all is vanity'. On the other hand, God made
man 'after His own imago'. Man bears a stamp of God himself. Animals wert made to serve man, and men was made to serve God. Therefore, man hat a higher parpose to fulifl in life. God doen not treat man anjastly or oruelly, nor ohould man treat animala unjastly or craelly. 1 man le, therefore, morally boand to mow mercy to thene "dumb creatares of God'. And isn't is atrange that when wo see man being troobled by an animal, we run immediately for his asilatance: bat when we aee an anlmil being troubled by a man, we simply overlook the matier. Remember; this deliberate neglect is not only a orime legelly bot also morally, and you are responsible to God for it. But one shoold not let loose one's cattle to eat up or destroy the vegetable gardens or orope of a neighbour, thinking that no one la going to hart them, othervise the Cattle Trespan Act I of 1871 will have ite own oonrse.
Should one est mest? This is aquestion thet every individual cen answer for himaslf. Christians and Mahomedans eat flesh of oertain animals, not all. There is a very lerge section of Hindua who freely eat meat. Therefore, generally apoaking, Hinduism, like Mahomedanism and Chriatianity, does not definitely torbid meat eating. But the question is not of meat eating bat of good treatment towards animala. We may kill certain animals for eating when the time comet for doing so ; bat before doing this, leitutireal them and our domestio animals with kindnerl. Bat, at Ear as possible, none of ouy bent sud moot racfal animals, such as cows, shonld be slanghtered only to satinfy hanger.

Before man was made, animals were mada. This wat the Divine plan. Probsbly the world could not have lived withoat them. In Indin, at least, the people woild have been atarved to death if there were ne anch animals me cowe ned buffeloes. Love to domesticuted enimale is acarce in India. It should not be so. In the Weat, people love thelr animala regardlest of the amount of nervice they render them. Animals are a great asset to a nation's resources. It is alno very often that most of our domestic animals teach un the lestons of service, falthfalnesa, love and patience.

It is the time honoared castom among the Inxurious sections of all the countrien to indalge in hanting. This practice gives littie amuicment and : a wense of brava to the hanter; bat it deprives the world of one of God's fair and free creatares. If It is not an ect of fuhamanity, it is not an act of humanity either. This nort of amasoment which is so common in all countrics and commnnities should be disoonragod.

In conolusion, the quention may be asked, 'Is Tivisootion in the intereste of colemeo reasonsbie? The answer is in the affirmative. This is necersary for the proper stady of Biology-a ecience without which the sargical world world be the peorer and helplesa. Experiments which have deprived thoemand of froge of their existence have teved thomsands or ruther millions of people from death and misery.

Altshabad."

1. C. Bymon.

## DISLOSAL OF THE DEAD.

## (sy Rao Da hadur Harcovisudas Dmariadas Kaita- <br> wala Raj Ratwa, baboda.)

There are foar general asages of disposing the haman dend. Dafan the undergroand barial, Dahann the cremstion, Jaldaha the under water barial, and Sooryadaha the scorching by the san. The wajor portion of tne murld practiess Dafan. Thie Dahana is a chief pract ice among the Hindas, though sumg bary their dead under gronud or water, i. e, they paeb their desd into the waters with the ides that the tartle and figh eten may Ifeat pn them: Some of the Hindne practise the donble nagge of gremation and Juldaha i, e. they throw the hall barat dead into the waters. The asuge of Sooryadaha is practised by the Parsis only. The weatern acholars conaider cremation to be the best metbod of diepoeing of the dead, and aeveral people of the west practise it against pablic opinion. Cremation being the easiest, cheapest shortest and the bett of the methodis for dieposing a dead body, pablic orematoria ore established in Eurupe and America. A modern cuematorium is far more desirable than the awkward shameless, zuuch-time-jcenpying and expeusive present method practised bere; but unr people of the old achool consider and better methods to be irrilegious! We bere lay the dend body on a bed of coxdnng cokes and cover it with the fael fur cremation on open pyre, and when say portion of the dead body is accidentally nucovered, or a bandor a leg of the same is hanging or delached it is to be tonged with a bamboo into the fire. The puor peoplefeel the cost beyoud their might. The cost of cremation by a mudern crematorinu comes below rapees five, and in five muniter the dead body is tarned into ashee, which cau be thrown into the waters withoat the set being in ony way irreligious.

Tbe dificalices for conveging the dead to the foneral groande are ever increaging. Iu former times when very few poople used to go alruad and the number of the menbers in each caste Wes grest, it was a common rule that one ont of every family of the ceate had to attend a luneral, and as the rate of mortality was not so bigh as at present, there was no diffien!ty whatsoever in conpeying the dead to the funeral gronada. Nowadays people go abroad fur service or basinoes, where thern may be some men of their castes or none, and a man born in one cante 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 offivial clase cannut think of carry-- ing a doad on their thualdere, while sevaral delicate folks would be ashmued of it. The ecourges like chotera, plague and influeuza are common in these doys, and thonsande and million of feople die. Some times two or three desthe occar in a single fawily duriog a day, and the caste people are so manh afrnid of plagne that they ebsasin from belpiag in corrying the dead to the faueral gronads. A hasband of a ledy died while relarning bome. The caste people were in. Jormed of it, bat noue heeded ber call for the help; so she bereolf alone had to carry it as far as the fuweral groands and she cremated it! What noold bave been the fate of the dead body it the lady were not strung?

When there wat heary plague in Surat, the dead had to be carriod in uart, but when a cartman wae attecked by the disemeg, the onftaren hesitated to give their aervices in the muattor. In the ourrent year when iufluenze began ite hayoo five to nerea bundred deathe oceurea daily in Bombay, where the dend were to be kept piled up fiar hoars fur waut of apaoe on the funeral grounds, and the dificiculty wat also inoremsed an acoonas of the raut of fuel Had bome philanthrophic people not raised the fund for its the dead would bave b:s
neglected. At times ouly five to seven men are arailable for earrying the dead, and when ss in Sarat or Ahmedabor where the funeral grounds are at a very great dietance, the commission of carrying the dead becomes yearly impossible. The Municipalities of Abmedabud aud Baroda had to arrange for carts to remore the dead of the bolplesa, and the philanthrophic people of the places had raiyed fands fur tuel.
There is one more mateer for exbsideration. When any fanily is excommanicatad or out-cested, the caste psople totally abstain from any social connection whatevever with the fanily, and even if the famuly may be uatcasted ont of sheer injartice and jealoisy or for a trifling fault, in that case also the family must pay heavily on the spot to get "the belp of the caste for the faneral parpuse, or to go to aliens for tho same. At several places the poople are aleo fined for not sttending the caste faneral.
At eome places where the head of the family desires to convey a dead as far as some distont big river, he kas to treat the daghoo with sweetmeats (and therefore is a proverb that "It testes esrdemoms in the faveral aweet balle.") Also ones bas to give a caste-dinner even it the disessed be very gonus or bis family very poor. The eustom of weeping very lond/g and of beating breasts by the female section of the castes is sleo overgrowing. All these practices place the anrvivers in a greater bell than the loss by deatin, yet the proplo have not the coarage to abstain from the irreligions practices.

The Y. M. Hindu Aasociation in Bombay have arranged to grrmonut the difficulties of carryiag the dead. If we have Khandhia like those of the Parsic, one of the pablic deeds would be overcome, bat where is the difference betweer conveying the dead body on bamboo stretches and in sa carciage? If a gart were need thare would be no need for oarriers, and the dead can be quietly conveyed to the faneral ground in a manuerly way. If a myderan crematorium wera naed inatend of the open pyres it would be far more better for the pablic. Mr. Ohotalal Tejpal artist has moved the matter cin both. the Englisb as well as the veruacular preys, and the press has sapported him. Hi bas shor writteri to tice Goverament, bat be has received a reply that "uhe initiative iat such a matier must cowe from the pablic." This is the inportant problen in conaection with social reform, and it is hoped that our relormers aud the leaders will take the matter in a fayozrable light.

## BACK TO HINDUISM.

## The Editor, The Indian Sazial Reformer.

Sir,
In your issue of Ang. Srd and on P. P. G $^{-5}$ there in : notice headed "Back to Hiaduism and which wells of the initistion of thres converts frota: Obristianity. Eacts convert was inve日ted with the sacred thread. I shall he very grateful if you or your readers will snawer the folluwiay questions in order that I may have additioual light upon the eigniticance of the ceremony of investing with tha sacret thread.

1. Of what caste were these converts befurg they converted to Christianity?
2. Now that they hare sgain become Hindus to whicb custo do they belong ?

- 3. In the sacred thread given tuall convarts, ikrespectivs of the cante to which they belouged befure tiey beckue Christisne?

This is not for the parpose of eontroversy that I ask the ebure questions bat for light upon a suijoct tha: Zatereats me very much I recognize the fact that ever? ond han in perfect right to ohoose his orther rellgion aud to uhange it as oftoo as be or she may become cuarinced that sactl a blip in necersary but I do not unloretand but a convers frow Hindaism, it revenperted, san, irrapective o? bia formier easte, bo invested with the sacred thread.

Thankina you in anticipation

$$
1 \mathrm{Sir}
$$

$1^{\text {Tonam eincerey }}$ A. Gray

## bOLSEEVEM ANO SUSIALISM.

## The Editor, Tta fidiat Sucial Reformer.

 8:-No keen politiciar can tail to remark that the long sestaioed ontery nproised agtinst Boloberism by the moceailed EUpitalise" and "Imperalist" prese of the corld, hae tegne to prodnce ite ineritobiy rescion. Sarely the grestert eerrice to the cacce of Buisbetimm hue been readered uor by ite profered adbereate, bat by those of ite antagoniste woo are so parblind an to bread all eocielista, all trade anionimes. an: workent ia the canse of reform, all critice of the iniquitirs e: the existing sxial etractare, with the enmmon mineonet - Boleherike, Of this blander the trac Bulaherik bas been seick to take adrantage. "Bolebevinma" enid = prominent Roglish exponeas of ite tonete, "is only seciation with the. ecarage of ite convictiona." This is arrant nonsense, and daogeroves nonsende. Are evil deade the inverisble ontcoume of good intentioas? Or, is marier necessarily the conrageons expresion of as innate ethical sevee : Tu confane Boleberian mish Sucislism is to coufoond "fist-righs" mith jastioce.

Let ne look facts in the foce. There in no seed to quate the "Capitaliat" prese of thie or ang ohber conatry. Naturally, ariticiem from noch a coarce is angest in many quartera Tarn to the Bulbherik organs theaselives, the "Lavestya." or the "Pravic." adee what the lassian Bulaheriks sty aboat uneir own work. Turu to the sulid sociabdenocratio prews of Germany, of Sweeden, of Eagland. This evidance aluns anfices to prove that onde: a Bulbierik regime, freeduns of the press, freedou of apetch, and freedum of pablic meeting are rathlesely sappresed; that the canee of social refurm is being hindered aod the stendy pirgress of centaries thres: caned, by the orawibrained coniceptions and criaiual saragery of a handtal of denationalized fanatics, who bave contituted athemedree into a tyranuical bareancracy. The folluming aowes from the "Pravds" of October the 8th liat : "The sbeence of the necestary rentraint makee one feel appalled at she 'instruction' isseed by the All-Rassian Exiracrdinary Commission to "all-Provibein Extroordinary Comaineions What maye: ©Tbe All-Ruetian Extroordianty Comuisbion in, perfecily indepeudent in ite work, carrying oat honse monches, arreste, executions, of which is afteruards reports to the Conacil of the People's Comminsaries and to the Centrel Execative Coascil.' Forther, the Prutiocial and District Extraordiany Comanisaiuns sre independeat is thair activities and when colled apoz by the Local Exective Conveil preest a raport of their wort:' In bo for as hosee eearchen and arreste sire coucerned, a rupurt made aftercarde mas spealtin patting right inegalaritiet commited owing to ject of restraint. The game canot be enid of execationa

- . . . It can aliso be meen from tbe Gnetructione that personal safecy is $\omega$. explis oxte.t gamanteed only to weubere of the Governureat, of th, Central Conncil and of the local Execative Comaittren. With ite axception of these few permong, all members of the Manl Committese of the (Bulaberist) Party of the Contrul Cummittess and of the Executive Committee of the Party nas be abotat any time by the diocivion of any Extraordinary "Commiation of a amall diatrict town if they happen to be on ite territory, and a report of that made afterwarde."

It may be of interest to kuow thant the leading Germos mociviint paper, "Vorwarte", gaoting Irom the "Pravin' eags that 18,764 persons have bete executed withia the lest three montban As regards the interan economic eitastion im Bemia nader Bolaberik rale, a Roerica workman maken the folluring etatement in the "Sucia'- Demokntem" if Steck.
bolm: "The outpat of the fectaries has degromad hy 80 per ceat. moteritherending that tine fiervatiosery conamittees atimatiate prodection with the revoiver. Tae easitition of the railway ts morme then erer. All the indastrial workmen are againat the Holshovik, and the twos is the cave with the permanta-
 sanall samber of peecents who eonght employnuent in the fectorist dariog the wat anl have now returned io the conatry. The only enppurters of the Bulsheriks, apart trom the Lette and the Cbinete, are thowe belongiag to thoir ona offisial cance. Tbe Enruperan preet later rathar andertited thea exagytrated the 'Rod Terior'."
The inaer kernel of Baibieviena, tha oininter fator which hae brongbt about the oondition of alfaire nutet aloove, in wail sumand ap in the batheery of the Hotaber ke...... "Hictawubip of the Pruletarnt." Let ne onacider whas this mesus. Distotorahip meane despotism, and deapotinm remasias despotian whether esercied by a Czuf, a Kainer, an oligarohy or in Eolsherik administration. At the bution of this idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat lies impatiense with the cunce of the propie. The peoply must be emancipaced in apite of thenatives. Wi are remiaded irresitibly of the wildest ad most trensient phase of the French Revolations when an ormor dectimed that people mast be uffrced to be frea." The Bolshevike any that liberty sad demoarwcy oan come alterward, when the moialist dietatorn bave tranalurmed the preseat capiadistic eociect iato the woinlist otatn. Bat while the trausformation ie guing on, toe mane of the people aust obey the midority whict bue wized poyet; mant sccept me right iad just any tyraony whioh that minority decreet ; mant atondon liberty uf apeech, aud liberty of the price, and wast refaes those libertice porticujarly to will who do not see ege-w-eje with the teitority in puwer. Aad it the ronee dree sut lity $i t$, well, we $k$ wum what hatpeng, Buibberik propegandiste bave eculuted ail swriat of maneacreas Their owa press gives thom the he. True, thene suazageres ore genuraily the wurk uf the drest of the Chinene popaiation recraited abroad for labuar gagga, aud if the "remurale"....... te wholesole wece marderi ars enpheanisticaliy turnum...... "connter-revolutivuaries"......b! which exprasion, it annoted all whou the Bulstanikg diatike for any romene at all...... an be acouaplashed by Caicese batialiuna, the Bulstevike then sofemuly anear that thay bave hat au bund in the matier !

The Bulsbevita are in fact pare sibulitu of the mont exureas type. Their unt iden ia to poll down exiating noviety, no matiter what the consequences, it toe blind inpes that a better order of thipgs will arine of tuell. Ls thertany nood to point out now contrary is thia idee to all movislistis sotione ol the steady progreme of weciety cowarda a bether order of thinge ! The movial urganifti, like outare, doee nutbing at a boacd. By rathlesaly ecriping all the progres winde a mure equitable atale of eoceity which thiuker and wutkers have bitherto melieved, the Boleberike are realiy deloging sod nos hateniug the sucial refolutions which they deine to bring about Xurtiag fur tie oenefit it the peoplo as berge en pomibly evisigo from what in sow guing cn. All Bolcherism can do is to belp reection, sad wo make erean the majority of the wurking elvecet sbruaghuat the world eqquence ebeerlatly in mild dicisorahip, at ein more remaly to be borue theu lionkerix igrawny and viviencer.
 mes be comared ap in tie worde of Mr. H. W. Len, the Eecrotary of the tsitish tooisl Denowratio Frdurninio and the editor of "Juctice." the greacent sacialist mantopert in Grem Brain. Nr. Lee exy, 4 There in Do rugal roed to acial esvolation forecendy sod patient mort of sexin
propaganda and organisation, togather with the preseing forward of thoroagh-going collectivist proposals for the onnership and control of industry for the common good, and the inagination to taks adventage of everytbing will belp forward the grest change from espitalist production for profit to socialist production for nse those are the lines we $n$ uet tollow. All the imaginary short-cuts of the impatient ones which lead to anarchiosl deserta or re-actionary morasses, setve only to retard resl social-demooratie progress."

And get in the face of facts like this, a pablicist of the reputation of Lala Lajpat Rat is fonnd to eay, I am neither a socialist nor a Bolbheyit, bat I am not afraid of becoming either." It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Lajpat Rei has enquirẹd from any leading zocialists what Bolshevism really implien.

## L. F. Rubbbiooz Whiliamg,

## A PANCHAMA GURU.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Stinivabs Iyengar, Advocate-General, pronided on Sunday at the 63rd birthday anniversary of Sri Nisrayana Gora which was celebrated at Salle Gurosami Chetiy's Hall, The Gurn who lives at Alwaye in Cochin hus done much for the depressed classes by way of imparting Hindu religions instroction and sleo by way of epreading education in their midst. With a view to oteering clear of socisi difloulties, the Gara bes been sloo instrnmeutal in constructing samerone temples frow Cape Comorin to Mangalore eolely for the ase of the Panchamas, and these teniplea heve done e vast monnt of good to thonesnds of Panebamss within the Hindalold. The celebration yesterday bore a epocial featere bout it, namely that it was entirely organised by members of the depreseed classes thenselves.

The proceedinge cammenced with a prayer, after which Pundit K. Mnnuewami Pillay delivered an address on the life and wrork of the Gura, Mr. P. Natarajan, a Thiya gradaate next spoke on the need for a socio-religions inatitution in Madras for the backward olasses. The speaker regretted that most of the institations now in existence for the bencfit of the Pancheman were worked by people belonging to the bigher cestes, This did not for one thing enconrage self. relisnce and he wonld like to see Panohamas themselves ondertaking inore of the work of accial smolioration in their midst.

Swami Sabajananda planded for anity among Panchamat. The eo-colled depressed-elasses were now divided into two hostile mamps, and one of there was distinctly anti-- Brabniu. Tbe speaker failed to see why angbody should siugle out Brahmine for bostile treatment. It could net for - monent be denied that Brehminn were slso at the present dag. doing moch for bottering the lot of the Panobamas. Brahmine in every walk of life were being fired with a sense of reaportiblity for the well-being of India and considering their echiovements in the past, it would not do to entertain tuwards them any but friendly fselings. It might be that there were mome Branmins who were intolerent and who were apt to be hareb in their dealogs with the Pancbames, but for the matter of that there were bleok-sheep in every fold aod the should not be made on exeuse fur deliberate antiBrabnin propaganda. Lastly the tpeaker referred to the fact bow his echenie ior Panchama Secondary Sohool at Chidamberam was meeting with anch enconagement from all quarters and namber of high-aaste people, inoladindg Brabwins, wert giving belp

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sriaives lyengar who on risiag was , accorded a moet warm welcone, said that it gave bim the
greatest pleasare to be present at the gatbering. He was one of those who looked forward to the completa nuification of castes in India, It was his flrm beliel that ell Indians were Brabmins (applanse) and there was no anch thing as - separate Brabmin Caste. Those people who talked of preserfing caste, or maintaining caste inviolate and inviolable in Iodia, did not talk rightly. Caste was not at ell'a fundamental basis of the Hinde religion. There was no mention of caste in the Vediss although the Smirithis made mention of caste. Bat there was noknowing what inacuracies and interpelations might bave crept into the Smrithis, not necessarily iradulently not necessarily dishonently. And since it was not possible to wonch for the absolnte literal sccuracy of the Surithis, it would not do to base on them one's belief in the caste system. It had been laid down that women and Sudras shocid not be tenght the Vedas; but centaries ago, they aloway broke tirugh thia injuction and admitted forbidden people to Vedic knowledge. It was the emphatic opinion of the speaker that Hindu religion had absolately nothing to do with the caste syetem. It was renlly the political life of India that had been responsible for the csste system : and Hindn Kings sach as those of the Chalukya and Pandisn dyastier, to mention bat two, as a matter of polity thought it wise to allow the perpetastion of caste. It was easy by means of the caste-gystem to preaerve tise balance of power in the State. Sarely easte was nothing which God had revealed. If revelation, divine revelation, had algything to do with caste, the Panchamas wonld have been horn as a distinct species and incapable of breediug with higher castes. (Langhter and shears) Lastly the speaker said that tbere were great potentialities in the Panchsmas, and it only thuy become educated they would also have an important part to play in bringing about the regeneration of India. The first requisite for Indian's regeneration was the reformation of Hinduism, in fect, the ashering in of NeoHinduiem, would lead. to Indis's greatners, both politically and accially. And the Panchamas with their nudonbted intelligence and emotional enihnsibsm conld certainly contribute much that wis raluable for eatablishing the Hibdaism of the reformed and genuine type wbich the speaker had in view. (Prolonged spplease.)
There was stterwards a dramatio performance, the play staged being Nandanar.-The Madras Mail.

## BURMA AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

Mr. Manng Pa, B. A., and Mr. Bernard Honghton were called in before the Juint Committee on Indian Constitntional Refurm. Mr. Maung Pa atated that he represented not only the Burara Reform League, bat a very large seotion of the Burmese population. Barma was larger than France or the British Islee, and had had a very long biatory. They had a proper kingdom by the time of the Roman Conqnest of England. His league had over 220 Agsociations and contrul of 30 suhool. There were Hindas and Mabomedans aettled in the country, bat Buddhism had had no atain of intolerance, so thers was no, need to be apprehensive as to their liberties. The Anvouncement had aroneed great expectations in Burnia, and when the Srcretary of State visited Indin they sent him their depatation to colcotta. Witness read pars. greph 198 of the Joint Report explaining the omission of Burma Mr. Manag Pa contruverted every one of the ressons given for that occission. The echeme approved by the Lient-Governor was very jafe:ior to the one in the Joint Report. Sabsequent modifications had made it raore retrogressive, with the result that in Mey, 1919, the Conucil
of the Barmen Relorm Iengue had condomaed the Craddock wheme entirely. Witaeve deseribed the Croddock acheme; ite chial defect was that, instead of proper seprecentation of the people, the village beadmen (Government officials) woald form atcat balf of be Coancil sir Reginald Craddack had himsell emphesieed Berma's freedom from the enate dificulty, roligiona dingensions, and marked woial clenvegen. The emencipated condition ol the Burmene woman markedly dis tingaished Barme from Iadis, as well as the higher standard ol lifing. Koreover, Burma posecoed a rendy-made electors register. Tbe elective fybtem wat practised and anderstood in Barma; The loyalty of Burme wes wonderlal, and the had rendered yooman servics during the wap. They had great faith in British Statesmen, Britieh Juatice, and the Britiah Parliament, and placed the fate of Barme in its bands. They wanted a Lient-Governor sent out direat by the British Parliament, and an executive Council cortaining one Europesn and $\{$ wo Barmese. In their Legishetive Conncil they wanted four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated membert.

Barmese women oconpied á vory high position. They bad a better etatue than Englieh ladies because they had control of the purse of the family, which wea not the casg in Eugland. The abeence of the Purdah syetem helped to nata Bormese literacy high-in every $1,000,376$ males and 61 fermalen were able to read and write, which was higher then in Bengal or Medras. Women at present had the Manisipal Frachise, and in the raral diatriotis they bed the vote for headmen. Most of the retail basiness was in thelr hande, and they mored sbont quite frealy like ladies in the Weat. He trasted that Loord Selborne's Committee would report fevourably on belialf of reforms in Burma,

Lord Selborne complimented Mr, Mang Pn on the clemrness of bis evidence, and thanked bim.

## DISEASE AND MARRIAGES.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer, Dent Sir

I thank yoa very much for publiehing any letter, and I expect you to show me the same hindnese in pablisbing the following few linea.

I have atsted in my last letter and I beg to etsto again that the eight of the nufortunate intocent girls, in the midst of the bigher pocicty, wh have been forced to rain themselves or to load a bad immoral life, on account of their being married to unfit, defective men, has made me look apon the institation of divoree not an agly thing, bat a menn to remove ugly things and to parify the society.

When I sdrocste the institacion of divoref, nllow me to make myself clearer. I look upon mariifge not an a eveial contract bat a holy tie. Marriage therefore mast be jerformed before God, in good faith and with closn bearts. Both the parties most anderatend what they do. It mast not be a child't-play or a Irand.

When marriage is child'e play, when marriage is a frand, divorca is a nesessity. It is medicine and is as essential ae food and mnst be taken, when the ajotom goes wrong. If ie not the rigorons, anjust lawa, that keep ns pare end honest bnt it is the noble-tesching and full toeial liberty to atand to one's bonour and to one's higher ideal. Virtnona, honeat conle must not fini their way blocked np. The line wout be clear for their growth and their march onwasd.

## Youra Sincerely,

Katias, K, G.

A Panchama Conference: Under the uspices of the Civic and Social progress Association a Panchama Conference will be beld at the Town Hall, Mysore on the ist and 2nd October rgig commencing at aP.N. each day. Delegates have been invited from all the Talukss in the State and errangements 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 Shahajananda of Nandanar Mutt, Chidambaram has also been invited. Alt gentlemen interested in the uplift of Panchamas are requested to attend and co-operate in the movement.

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INDIAN:SOCIAL: REFORMER.
PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.
Office \&EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT; Editor:-K. NATARAJAN.
vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, OCTOBER B, 1919. No. 5.

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## GONTHENERS.

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The Home Coming of the Deputations.
Indian Women and the Suffirage.
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Hand and Brain.
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Intermarriage in Upper India.
Increased Salaries.
The Religious and Charit. able Endowments Bill. Reorganization of the lodian Medical Service.

## HOTES.

Tariff Reform in India. The Gazette of India prints the text of the Act levying an export duty on bides and skins of 15 per cent ad valorem with, sub. ject 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 otber words, the right of rebate will vertain to exports not only to the United lingdom, 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 Cuszon'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 respectully urge that Government bave 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 it 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 transparnnt subterfuge. We rather like this export duty because it is well-known that the temptation offered by the bigh 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 bides went. But the proposal to tack on to it a rebate of two-thirds of the duty on exports to the vast pumber of countries. enumerated above, bas all the appearance of taking away with one band what is given with the other. The argu: ment that a differentiation against South Arrica 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 beard 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 gir 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 eithet 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 manufactures 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 Untited 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. Wedo not know. We trust that the injustice and impolicy of placing all the give on one pair of shoulders: and all the take on noother is obvious to our rulers.

The Home Coming of the Deputations, Mr. Surendradata Banerjee, Mr. K. C. Kay and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyar, members of the Indian deputations to England, Tetarned last week. They were interviewed by an Associated Press representative, and the Nestera India National Liberal Association weicomed Mr. Banerjee at a public meeting presided over by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar were Yoopeful that ibe Joint Comanttee will enlarge the scope of the Reform Bill to some extent in the directions desired by Indian opinoon, 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 tt a very necessary strengthening of the Central Government. We have repeatedly urged in these columas that a strong Centtal Government is the indispensable condition of security and prosperity in this country. The present Government of Iodia is a hard Government but it is mot a strong Government. No strong Government should need a Rowlatt Act or Martial Law to uphold its athority. Only a Government absolutely divorced from and out of touch with the corrents of the people's life would need them. The Government of India in Delbi and Simla is completely isolated. There is all the greater need to introdace a substantial measure of effective popular infuence in its Councils. The Government of India can be streng. thened only if it is liberalised.

Indian Women and the Suftrage: 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 of the Franchise Committee, and be 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 representalion. Mr. Banerjee's staterment 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 be 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 bas 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, perbaps, the dislranchisment 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 band in hand.

Sir Stanley Reed: Mr. Banerjee spoke in glowing terms of the important evidence given before the Committer by Sir staniey Reed, and its helplulness to the cause of Indian progress. He said : Speaking Irom a platlorm in Bombay, he desired tó pay a ixibute of his appreciation and admiration to the evidence which Sir Stanley Reed gave befors 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 abset, and that unless the Montaguo-Chelmsiord echeme
was givea effect to in its essential leatures, the proposed relorms would fall to satisly the Indian people. Mr. Benerjea thought that Sir Staniey Reed'a evidence mada $=$ great impression upon the Joint Committee. His evidence and that of Sir Michael Saddler, President of the Uaiversity Commission were, be thought, "the must impressive among those of the European witnes jes." Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayar also spoke in similar strain of the service rendered to India by Sir Sianley Reed and Sir Michael Sadicr. "We ought never to torgel," he said, "the services of Eagishmen like Lord Southbrough, Sir Sianley Reed and Sir Michael Sadier, who bravely championed the Indian cause with a statesmanlike perception of the essential needs of Iadia and advocated their view: belore 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 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 Dasly Herald, has been investigating the conditions of tile amongst clerks and teachers during the last few days. Education cat only be very gradual in its effect, and a gencration at least must elapse before Mr. Fistrer's Act can show any tangible results apon 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 mors important side to this question. The bank elerk, the teacher and the shopkeeper are looking in vain for any avenue of escape. At present they are being crushed between the opper and nether millstones. Labour professes the welfare of the whole community. Oxford and Cambridge aro being thrown open to an increasing degree to the poorer men and women who bave showa promise of ability. An alliance will benefit both parties, and it is not only being sought from interested motives. Vertainly an alliance will tip the scale."
"Justice" on Mr. Joshif's Deputation. Justice, the organ of the non-Branman movenneot in soutbern India, criticising Mr. Joshi's delegation to the Labour Conlerence at Washiogton, observes. "Mr. Joshi belongs to the Servaots of India Society. So far as we are aware, the Servants of India tiociety is financed among others by some of the millowners 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 themseiven." But may we ask in reply to our contemporary. "Justice is owned by the South Iadian People's Associa. tion. The Association is supported by eeveral Zemindars. How can ]ustice represent the interests of the nod-Brabmans, who are mostly cultivators, 2 certain proportion of them being tenants of these Zemindars? Hweuld more sightly be the orgas of the Zemindars." Tbe answer to both the questions, is that there are mill-owners and Zemindari 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 pablic movements and not those who care only for their own pleasure end profit.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER.

BOMBA Y, 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 pioneerf of social and religions 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 Vidyabhashan, in his." Men I have seen," which we recently reviwed and from which the material is derived for this tribate to his honoured memory,-in his maternal uncle's house at Chandripota, ten miles from Calcatta, on the 31st of Janaary: 1847. He was the first male child born in the family for many years. His advent, therefore, was hailed by the ladies of the honse with the loud blowing of conch-shells, and his uncle, at his first visit to the village home after the event, greeted hienewly-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, bis maternal uncle was collaborator with Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar on the Bengali journal Soma Prakash, and his father was Head Pandit in the village sohool. The women of the family were typical Indian womea, "honest," to use the Pandit's epithets about his maternal grandmother, "truthful, warm-hearted and loving, charitnble and forbearing, devoted to religion and fall of kindness for the poor and the suffering." The Pandit tells us that be got into the evil habit of moking 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 writer, "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 hisfather, to hand over a letier to Mr. Woodrow, then a Government Inspector of Schools, be angered that official by refning to take off his shoes in his presence. His uncle, when he heard of the incident blessed him for his high opirit, and published an account of the incident in the Soma Prakash with proper comments on Mr. Woodrow's bahadurism.

Ionng Sivanath Sastry was bronght to Calcutta when he was only nine years old, and was soon admitted into the Calcutta Sanskrit College of which the illustrions Paudit Iewar Chandra Vidyasagar was Prinoipal. Vidyasagar was as thorough-going an odacational as be was a social reformer, He had just before Sirnath Sastry joined, the College in-
trodaced great reforms. He had thrown open the doors of the College to others than the; twice-born eastes-Brahmins and Vaidyas; he had, altered the old mode of teaching, namely, commencing with Alugdabodha, the well-known: Sanskrit grammar, and had introduced in ity 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, edacation. Farther, he had comr menced the practice of teaching English as:a second langrage in the higher classes of the Sanskrit College. He was at the same time carryt ing on his viggrous propaganda in favour of the remarriage of Hindu widows. The College-teachers and students-took sides in the controvergy which was dividing Hinda society into hostile campst, The first widow remarriage; was celebrated in 1856. "When Vaidyssagan Mahashoy camo 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 Calcatia street of those days," Vidyasagar fell out with the Director of Public Instruction shortly aftep that, and resigned his post, and was thenceforth wholly absorbed by his social reform work Sivanath Sastry threw himself heart and soal in the widow remarriage cause, which estranged him. from his parents. But it was not in his nature to tarn buck after having once put his hands to the ploagh. At much personal sacrifice, he stood by remarried conples, sharing their hardships, bearing persecution. Bat his mind was taking a wider range: He passed his F. A. in 1869, but before that religions problems were beginning to trouble him. Sivanath Sastry states that it was ahout 1865 or 1866 that he began to feel carnestly 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 ancle, this custom of giving little babies in marriage prevaila among Kalin Brahmins in Bengal even now, though, we are sure, to a cunsiderably smaller extent.

In Angust $1 \times 69$, while get an undergraduate at College, Pandit Sastry was formally initiated into Brahmoism on the same day as the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. Even bis uncle who had stood by him when his father excluded him on accornt 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 son heaxpolled
hit apostate son with bit girl wife and infant daughter from hia hoase, leaving young Sastry to mainhain himself and his little family from the scholarships be had won. The fact that he had joined the Keshub party, which had aplit in 1866 from the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Mabarshi Devendra Nath Tagore on the question of Brahman Ministera of the Samaj continuing to wear the holy thread, no doubt, made more bitter the estrangement from his relatives. The Maharshl had yielded on many points to Keshab, inoluding the abrogation of the rule that only Brahmans should be Miniteters of the Samaj. But when Keghab demanded that no Brahman shonld be a minister onless he threw off his holy thread, the Maharshi refused. Whereapon Kesbab formed a new Samaj. It was into this Samaj that Pandit Sivanath Sastri was initiated. "Op to 1368," be writes, "my sympathies were rather with the $\Delta d i$ Brabmo Samaj than with the Brabmo Samaj of India of Keshab Chander Sen. Born in a shakta family, accostomed to shakti worship from ohildhood, I had an inborn repugnance to the Vaishnapa kholand kartal, the musical instruments of sankirtan." Bat he geve up this prejadice under the infuence of Keshab. The real canse of the sohism was caste. Keshnb who was a non-Brahmin wanted to break the tradition of Brahman leadership which the Brabmo 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 Keshab party and not with the Adi Brahmo Samaj, srys a great deal for hig atrength of character and conviction. The same qualities werd even more sirongly exbibited when later Pandit Sastry with ananda Mohan Bose fell off from Keshab when he gave his daughter-a tender girl-ia marriage to the heir to the gadi of Cooch-Behar. Pandit Sivanath Sasiry has given a vivid description of the meeting convened to send a letter of protest to Keshab, on the night of 2nd Febraary, 1878.

The proceedings commenced with earneat projer and we mat doliberatiag till about 2 A . M. When the quetion of rosding the hetcer wan decided apon and its points wefted. Bat a new difioidily aroee at that poiat. Oar triende Meens D. M. Dac, lete Vakil of the High Court, ood D. N. Gangali, late Asciatant Secretary of the Iudian Acmocintion, raiced the question on to the nezt atep we wanted $\omega$ take, in cume Mr. Sen gave no beed to oar letier. Were we propared, they mked, to atort a mew Samij! Every one wes takea abeck, For thay bad not thought over auct a sontingency till then. Myvell and my Iriend (Bone) panitively deelared that sach a thought weat thl then out of oor mind, and that we were urnestly hoping that thioge would rettle down, withoot leed. ing to is raptore in the bojy.

The break came. It had to come. Keskab had broken the Brahmanio tradition in the Bamaj. But there wat a far deeper and more inveterate tradi-
tion of which, in fact, the Brabmanio tradition was but a aymptom, which be could not break, and which broke him. It was the tradition of beliel withoat practice, faith withont work, speeoh without action. It is as deep-rooted in the non-Brahman an the Brahman. Caste may be abolished but nnlese this also goes, thinga will be no better. Keshab foiled in the field of action, betoot himaelf to mysticism. The stern nature of Pandit Sastry revolied. The Sadaran Brahmo Samaj was founded. For now nearly a generation, Pandit Sifanath Sastry has been its most venerated bead. We rather think that of late years he was not gnite satisfied with some developments in the Sadharan Bamaj. That is, however, another story. Pandit Sastry wat one of the tonadert of the City College. We have nospace to recount the manifold miesionary activities of the late great reformer. To him may be trathfally applied the resounding lines from the Epilogae to Asolando. He wat

> One who urver tarned bie beck, bat marched breant forwand,
> Nover dorbted olouds ooald brenk,
> Never dramed, though right were worted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rine, are baified to $\mathbf{6 g h t}$ better, Sloep to moke.

## POST GRADUATE TEACHING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

The report of the Conncil of the Post Graduate Teaching of the Calontia Dulversity 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 Conncils, with gennine gratification which does one good to see. The originality of the experiment and the boldness of its aspirations are equalled only by the sucoess of the soheme and the supreme confidence of Sir Asatosh. He claims with pardonable pride that "nothing like this has ever been achieved or even attempted in any Indian University." The difficalties have been enormons ahd they have suffered from lack of fands and sometimes from lack of aympathy.

There are two Conacils, one for teaching in Arts and the other in Science, and the task before these two Conncill is stupendoas. We will try briefly to indicate their moope. Daring the year under review the work of instraction and investigation was carried on in seventeen differeni branches of stady. In the Department of Englisb there were 521 studenta in the fifth and sixth year slasses. In this anbject there are two divisions, one predominantly literary and the other chiefly lingniatio. The Conncil has decided that lectares by themselves are not sufficient, and individas resorrch work is practically enforced. There were 21 teachern
for 521 stadents in* English making an average of one ieacher for 25 stadents.

The next department is Sanskrit with 3 stadents in the two classes with a teaching staff of 20 aniversity professors. The organigation for Higher Sanskrit studies had not been undertaken a momement too soon in this Lniversity. 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 s gallaxy of Sanskritists of a variety of types have not been brought together for parposes of instruction in any aniversity of the world.

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

Comparative Philology, for reasons quite obvious does not attract very many sindents and there were only 3 stadents in the two classes. The next in the syllabug are the Islamic Studies, Arabic and Persian, which attracted 9 stadents. But Mental and Moral Philosopby was more popular, the total namber of students being 175. The sfaff consists of 17 teachers all of them of the bighest 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 stadents. It is significant that this is the first Indian univeraily where arrangementa have been made for the systematic stady of Experimental Psychology.

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

The subject of Economics opens ap an attractive and illimitable feld of work with a variety of aveaues divided into awo divibions, Politioal Eoonomy and Political. Philosophy. The stadies had to be carried on with special reference to Indian conditions and in all there were no less thau 18 different saljects in this group in which iustruction had to be provided.
Mathematics lies on the berderland between Arts $\mid$ and Soience. There were 192 siadents in Pore Mathematics and 45 stodents in Applied Mathe-
matics. In the department of Physics there were 56 stadents in all which is a record number for the University. It is highly gratifying to note that the demand for instruction is very great, bat it is a pity that many applicants had to be refused admission for want of accomodation 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 bave, 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 stadents and a staff of 12 teachers of unexccptionable professional qualifications. The department of Botany has not attracted as mach attention as one would have wished. The total uamber of students being only 12. In physiology there were 9 students, the ataff consisting of two lectarers. The arrangements in Geology were by no mears adequate aud there were only 6 students on the whole:

Sir Asutosh maintains that "higher leaching is likely to be of little value unless it is imparted by men who are themselves engaged in extending the boundaries of knowedge." Where so many contributions of high value and abiding interest have been made in a variety of directions, it will seem invidions to select a few for special mention. Mr. Shama Sastry of Mysore, the greatest living authority on the ArthaSastra of Kautilya, delivered a course of inspiring lectures on his wonderfal work. Babu Surendranath 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 prablication.

At the top of all these comes the arrangement for the study of Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan. These langaages furnish abundant material for the exploration of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Dr. Vidyabhustan bas also in hand the preparation of an elaborate index of the two great Tibetan Encyclopaedeas which occupy 225 volumes and embody translations of more than five thoosand Sanskrit books which have disappeared from India. Arrangements have also been made for the atody of French, Datch and German both by the stadents. and the teachers. Professor Seal has during the last two years carried on an inveg. tigation on statistical principles and methods of the history of examinations in this University. No other conntry or Cniversity probably fossesses a collection of statistical records like this affecting hundreds of thousands of students and the exploration of this antrodden field is likely to yield resalts of great significance for edacational reorganisation in this compiry.

There have been also arrangements mado for the ecientific study of the Indian Vernaculars. Instraction is given in Bengali as a principalsubject with a number of olber vernaculars as anbsidiary enbjects, inclading Assamse, Oriya, Hindi, Maharati, Gujarathi, Teloga, Tamil, Canarese Malayalam, Sinhalese and Maithili. The enthasiatm whict has been ronsed by the scheme for the institation of special degrees in Indian Vernaculars is really inspiring.
.. The contribations of the professors figare 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 colleagas bave made their name familiar and bave secured for their views respectinal consideration in academic circles in Europe and America. In Chemistry the researches of Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. P. C. Mitter ctc., have helped not merely to maintain batalso to advance the repatation of the Calcutts School of Chemistry fonnded by Eir P. C. Ray. Indeed, contribations by members of the staff have become so prolific that the University has ondertaken 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 magnificant opportanity for acadepoio, 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 bas created a great stir in the orthodox section of the Hindu community. The latter have gone so far as to apprebend that the passing of the Bill into a Law, will produce notbing but hybrid castes in India. Let the wise and the thoughtiul 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 Earopeans, and the introdac* tion of railways, modern methods of trade, and machiner $y$ 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 impassible for a Brabman tudo bis daily duties properly, and he cannot cbserve strictly the rules of eatiog and drinking. The rigid barriers between the people of one caste and the other seem to be broken a litlle. though the process is exceedingly slow. The majority of the people are still very punctilious in matters of eating, drioking, 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 end last boundary between one class and the other. No class dominates over the other. A man of lower social group can raise himsell 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 bis own case. He can take a wife from any class, and bave social intercourse with the people without any tear of interference or penalty. The Hindus, on the other hand, are divided into inoumerable castes and sub-castes, and they are compelled to abstain from eating and driaking 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 bis caste fellows. There are countless restrictions forced upon eacb group, and they are so deeply rooted in thom, that an average Hindu lacks the moral courage to act independently of to do any thing of which bis 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 luid down the rules and regulations for each caste, so that the duties alloted to each may be fully and carefally 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 bim and the rales laid down by him. Though much of inconsistency is observed in the Manu-Smriti, yet this does rot, in any way,. weaken the faith of the. Hindus in this sacred book Fictitious laws have been introduced by unknowa persons to serve their own interests, yet much of the matter remains nopolluted. Let us see what be has to say in"regard to the duties of each caste.

Manu tells os that there were only four principal castes in his dayi. He," after laying down the duties for the four castes, the rules of discipline, ceremony, and rites, and telling us something about edacation, Stradh, and the Veda-study, classifies the legiti. mate and illegitimate issues of hybrid castes, and bas given separate names for classes formed by hallbreeds. The history of Iadia has changed since the days of Mana. 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 Brabmans alone could teach the Vedas, and nobody else. In ourdays we see the deplorable condition of the illiterate and uneducated Brahmans, 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 sucb Brahmans, 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 Brabamanas, whose very source of income is from selling milk! We have scholars in Sanskrit, and of Vedic literature, who are not only non-Brabmans, but forcigners. The number of educated Brahamans sinks into minority when compared with the people of other castes, who are comparatively more highly educated. How many Brahmans have we then, who represent the priesty class of the days of Manu? The other castes too, are not free from degeneration. The Kshariyas 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 ANATEUR DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION, BANGALORE.

The stage hat in all agen bean recognised as a potent fnotor in popalar eduoction, combining as it happily doen, instruotion and amosement. What Poetry and Fiotion do for the oultared few, Drame doen for the anoultared and anlettered mavy in lightening their cares and helping them to a right appreciption of life.
It is in matter of common knowledge that the Indinn Stage has nots however, been fulaling ita legitimate fanotion, having, wilh but few honorable oxceptions, been monopolined by perboni with no pretentions to caltare or oharacter, and having. been largely given over to trivolity in yerying degresh, with noither the deaire nor the eapaity to aid in the advancement of genaine Art. Thif onfortupate obange in what wee ones an neful manal inatitution, bound ap with come of the best inotidote of hnman aature, has gone so far af to bed rome pernone serionaly to maintnin that thare is something radically vicions in the whole theory and principle of the atage and therefore to advocate ita being pat down with an aggrenive hand. Bat lortanatoly for the Art of Which the Slage in prominent exponent, there is great aod erer ionereniog onaber of porsoant that do not torget that wwe of the bent representativos of Foetio genias in the Eastatd the Wist wrote for the 8tage; and that Kulidnae and Stakerpeare wield oven to day the Magio Wond of Propercu over the imagination of mankind not only by the infinite charna they have for the moat refined
taste of Scholars but also by the facility with which thair sublime and thoughtiol teaching may bo brought delightfally home to simple minds through the mediam of the Stage. They would therefore make no futile attempta to destroy thia asafal Pablic Iastitation, bat woald rather atrive to remove its abuses and to elevate it atone.

Attempte at resascitating the Indian Stage have been going on for some time past in Bengal, in the Mabarashtra, in the Andhra and the Tamil Conntries with great nuccessa The asbociation paseesses in one capacity or another eminent persones auch as G. H. The Yavaraja of Mysors, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Iate Messra. D. Krishnamecharlue and Kolacholam Srinivasa Reo of Bellary and V. Krishnabwanier of Madrae, the Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seahagiri 1yer, Dewan Babadur M. J. S. Chakravarti nod Mr. T. Baghnvachari with several amaterra and it is a gratifying aign of the willing nese of edacated public opinion to rescue the atage from the andesirabie hands into which it has fallen. It was a desire to take ap thin work and extend it in the Kanada Coantry ap well that led to the atarting of the Bangulore Amatens Dramatio Aseocistion in 1909.

The objects of the Aesociation have been laid domn wa :(a) The etady and cultivation of the bistrionio and other Fine arts, (b) the improvement of Indian Dramalic and other Art Literatros, (e) the raising of the tone of the Indisn stage (d) the adrapoemant of the Civic. and Social progreap of the people.

And the meang among othert are: ( $($ ) the representation of drames on the Stoge, the production of original dramatio and other art literature, leotures and exhibitions, ( 1 ) gemes, ontertaioments and socinils.

Daring the first few years, the Association confined ite attention to the atagic rapresentation of Shakenperenn Dramac. It was the unilormly aynpathetic and generoue -seception nocorded to these shows by the edocated pablic of Bangalore and Myrore, that led to the oponing of a Telugu seotion and nearly a Dozan different drames some of the masterpiecea of the late Mesara Dr, Krighnamacharla and Kollechelam Srinizasm Reo and Mr. D. Gopala Charla of Bellery have been ataged belure ditsinguished andiences in Bangalore and Myeore. Among the gueste of the Association were H. H. the Yavaraja of Myeore, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Association considera it a gratifying token of public approval of their efforts that on most of these occmione people have been seen in the theatre who otherwise rarely darken ite doors.The Association ataged twetty plag! iu caut of the jenre 1917-18 and 1918-19, in Bangalore Mywre and Madras.

In 1917 the Assoointion institated a prize for a Histrionio compotition and the Prize waa given away by Sir Lenlie C. miller.

In 1916 the Association instituted a Prize for an Eapay on the late Mr, Gokhale. In 1919 A Prize of Re 250/-wat institated for the beat Kannada Drama on a Histor.anl or a Sooial sabject 10 plays have already been received and are in the bauds of the Jadges. Another Prize of the ralae of Re, 50 was inatituted lor the best ebort banwrous eketch in Kannada on some Topiual anbject. 7 Sietchen have bean recoived and the Prixe was awarded to "Tolut Gatti" by Mr. T. P. Kelinami b.a, Eto. By kind pormins:on, the last two prixes have been aneociated with the name of the Patron ol the atauciation H. H. the Yavaraja of Mysore, who has graciously cousented to give them aifey biwell. Since 1917 periodical meetinge of a Religions.Literary natare have been held at which Lectares of and Readiuga from eminent anthort suol an Tagore, Sir Edwin Araold, Sister

Nivedita, Gokbsle and othen wers followed by Paja and Bhajems. The first of the serien of Pablic Leotares contemplated by the Aseociation whe delivered in September 1918 by Mr. C. R. Reddy y.a. i.a. of Edncation in Mytore on Drama in tbe East and Weat. (The Leoture with the Preaidential Remarks of Demsa Bahadir J. S. Cbekraverti has since been printed and pablished by the Aeecietion.), The Aseosiation mainteins a small Library and is farnishei with 16 Periodicals.
In January 1919 the Asecciation orgenined the Fentival of Tine Arts. At the request of the Aseobistion Dr. Rebindranath Tagore aeme down to Bengalore to preside at the opening ceremony of the Featival, when the Associetion had the previlege of presentig the distinguishad gnest with an addremenclosed in suitable cmsket. The Programme of the Featival week included . Fine Arta Exhibition st which were put on fiew Exhibite of the Modern, Beugal School of Painting, copien of Ajanis Frescoes, easta of Vijayanagar Sculptare, specimane of the Mogul and the Rajput and South Indian Schools of Paintiug, betiden epeciman art-cralta from Mysore and elewhere.

The Association thopes to keop up and incrasse it notivities in the fielde of art and social service. When financial conniderations permit, it hopes to give free entartainments and carry amueement with instraction to the very doors, an it were, of even the poorest; to organisa an Art Gallery of which it possesses amall nuclens; to introduce greater opportanition of clublile for ite membere by the provisiun of gamea and by putting np building and theatre of ita 0wn.

## THE CASUALTEES AT THE JALLIANWALLA BAG.

The-Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.
In the conrse of the debate on the Iodemnity Bill in the Imperinl Legielative Conncil on the 19ih instant, the Eon. Mr. Thompron is reported by the Associated Prese to hev 6 made the following remarkn regarding the cosualtien at the Jallianwalla Bag of Amritear on the 19th April, 1919, "Coming to the Julliantralla Bag incident, he (Mr. Thompson) said that the ossualtie there according to Pandit Mulaviya amonnted to 580. Now the Government of the Panjab had edopted every means in ite power to secertain the actual namber of deaths there. A proclemation wat made in A mritar and the surrounding villages inviting all persone who had any isformation regarding the anmet of deaths. Instructiona were issued to the locnl anthoritien there to encourage men to come forward and give information they possezsed. Every possible step whe taten in that direction. The result of the enquiry was that the total number of casasitioe amonnted to 291, and eny further namber saggested by any body mat be takea with great diecretion."

Al the question is one of more than pussing interent, may I ventore to intrude on your hoepitality and, through the medium of your esteemed, joarasl to atate the correct factu bearing on the point. Belore proceeding furtber, I feel I chould mention the fact that I bave been working at Amritear from the 18 th Jaly, 1919 , in connection with the distribation under the ouspice of the Allahabad Seva Samiti of reliet to the sofferens from the recent distarbaces. Owing to the nature of the work entruatel to me , I have hed to suske, from the very day I came here, strenuous efforts to ascortain the number of the killed and the woonded at the Jallianmalla Bag. The method porsued by our volanteors has been to go from house to bouse in the City of Amritest, ageertaining the aanses not only of the killed, but aleo of the meunded. I
furtbor arranged to eend oat volanteore to visit every aingle villege in the district of Amritear Gardeypar, Sialkot a Labore so that we might give reliof to tboir dependenta in ase of want. We are aloo advarticing io the Urda and Gurmakhi papers of the Panjab, esking prople to conamavieste to the office the namen and eddreseet of the killed and the wanded. We have $s 0$ for fiaiebed the diatrict of Amritent oaly, and I am a waiting the reporta of our rolan. toere who are touring in the remaining three distriote.

I shink that what hat been mid above will suffice to satiefy even the Hoa. Mr. Thompson thet the Ggarementioned by our Prosident, the Hon. Pendit Madan Moban Malevia' is not based on mere nanatseted heareay, but bat been artived at es a realt of eeveral weeks' patient, and bard lebour. The number of the killed, so far knowe to at, oomet op to 880 , inclading 60 who coald not be traosd and, onknown and nuclaimed, were oremated by certain philaotbropio gentlemen. We have nivo recaited the namen of orer 200 perens who were wonnded bat have now reoovered. Thus the total canualtion come ap to 780 , of which 580 were killed sad 200 mounded. Oar list are howevar not jet complete and I expeot that come more names will bara yet to be addod. The figure of 291 given by she Hoa. Mr. Thompen it therefore atpable anderatatement.

I know that the Officiating Deputy Cummisioner of Amrissar issaed on the 11th Aagact, 1918, a proclamation, asking people to Commanicate op to the 20th Augut the namen of thy killed to the Health Offiser, Amritar. He aloo asked the Patwarit to and in the liets from villages. Bat the Officisting Dapaty Commissioner known, ad the Hoa. Mr. Thompeon does not know, how much the people here are terroretricken and how reluotant they are to aupply toe information to the publio arthoritien. Mr, Pactele therefore ruquented me to aesore the people that thove who commanigated the luformativa in their possession would in no way be harsseed or prosecated. I accordingly isened a notice in Urdu and Gurmakhi, asking the people to come forward and give ioformation. Notwithatanding this, ceveral paraont could not muater courage enoogh to give the information to the Health Officer. As regarde the reporta liom the Patwarit, the less said the bettor. I mill content myiell with esyiag only tisis much thas their reports have in ceveral casw, been tound by us to be gronaly inmoonrate.

I chonld like to kuow it the Panjab Guvernment hat made anj sttempt to find out the hemet of the persons belonging to dietricte other than Auritest, who wers killed of wounded on the 18 ch April, So for as I know, no anch sttempt bee besn mano. And jat it is known to all that a con-iderable namber of permons preseat at the Jallisnwalla Bug eere dramn from the ranks of those oataiders who bed come on' scoonat of the great Baiealhi day to Auriturs from such far-off places at Penhawar, Buwalpindi Mooigoraory, Campbellpur and Sriagar (Kashroir), We have got the namee of the killed bolonging to them, pleoses in our list, but they are not to be foand in the ufficulat liat, copy of wing bee. bsen applied to ns throagh the coarteey of the Officising Depaty Commiosioner. Ia the face of these fects, I ventare to anggent with grent reipect to the Hon. Mr. Toomproa that he is nrong in cayiog thas "every posinble atep wof tatcon in that direction." I ascer! that "ovary ponsibie step" has oot been taken to sacertain the names of the kuled ond the wounded. I farther seg tbat sueb setion at het been taken What not taken catil it wet wo leto. And having regard to the facte narreted above I woald in all bewiitity requete tha Hon, Mr. Thompeen to tare buf figare of 292 "thith great discretion.'

Yoare traly,
V. N. TIVARY,

Amritas.
21at September 1919.
Honoresy Secreter
Seva Samiti, Allababed.

## the plague of annotations.

## To

## The Elitor of the Indian Social Reformer

 Sir,Sometitne back correspondent of the Chronicle onder the pseadonym "A Recluse' while criticieing in his article entitied "Stadeute and Loyalty 'statel: "If stadonts are told to accapt the guidanea of their teacburd, theg may anderstand definitely what to do. But in the first place all teachers sre not of the same yolitical peranasion. No teacher, unless his salary and prospects are assured by Government, will constantly risk his popalarity by criticiaing newepapers and men of light and leading. You cannot axpect atudenis to be independent thinkers:" Well as malter of fact, stadents are encoursged by come external resources to be totally slavish to ideas and thoughts of others on any matter, and the reason of it is quite sucoinct. Juat imagiue the present day student, who is confronted, as it were, with so meny text books prescribed by the Univeraity suthorities, and, at the same time there are to mang notes and oatchiams on them-which generally are a furt of mania very commonly ta be found in our eductied persons and, I ans borfy to stite, some of the members of the 1. E. S.; Who uanecesarity take the ancalled for tronble of annolating them and to whioh, it must be ssid in all fairness, the present day stadent annot resist the temp. tation of being alagish.

I do nut compreis. $\mathbf{1}$ whether atudentu are benefited by anob notes, for at I beve olrasdy statid they are enconraged by other resiureea to be elavish to thoughis of others on any fundamenial suijot, and there is no dubt that each notes do bring thein snecess is their respective examinations after twice or fuar tim administering to themedres that univeruslly aoknowledgud bad habit of cramming, which has now been doteated by every thonghitul person. Are not atudente I ask, in a position to prepare their own notes on any prescribed text bonk by the valued belp of their professors and teaohers? Can they not after independently thinking surmount their dificalies and thereby develop the power of independence in themselves? There are too many notes ou different bookt edited by many educated persone, which natur. elly prevent eveu the arreful student from taking the tronble of thinking over any problem indepondently. Tous the learned correspondent of the Chromele ia jusified in atating that studente are not indepondent thinkers. For how min they be independent in their thoughte ander anch ciromstancee?

1f students do not comprehend thit own intereala that notos on their preseribed text booke bre sort of great danger to their futare career, then it is quite but natural that the same cort of bad habit will be depeloped in.them, with the reault that they will becompletely non-plasaed and wait for othere' opinious, when they ere callsd apon to express their own opinion on any fuodamental sabject. Let as therefore hope that students who ste the furuc citizens of their coantry, will shake of this wretobed babit of merely depending opon their notes and thereby develop the power of self investiga. tion aud self.help.

## IK. D. Ungigan.

## DEVALAYA RESEAKCH LIDRARY. CALCUTTA.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

 Sir,Need ban always been telt of a library conteining booke on the lives and worte of workers, religions and sociel, of all detioniantiont and also books that they have left belind for
the instraction and guidance of posterity. Apart from ita great value to the general reader such a library is of grent help to any one who wants to carry on researches in the social and religious history of his country and in the prosess of the derelopment of religions and bocial idess and ingtitationgs. With the spresd of edacation sud growth of new ideals the spirit of resasch in every field, eapacially in the real history of the conntry has bean wakened in many of our conulrymen, bat the facilities afforded to them for anch researet.es in uar couniry sre not too nisny. It is with the object of affirding facilities to research atudies that a Ressarsh Library and Fres Readiag Rosm has bean established in the Devalays. It Is the desire of the athorities to make this library. a complete collection of books on social and religions morkers of all communities and also of their writing as precticable under the circumstances. The task is a groat one in which succeas can't be attained withont the co-operatiou of friends and sympathisers. It is not the work of a siogla peraon, or of one commanity or even of a generation. The present times are hard, the country is sufiering from high prices of articles of food and other nevessaries of life; it in not therefore, the time to appesl lor fande, but we may bagin the work and hope adequate pecuniary halp will come when times are better. Depending on God this day we open the library to the pablic. Therelore onr preaent appesil to the generons pablic is not for fonde-but lor books, for sympsthy and cooperation, we bope this our bumble appeal will not fail to draw sympathetic response frum the country.

The bookg of this library will ba arailable to all resiers in the Devalaya resding room whieh will be open from 7 to 9 A. M. and 4 to 7 P. M. daily. Oaly in exceptional cates will bouks of this library be allowed to ba taken home. Newepseers and periodicals also will be kept in the reading room. Special consideration will be shown to those readers who intend to carry on research stadies in come brancls of the religions or zooial history of the country.

Sagipada Banequer.
Calcutta, September 1 st 1819.

## A PUNJABI LADY OXONIAN.

"Oxford Majlis" (whish is tho name of the Indian S soiefy at Oxford Uuiverdity) bad, for tha first time in its history, a Lady President dariag the last Trinity term, whish terminatel sbuat the end of Jane. This young lady (Mias Shakla Behiri Lal) bits from the Panjab, and is the daugbter of a praotical social refurmer-Dr. Bshari Lal Dhiagra, Chief Medical officer of Jlad State Sbe went to England before the War, and joined the Somerville Oollege absut three years ago. She was very popalar socially, and was in a great measure responsibla tor tite anccessful organisation of the Indian Cunforenos-s parely anoial congragation-in Engfand, which held its firt seasion last year and the second during June thie jear. The "Oxford Majlie" held a reception in bonour of their Lady President last Jane, and preo sensed her with a handsone sonvenir. Mise Behari Lal left homewarda soon after that, in order to spend the hot weather with her parente at Musboorie.

## INTERMARRIAGES IN UPPER INDIA.

We take these tro itemi from $\boldsymbol{x}$ recent issue of the Leader Allahabad.

Pandit Keobara Dova Shastri of Bonsres will arrive in India eowe tima in Ostober. He will be numriai to an Amerionn lady in Bombey according to the Vedic rites. This
ledy and ber sioter are comiag to Iadis with hia and both will formally jive the Arye Samaj bere. Pandit Keshava Dava Shatri is now an M. D. and will, therefore, romais a physician as he wa befort he bad left Iadia. Hin antivitien will be onalasively encial and religion to which be mill devote bis enorgite mainly. All enquiries aboat the date of hisarrival, ete, shonid be mede to the secretary, Arje Samaj, Benarer aity.

The marringe of Mr Sankat Saran, B.A. (Ozan), bar-at-lew, con of Maushi Ishatar Sarsa, vakil, High Conrt, at Alabas. bad, bee beas settled with the daggher of Bobu Lakehmi Sahsi, B. A., thata forest officer of Alwer. The brifegriom is as Srivastare (Dasre) and the bride wasthana.

Increased Salaries: In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, it was stated on beball of Government that the cost per annumf 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 Setvice (civil and military) Rs. 25,00,030, (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 Bil: The Hind"l of Madras is not satisfied with the Re. ligious and Chistable Eadowments 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, betweea the two cases which should be obvious. In regard to the consience 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 endowmente, 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 tak $n$ 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 band, a means of promoting their objects. The anxiety about respecting orthodox opinion which the Government often express is of a questionable kind; and tbey would do well to remember that this orthodux 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 $15^{\text {h }}$ September, the Hon, sir Dinshaw Wacha
put some searching questions regarding the reorgenisation 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 bean prepared on the subject as the opinions of L.acal Governments have not all been received. The report has evidently been sent to Lacal Governmsnis, and we do not see how it would be disadvantageots to publish it and invite public opinion on it. This Committee sat in cemera and examined a lew selected witnes. ses. 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 intereste aftected 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.

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Conteglous but not Hereditary.

## A Students' Benebt Fund.

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## MOTES.

Prerident 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 kopt up and that the illustious 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 ospecially the case with men who espouse great ideals in advance ol 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 il 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 pointe, and that the political world of Europe has been too much for bim. We do not share this view, und, indeed, we are inclined to think that those who profess were nover very anxious to see the Prcsident's ideals realized. No one who understood and believed in these shining ideals in all their farreaching implications, least of all the President himself expected that the Peace Conference at Paris would usher in the millcnium betore it dispersed. On the contrary, the most- earnest belicvers 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 tima Thought moves, as has been truly said, in a spiral curve and not in a straight line. A great idoa 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 sbakes the teak sapling but adds atrength to its roots, though it will breale 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 bave 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 bad asked for a minimum ol 60 shillings: what they get is 9 shillings less but it is II shillings more than what the Government bad 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 evidentiy unimpaired. Mr. Lloyd George has once again demonstrated bis wonderful capacity for turning what seemed to overwhelm him into a means of augmenting his strengtb. The end of the strike, indeed, leaves the Prime Minister securely establisted in thisgreat position from which be 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 gatbering of the strikers received the news of the settlement by singing the hyinn "Abide with me." That shows the spirit of Euglish Labour, and it is a spirit which must win and by its victories exalt the whole life of the nation.

The Old Enemy in 2 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 wile of Deputy Commissioner of Bangalore. Aiter 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 Goveroment pro poses 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 bigher course and whose conditions provide convenieace for a louger
course. No provision is made for such cases in the proposed course. The sabject deserves serious thought, and 1 think it is desirable to form a committee to lormulate our views on the question of lemaie 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 Abmedabad under the editorship of Mr. Gandhi, translates a striking passage from à 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: "Uatouch. ables 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 not are 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 ycu. It is the duty of us Hindus to belp you in every way. Most of my time bas 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 Commieett: New India has printed the written statement and oral examination of Mrs Bespothelore the Joint Commitancern titutiopolarane of Parliament on Indian conss ed -... reform. We have been greatly impress -and so, we are sure, bave been arany others-by the close study and complete mastery of her subject of which Mrs. Besant gave evidence in her prolong. ed examination. It is evident that the members of witness who could throw light on several aspects of the subject into which they were enquiring. Mrs. Besant's statenuents were crisp and ciear, and she. completely identified herself with India and the Indian point of view. She told the Committee that, having tived 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 Eaglishman in India. We think it due to her to say that she has rendered valuable service to the cause of constitutional reform by ber evidence. Incidentally, she proved in a concrete way that women, as women, are quite as compelent to form reasoned opinions on political mattess as men, some of them more competent than many men.

Leptosy in lndia. Amonget the multifold diseases of the haman body nothing is more losthsome, nothing more terrible in ita lingering torture than leprosy whioh has peraistently baflled the efforte of modern eedicine to find out' a remedy. Incursble in its ravages, it overwhetms sympathy and pity by an instinctive sense of repulsion and makes a tragedy of the viotim's life. Leprosy had been so initimately conyected with the miracles of Jcaus Christ and Christian esints and missionaries have ever since made the canse of the leper their own. It is in this Biblical luathing of lepresy not unmixed with the nast profonnd pity'for the eofferer that we must trace the origin of that resotve and effort which hate made the existence of the disease almost a thing of the patin Western countries.

In Indis the leper problern has been a sort of "no man's land." $\Delta$ coording to the Census report of 1911 the number of lepera in. India was 100,094. It was 132,968 in 1881 a 186,24 , in 1891; and 97310 in 1901. There is a general belief that the namber of lepers has shown a leudency to decrease. Batthese fgures are greatly to be disconnted hy tho fact that omissiona due to wilfal concenlment are common in regard to leprosy. According to the Census Commissioner therefure there are about 150,1400 of these anfortunates in India, while the Kev. Oldrieve is incliued to put the tolal at 250,000 . Assam suffers noat Erom this diseape-and next come in order Barma, Behar und Orissa, the Central Provinoes, Madras, Bengal ete. About one eixth of the lepers are to be found in Native Staten.

Contagious but not Hereditary: The Nationnl Leprosy Commission (1891) ham declared that leprosy is contagious but not hereditary. The two important Interaational Conferences one in 1897 and another in 1908 have arrived at definite oonclasions: that leprosy in highly contugions but not hereditary; that the disease bas hitherto resisted all offorta to cure it; that it is necessary that conntries with leprosy ohould isolate lepers; that it is desirable that the children of lepers should be separated from their leper paranto. So now the only solation to the leper problem in India is wise, hamane, but complete segregation of the diseased leger from the benthy communtiym A hopeful sign of the times is that the Auxilary Body to the Mission to Lepers was started under the patronage of Lady Chelinsford. But thereal orax of the problem is finance. As to the exact amonat of the problem be required, we have the experience of the Mission to gaide ns. The Mission spends aboat f28,500 on ebout 5,000 lepers. According to this estimate, to maintain 100,000 lepera would require abont $£ 570,000$, almost the same as the jail figares on the pre-war basis. The burden of the Government might be relieved by an appeal to public philanthropy, and specially to the rich matis, temples and mosques, since it is around these places that destitate 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 Mag 1902 by a band of enthusiastic yongg men of the Goud Saraswat Brahmin community with the object of raising funds-by co-operation and atilising them in helping poor and deserving students of both sexes of the community, prosecuting their studies to India, as well as in foreign countries, is obtaining primary, secondary, colleglate, pont-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 Eilc-Members, During its 17 years' existence, the Mandali thas apent nearly Rs. 72 , 000 in giving aid to 236 studiots of both sexes of whom 37 bave taken University $\mathrm{L}_{\mathrm{g} \text { grees, }} 20$ Technical Education $g$ education in Midowifery and Nursing and others including women eccondary and primary education. The Institution has been registered under Act XXI of 186x and bas recently created a Trust of its properties which mainly consist of bonds, debenturts cte of the value of Res. 52,000 .

## indian social reformer. <br> 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 Imperal Legislative Council, should have prepared the public for the extraordinarily vitulent tone of some of the official contributions to the debate on Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya's motion for the appointmet by His Majesty's Government of a Commission, consisting of gentle. men unconnected with the Indian Administration, to enquire into the causes of the recent disturbances in the Puajab 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 con: nected 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 Hod'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 thisk Hun'ble Memberimusillrealise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essentiol 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 it 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 Delni, 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 suppoit was unwaveringly given throughout. Whatever view we may take of this, whether we regard it as the right thing for the Goveinment of India to do, or whether we regard it as depiliug the Provincial Government of the superior guidance to which it is entitled by its very constitution, whether we regatd it as a nuble act of timely sell-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 ta 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 nq such rule regarding the repports 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 Goverament, "ualess there is same un? foreseen reason to the conlkary, to publish the final report." Apparently there is to be one or more ad.interim reports before the tinal 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 ${ }^{\text {a }}$, after the emphatic declaration of the Viceroy $y_{4}$ undess it upsets preconceived official theories. The report will be published if there is nothing to conceal in it.
Notice of bis 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 Parmditnight peshaps find it necessary either to withdraw or modify his motion. OT course, the Pandit is not entitled to complain that this was not dona. If it had bcen 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 sbrewd move to dish the unwary Pandit. The Pandit also could not be exculpated from blame. We believe that bis brave and chivalrous stand in the Council on behall of the sufferers in the Punjab, bas 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 harin. The Pandit procrastinated. Instead of giving notice of an amended motion as soon as the Viceroy sat down (as Sir Pherozeshah 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 alter the announcement made by His Excellency. He would have done better to bave given the notice first and then consulted his friends. The Pandit in his simplicity believed that his prayer would be granted but be 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 respondedby requesting that his resolation might be taken op three days later. Sir William Vincent rose again and asked that fifteen days' notice was necessary uader 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, therefors 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 liberal: ly treated. The official report in the Gixatic df 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 expla. ined 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 paprezt the the tuitary tribunals. In his cercriding remarks, the Hon. Pandit indica. wed two alferiative Committees : one to consist of Lord Haldane, Yiscount Esher and Bir 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 Goverament 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 futare. 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 Representive 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 circum. stances of a Minister who had secured a great bold on the mind and imagination of the country, the position of the Bardar Sahib was a difficull one. The position of the finances added to his difficalties. The revenue in some of the most lucrative industrial - concerns had been hitherto in sterling, and the
raising of the exchange from ra-6d when the estimates were framed, to 2 sthillings, is likely to increase the budget deficit of Rs. 64,000 to nearly Rs. 16 lakhs. Fresh taxation under the circumstances cannet bavoided. The accumulated surplus: es of the Stave have been greatly trenched upon to provide the capital expenditure on several large projects and further expenditare on these and other produc. tive works can be met only by public borrowing: We may say, in passing, thet the fiscal policy of most Indian States of budgetting for enormous surpluses every year, which, in some progressive Statet are later invested in productive works, in several otherit are simply rhoarded and become the private property of the ruler, and in a lew others, we are sorry to say, are wasted on worthless favouriten and rainous 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 buditot the revenue should balance the expenditure, with a reasonably liberal margin sifor contingencies, A certain amount of public sympathy will natarally be felt for an administrator who starts with. so many difficulties In spite of it, however, Sardar. Kantaraj Urs' debut as Dewan before the Repres. sentative Assembly, might-easily bave been less satisfactory, but lor a certain indefinable blending of sincerity, modesty and straightforwarduess in his. auncer, which disarm oppositiōn and predispose one to put the best interpretation on the Dewan's observations. The monsoon has given good rain! in Mysure and promices a plenteous harvest. The: health conditions are also far better than last year. The signs are anspicious for a successful Dewanahip for Sardar Kantaraj Uis.

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 wel. come the Dewan Saheb's frank confession that the policy bitherto pursued, in imitation of British India, of trying to diminish consumption by adminiatrative regulation of shops and prices, has failed and that other means must be found of combating this grow. ing 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 remody 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 Hahomedan-will hail with joy the promulgation of such a policy. We are convinced that the Government of Iadia 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 desering of assistance towards social arnelioration and
more in peed ol 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 hither. to admitted; admission was secured not quite two monthr ago for four Chaman boys, inot by any fiat but by merely putting it to the patristism of the Brabman headmaster and his colleagues that to deny admission to them was treason to the country's higheat interents. The precedent thus created can never be revoked. Dewan Kantaraj Urs rightly sald that something more than merely throwing open schools, was due to the Panchamas, and that it would be his endeavour to keep this in yiew.
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 schopla 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 shouild bè 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 beieg paid to Mahomedan: edueation, With reference to the education of women, we do not believe in special curricula tor them. Mr, Reddy, the Inspector General of Education, is said to bave prepared some special courses for women. We have not seen them. The placiug 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 administratıve work. Salaries, however, are not the sole consideration. A high moral atmosphere ${ }_{i}$; 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 befurther deveroped nuder the new Dewan, Sardar Fiantaraj Urs has been made to appear in some quarters as a protagonist of the anti-Brabmin party. Tbe Sardar has clearly no desire to appropriate the doubtful distinction thus sought to be imposed on hirs: Speaking of the duty of doing everything to elevate the Panchamas, he managed to express hia resolve to follow the wise policy tunnciated by His Highness the Maharaja in his reply to a non-Brahmar deputation. "My alm," said His Highness, "is to pursue a just and rignteous policy as between various castes and communities In the State, neither unduly favouring nor suppressing any individual one but trying to uptitt them all lor the permanent good of the state. $\%$. It is impos. sible to tind a wiser moto for an Indian admintstrator. .

## THE LATE PANDIT SHIVNATH SHASTRY.

(By.Sif Nabatay Celindatareaz). I first met the late Pandit Shirnath Shastry in the year 1878-79. It is a memorable year, becausé the politioal, sooial and commericial events which crowded it, formed a turning-point in the history of India, and their spirit is operating even nowr in the ovents 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 religions and social reform which till 187 . had held the sphere of Indian activity and subordi-. nated 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 Vernaculas Press Act, the Arms Act and other reactionary measures of the new "Imperial" policy, were confesting their mistake, and saying that if they had. known that the policy of repression was intended to atife Indian opinion and enable Government to deal with Indian interests for purposes of English party politics, they would have declined ta bet parties to the repressive measures. Mr. Gladstone was carrying on in Scotland his Midlothian oampaign and fulminating against Lord Lytton's policyin Indfa- Theooound-Afghan War with is creed of a scientifio frontier had proved a millgtone round Indian's neck and Sir John Strachey's trusted. finareial genits had endect fo a huge defioit whiol had swallowed the Famine Insurance Fuind. Waskdeo Balvant Phadke was collecting Mavlas and committing political dacoities in the Decenn and Konkan. The new school of political thoughi, whicl divided religions 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 pablic by the new journalism that was coming into existence. In Bombay the failure of the Glasgow Bank had Jed to 4 commercial crisis. Altogether the atmosphere was one of political unrest and mistrust, the sigas 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 Shivnath Shastri, who had democratised the Brahmo religions movement in Bengal, foured several parts of lndia 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 theuselves in Bombay to propagate Theosophy. The Pandit's lectares and sermons delivered in the Prarthina Samaj drew large andiences; his Sanskrit schularshit and the presentation by him of the Brabmo fuith in the Upanishad garb aroused interest; hat more than

Ell that, were his visite to the homes of the people, grest and small, to whom he conld have access, that gave him the power to inflaence men and women He met and talked to, by the charm of bis manner and the haman touch of his heart. Tall and of Ene physique at the time, be met you by a hearty ahake of the hand as if he met a brother; and the Hand-shake was followed by as heariy a laughter, lond and lively, which was charaoteristic of the aman. His tour throngh several parts of Indis before Ie visited Bombay had girea him abundant reasons for depression aboat the prospects of religious reform-wherever be went, be had found apathy, and yet he did not lose hope, rather discerned the sunl of good in the depressions of the day. I rewember, he and I met one morning at the house of the dear soul we loved and veneraied for his saintly bife-the late Mr. N. M. Parmanand-and the talk \#arned on the fature of religions reform in general and the prospects of the Brahmo faith in particalar. This is how he summed up the whole sitation:"Wherever I have gone and toared, I find people complaining that the burden of life is becoming so antense that they have hardly time to give thought to religion." "How do you account for that?" I asked. He replied:-" Our social eustoms, our rolitical disabilities, our industrial weakness, make as ill prepared for the new straggles of life, to earn our bread gnd maintain onir furine It is notipen fation when life is becoming a straggle. Religion, it is trae is born in adversity; bat lidia'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 evmpathy."

And that is how he lived his whole life of Arahmo Missionary. He could enter into the hearts of poor clerks or sweated coolies, realise Their struggles, and engender hope. While in Fombay he was the guest of several families; and in every home where he stayed he created an amosphere of heartiness to make the best of the siruggle of life. For insiance, he stayed for a day or two with a gentleman in humble oircumstances of lifo-who had to bring up his family on an income thai barely sufficed. Rising one morning, he fonad bis host's wife had risen earlier and going the round of domestic daties without worry. That thecame the test of a sunshine sermon at that day's family prayer in the house-nnd how it brightened all that heard it I At another house where he was a guest, the host, a firebrand of a reformer who mated the casie system, told the Pandit, while the eyils of that system were being denoanced, that he was delermined to defy his caste, come what might. "Don't, my brotber"-interposed the Pandit-- defiance is not the word. Do jour part with Zerotion-lenve defiance to caste, and jou shall wing" At a third house his host was a tasy man,

Tho complained that be folt sooppressed by bis work that he goi frequently confoed, bardly able to colleot his iboughts. "Yes," said the Pandit. "I bere been watching yonr life sinoe I beve stayed with you-yone tronhle arises becanee you work in the "nidat of noise. Your ense gare me a subject for anarticle for the Indian Meseonger which is just to hand. Read it and see if you can change your waye of work." At another bouse where he was the guest of a fricad, the friend's wife happening to any that the day following was her child's birthday, the Pandit asked her bow she was going to oelebrate it. "Of course, by having some eweets at meals and decking the obild nicely with afy ornamente." The Pandit mald: "Try a better way: after tho ohild bat fallen aaleep to-night, put a few aice toys and pletares near his bed without telling him, and watch him the moment he rises." That wat done and the chlld's anexpected pleasure was the dellght of the home the whole day.
It was this homeliness of the man and mistionary that made the Pundit the beloved of all who came in contact with him and were drawn to him as a preacher both by preoeph and example. His prayers and sermons in Bengall drew orowded andiences and I bave seen men and women moved to tearathe tears of spiritanl joy-by his earnest, heartstivitig talks io Delty. fén and women, nol Brahmos only, but even orthodox Hindas loved him and felt edified to fall at his feet and invoke his blessings.

It was said in the leader of the last namber of the Reformer that " of late jears he was not guite eatisfied with some developments in the Sadharan Samaj." I have had talle with him on the aubject in 1916, 1917, and 1918 when $I$ visited Calcutte 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, coarage and sympathy. As in all other movements, so in the Dadharan SamajThere hat been a sort of struggle between tho elders and the younger porition of the Church-the former for apirliaality, the latter for sconlarity; as some patit. The kernel of the sitation is that the younger generaiion want more action, more. independence, more freedom of thought and movement. The elders think there ought to be more of epiritaal cultivation. It cannot be difficult to harmonize the two by remembering and trytrg to realise that the spiritual life-which the semaj it and onght to be for-is an inward state whiok ghoald lead to oatward conduct in all the secalar conceras of life. The joung in the Samaj do not believe mach in long services, prayers and sermons, mere sbatract and abstrase theories of theology and philosophy bat they believe in plain aermona belping one's altitade to the work-aday problems of life and environment and in active work. Sofar
as I conld gather, Pandit Shivaath Shastri discerned this sign of the time, did not regret, rather thought it was a necessary offshoot of the democratic Bamaj he and Ananda Mohan Bose had helped to found. He never felt depressed and dispirited. He was always buoyed ap with hope and taith. 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.

 4We 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 yaried 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 leature 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? Mana says that 'every man is a Shudra by birth, be makes. himself worthy of any caste by his actions, and he who-las the knowledge of God, is a Brahmana. The Upanishads teach the same. In the Bhagvat Gita, Shree Krishna tells Arjuna, that He has created thę 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 exeption. 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 Sbudra alone trom age." II. 155.

We bave already seen that there are practically no Hindus who inherit the rundamental qualities of their own castes, Neither the commonsenser nor our Shastras, allow us to call a man belonging to a particular caste, in which be is born, unless and until he lives a life according to the rules laid down for bis caste, and discharges bis 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, \$wami 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 bis contemporafies. Independent think. ing 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," insteád of "to continue peeping through the eyes of our most verrerabloseors-andsages of the past." Bhould the system of hereditary caste be äbolished? Those who have received modern education, eutertain 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 bighly. 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 bow 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 perfectionand 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 minstration.". When India is in the throes of a stupendous national awakening, let none mislead the masses and the orthodox people of India; by their sopbistical 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 patb for us to follow. Let us neither go last with a tremendous pace only to stumble, nor let us lia wallowing in the morbid drowsiness of the past.
M. K. P.

## TEE OOOPERATIVR MOVEMENT IX MTEORE

The extroota below are iopportant parts of the addreme delivered by Me. G. K. Devedhar, I. An se Preident of the Ninth Mybore Provincial Co-pperative Conferonca, 2nd October 1919.

Speaking perionally, my experieoce of the peat twelve ymas of work in rarioun falde of comperative setivity hat deeponed my consiction in ite great power and inflamoe for good and I amo one of thoen who have now come so bolieve is ita supreme importances in our weheme Sor , pational recons. trnotion. Tberse sre to-day in India 26,465 Cooperative Societion with a total Membership of over 10,50,000, and the amognt of the working capital brought iato play, by thee meanis stande roughy at Ra, $14,50,00,000$. Considering the varied noede of our semt popalation the progreve no fir made, thoogh very encouraging, in not quite edegante. The direotions in which we ought to endenyour to pash on the work by introdacing new lite and vigous, in the light of rich and valaablo experionset regarding the growth of this movemant in western sontriea whioh I wm privileged to gather daring my receni trip to Europer are as follows:-
(1) To develop agrioultaral coaparation on non-oradit linem, so se to monre mapid edrancement of ouy egrienitiaral induetry on the bwis of extonded and democretized crodit Which is ite primary need in Iodia.
(2) To organise on a larger seale, and on ayntematio and modern liness the porchase of the nsede of agrioaltaral lift, and the prodation, the collection, the diatribntion, and the embol ol par agrioultaral natpat.
(3) To start distribative storse for the ghena supnje-N! daily requirepyntin on the varion clacten of the commanity for yhy elearly entablished a noed.
(4) To start cooporative societien on the basis of limited liability to hulp small traders and poor artisana.
(5) Te promose diatribation of the deily wants by memas of oo-pperation aroong the atraggling middla clase.
(6) To restore to co-pperation in supplying sanitary houses to the veedy seotion of oar commanity.
(7) To ergotiate ory women is a suitable way with the growth of this movement.
(8) To intereat our younger generation of boyi and girle at sobouls and collegen ja the lif-giving primoiplen of oo operation.
(9) To introduce on a mach lerger soale the sooid and the edacational activitien which are some of the oulatanding fentares of the westera growth of the movemenal
(10) And that to elerate co-operation to the level of a powerfal lever, an in tbe Wert, to lift in the maseen; and lastiy.
(11) To edopt popular metbodi of propagnade.

Theme, in my opiniol, are some of the chanele in which oar co-oporative enthasissm will hare to flow in the neent futare if we are to eocors the ende for whick the groat principle of coopention atandes.

Now coming to jour eo-oporative morement lat metell you at once that I haye conceived the profoundest admiration for the progrese that jou have echioved bere. Your growth clesrly showe that you are conscione of the numy parpoest to which cooperation cua be applied and of the varied eorvicen Which it thould be iompresed to reinder to your fellow countrymon. It abo seems that you are making sttempta in weveral directions in which they have not been medo son succemfully cioerbero; and ns in meny otber anatiore of pablio importance, we are accostomed to book op to Myore, so even in this feld
al coopparation we, ha Britimh Iodia, will ghdily look up to yea for sew exporimente and convincing revalte which joe coas utrive to abow on aceorat of ewreral frilition lbat yous are wo prood to ponewe and which your evlightoand Government in so rendy to give.

You heve up-todete 1,850 Blocietime whiel namber hee grown trom 5 in the your 1905-06. Your membership taday is aboal 90,000 and jour working aspital etande of Re. $90,00,000$. It ie grotifying to mote in this convections that your share capital emonnta to Ra- $\mathbf{3 2 , 8 9 , 6 0 0}$ and that your lowns and depositu aggregute to etotal of Ru, 45,47,000; sad aboese Sociotime have colleoted to lar a remerve fagd of Re $4,13,878$. Your movement claime total trangmotions amounting to Ran $2,40,00,000$. On axamining theme figares verig olomily yoe hera, min quite naturah a rery large pro pertion of Crodit Societien (inolading 60 groin banka) thele cotal buing 1,200 oat of 1,350 co-0parative inatitationt at the prevent momeat.

The mon-riedic Bocietios in Mynore whose pumber aatar-
 ing ravge of agrienlitoral nod indostrial cooperation and the noope for ite aywontion in tolimitod. Tbere are in an 25 Societiee that art engatyed in applying agricultural faplemontas weod, and manure; there aro beolden 85 anditional societiee that have opened branohee tor the supply of 'steve ertieles to their members. The nuods of the manving of handioons indratry have righly attruoted your attention finatmuch an you haria so-day 40 coopporative Soojetive to belp this olat of articens at each stage of their work. Vary encouraga-
 giren them liberal help in dmasey and mon. Erory wellwibher of these two bavie induatries of en adrancing eom manity would liky to eoe more atcontion and grecter eare bestowed upon the developtant of thene tro great and amoful branches of industrial adranoement. Moreover, jor have is conoperative atores. I resd in yous reports that tham ond aboat 200 other rooiatice have readerod vory exoellent mertion to their mombers and the genaral pablic doring the recont trouble of high price. The number of housebailding soojetiea is i4 remember very wall bow I son, daring my lant visit to Bengelorv, the houree of a fow manbert that had matarially profited by the work of one of theve and had secured ootalort. able bomese The seod lor betior housing fisa arging wand that is being keonly telfoll ovor the wauntry and I trat bere. too. Going into fatt ber detaile I find that in meny asathers. of Conperative interest sad imporcanoe jou ere more Laroure. abiy situated than many othor Native Bleter of ovon the providoes in British Iodia.

Oneod the wesy intornoting direotione in which your department it eagaged is the thatitation of invectigution into. the coonomie condition of the mtimbert of the Co-opanaitieSociectice. Tbit, in ing opinion, in a stop is the. right direction tad detormine the prosen of liquidetion of old doble. So. Int, atife ingraigution han boan complete with rospect to the urembere of 268 Scovitios, and I am eare the valanble date. thas collected nill throw. great light on the probiem of red. amption of old debita.
It in very refreabing to reed of the lergar nuofolnoed of the © anperative organiantion at at reedy machinery or a willing agency for argeat mocinl serrice daring the period of the wriona food aitanion and shodariag the time of the elloparvading outbroik of Infisenze. Yoe canoot be loo gratefal to jour Grernimeat for the very liberal maverest of wese. tance they bure given joa in reapect of uma, monej, und concemione is the initial stage of the morement, and if the
people will rightly naderstand that State help in alwaye to be guilised as a neceesary incentive to voluntary effort, it will prove a monce of great atrength rather than weakness, But last, though not the leaft, I cannot lorgot to mention prominently the most valnable services rendered to the canse of cooperation ill sour State by yone most diatingainhed and eulightened citizen, I mean His Highness the Yavaraja Baheb of Myeore, whoes parental interest in the growth of the movement han been the largent factor of ite growth. His Highness seems to me, more or less, the Gaardian Angel of Cowperation in your State and your deepust gratitude is due to him for all the initiative and interest and personal entocistion and valuable ascrifices he has nade so make it a great snccent,

1, It "my humbla ophion, wonld lariher suggest for your earnest coneideration the need lor the following types of inthitutiour. Firet, bull-breeding of cattle-breeding eosieties; necondly the organisation of Co-operative dairies or societies for dairy prodnex, thirdly, land sedemption societies on the lines of the Danish institationp; tourth'y, comprehensiva co-operalive housing sobeme atatempted in Denmart and in England; and Eifthly, Mgsore wholeanle Co-operative S'ciety on the liage of the Irish Wholesala, or the $W$ Wholesales of Baglend and Scotland. If you keep beficas agur mind's oje the ideal that thore abould be $a$ Co-operative Suciety organie. ed in anoh of your 20,000 villages, you will need ${ }^{\text {ast }}$ organination so as to bring in ite notwork every one whom Co-operation can lielp and aseist. I have notised in Denmark that in rural arme wany farmure belong to more than belf a dozen Cuaperative Institntione in their neighbourhood, and yoor Slate, judging from its past aobievoments, can legitiman toly anpire to reach that goal and thite ter in-India-a-model tract fir Cooperative knowledge and experience.

## A NEW COLLEGE IN DHARWAB, ...

A ompdei meoting was heli on Tuesiay 9th Septenber ai Iharwar under the distiuguiched preaidency of Dr. Y. G. Nadgit L. M. S. of Bonbay, to exprese the sympatioes of the Karnatak publio in favonr of the New Arts College that is to bo utarted uoder the anspicea of the Karnatak Education Sociaty from June 1920. Mr. B. N. Datar M. A. first ex. plained the College schame and annonnced that fande amonnting to Re, 54,008 -heve heen already coanred and that more were forthocoming from all qnarters. The Ulon'ble Mr. Pathan, then exhorted the audience to holp this educational movement to tha best of thair abilitien. Prof, Monlvi of the liarantak Cul'oge pointed ont in his eloquent preech the necesmity and the adeantages of a College oondualod by a private nganoy. Mr, Honnarpurmath, a leading Lingeyrt prblicise of the place, dwelt on the sncred and anaectional cbanracter of the movement and nssurel that his commnnity would manificently lielp ell auch natizual endeavonrs lao Behedur Jufhi retered Edncatiunal Inepector S.D. aud Mos-re. Kadapm, and Madvediar alan tonk part in the proceedinge, the latier dwelling on the brilliant qualifications of the siaff of the proo jued Cullege, the former denwing pinted attantion to the faot that it the idec of a Farnatak Uaiversity were to nuatarialiee uore culleges were mbelately necessary. Dr, Nadgir in inis cuncluding renarta pointed out in clear terms bow the Governmeut add the University would raise no objectiona in the matter of atilintion of this proposed C'ollege, in the light of the recompendations of the Calcntte Uaiversisy oommienion. Ho sloo showed how even now a lerge namber of studente bad to sert odvission in Poons and other Collegen throngh abeer necessitg and appealed to the endienoe in most enthneiestia terms to hedp nadifieantly the promosere of this movement in thit enientonns to open larger focilitis for collegints eduation in Karmatak. Everyhody wae mont favimatly inpreased and the meeting was an nuprallilled tweces.

## GENERAL GMUTS ON INDIA.

If Reply 30 Dubbar Itiniag' Andress.
The Iollowing epeech was delivered by General Smats in reply to the iddrese presented to him by the Darban Indian commanity on the 26 th Aagust:-
*Gentlemen,-I thant jou for the beantiful sddrese with Which you have presented me and for the sentimenta expressed therein. I amglad to note that, in the address, you have made mention of the fact of yonr countrymen having served under my command in the Grent War. As $I$ have baid on previons occasions, I have been proad of the privilege of having bad under me in East Atrica so large number of your tonntrymen. Some of them come from the independent Native States of Iadia, Imperial Serviee Contingents and others who did great and glorions work in this Wer. I bad written from East Alrice to the Princes of India of the splendid part played by their troops and that there were lem better than they. Your conntrymen fought not only in Esst Atrice bnt took part in other theatres of war. The conquering of the Tarkinh Empire was in the main the work of the Indian Army. The burden of the work in Mesopotamia, Tarkeatan and the Indian Frontier fell almost entirely apon the Indian Army. If the war had continned until this year, the Indian Empire would bave had ovec a million men in the Field. The stnpendons part India played in this great atruggle had considerabld elfect on the reault of the war. Owing to ber magnificent efforts, India bas won for herself a place emong the nations of the world. Ae a member of the War Cabinet I have had graat opportnnities of knowing more about the feelinge of the Indians and thair desire for a larger sbare in the Zppointment of couswivaions-in-tho army and I an glad I was able to do something for thom in the Cahinet. I have worked in publis and a good deal in prifate for the recognition of Ipdis and her services to the Empire. I ptrougIy anpported the proposals of granting commisaions to Indians. and when it was pointed out that his might create an anamoJuns paition and that there might be the possibility of Earopeans being placed ander Indians, I replied. "T Why not? I would be prond to serve under an Indian Officer it he were able." In the Peace Conference, India was represented by the Maherajah of Bikanirg Lord Siaha aind Mr. Montaga. The Mahazajah is personal friend of mine, and Lord Siaba is a mas if considerable ability and trainiog. He it one of the elevercat men I have met, and I wee able to learn mach from him on Indian problems. Asa result of the war, there was an emotional leeling thronghout the world which did not leave India nusfected. She deaires to govern herself. Otber Asiatics have been ruling and misraling; and Iadis, after having been nader the British for over a handsed years, should be given * large measure of Self Goverument. I have been a parts to the Honourable Mr. Montagugoiug to India to etury the ques tion there, which hat reatied in some far resching conereto proposala being anbmitted to the British Perliamont. The Britiah wre a very highly immaginative people thoogh they dn not appear to be Bo. There was a grest leeling in Eagland in tavour of Iudia's aspirations. With the improvement of the stutue af Indic, the poation of the Indians in other places will be batter. Before my retarn, I lound that the Asiatic Trading Act had been passed in the Union Parliament and that there had been a great desi of irritation smong the Indiant bere and which had also canced a grant deal of feeling in India. Bat the Government baf decided to appoint a Cummision to go into the whole metter. India vill be rapresented by membere on the Cumminein to watch over the inferesta of Indians so that no atigma may altach to thens

Sunse of you thiak I look down apon Indiana, bat thet in not 20. I look np to them. They ourae from a very old eivilim tion-mach older than ours. They are able to told their own.
 white commanity, cannol witbatand a great inflax of Indiame. W. would be crusted and overwhelped it wo had sa open door. Indis, it tha it in need of emmigration for her sarpias popalation, hae the fortite fielde of Mesopotamia, Eopbratee, Tigris and Torkestan whioh oan bold thinty milliong of poopla But now that the Indians are here, I hold they eboald heve fair treatment iu all parte of the Uniob. We;bare to live nide by sida in concilintiun, and we mant endenvour to anderstand enest otheria glandpoint so that we many live and grow together. We are members of the one family and belong to the same Eupuire," I thank jof agnis for the beacitiol eddreet and the silver casket in which to pat the address. Mrse 'Smutu will be glad to hoar of the kindly referonco made to her. 1 thank jou all onee more, "-The Iedian Opimon.

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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
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| Reserved liability of Shareholdera ... | * 6 | 8 | 25,00,000 |
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1 Deposity fixed for one year and ahortar or langor grolode ore compthd. Rates and otber pirtrenlara mey be meertaingd frow the rider aigned.

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8. A veounte sre andited hallyearly by apeoisl Gow ernmert Arditor, and quarterly olatamente of banacial porf tioe are pobliehed is the ${ }^{4}$ Brombay Guterament Gactite * 20-8-17, VAIKUETE Lo MEBTA, Honege.

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Reterve Fand nenoueno.e on $15,00,000$ OURRRNT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Interest is allowed on daily balaness from Rn. 800 to Rp. $, 00,000$ at the rate of $21 \% \mathrm{p}$. m , throughont the yent. On mane excoeding Re, $1,00,000$ intersat in ellowed by apeoinal tmagement. Solintorant will be allowed which down not monent to $\mathrm{Ra}, 8$ per half your.

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[^10]. U.' XXX ' BOMBAY-SUNDAY, OCTOBER IP, IU1G.'Na'T.

grouge, 1 will not retreat siggle jnch 4 ind $f$ will bo hearde"
Willian Lyovd Garation in the typprgtor.

## COMTIENTEA.

Indian Opinion on Mr. Nontegu.
The Englich 'Polltient 'Situatton.
Sir Abdur Rahim'a Oonvacation Addresa.
The Late Pandit Sinanath Satry,
The Punjab, Bnquiry Commitite.
The Epidemic of Increased Salaries.
The Late Juatice Rande. 8oldiers' Pay.

1t Bolshevism Cume to India.
Thoughte on. Political Feant chice in India.
Mr. Montagu's Failure,
The Lite Pandit Sivapath Bastri.
Labour and | Retigion.
Why Mins Pankhurst Favaure Bolishevisme
Bgypt and India.
Indian Emlgration:
$A$ man whe would not be Koighted.
Lord Acton's Library. Spaonerioms.

## HOTES.

Indian Opinion on Mr. Montagu: We print today an article houled "Mr. Montagu's Failure" from the pen of a contributor who has considerable opportunities of feeling the pulse of public opinion. Ihere can be no doubt that, the introduction and administration of martial law in the Punjab, the be. lated 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 Yuajab, and the passing of the Indemnity Act betore even this Committee pronounced its verdict, haveled 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 Uongress should not de 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 gonerally felt, if is idle to expect them to choose the less iacile methods of statesmanship, In many countries, constitutional reforms have been: inaugarated by guarantees of the liberty of the subject, and it is inseless to pretend, alter what has happened, that they are not neoded in this country, At the same time, wo would strongly deprecate the conclusion that Mr. Montagu's stewardship has baen a failure. That he does not enjoy in British public life the authority and prestige of Lord Morley is true; but, in tais respect, Mr. Montagu is in the sume case as most other English public men. Sir Bamplyide Fuller had to resign in consequence of the "Government of India, with the suppoil of the Secretary of State, relusing sanction to a very much less violent species of; statesmanship than Sir Michaed O'Dwyer, with the full support of Laid Cheimsturd's Guvernment, was able to exbibit. I'pe late Lord Minto did nut thiok be would be discharging his duty by Supporiing Provincial Goveriments in whatever they wanted to do Lord Miato was not a genius but be knew
his own mind, wbich is a great thing.: The extent of Mr. Mantaga's : diffi,ultiest is , perhaps, greater than the putalic is aware of and is is not always the most beronc, or effectine course for a person in a responsiple, position ta resign: affice because things are not going in the way, be would like them to. When Mr, Montagu comes to write his "Recolleotions," it may be found that ihe too had exerted. his influence on, those who ip the name of "peace and order", are prepared ta create as much dispeace and disorder as ppssible, We plead, for a more sympathetic judgment of the Secretary of State's apparent failure ta conkrol the "Martial law and no d...mid nonsense." section of tbe bureaucracy. It has shot its last bolt; as is evident from the astonishingly tamperate tone of Sia Michael, Q'Dwyer's evitience before the Joint Committee.

The English Political Sitwationt The Challenge, thd the Church of England, journal devoted to demow cracy 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:-"Tbe Trades Union Uongress is over-and signs are not lacking that the Kevolution has begun. The Congress was the largest and in mady 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 10 speak, have the responsibility of Government, it there be any who have thought of the Congress as riven byincurable 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 bnt implacable' opposition. 'The' policy ol '"nationalisa-tion"-first of the mines, then of other public services-it eudorses' 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 "ditect 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 lightring of "direct action." That mood will pass, or will remain only as the spontaneous outburst of public opinion to which all Governments must give beed. For ourselves we place our fath in Parliamentary Goverament, not as an end but as a beginning, as in our country and time the way, not yet sufficiently used, to social ameloration. We look for the election of a really representative Goverameot that will hold the general congdeoce, that will have the courage to do big things in a big way, that will recreate our local He, Ihat will increase production of desirable com*
modities and will encourage responsibility anomg the producers, that will bead itself to the job thet this Government took on and shirked-the reconstruction of civilistipa: The lime is past fot tinkerm and pediars. We want afew seers and statesmen. ${ }^{1}$ For, e 5 we binted above, the Revolution has began'"

Sit Abder Rahim's Convocation Address: The Mysore Upiversity has instituted the excellent prac: tice of inviting distinguisbed men from all parts of India to deliver the annual address at its convocation. Last year, the choice fell on Sir Asutosh Mukerjes. This yoar the How. Sir Abdur Rabim 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 sald that he adhered to the opinion he had expressed to the Calcutta University Commission. He added: *The vernaculars of the countiy are untortunately toe numerous and it is my own belsef that not one of them is yet fitted to be the medium of higher ins truction. If there be any vernaculat which possesses in sufficiettly educative literature, my objection does not ipyly to it, but at the game time there must always be a school in every secondary educational division with English as the medium of instraction so as to bllow of a choice. In deciding upon this question; evety care should be taken not to sacrifice the interests of sound education for the sake mefely of sentiment, however laudables Begides I must tonfess to you that I am one of those dreamers who look lorward 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 sucb as English, I would be prepared to accept it, and readily emefifice: 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 ralt: gions and the classics are not in any spoken verna, culars but either is dead or foreign, lenguages. For all, boys to bave to learn a numbar, of languages when education can well be umparted and useiul practical knowiedga absorbed through the medium of one, is a, wonderful waste of energy and time which must altmately be obviated."

The Late Paddit 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 misstonary. Among others is the lact that he was descended-as bis name suggested-Irom a Vaidic Brahmin family of Southern India which had settied in Bengat in the time of the Emperor Jehangir. That this family from South India found no difficulty in entering into marriage relations with the Kulin Brabmins of Bengal and was soon merged in them, shows that three centuries ago orthodox Hindu society did not recognise provincial batriers. In contrast to this, is the fact that South Indian Vaidic families which settied in Matharashtra in the time of the Peishwas bave to marry either among themselves or to go to their. native districts to find wives or busbands. in our article on the late Pandit, we stated, on bis own authority that be was betrotbed when two or tbree 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, bis father toreed a second wile apon thim. When young sivanath Sastry threw humself, first, into the social reform movement of Pandit lswar Chandra Vidyasagar, and, thed, into the Brahmo Ramaj movement, his relatives cast him ofic The Pandit himself states in', 'bip "Men $!$ have seen.".
that be had to maintaio nimself, bis young wile and child, white yet student, from the proceeds of his scholarships... The Bengries's account would show that the foung. reformer had a more onergut responsibility.

The Puniab Enquiry Committee: The lullowing Press commanlque ass boan issued:-min his opening speech in the Indian Legislative Council on Seplember 3. His Excellency the Viceroy me nounced the decision reached by the Government of India to appoint a committee under the presidency of Lord Hunter to enquire into the recent disorders und intimated that the Committee would consist of Justice Rankin, the Hon. Mr. Hice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimenlal Setalvad, Bardar Sahibsada' Sultan Ahmad Khan. In view, however, of the wishes expressed in the Gouncil, the Hon. Sir Villiam lincent undersook on behalf of the Government of India, to consider the question of edding to the Committee nonofficial Europear ad another non-official Iadian member:. It has now been decided, in consultation with the Eecretary of State, to make both these additions. The two additional members selected are the Hon. Mre. Thomas Bmith, of Cawnpore, and the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narayan, of Lacknow." Both the additional nominations bave been received with satiglaction. *

The Epidemic of Increased Salaries: At the meeting oi Ine Imperial Legisiative Council on the $24^{\text {th }}$ september, the Hun.;Mt. $\$$. Sinhe asked Government to state the names. of the various services, the scale of salaries of the members of which had been increaked since the publication of the Report of the Public Bervices Commission, the amount of increase fn' edch grade of the various eervices 80 affected for the better and the total additional cost to be incorred as the result of the roorganization schemes already sanctioned. in reply Mi. Sinha was referred to the reply given to Mr. Sarma's question at a previous meeting, which wat moted in these columbs. "In the case of moot of the services mentioned in that reply," it was added, "grades have now been abolished, and it is, there. fore, impossible to work out the definite comparison of cost asked for." This is a very curious tate. ment. Burely; there must be some way of eatimating the increased expeotiture which in incurred in consequence of the re-organization echemes. If oor, how will Government frame their budget of expenditure on the Bervices?

The Late Justice Ranade a Weare informed by the bonorary Secretary of the Doyan Prasafak Mandai, Poona, that the unvtiling ceremony of the portait of the late Mr. Justice Ranade took place on the 4th inst, the Darre day, at the Shri Ram Librity Hall, Sholapur, by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Satbe, C. I. E. Amongthose present were: The Hon. Keshavrao of Haidarabad, Dewan Bahadur. K. R. Godbole, Mr. Ganpatrad Atre, Mrs, Sayaswatibai Kbare, Mrs, Kamabai Ranade and many others.

Soldiers" Pay: : The Outlook, New York; gives the Iollowing figures of the salaries paid to the soldiery of different countries during the War.' Australia gave her soldiers 43.50 dollarn a month; New Zealand, 36.60 dollars; Canada, 33 dollars; the United'States, 30 dollars; the United Kingdom, It. 40 dollars; France, 1. 50 dollars; Austria, 98 cents; Japan, 78 cents; and Italy, 58 cents. Germand privates received 3 dollars a month.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBA Y, OCTOBER 192 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 Afghani-' stan, should deliberately ally " bimself with the Bolshevists who stand for the supremacy of the proletariat. Arguing from his reading of the literature of the French Revolution, be suggested that Bolshevism must have been presented to Alghans in some garb which would make it attractive to them. "Although we cannot be sure in what guise Boishevism bas presented itself to the Alghans," he wrote, " we know that it has come to them' with; at least, one atrong recommendation, It has laid low that terrible Tsatist Government which terrified Asia, which had overthrown one Mahomedan Kingdom alter another, and was reputed to, be the inveterate foe of Islam. . These are good credentials in Cent: ral 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 Alghanistan." But, he added, "Hindaism 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 illuterate crowd to attack anything so rempte, so abstract as is the Government of India," The revolt will be "to shake off the Yoke of the Brahmin, ol 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 revalt will take place if ever Bolshevism manilests itself in India." He conclues: "Let the subversive doctrine of the Supremacy of the Proletariat once reach them and a. Jacqueric may follow in which the Chamar and his fellows will leed fat the ancient gradge they bear the Brabmin 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 Reyolution. '1 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 ia prend sur see genoux, fui fourre la main dans Is poitrine ei dit, ayant tate, iJe g'zurais jamais cru que lea tetons dune cidevant Marquise Se fondissent aiasi soua la main d'un representant du peuple." So might an exultant Chambar show a bigh caste lady how cheaply he held the sanctity of the Brahmin." Eir Theodore concludes :
Theef grim puevibilition art no angumante againat Mr. Noonacoin. Reforpes, On whe oomtrary, they are strong
ressons lor them, they show that no time should be loat in making a beginning of the political education of the Indian people, of But the posibility of Boleherigm in Indis does support the plea adranced by Lord Carzon in the Houne of Lorde that the power of the Gorernmeat of Indin should be manatained. While the new idem, are beipg absorbed and incoense sociill thangen are takiag place these ahould be enome where in the conotry s zufflient power to mointein order. Society must hold an adequate force in rearrs in came the front line shonid pe rashed by an onalaught of bratish anarchg.

We do not think that Aighanistan is likely to entertain Bolsheyism for the reasons suggested by Sir Theodore Morison!- Tbe Afghan Government doubtless knows that it was not Lenin but Kerensky that overthrew the Tsarist regime in Rassia; and that Kerensky had behind him the enthusiastic supporf of the Allies, , Sir Theodore, says, that Intam is fundamentally so, democratic that Bolshevism may not prove very subversive in Atghanistan. 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 bas anything in commont with Bolshevibm is absolutely unlounded $;$ as authoritatively declared by the Chiet; Ecclesiastical authority in Egypt, who, in an elaborate fatiwa, has depounced it as the negation of every tuadamental principle of Islam.' As regards Hinduism,' Sir Theodore Morison, for the purposes of his argument, identifies it not only with the Brahman caste,' bot also 'with the institutions of landlords and money-lenders. The Governmeit of India, he thinks, is too imper sonal and remote to be exposed to the resentment of the masses, but the Brabmans, 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 Einduism. They exist in countries professing other religions. Fior can the Government of India disclaim responsibility for them, itself being the big: gest landlord in the country. Sir Theodore's ingenious attempt to 'hold up Hinduism, the Brahman, the landlcrd, '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 Bolshevists. Such outbreaks as we bave 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 withbeld their support from it for the reason that they, with the Brahman, are regarded as the common enemies by the Depressed Classes. Ia the south, at any rate, landlords and moneylenders 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

Thatur, may not be impaired, is too grotesque for comment. Sir Theodore's observations suggest that thoec 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 obscorantism in this country against the movement of constitutional reform. But it will be understood in lndia at its true value. The most orthodox Hinda will refuse to believe that the Government of India as it is today is any protection against Bolsheriam, and it can become a real protec: tion only if it be strengthened by being liberalised largely in respect of its responsibility to the repre. sentatives of the people.

## THOUGHTS ON POLITICAL FRANCHISE IN INDIA.

Two of the fadamental defeote in the Sorthborough Franchise Commitioe's findinge are the diequalifiontion of women and educated men as such from vote. It is bard to tuderstand eapecially is this twentieth century how sex oan stand as a barrier agninst the enjoyment of one's rights as a citizen. The only argument brought forward for thin exclusion of, women from the vote is that the Indian woman is by temperament onwilling or not safficiently adyanced socially and educationally to make uae or right age of the vote and if there be any who may be desirons of, getting the franabise and asing it, suol women are too few and far between to justify leglslation and the oost of eatablishment to collect their votes. Granting that the facto assumed ini the argament are true, it is not only illogidal but unjast to deny a person his nataral rights becange be may not or does not use them. It is the person's own lookont while it is the baninese of legislation, civic or otherwise, to be concerned solely with laying down rules and regulations and the nebessary qualifications, for a right, and whosoever possesges these must be at liberty to exproise the right or not as he pleases. It would be sis absurd and mnjust to act upon anch a piece of reasoning as it would be to debar a perton from making nee of a pablic institution becanse be is unable to do so for some reason or other, or to forbid university women to take up mathematios is their optional subject becanse, generally speaking, they bave no liking for it. As for mating 'right ase', of the vote, if a man of certain qualifiontions is capable of doing eo it is impassible to see why a woman should not be so ospable. The woman wishing to exercise ber franchise equally: with men will not as a rule, the writer thinks, be relactant to go to the common polling booth to register her vote and hence the question of a separate establishment does not come ain. But it the namber of such women is large enongli and if they object to jostle with men, many
of whom may probsbly be wanting in mannera, come way will have to be found to register their votes and it woild not be nneoonomioal or inoonvenient to have a separate arrangemenl for the purpose. We hear, however, that it has been recommended to empower the verious Provincial Legislatures to enfranchise Indian women according to the needs of each province and we hope, the recommendation woald be carried into effect. From our experience of it in Englend, we, do not want a anffregetie moversent to eppring ap hore in Indis and it would be betler for na to take a lemon from that country in this respeot and be oarelal beforehand.

To come now to the second defeet : it is indeed to be regretled that eduoation has not been reoognived as a qualifiontion for vote. This would disable from voting many worthy citizen who is a momber of a joint Eamily, a aytam oonmon* Iy prevaleat in India-while every illiternte perton who may not know how to une his vole or even what it means has been enfranohised. The intelligentaia' of a country are the greateal uscet. It is these people who are leading India towarde her political salvation and belping her In a rational, all-roand progress notwithatanding AvgloIndisn perversion of facta. It in they who are not afraid of oriticixing the pelf-willed vagaries of an antocratic or bareaucratic Government. If England in now in the throes of Laboar atrikes and of a cooiad, eoonomio and politioal uphearal, is is partly because her Parliament has long been flooded with wealthy members who are cither direotly or indireotly conneoted with landed, com. mercial and other vested interesto and partly because it is infaenced overmuch by the ao-called public opinion formed throngh newspapers, owned by a few capitalistic ayndicatea; the edacated middle classes following independent proterssions whe have or expected to have independent, liberal, selfless and patriotic vicws on questions affecting their country's welfare boing moagrely represented on 12 . Let us not make the ame miatske in India by giving over-representation to vested interesta and miniziaing the importance of educated opinion. The oandidate 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 interenta, of a parificalar glass or commanity. The writer woold take iodependent professions and educstion in all its forma to be strongly represented in all the liegislative Counoils of Lodia, for, after all it is the edroated and cultored elite every where and at all timen that have made the worlid whet it is and been inatramental in advancing she carse of civilization in the true sense of the word.

Another great drawbeck in the Commitiee's report is their advocacy of commanal electorates. Let it be pointed ont st the odteet that commanal
eleciorates are not the saine as communal rcpresentation 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, (i) nomination, (2) commanal clectorates, (3) reserved geats in general electorates and (4) proportional representation. Is communal representation necesgary? The writer does not know of a single instance where a sectional measore affecting the rightfal interests of a class or caste, minority or majority, has ever been introdaced by a non-oficial member in any of the Legislative Councils in India, unless it were to abolish the unjust special privileges enjoyed by them. Morever, India with her heterogeneous castes, anstoms, langaages and religions is sadly in need of centripetal forces to get rid of her : narrow interests and to bind her as one pation, without which the sense of aationality, and patriotism of the highest kind, are impossible and self-government would be a failure for want of matual sympathy and unity. Communal representation would only tend to accentuate the differences already existing and is thas unsound in priniciple. However, in practical politics we have to face facts as they are and not be led away by pare theoretical considerations however far-sighted or altraistic. There is no knowing that tha 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 commanal representation at least for the present. We bave next to consider the question whether commanal 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 Conneils 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 argamenta for separate representation. : Then there is also the difficulty of defiuing 'backward olasses, which, however would be surnounted by making a certain percentage of literacy an a basis. The case is different with Mahommedans who are a minority. iTheir interests will beve to be protected through aparate representation so long as we have not ontgrown oar petty parochialism and acquired a sense of responsibility for the good of our country as 2 whole and a consequent desire to elect the best man available notwithstading hif caste or creed. . And allhough the reats allotied to Mahommedans in the Connoils are out of all proportion to their nombers and thas not in accordanoe with the strict aprinoiples of juatice or fairplay, the writer does : not think ita dear price to pay for their goodwill and Hindu-Moslem unity. 'Ho hopes a time will
come when crery section of Indian Society inclading the Mahommedans will willingly give on their special privileges and be ready to stand as candidates in cosmopolitan electorates. One does not grudge the Indian Chriatians their separate representation which it is proposed to give them by the Commitiee though one woald like to objecs strongly to the same being given to Earopeana or Anglo-Indians, for two reasons. Firstly, there are very few Europeans or Anglo-Indians in India, it any, apat from the official bureancracy and vested interests which are already being abundantly represented on the Councils. Secondly, granting there are any such, their interests are bonud to be alnost identical with those of the latter and bence there is no nced whatsoever to give them speciai representation.

Let us now see which is the best method of secaring communal representation the necessify for which in the case of minorities being granted. Nomination takes away the liberty of independent jadgment and vote from the conncillor, who is on the a verage a man of the world, and thas makes hime a mere moathpiece of the Executive Government, a thjug to be detested in a really popular assemblyCommunal electorates tend very moch to exaggerate commanal differences and sense of caste or class exclusiveness, a thing greatly detrimental to the progress and welfare of a country. Moreover, sack electorates will, as a rule, retarn to the Council. members who have got the most extreme or sectarian views on matters affecting their commanity and thas the Council is prone to tarn into a veritable batile-ficld 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 inammach as the roice of the Conncil elected on the principle is as near being a perfect reflection of that of the majority as is possible, and on that acconnt 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 representaive and consequently for the present, at any rate, it is desirable to have for minorities rescrved seats in general electorates as proposed by the Moderates ${ }^{2}$ Couference held in Bombay. The most obrious adrantage of these two methods is the existence of multi-nembered constitnencier which gives least room for corruption and other direct or indirect inflaence on the voters. A still greater advantage pecaliar to Indian conditions, is the existence of cosuopolitan electorates which will serve to banist by and bye, the conflicting interestic of diverse elements from India natil she stands frm"as anited netion, and a supreme exemplar to the less heierogeneons peoplea of the THept.

A. S. Beandablab.

* MR. MONTIGU'S FAILURE.
- [From a Corraspondent.]

1. "c The British Gosernment whick hes crushed foreign foes and quelled imternal rebellion, could afford so drspisa these agitators"
2. "Thex have ;itcn these people a lessow which they will not forget for fifty years."
3. "As to.India, by her romarkable contribution io our trixmph, notably in the East, she has wom a nate clatm to our consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpcwer, and mast overpower, all prejudice and fimsdit) with nay stand in the way of her progress."
4. "These sacrificts of Indie will ever be remember. ed as having forged a fresh link in the bonds of the Empiva, weoer stronger than they are today."
The first quotation is the utterance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who, while praising the Punjab, rewarded The beroic efforts of her martial races with the gilt 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 Yon Bissing in Beipium, Only, still, there is the hope that just as the sting of the German's boast in Belgium about Belgium ntpt forgetting the 'Hun'. Kule there, is sought to be removed by lavish promises of guarantee, reparation and restitution, by beif of all sorts and by the grant of a major portion of tae fine levied on Germany. so moble-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 atterances, the cue by Mr. Lloyd George, the other by Lor 1 Jeilicoe, 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 predicamed, what is our Secrelary of State doirg $\bar{f}$, He calls Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an reminent man, in the House of Commons. He appoints him a rember of the Army Commission, abus inflicting an insult on a wbole nation. And the Secretary of State spouts forth platitudes of sympalhy, pours out liberal views but is not shocked at the throwing of bombs by zeroplanes on an unarmed mob and he has the lack of feeling and consideration or statesmonanhip to say that the recent administrative acts in the Punjab have no bearing on thes enquiry by the Army Commission. Well :' it may bave oo bearing if much more then "this litile thing " of Mis. Montagu had been granted, if we had mecured iull responsible Government or self-Government and if we could afford to despise any more iocursions of supermen, The coming-in of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in some responsible work, is like appointing Lord Milner, Secretary of State for Colonies immediately after the Boer war. At least, sact and good sense, wonld dictate to the contrary.

If is not in these alone that Mr. Montagu has hailed to rise to the occasion. Except the so called Reforms, Te is giving a way on every conceivable question to
vested interesta and be is jettisoning everything for saving the Reforms Well, we shall thank him for his project of Reforms and for the slever way in which he is saving the Reforms from reactionaries. I am not one of those who would consider the Reforms scheme aṣ a "little thing." Nor am I disposed to be over-exuberant in my gratit ude to Mr. Montagu, 1 hold we would have got Keforms even if somebody else had been the Secretary of State; only we would not have the precious "Syarchy." Who knows, Mr. Lionel Curtis might not have persuaded any other Secretary of State? The question is, are the Keforms worth having at such a cost, at such a price.? Let anybody point out one mattec of importance whicb Mr. Montagu has decided in fevour of Indian demands these two years. Even Mr. Austed Cbamberlain undid the wrong done to India for years, in regard to the cotton duties. Mr, Montagu, lacking in that great command over men which Lord Morley possessed and the great respect which he inspired, has to truckle to their whims and fancies for the sake of saving the Relorms. What a waste of legislative time and energy over the Rowlatt Bills and Idemnity Bill in the immediate post-war period. In finances, as regarde Press Act, and the liberty of the subject wo are losing ground. I put two syllogisms: Mr. Montaga is a failure in spite of his Reforms; we would bave got some Reforms under any other Secretary of State but in otber respects we would not have lost so heavily.

It is on this very ground of yielding to the agital tion of European extremists, he has administered : rebuke to Lord Chelmslord. Here, my sympathice are with Lord Chelmsford. It is not lair to got up ad agitation because there was a paucity of ice, and soda water in the frontie? war. It is not hew Clive and Wellington won their wars. How ciamorous for the slightest discomforts, while ready to teach unforgettable lessons! My idea is, they have magnified the discomforts in the Aighan war, and Lord Chelmsiord does not deserve the snab which Mr. Montagu so dramatically administered to him. A mediocre Viceroy, in the hands of a Lord Morley, would have made his regime Ioveable and splendid like those of Minto and Hardinge. With'Mt. Montagu there, the Viceroy is more amenable to Vincents, Craddocks and Lowndeses.

As for some of our moderate friends who are out to save the Reforms at any cost, who would consequently keep mum about everything or make somersaulty, I make bold to asjert that with, thein mentality if they were in Belgium, when Germans asked whether she would save her body or her soul our connsellors would not bave taken as decided a sitep as the Belgians did, but would have hesitated hody or soul, soul or body. We are witnessing, thel disgraceful spectacle of too many partieo, too manth leaders, eactrone blonsoming immediately into a ful liedged leader with a league or party bebing This is one of the disservices of the Schemod the enthronement of intrigue or of obscurantisof The spirt of the late Nawab of Dacea is atroad.?

Forty years'ago, Babu Surendfa' Narh Banderif the norowned. tiog of Bengal and the Gerya diath ciple of Mazzini cried, "Indja, poor India, She Il bleeding in ten thousand wounds," Lord liah dinge caid "Iodia has been bled white to save tll ZEpire, India is zgaie bleeding todueto who and to save, whom? Iet Mra Basnerji sond; Mit Montagü answer.

## THE LATE PANJIT BIVANATH SASTRL

Poudit Sivansth Sistri was bern at the honse of his materual grandfatier at Cbangeriputa, a village abont twelvo miles wo the gotuhesut of Calentio on the 31st. January 1847. He cane of a fomily of the Vaidic Brabaice of Sunthern Iodis, which settled at Majitipura near the Suodarhanda dnring. tise roign of Enuperor Jebangir. His father Haranauda Vidyasagar was a man remarkatie in many wajb; in study, indepondenue of eprit and atruagitiof character be heara revemblance to Pandit iswar Chaudra Vidyasar whowe Iriend and agrociate he was throngh life, Sizanath's mother was a sister of Pantit Drarakaualh; Vidsabhnsar, the: renowed editar of the Beuguti weekly SomaPrakus, the mant suctessfui j mrasistic penture in its day in the vernacular of the land. His mother was a deeply piona lady of the old type, and the harrowing penances which shef praftirmed to eaye her wiokly child when his life was despuired of read lite a ronames iu these days.

Sivanath learnt tise radiments of benguli at a pathats and a midile vernacnlar achool, and wag then entered at Sanakrit College at the age of nine. The grent Vidynasgar was at that time at the head of the inatitution, and heulwayo trated the gehild with great afiection. He was sncieaded to the principalobip by Dr, E. B. Cowell whög regard Sivamath received by displayng unlinchiug love of truth on a verg trying oceasioo. Like many distingalshed sons of Beugal he parsed hie echouldays tirough state of extrame povarty and destitation; sad get bis career at the anivernity was aniformly brilliant. He won a necoud grade janior echolarebip in 1N66, a Firat Grade acholarehip in haguages, and oae or two college scholarabipy in the F. A. Exsmantion in 1868, the nggregste value of these reauhng the respectitio total of Re. 53 a month; he !usted the M. A. Examination in Sanse krit in 1872, being the only micoenaful candidate of the year in that wabjest; his title of Sustri followed ase natter of curre. Sbivanath was marrid when be was abunt thirtean years of ase shd bis wite wat a little girl of tan sumbers. Five years later, bis father furoed a speroudiwile apon him, no that hurdened with the cares of a growing fomily and his tifu wiven, young Sivanath bid to be on the lookoat for emplog. meut. Immediately on conslaxi no of bis collegiste careere after working as Hend Master of Harinavi Highishool and of - Sonth Subarban Suh ol at Bhawanipore, he wae appoiuted Heal Pandit of Hare Subeol in 1870 . In dae coarbe be - oonld, it he bad chosen, have risen to tha pusition of the Principal of Sankrit Collegra, bat he was nut mande for making money. After a brief epell of Government eerviof, the regigned his appointment to devote himself eatirely to the servies of God and his ouentry. Anoogst his ex-pupils we may mention the names of Sir Ashutosh Makerji and Sir Deva Irosad Sarbadhikari.

From a child Sivaunth was broaght of in the midst of strictly orthodos sarroundings, but while at college, his faith in the old form of worship was nuchanged ant he left alonly but atendily attreoted towarla the Brahms Samaj. Those were the days wben Keshab Chandra Sen was mont vigoroualy oarrying on bis propagania; hia fame thea reached the neridian; and bie magnetio peraonality went a great; ;way towards monlding the religious convictione of the young undent. Ou the occasion of the opening of the "Mandir" of the Brabmo Sermaj of Iodiv in 1869, be wat initiated into Brabmoiern with Mr. A. N. Bus, Ald. R. N. Rey, Malio Krishan Biluari Son and otherr. The persecation that be suffored in consequeuce at the bauds of hia father was
wost trying to him. Haranamda took the view not to see or opest to hinu and was true to it for about twenty long yeare.

Early in the seventies differeaces of idess and ideals ereated st rift in the rauks of the progressive Brabmus which fonnd espresion in a aewly started biling aal jonrual usmed Samoudarshi or Liberal: edited by Sivananath. After the foundstion of the Satharan Brabwo Samaj in 1878 in in the organisation of whieh he tuok a promineat part, he was ordained as oue of its funr Grst miesionaries; since then ulmost to the day of his death, he literally spent himsell in the eervice of his charch. He segeral times toared throuyl ladia, and carried the message of the Brahmo Sanaj $w$ its renutest curner, and slso to England, which be pisited in 1888. He was the first editor of the two organs of the Samaj, the Tatealaumadi in Bengali, and the Indian Hessenger in Eughish and was cunnected with them ether as editor or contributor for aboat a quarter of a centnry. In 1892 he fouliled the "Sadhapastam" the object of wheth way to traina band of workera for the services of Gud ond humanity. It has proved a must neefal position. As a ninieter the attained prominantanceess by his fervid piety and iniptessive eloquence. Many of bis sermons and other productions have been translated into different vernacilare of India.
One notewurthy feature of bis charecter was its manysidedness. Thers bas hardily been any important movement in Bengel daring the luat furiy yeare with which he was not connected in sume way or other. - He was one of the founders of the City Sçool, the Brahmo Girls' Sohool, the Students Weekly Service, the Indial Absociation and the Calontta Literary Society; be foonded the 'Ram Mohan Roy Semiuary' at Baskipore in 1897; be was in his yonth and uatore munbuod, a vigoruns trmperance worker, s leading figure in the Metropulitau Tempurnuce and Purity Absocintion, be filled for some time the uffice of the Vice-President of the "Kangiga Sahitya Parisuad', and was invited to preside oper the Literary Cunfereace held at Jezsore io 1919, bat on account of fuiliug bealth he was compelled to decline the invitativa. He presided over sume of the Theistio and other confarences outaide Bungal. Hg was in fall sympathy with the political acpiratiuns of his countrymen and gave practical proof of in the truablous year 1907, by which he expused himeeff to sonsiderable barasiment for a pretty long tinne.

Sivausth early made his inork in the dumain of literature as a pret of no mean order, and throughout fife he wielded - fatce pea. His "Nirbasiter Bilap." (The Wailiags of the Exile) sanue out wheu be was at achool. His ather poetical wurks must of thetu edifying and inspiriag and all of them marked by nubility of tone and purity of eatiment, are $t 00$ well-known to require mention here. His novel, the carlicut of which "Meja Ban" (the ascond daghter-in law) bss been translated into Englist and other laugayges have toand a permanent piace in Bengeli literatare. Hie lite of Ramtana labiri is a valaable contribution to the bistery of Bongal in the Vietorian era, while as an essayist writiog on varied tupics be bas betaescelled by fow in Bengal. He was perthaps the most jappressive and powerfnt apeaker in the Bengali laugaage in hie hife-tinue, so that his pablizhed apeeches deserve more than a passing notice. His writings in Euglish have aloon palue of their owa and will prove aseful to the fartaro Listorians of India:

1t ic impossibe to do juatioe to a man like Siranath Santri
 vities: there wea sumething in the man which defies analysis or adequate piesentation And get the attempt wart be
*. MR. MONTAGU'S FAILURE.
$*$

* [Fren a Correspondent.]

1. "T The Britich Gosernment which hes crushed forcign foes end quelled internal rebcllien, cowld afford so drspise these agitators"
2. "Thex have sition these people a lesson which they will wot forget for fifty years."
3. "As to India, by her momarkable contribution io our triumph, notably in the East, she has won a new claim to our consideralion, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpcaver, and mast overpower, all prejudice and timsdity wheh nay stand in the way of her progyess."
4. "These sacrifices of Indie will ever be remember. ed as having forged a fresh link in the botlds 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 bope that just as the sting of the German's boast in Belgium about Belgium ntt forgetting the 'Hun'. Kule there, is sought to be removed by lavish promises of guarantee, reparation and restitution, by helf of all sorts and by the grant of a major portion of tae fine levied on Germany, so moble-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 zutterances, the cne by Mr. Lloyd George, the other by Lor 1 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 Secrelary of State doing? He calls Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an reminent 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 zeroplanes on an unarmed mob and he has
: Mhe lack of feeling and consideration or states--ymanship to say that the recent administrative cacts lin the Punjab have' no bearing on this reqquiry by the Army Commission. Well it , may bave no bearing ii much more than "this little thing "of Mr. Montagu had been granted, if we had secured iull responsible Goverament or sell-Government and if we could afford to despise any more jocursions of supermen, The coming-in of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on some responsible work, is like Ippointing Lord Milner, Secretary of State for, Colonies immediately after the Boer wat. At least, - tact and good sense, woald dictate to the contrary.

It is not in these alone that Mr. Montagí has 'failed 10 rise to the occasion. Except the so called Reforms, Tee is giving away on every conceivable question to
vested interests and be is jettisoning overything I saving the Reforms. Well, we shall thank $h$ for his project of Reforms and for the clever w in which he is saving the Reforms from actionaries. I am not one of those who would con der the Reforms acheme as a "little thing." N am I disposed to be over-exuberant in my gratit 0 to Mr. Montagu. 1 hold we would have $\varepsilon$ Reforms even if somebody else had been $t$ Secretary of State; only we would not have precious "dyarchy." Who knows, Mr. Liot Curtis might not have persuaded any other See tary of State? The question is, are the Refon worth haviag at such a cost, at such a price? I. anybody point out one matter of importan which Mr. Mootagu bas decided in favour. Indian demands these two yearsm Even Mr. Aust Chamberlain undid the wrong done to India years, in regard to the cotton dutics. Mr. Montag lacking in that great command over men which Lc Morley possessed and the great respect which inspired, has to truckle to their whims and fanc for the sake of saving the Reforms. Wh a waste of legislative time and energy over $t$ Rowlatt Bills and Idemnity Bill in the immedis post-war period. In finances, as regarde Pri Act, and the liberty of the subject we: losing ground. I put two syllogisms: Mr. Nonta is a failure in spite of his Reforms; we, wot bave got some Reforms under any oth: Secretary of State but in other respects we wor not bave lost so heavily.

It is on this very ground of yielding to the agit tion of European extremists, he has administered rebuke to Lord Chelmsiord. Here, my sympath are with Lord Chelmsford. It is not lair to 1 up ad agitation because there was a paucity
ice, and soda water in the frontier war. It is not hi Clive and Wellington won their wars. How e morous for the sligbtest discomforts, while ready teach unforgettable lessons: My idea is, they ba magnified the discomforts in the Mghan war, a Lord Chelmsiord does not deserve the mub whi Mr. Montagu so dramatically edministered to hi A mediocre Viceroy, in the bands of a Lord Morl, would have made his regime loveable and aplenc like those of Minto and Hardinge. With'A Montagu there, the Viceroy is mare amedable Vincents, Craddocks and Lowndeses.
As for some of our moderate friends who are c to save the Relotms at any cost, who would con quently keep mum about evorything of ma somersaults, I make bold to assett that with, th mentality if they were in Delgium, when Germa asked whether she would save het body or her so our counsellofy would not have taken as decidec step as the - belgians did, but would have hesita! hody or soul, soul or body. We are witnessing t disgraceful spectacle of too many parties, too ma leaders, eactrone blowsoming inmediately into a fu Hedged lender with a league or party bebil This is one, of the disservices of the Schen the enthronement of intrigue or of obscurantis The spirit of the late Nawab of Uneca is atroad.

Forty years dgo, Babu Surendia! Nalh Bamriel the narowned, kiog of Bengal end the Geigid - ciple of, Mazzini cried, "Lodja, poor India, She bleeding in cen thousand wounds, ". Lord H1 dinge said" "Iodia has been bled white to' tave : Empire,", Isdia is ngaie bleeding $t \rightarrow$ dueto whi and to gave, whon? . Het Mr. Bapnorii nad, $\boldsymbol{y}$ Montagủ answer.

## THE LATE PANDIT BIVANATH SASTRL

Inadit Sivanath Sastri was born at the hooge of his mun. ternsl grandfather at Giungaripota, a village abuat twelve miles to the wathicant of Galcutta on the 31st. January 1847. He cante of a fanily of the Vaidic Brabmins of Sonthern [anlis, which settled at Majupara near the Sundarband dnring. the reigh of Fmperor Jehangir. His father Haranamid Vidjafagar was a man remarkahle in many waye in study, independence of sprit and atrsngthjof charscter he heara resemblance to Pandit iswar Chaudra Vidyassr whese friend and aseaciete he was ihroagh lite. Sifanatits nother was a sistar of Psulit. Dnarakausth Vidyabhnsan, the: renurei editar of the Bengai weekly SonaPrafar, the most snccensfai jomatistic renture in ite day in the yornacular of the land. Hie mother was a deaply piona lady of the ofd lype, and the harrowiog penancep, which she ferfiormed to eavo her pickly child when his life was deaptired of read like a romance io these dajk.

Sivaraih logrnt tic radiments of Bengali at a pathale and a midhle vernegular sebsol, and was then entered at Sanskrit Colleze at the age of nine. The grent Vidyangar *as at that time at the head of the institution, and he almays treated the sthild with great aftection. He was saczeeded to the principalohip by Dr, K. B. Cowell whose regard Sifs* nath received by displayng unllinching love of trath on a very trying accasion. Like many distinguished sons of Beugal he pansed bie echooldays thrugh e state of extreme poverty and dentitution; and yet bis career at the aniveraity wan uniformly brillimit. He won a ecoud grade jenior scholarabip in 1866, First Grade acholarship in latigangen, and one ar two college acholurahipy ia the $\mathrm{l}^{\prime}$. A. Examention in 1868 , the nggregate value of these roeching the respectable total of Sa. 59 a muth; he fursed the M. A. Examination in Saus krit in 1874 , being the only ancosanfal candidate of the year In that onljoat; his title of Suatri followad as a nuatter of conrae. Shivanath way marrivd when be was about tairteen yeare of oge and hin wife wat little girl of ten oummers. Five yours later, his fathur forod a secondiwife apon him, no that burdened with the cares of a growing family and his tivo wiven, yonng Sizatath had to be on the lookont for employ. ment. Intmediately on conslusian of bis collegiatd careersaiter working as Hoad Master of Harinavi High Shool and of Bonth Subarban Suh ol at thamanipore, he wan nppoiuted Head Pandit of Hars Suhmal in 1870. In due course be could, if he had ehosen, have risen to the praition of the Principal of Sankrit Cullage, bat he wat not made for making money. Alter a briel spell of Government ervice, be renigned his nppointment to devote himeati entirely to the service of God nad his cuantry. Amonget hie ex-papils we may meation the namea of Sir Ashutosh Makerji and Sir Dova Prusad Garbadhikari.

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One noteworthy feature of bis character was its manysidedness. Thers has hardly been any important movement in Bengel daring the leat furly years with whick he wse not convected ic sume was or other. He wae one of the founders of the City Sephool, tise Brahmo Girls' Suhool, the Students Weekly Service, the Indian Absociation and the Calentta Literary suciety; he foanded the 'Rem Mohan Roy Seminary, at Bankipore in 1897; he wat in his youth and matore manhood, agonne troperauce worker, a leading figura in the Metropolitan Tempernuce and Purisy Association, he filled for aome time the uffice of the Vice-Hresident of the "Bangiya Sahitga Parisbad's nad was invited to preside over she Literary Conference held at Jessore in 1919, bat ou account of fuiling bealch he was compelled to decline the invitation. He presided over sume of the Theistio and other conforences ontside Bengal. Ho was in fall sympathy with the politioal acpirativus of his contritymen and gave practioal proof of in the truablous year 1907, by wich be exposed hinuself to considorable harassment for a pretty loag time.

Sifauath early made his mark in tos domain of literature an a puet of no mean order, and throaghout hife he wietded - faclee pen. His "Nirbasiter Bilsp." (The Wailiogs of the Exile) came ont wheu be was as wehuol. His other pootical works must of them edifying and inspiring and all of them marked by nubility of tons and perity of sentiment, are too well-known to require nention here. His novels, the earliest of which "Meja Baa" (the accond danghterin law) beg bean tranalated inw English and othor laugages have fond a permanent place in Bengali literature. His life of Ramtana Lahiri is valaable contribation to the bistory of Bengal in the Vietorinn era, while ss an esseyist fritiog on varied topics he has beonexcelled by fow in Bengal. He Wua perhaps the mont inupressive and powerfal spenker in the Bengali lauguage in his life-time, to that his pablinhed apeeches deberve more chan a passing notice. His writinge in Luglish have alson value of their owa and will prove nseful to the furtare fistorisal of India:

It in imposabibit 10 do justice to a man like Sirenatin Satiri ing a biel chintiy molive; for bebind bis materided actiFities there was mumethiag in the men which defiet andyoia or ajequite prosentation. And jot the attempt muet be
made. His life was a barmoniona combination of mork and worsbip He eres lived in hie great Trek-mataris eje and counted no cocrifice at worth a momeni's thougbt for the cake of his God, conscienct and fatherinod. It the midat of etress and atorm bin loyalty to tenth never waverod, bin conrage of conviction never fiagged. Ee wet charecterived by grent openness of mind and sual ; bis love of knowledge wen a conree of inapiration to jonuger men; his bome wat aimeye a refage to helplens widowe and orptana. His living faith io God, his nonffected piety, hie sellsacrifice ia the cense of religion, hia melloflicement, hin broed-miaded aympathy witb all noble aspintiona irrenpective of oreed or acolont, and lat bat not leat the remarkable selt-oonquest that be ectierad in pursait of a lofty ideal will enshrine his encred memory is the beart of thoee who had the privilege of coming into intimate contect with bim. -The Bangalee.

## Late pandit beiv nate shastri.

## Memozial Mestine at Simla. (From a Correspondont)

A public meeting of the residente of Simile was held on the eveniog of the 8th intinnt af the Arye Samnj Mandir to expreme sorrow at the death of Pandit Shiv Nsth Smetri, M, A.

Among those present were Sir Asatosh Chandbari, $\mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{t}_{+}}$ Barmalim, Judge, Calcatta High Court, Mr. and Mre. S. R. Das, Mr, and Mre, S. C. Oapta, Mru. Mukherji, Rai Babadar Jai Lal, Mr. J. G. Bheudhari, Mr. B, B. Def, I. S. O., Rai Bahadar G. K, Roy. Meesra- Mohun Lal, Sondar Das Bhalle Mr. and Mre. Besent Lal; N. C. Roy B. A. B. T., Dise Nath Bhalle B. A., Lelit Moban Roy, B. A, Rai Seheb K. N. Mastafi Nihal Chand B. A. Mrs. Hem Raj, B. An and Harish Chaodra, B. A., LL. B.
On the motion of Rai Bphbedur Jai Lal, B. An LL. B., aeconded by Mr. Moban Lal, B. A.s LL. B., Juaticu Sir Asatosh Cbendhari wet voted to the chair.
Rai Sabeb S. C. Inhiri explained the objeot of the meet. ing and raid that at Paodit Sive Nath Shatri was a repre. sentative nam, his death wan a loss to the whole conotry and shoald be moarned by all commanitief-Brahmos and nonBrabmos alike.
Mr. I. C. Mukerji then read out \& short sketch of the late Pandit'0 life illuatrating that the courege of conviction, regard for trath and hatred of all ehams which characterised bis life were present in bic early boyhood.

Mr. Sundar Das Bbalin who bed on wore than one occusion had oome in touch with the late Pandit, next epole in Urdn expressing his appreciation for the great man who bad just departed.
Mr. S. R. Det was the dext epenker. He said shat he was unable to make a long spesth as his keart 7 mm very beary withigrief at the lose which be regardod at personal. He asked the audience to read, if eot aireedy done Pandit Shir Naib Eastri's autobiography end zemarked that the reader would be strack with the manner in which the large escrifices be bud nade so os ta? prodoce the impresion on him thas he bud mede no sucrificen at all.
The President esid that occatinne of this obvaid be celebratu in silenee and by spercher, and that in fact death maniverantite were thing over-done in Fengal and be appreberdtd that very soon the calsnder jear woold prove inenflicient for them. He had howiver agred to preside m Pandit Sbiva Nath Sheatri wee an exceptional man. He wea one of the foundere of Modirn Pengal, $\pm$ leader and a great ectolar and teacher. The ludian meeciation and the City

Collegw were doe to hire. He wan B Brabwia io the true neove of the word. At birth every one was andin and it wat by aonkiar ealtare that one becone e Brahmin. So hur knew there wat no prejer sogrent we the Oayatri, which wem sa invocation tor the erraksaing of intelligenee. The Gayatri, wat the Pundit's birth rigbl being the eon of agreat Pandit. Be was thin tmember of a connmanity whose daily prayes wio ${ }^{-}$From darknews take up to light, from death to deathloeso nees " Ge bae now othined " Dosthlessneme" Aud we have therefort foongregated bere, mermbere of difforest areede and aommanitiee todo bonour to bin memory. May bis trachinge prevail, both majreligioas relormor and anthor.

Ths Proident than moved the following rmolations from the death chair. The andience then atood up and acoepted it in rilence.
"That this meeting exprocen ita deep norrow at the death of Fandit Sive Nath Beatri by whiol Iodis hes beoome poons to-day and that $A$ copy of the resolation be sent to bie con Baba Priya Nath Bhattaoharioe and to', the Seosetary, Sadharan Brehmo Samaj".

A vote of thenks wo the Chair proposed by Mr. B. B. Dets, I. S. O. and necouded by Mr. A. O. Makherjee brought the procedinge to a close.

## LABOUR AND RELIGION.

## Gphiof er Bigeor Gory.

At Browaing Ball, York Butret, Walworth, there bare bees held this week a weries of conferrances whioh are of deep eignificanoe for the latars. Mr. G. W. Beruen, who was the chairman, gave a shrewd and vigorone addrees, in which be pointiei out tbet organiestion-from whioh Oarigle boped so maoh-might be itell materinliatic, and set ivell not to eerve bat to exploit the poblis. H9 wet followes by the Rev. H. T. Knight, Vion of Shortinnds, who enid that science ander the leaderabip of Haxley had teaded to be materialiatio, but now under Sir Oliver Lodge was becoraing spiritualistio, if not apiritual. The antaralistio doctrine of hanana natare wat contradicted by the moral judgante of mankind, whisk were nomesning it all wee predetormined. A man not respontible for his actions wat treated oy society an ineane, and that man wan a moral agent and not an antomaton wat in fundemental beliof of all civilisation.
Bot it whe on the second day that the boort of the subjeot was reached. Mr. Geurge Lansbary, with him ncentooned fire, atiscked the premeat order at fonuded on materialitic priseiple, and moral faleboods. Civilisation wm atill worehippiag money and ancoess, onr zheory of valace was all wrong, service to the commanity being the only test of greatreat. An Indian labonr leader followed with apeach of remarkable elicity and insight. The Enet feit, be mid, that it had monething to contribate. to the religion of labrar, the worket's ideal being ant to "got on" and make money, bat that bo shoald be able to do bite work -ith satiafaction sed honour to bimself, while his faith permeated for bim the whole aitantion. The next speakor came froan belgiom, and contesed bimself so Agnotic, who had been furced by the revelation of German character in the war to demand a moral batis lor all edacaliun. On the Continent the Charch euald not belp, bat habout want wort ont a mural creed for itwolf.
Then came a ayeech by Bisbop Gore, which went to the beart of the matter. "Not ebarity, bnt jomtive," be maid, Fis the ery of the laboar moriment. Wat ath thia antagon. inm between the iwo? Cbarily was pothirg eloe tuen Jantice, Jatice with a beat is it. Aad the cry lor Jatic meant a demand for equal opportuity for all, an all were equai bafore

God. Tins mennt a revolation, pescemble or otherwise! Here we were sll agreed. Pergonelly he was prepared to eheer on the habor movement, inapired at it whe by a noble and fruitfal ery, whetner it buile on the Indinn creed of Inmanentism or on the Ayurstic calt of moral valnation. Bat leboar bad had now to brild op, which wa harder that to deaonoce or throw dowa. Mazy who were heart and coul with te lsbout morement sad ite programme were at present anxiuus as they could not see clearly in what direction the movenuent intended to go.

With regard to the situation in England, be would ventnre to engest three propurition whioh neomed to be inplisit in the lebour motement, and might now be made explieit, Firat, the faot of haman brotherhood mast be seen to reat on the Fatherbood of God, Labour's instinct for fraternity wat no mere drraw, but had the parpoes of the nuiverse behind it. Yeare ago Huxley had declared that daty meant a line al eotion entirely opponed to the coramis ; the aniverse to him Was a rathlege and cruel mechanisn with wheh we had to Eybt. Perburally be would tave little hope of a movernent which tried whight the nuiverse. But in olaining recugnitiou fur homan brotherhood, laboar was rauging itwell on the side of Gou, whom we n nem as the Fatuer of the spirite of all tiouh. Seondly, lanose everywhere in England tae name of $\int$ sur Curist wa held in honoar; and Inbour might nted torward and ciaim His moral leadersbip. The cummon people unce "heard Hitugidily"; suilhungh the crowd deserted Him, sud even His disciples maten, yel. His fullowers came to belispe in Him we alive again aud in their midst, Himself holding the derinies of the race in His hand. Can laboar renamert the oural euveruignty of Jebus Ohrist aper every uplere of homan action? Any wovement that can claim the b, lensiag of Hin name will win.

Laxtly-thongh on thie point he confersed that he was leas buppolul-the Bishop asked, Canlabour reach s belitlin tha Spirat of Gunt at work iu honan nature? Wumt the world nurds turiay in the Spirit of Christ aud the presence of His Spirt uafbh, thetrlore, to be resugnised ia thas hamanity which Ho bus redeemed. Lote ol Cbriatian people arg looking with kympatheris eyen nym the labour unoment, bat st prokent they ara in doobt and darknesi. What is lahon ${ }^{r}$ tualls ging tu du? There seened, therelore, to be room for noue orgatisation which wuld urw together all aympathi. sers and workarn who believe that without religion the moveurnt will lail.

The Challenge, Landon.

## WHY UISS P.INKEURST FAVOURS BOLSHEVISM.

Misa Sylvis Pankhurat was invited by the "Daily Sketoh", to explain why she wanta the Suviet principle of Bolsheriam muptelin this country. She repled:-

It is much more demecratio thso the Parliamentary eysten. 'The pouple hase a rem! control opor their delegeles. We hape nu control over M. P'S. or tuma ounnoill.sp,

Parlianuntary organization hat grown np with the capitalint system. Tue Sariet system belungs to the Sreialist and Communise order. Rusuino Soviete bave nocialized the landsp minea, railwnye and all torma of indnetry, baking and so on. They are ainiag at complete equality in wages. They have nos got quite there yot, but there has been a great level up. Lrain gete the asme anlary an an ordinary workman.

Huanee se socialized. Peoplo only pay a tax suftacient to pay for repuifs. All acatials, bread, millk, eugar, ete., are frea to the chilim. Edncatiralufee op to the T"nnivereity,
and neyt year no one nuder 20 will be working for a living. Under this afatem ignorance and poverty anst rapidly diesppese Russia will possess the finest and healthiest popalation in the world, it left to develop withoot interference. Living a I do anid the miserable poverty of Esat London, 1 went opportasities anch ea these for our own people. No one can cope with the over-rising flood of poverty. We mant change the aystem which creates it. - The Independent,

Allahabed.

## LGXPT AND INUIA.

Egypt awaite with soxiety the arrival of Lord Miloer's Cumuirsion. It has been vested with extremely wide powers, and rightly so, for the surprise of the present situation in Egypt consiste in the revolt of the fellateen alongside with the naual sgitatorn and hotheads. In our opiaion, the most rital problem, both in Eyppt ani in Iedia, is that of pepular edacstion. Up te the present we have asde ladable effurte to raise the apex of the pyramid of diucation, but have neglected to broades its base. Further than thie, siter creating an intelligentzin we have closed the duor of edvarcement in the guveraing indies and consequently have created a dangerous elemeut of highly edaested anempluyed. Since their exclabiun has exapperated nome of them many have argued that they ard too dangerons to be trusted. That is to blame resulte for cansus. Self-government must ba given a frear growth; as it expands it will absorb the native intelligentzic, who will in turn become imbued with all that is beot in British pulitice,-The Challenge (Lundun).

## INDIAN EMIGRATION.

Emigration from India; being direotly contrulled by the Iadian Guvernment, dnes not prepent the anme leaturea, or oreate the sanie difficultiea, that have risen and will almoet inevitably arise again it cunnettion with the ontiuw from China and Japan. But the seonomic antagonian to the Aryal Hiaduus is as atrong on the part of the Whitss as their objection to the liongul Asiatics. Tbis bas been mani. fanted of late gears by the legislation againet them in Australin, alraady nientiuned, and more racently in Sonth Atrica and Britibit Columbit. They wre nated not only as wurkers who coupete with white lahourers, bat also as amall traders who onthid and nudereell Faropean traffickers. Their ohim to British cibzeuship has not protected them frow uwat aujnat and shamefal treatuent by thair fellow-sabjecte of the British Enipires This cannot go on safoly. As asim brgiug tu essert berself and to take ber rightfal place in the world, India, like otber portions of that graat conifient, will demund that her perpla should cease to be treated as inlertur beiuge, when bronght inte contast with those whuse interests thoy hape helped to defend out the battid fields of Eirope. -Mr. Hyndman in Aria.

## A MAN WHU WOULD NOT BE KNIGHTED.

There have beeu instances in Indis of pernons who res: pectinlly declined the hononr of Knighthood when they were privately aude eware of the inteation to oonter it. We have bad two prominent cases recently where the Knighthoods have been relinquished. Bat we do not think that there has beon or is likely to be an incidient onch as that reenrded by the U.on-hecter Guardian in its Literary

Sapplement of the lete Mr. Withan M. Marphy of Doblin. Oor coatemporary write\%: Aeothre exemple of inflexibitry Wat gireo is eonrection with the Dnblin Exhibition of 1\%07, of which be weschariston. His eritio soid be weat slor a title E. denied it, and declared that he wasted and wonld take neither title nor profit. King Edwand opesed the axbibitions, and after the ceremony wan hatded Eword by an A.D.C, and tarnod to give the uceorade to the atmirmase This, of coarce, wae blander of the Dablia Curle people Mr. Marphy's ettention wwe ealled to the fact shat the King was waiting firs him, and those around orged and entreated him to go forward. Mast meta noder anch circomatapces vould beve relented, hat that whe not JLf. Marphy's way. He bad soid that be wonli not lo kuightel, and all the kiag'e horses and all the king'a mea and even the King himaself, only a few feat inay, and lookiog obviondy impatient at the hitch, conld mut nove him.

## LORD ACYON'S LIBRARY.

'An interesting kidelfght on the transaction' reinting to the Inte Lord Actou's famone library it now thrown by letter to the Lontion Trimif hy the prisetri Lord Acton, won of the famotif hintorical scholar. If might he remenbered that the late Mr. Carmenie purchased the liniry and prewented it to Lord imoriey. It appears that in the garly nitietiea Lond Action, buder ntreen of Einancial presane, regalved to part with bis splendid collection of borks and send it diswn tu the anctinneer's. Lerd Granville and Mr. Gladsione intervenfal ond induced Mr. Carnegie to parchane the library. "Mr. Carnegie paid the muney, bat thy bookr swere entristed to Lord Acton himself ss it wan thorght that fe wad the wortbient person tokeep them.' After Lorf Actun'z death the library wras presented to Lord Marley who, movei hy an equally generons impalse, prese nued it to the Camhridge Iniferaity where Lord Actom was once Profeenur of Histury.

## SPOONERISMS.

Dr. Sproner who nutil his recent rutirement from the Wardentiip of New Cillege Oxfind had made the remarbsilf secord of filty yea-a" rezidence at the college withum miwiua a ningle teym celothate i his reventy-fifin birthling reswity His name has crested a new word in the finglish langume hat in what mearnie he hinowil was remponsible fur the many 'Spomerisms' fatherel nimoll hin in a vary mane point. Some

 dating from the suthor's enfly dayg at Oxford and furming the fonndation npon which contless "Spronerinos" have heen bacei. tie if the muft ingenions topa-y-urveydouns pat into Ir. Sixoner's month hat stierwids coniesmed to hy tite contriver fuas as lhave just han tiane whatcha paxty mipe' for "I have just had time to phateb a busty pipe".

Dr. E. Hopkinson in the conrse of hie sjepch on the Iudian Bnaget paid with reference to Indian lahour. will the problem of fainar is acnte in this conntry, it is ten tiumes more mote in ladia. I kay that driandly. The rate of waces in Ind. is far teo low for tolerable samentence. Industrial cond tione in India ia many cast, and I bave particalarly in mind the sotton mil's of Bigenby, are monstrusily bad that I c onli hardiy reiacte to any decent asserubly what 1 myself man in the ravie of niy investigstions"

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## HOTES.

The Khilafat Day: Friday the 27th instant was observed as the Khilaiat Day all over the country. The Mahomedan community spent the day in fasting and prayer, and in a lurge number of places; Hindus also joined their lslamic countrymen in suspending business and in the public meetinge which were tield to voice Moslem sentiment aganist 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, baving; a predominant Moslem population; must reman under Turkish sovereignty; that the Holy Places of Islam should remain- free from non-Mahomsdan 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 aro deltly playing a clever political gaine 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 shrewdoess 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 nonChriatiam people, are deeply interested in ensuring. so lar as it is possible for them to ensure, that international policy and ethics are the same for Asiatic and non-Cbristian as for European and Christian peoples. Further, Indian troops and resources have been and are being ireely employed in military operations in the countries of the Turkish Empire; and this alone entitles the ladian people, irrespective ol caste or creed, to bave a voice in determining what the future of these lands is to be. Lastly, if Hindus feel that they have a duty to sup: port their Mahomedan countrymen on a question in
which the deepest sentiments of the later are involv. ed, 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 kess impetuous Mussalmans still believe in the old policy of Sir Syed and Mohsinulmulk, of union with Europeans;" that "although the Mostem youths have embraced the Congress faith, the community as a whole is'still sby of the selfish Hindu politicians who regard the Mdhomedans 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 inferenice., He is evidently one of those who find that their op. portunities of fishing (for tit'es and solt jobs for themselves and for their progeny) in the troubled waters of Hindu-Mahomedan' rivalry are fast disappearing with the growth of a solidacity of National feeling between the two great communities of India. The writer, we are surprised, does not see that he is libelling Government when be 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 memorandam on the position of Indians in the British Uolonies, was referred to the several Governments of the self-governing colonieg, 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 Africab Union, but the Governor General Lord Buxton, has nothing more to say in bis despatch dated 30 th August 1918 than that the subject of reciprocity received the consideration of his Ministers and was placed in the bands 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 ta them even under the Kruger regime in Pretoria bas been passed by the South Alrican Legislature. General Smut's speech to the Natal Indian address, which we printed recently, gives some room for the bope 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 moditied, 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 bettes informed) representative of the Government and the people than any official. Euch an appointment, moreover, will go a long way to bridge the guif between the Government and the people of In. dia which certain recent eveato paws nnfortunately tended to deepen.

Of the other replies, New Zealand poipts out that provision already exists for the admission of merchapts, tourists and students of all nationalities, and that Indians domiciled in New Zealand bave equal rights and previleges in every respect with Europeans Anstralia recalls that so long as 1904. the Commonwealth Government had agreed to permit the admission of Indiaa 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 touriits 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 Commanwealih 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: (i) 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 moon as possible to plase Indiank on an equality with other British subjects. While appreciating the liberal spirit il which the Commonwealth. Government, have met the praposals of, Lord Sinba's memorandem, wo yet hope that tha Parliamentary Iranchise too will at no distant date be conceded to Indians in Auctraliar as, in. New Zealand. The use of the phase "at presem"' encourages anch a hope The Dominion Government of Clanada bave expressed. their approval of the recommendations of the Im, perial Was Conterence

Anti-Indian Bias ta the Public Serviecs: 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 conntry. That twothirds of the vacancios in this branct of the public service which concerns itself with the heaut of the people should be filled op, by Europeans and only one third by Indians, is a proot of the extent to which the interests of the Indiad public are subordinated to those of Englishmen. of the professional middle classes. Tinis instance does fiot stiand by itsell. The Bombay Chrowicle of the zist 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-
twentysizth of the total) are to be Indians" W4 wonder what Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, Sahibsada Aftab Ali, and Mr. Bhopendranath Basu, are aboul in the Indian office. Vhat is Lord Sinha thert for? We hear much of Anti-British Bith, bul such fagrant examples of Ant-Indian Bias in thi Public Services of Iadia in which Iodian aubjects of His Majesty ought, according to all canons of right and justice, to have a preforential and predominant piace, are in our opinion the root cause of whatever of Anti English bias there is in Tadia. We are sure that it Indiana were appoiated to public offices in Great Britain ir the proportion as Englishmea are in this country, Ladians will not atactly be loved by the Englishmen whorn they Foud deprive al chances of serving in theit owe eountry.

The Newington Tragedy 1 Mr. De in Hey, Principal of Newington, aschool for young semindars copducted by the Court of Warda is Madras wal shot dead white asleep on the aight of the lgth sastant by one of his owa studenis ander shockag circumstances. The young man alleged to have committed the murder, and a fellow etudent, mad to have beea privy to it, are now undergolag triali sed it is not proper to comment on the extraordinary statements which have been publisbed regarding their crime. The Madras Timat, I local AngloIndiag Newspaper actually published what purported to be an interviow with the accused onder custodyl The deepest sympathy is lele for the widow and the iniant child of the late Principal. If it is found aftef propers trial abat the murder bas beon committed or ipsugatad, by the studenta of the: daceased it will be hourible thing, so repognant te one of the deepestarcoted. soptimente of Ladian mentality-reverencesad affec: tion to teachects Difference of thace has nat mada. much difference in this regaxde. Though. Wordar. worth and Delby in Bonbay. and Powall. and, Porter in Madras, were instancos of, Englimh teachers who won, in as axcaptional meaure. the love and gratitude. ol abeir ladian iludents, Englishmen, in the Indiqn Educational Service: have, as a cule, secured that taspoct and attachment of the stadents and educaped classom generally to a much greator extent ihan Enclith men, in any othef of the public servicets. Thie in, explained by the fact that Egglighmon in tho Edim cational Servicas and educated Indians meat on tha: Intellectual plane where race prejodices are at their minimum. Until this Nowington, aciamek it would certainly have beon unthinkable that an Iodian. studeat would murder bis own teacher whateven his race or areed. The whole pfieir in to atrangely at variance with. what we knows of hadiaa aludont, character, that we.leal that there mest be epmething rudically wrong in the atmosphere of Newington: to make eves such a angention posibli.e.

> Indian Represenitation at the Interontional' Labour Conference: Nev lutia of Madras bas received a cable from London atating that the Becretary' of State has appointed Mr: B. P. Wadia as at adviser to the Indian delegates to the foternational labour Conference to be beld at 'Washington and that- Mr. Wadia has already left Euglind for 'Amesica. Tbis' is precisely what we had suggested in commentiag on our contemporary'y momigationt of ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{Mr}^{\prime}$ ' Monhi as the Indran Labour delegate. We are sure that Mr. Joshi wit find an entrely sympathetic and loyal' colleague in Mn Wadia.

The Dayanodaya's Omicsiga: Our Christian contemporary of the Dnyamodaye makes an appreciative reference to the observations, of the speakers, at;
the meoting recently convened in Bombay to give expression to the public feeling regarding the introduction and administration of martial law in the Ptibjab, strotigly condemtring the assault on Miss Sherwood and the mrurder of Englishmen by the mob. We are glad that it has done so, as it cannot be too widely known that responsible Indians look uport sact outrages with abhorrence. But we notice with regret that our contempotiary is trtangely'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 Dayanodaya, as a Christian journal, whether it approves of the order compelling insocent citizens, whe had to pass the' site of the assault on Miss Sherwood, to crawl on their hands and knees-one version" salys; on their bellies-as a penance for the - ofn of some of their fellow-citizens? Does it approve of Geveral 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 silett on this mafter! Does our'contemportary 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 respohisitle officials?

Indian Teachers of English: When this writer said at the Simia Educational Conference two years ago, that Indian teachers were the most suitable to teach English to Indian dtudents, because they realised their (the students') difficulties betiter and could pat their minds in contact with those of their pupils more readily, the statement created a mild sensation: We arte glad that the Educational Rotisew, takes the same view in a recent number. Our contemporary writer: "Tha Educational Sup. plement of the London Times rightly maintains, in a recent isste of the fournal, that British needs must be interpireled' by British'scholars and that British birth should be a qualification and not a delect. 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 bis sabject than the Englishman who is ofien 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 necessily, a better teacher of English than the Indian whatevar 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."

Diseade and Martiage: WVe learn from the Social Hygions Bulletio, Now York, that thirteen of the United States of America now have laws relating to venereal disease in connection with marriage. The taws dary greatly in wording and in some cases are so vague or general as to be difficult of strict enitorcement. The purport of all is the same, however, -to prevent the marriage of persons infected with byphilis ot gonorrhea in an acute form. These States sre: Alabsma, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey. Now York, Notth Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvanian Ulah, Vermont, Virginia, Washingtou and Wisconsin. The Michigan Law is the most drastle. It enacts that marriage by a person with syptitio or gonorrhea is deemed a lelony and is puaishable 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 proseclition the husband or wifo may be exemined as witness against each other, whether they consent or not, and that any physician who attended the defendant shall be com. pelled to testify.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

## BOMBAY, OCTOBER 26, 1918.

## CALCUT TA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT. $V I^{*}$

It being accepted that the medium of instrwetion in the University oourge should the Englith, the question, so far as it bears on Daiversity education reduces itself to what the porition of - Eiglish should be in the lotred atage in order that students entering the University may' withat diffionlty follow instraction through thet leggaage. There is a general complaint that they are not able to do so now. The Commission propese to remedy this defeet by reducing the ure df Foghsh as a medium of instration up to the prosent Matrionlation stage and adopting improved methods of teaching English and employing tocre highly trained teachers of Einglish in seooudary schiools. For the mbment, we may leave ont of account the second of these derises. Highly trained teachers of English and improved metheds of teaching are not introduced in day. The practical educhtionist mast proceed on the suppodition that the average of teacher and teading wonk remain very mach the same for some years. Even if we can by a wave of the wand create highly trained teachers in Engliah, capable of adoptialg the most effective method of teaching, it will, perhaps; be wiser to try that devise first, and observe what effects it has on the English of students preceeding to the University, than to adopt radieal 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 contitue to get the same set of people, perhaps, a somewhat inferior alass; beoanse 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 sppreciable increase (exeept 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 stadents better equipped with a knowledge of English at the end of that stage? The reoommendation of the Committoe; thas 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 teabing recommended by the Commission: and that, without them, the reduction can but only lead to a still greater doterioration of the

[^11]knowledge of English of the stadent whe go up 'to' 'the' University. The Commission in more than one place refer to the marked saperiority of English teaching in secondary schools in Madras where the papil is introduced to the language earlier than ta any other province.

We areamong those who believe in the argumeni for beginaing the ane of the foreign medinm at the earliest age possible, becanse it is only in that way that the stadeat can in course of time cease to regard it as a foreign mediam and as his own nataral;mode of expression. The application of the epithet "foreign" to language has no siguificance exaept as an illastration of how deeply inficenced western thought is imbued ritb antionalist prejudices. We have beer reading the Carmichael lectares for 1918 delivered by Proferzor Bhandarkar. The firstlectnre is on the Aryan colonisation of Southern Indis end Ceylon. One of the problems. Which he leavea nosolved in it may be thus stated in his own words: No reason?able donbt can be entertained as to the Dravidian speech once ha wing been spoken in Northern as well -as in Southern India. In Northern India it -was superseded by the Aryan, when the -Aryans penetraied and eatablished themselves there. It is, therefora; extremely carions why in Southern Indis the Aryan apeeah was notable to sapplant the Dravidian. We have an explanation of this problem and of some others in. Profegsor Bhandarkar's lecture, bat -what is relevarit to our present topic is thet the - larger part of India today speaks what at one time iwere foreign languages to it. Another point of interest is that Sonthern India which presented no impenetrable a front to the ancient Aryat speech, has shown itself more favourably disposed to the English language-a variety of Aryan speechthan other perts of India. When Raja Todar Mal -ordered that all the records of the administration in the Moghal Empire thould be in Persian, he gave a powerfal impetas to the study of that langaage by the Hindas, so much so that it is said that in a century the Hindas became the masters of Mahomedans in the Persian tongue. Neither Hindas nor Mahomedans were oppressed by the idea of Peraian being a foreign langaage. The application of the epithet "alien" or "foreigu" to enything staris brain-waves that are entirely irrelevant to a consideration of that thing on its merits. Raja Ram Mobna Roy, the sagacious pioneer of modern India reform, religions, social and political, has placed on record his belief that India would one day be an English-apenking country. Sir Abdar Rahim spoke in the same spirit when be said in his Convocation Address to the Mysore University that he was one of those dreamers who looked forward to the time when there woald be one common lenguage for the whole of India, and that even if the language which had the
beat chance in that respeot be not one of indigenons growth, such as English, be would be propared to accept it and readily sacrifice some very dear predilection of his owa is the beel interests of the generations to come. We are not withont hope that Mr. Gandhi, is bit enfinohing parsait of trath, will come ronad to the eame view.

Once we shake ourselves free of the rentiment of foreignness regarding the English language, the problem of Einglish in ous ednomtional aytiom becomes enty of solation by parely edacational means. We are free to view the problem in the clear light of reanon. We can aee that a vernacular being the language spoken out of school hourt-there is as mach edacstion ont of school hours as in them-does not require the eane concentration of teaching at English which, if redaced during school hours, can find no compensation ont of them. With great deference to the Commianion, and speaking from practionl experience whioh we cannot set aside, we unbmit that the attempt to distinguish between a child in foreign country and a child in a school where instruction fa given through the mediam of English, may be-and hat been by the Commission-pressed too far. Tho distinction, to our mind, is entirely one of degree. If the Commission had visited some of the Englishteaching achools in Bombay-Bt. Xavier's, for: inatance-they would have seen reason to be at least less emphatio in the expression of the opinion they bave expressed. It is coming to be recognised by practical ednostionista that the une of English as the mediam of instraction even in the Middle School has the effect of improving the atandard of English in that echool. We have had several ind stances of this lately. One of the biggeat bigh achools in Bombay had engaged a gredante from Madras on its staff. We happened to mention to the Prinoipal casaally that perbaps, the new man was pat to teach the higher classen. The answer was surprising. No, we were kold, be wal made to take the lower classes, ws, being ignorant of the vernaculari, he had perforce to ane Engliab entirely for his instruction, and it was found that led to a rapid. increase in the oompetence in Eaglish of the class. The opinion of the Commission in this respoct is against the weight of experience; at any rate on this side of Indis. Mr. Sharp, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, had anggested a meheme to the Commission for the gradual introduction of English from the primary school apwards. We think that the right solation of the problem of spuoing Indian edacation juatly between English and the vernaculars, should be sought on some such lines; and not in the drastic and revolationary proposal of the Commisaion. We have devoted a large amonal of attention to this question becanse, we believe? it liea at the root of Indisn national progrest?

It is, perbaps, the only important matier on which we differ strongly from the Commission's recommendations. Fortanately, it is not an organic part of their scheme-it cannot be said that if it falls, the whole stractare of the sheme 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 withont paying atribate to the indastry, the eympathy and the high conscientionsness which Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagnes have brought to their important tark.

## ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI 1.

## (By Mr. Aghozam Iyer, B. A. bin)

While we are taught by traditional history how Catholicism deteriorated in the Popes and their ap. pointed legates, and led to the Reformation and Protestantiom, 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 bighest 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 CathoJicism 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 beart of a rival Church, and praise too, which would rob us of the true perspective we get tbrough the cyes 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, bo wever, 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 Charch ; (ii) the failure, worse still, of the State to give redress to the subject's grievances, under papal dominion. Prom testantism more political than religious in its aim, freed men from the unscrapulous exactions of the Cburch. It substituted for the old faith new doc. trines and dogmas which were as good or as bad as thone 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 Ged from the buman 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 beart. It is strange that in Europe the progress of truth should bave 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 bad 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 sia. Perbaps 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 be 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 Cburch, but disgusted with the balfbearted allegiance of the pilgrims he met in and about the Oburch, be gave away all the money be 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 sbame us by their innocence and purity. But higher still is Francis in the suddenness of his resolution and the firmness be 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 bardly had he gone a mile.
tenbbe thougbt earie to bin that be was viokenty departing from the teachings of his Mastet to shub the lepet thas: Wailt greal of Df. Jobnson to bave rendered bis helcbuat tlear to his conscience by doing duty bs bookselier in old age, as Expiation Tor the "ifleice of disobeyling his father who followed the tame calfong? Francis trade a stronger fespoinse to his mater voice, when the rode back to where the lepet was prostrate of the roddside, and with poignant self-reproect told binh feelingly of the gtave'offence be bad committed in evoiding hin, implored his pardon, and warmly embracing him tendered tio bim the bbeisance due to, God. The ydung that, Francis, was broadening out inton aniversal lovert: His love and regard were givea most of all to those foom whion the polite and the raspectable in society turned in ,hatred; and much of the fortune that Pietro Bernardones. by bis carelul economy, had gathered for bis soan; cwns freely spept is the service of the poor.
It often looks 'datiness before light breaks forth. So, it thappened, that the munificente br Yrahcis roused the findignation of Betnardone, who wearyting of the son's ptodigality, sought the aid of the ceanonical tav to disioherit the latter. But in the Bishop's Court,' Frańcis surprised all by appearitig naked, bolding the reminant of his father's property in one arm, und forthwith addressed the toart thats. T Till bow 1: Bitd Exalled Pietro Bernardone ting Tather; bat now I have only boe father, and tbat father which if in Heaven ; bere is the monky, and Here are the clothes for which Bervardode 'has given himseff so 'macti frouble." The scene roussed such - Eudden compassion in the heart of the Bishcp that he gave him clothing; which Frabcis received grateIuly; and then be went into the forest, singing mertily of God.. There awaited the hext great work of Fraticis, the tepair of the ruined charch fr the neighbourhood of Assisi, and to that be devoted himself, with a burning passion. The house of God sball not lie in beglect. Those who have conseb crated themselves entirely to God should keep Hit house beautiful and good. Laying stone on stonei carrying the thaterials for repair on bis own shoalders, Francis, under his own eyes, carried on the repair of the chatchy and drew crowd of devotees to: worebip and prayer.,
Many rict and poor joined Francis-and red nounced alltte attractions of the world for his satetor Cbrist's sate. Tbe Fraciscan order was organised for carrying the teaching of Cbrist over the whole of Europer Francie stood at the head of the order, leading the brothers mipor in every way. Poverty was strictly jnsistel 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 apent freely in the services of the poor and the neglected. The devotion of these monks invaded distant sbores like Eng: land. What concerns us, however, is the personal life of Francis; every new experience was for bim a' great victory of the soul, a prouf of the truth of the Christian teäching.

## Trokevs Franchise

(By Mri Madar Mogar Vhrea).
Oos miny woll feol mosmed thut, it thir slage of thacose civilisation it shoald atill be acceciary for tone to argee sed plead for womadic proper place in a rnation's life! However, facte have to be foeed, and iWa ma only hope to dioll ia a Future which the nemony of the Peat canot mar.
Tr, Tird probletre of women's fraushing is enperially agitating the coinds of many, eulightened end edacated women to-dag. They are anxions that the Reformo Bill should recoguize their place in India's political life. ' Aurong the men of Ladia opinion is divided. A vast majority of them (epecially yoang men) beurtily tecond the asplratione of their sisters; \%ome men, however, of a father orthodox type, hilirg their bhouldets a od langb. It we analyee theif attitade, it is lite alf other sach attitades, based of the " beresy of separatenems," or in the "force of Wabit" Agen of a degenérated life havo dimmed their vision, power had iotoxicated them !

My parpose in this brief article is to present to my readera the ancessity of women's franohise, and the way to weot obstacles. I am convinced that, whath evif Iodis maj get from oulside, obe eanook be really great pation with the better hafl of hef prod palation in the backgroand. Not only that; we are mocking our religions heritage by igtoring the the Divine in woman, we aro pervertal by the dila. sionvof ceparatenese $b$.
is No bide will doubt that the eare and eraiolng of' childrefi to a very large extent 'dependa od mothert. Mothers' koow twore' of 'child-natare than'nteb do and they bave to do mach tmors miih thildren' Than' the latter. They alune ard bent fited to propose and mase' laws aflectifg the growth sad welfare of childrein. Comparing the rate of infant mortality in tadia ("たere women have no ohare in legislation) with that in Now Zesland. (where women bave political powor) we find that the figares of the former are seven times those of the latter, Hére in., India women chanot sea that leginlation is introdaced regarding ! midwilery, pare food for children, bealthy, edocation for the mother and the child."

Not ouly the welfare of children. At Mrit, Consiois writes, ${ }^{-\infty}$ Men art always thloking of things-afielde, figares, buildingt, meterials; wotmen are slway thinking of peopte, the childret, the old people, thy sick, the husband.' So, botimete of thetr circaind stances, women will be mote keer than men in telo fing lawi paised which will prdvent sictneas, which will prevent the edalteration of food, which will make it imporsible for small nambére of people to get verf fich by the great profite they make through forcing jargé nanbers of people to pay far too bigh pricer tof necessary articles.";

The same writer proceedn : "Then aloo women" way of looking at the probleme of good governmenk will help men and help their conotry, becmase womed are sach great apholders of parity and religion. It
electious they will vote for the person who has the beat moral character.. Women's qualities of endar ance and self-sacrifice will, also streagthen men in the atraggle of the whole people for fall welf-government within the Empire". And again, "women's inflaence will also be directed towards maintaining peace and nuity between castes, peoples and nations, for women hate bloodshed and quarrellings, and it has been amply proved by the grest war that ione suffer so mach in war-timet as do momen."

History bears illastrions testimony to this powerful inflaence of womes. Confining onr remarks to India: think of Knoti, 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 out own times : think of Mra. Gandbi, think of Sarojini Devi, think of Sarala Devi, and last but not the least, think of that great world-figare, Mra. Annie Besant, -Vasant Mata many young Iadians call her !

Oh, roy fellow-conutrymen, where is the hesitation, then, in giviug onr sisters an opportanity to grow likuwise, serve likewise? Is it becunge most of them are an yet queducated? Yes, they are; bat why deprive sach of them as have won distinctions in ocbool aud in University, in clabs and in conferences? They do not ask for nuiversal electorate. They oply ask you to make no sex bar for the qualified among them. If women become our co-legislators, we can be bure that the ban of ignorance will disappear mach sonuer than otherwise. Give a chance, then, to those thit are fit.

Does "Pardah" frighten oar friends? Yes, it-is an obstacle, but until it is got rid of (as it mast) lat women oflivers-as are good sister Mrs. Jinarajadusa suggests-call at tha housee of women voters to "get their voting papers. Purdah woman muse not be ignored altoyother. Among them are hidden persons of great accomplishmeat and learaing.
In concladion, I appeal to my fellow-conatrymon in the nume of the fature geverations, in the name of oar Motherlavd, in the name of God Hinself, whose Plan we are called npon to falfil. To my sisters I would nay: Remember, yours is a great herituge Plan yonr Future so that it may outshine th: Past. Let uothing oluake you in yonr task. Yonrs is a holy missiou. Be gontle and ateady, be firm and danalless -Ithwara will bless yoa and bless ne all :

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

## WOMEN AND ENGLISH EDUCGATION.

The following representation, largely eigned by romen and friends of women's edncation, has been sent to every member of the Senste of the Unifersity of Mgere:- Sir.

On the 11th proximo, the Senste will cousider the queation of imperting all instraction to women in Kanade, Mr, Reddy on pages 68-65 of his Proposals quotes a number of eminent men who support his views. But not one of then has taken a atep forward in the direction in which Mr. Deddy proposes to go. Prof, Karye's Indian Uuiversity for women pay be á grod thing for a class of people. There, ara reasont to think that the institute has not fonnd great fapour with the womenhood of the Bombay Presidency. The girle' schools which taachrall sabjects io Euglish in Poone and Bambay are floarishing and not deserted. One third of the studenta in mes's Colleges of Arts are ladies, Liven in Madras the Sciance Brauch of the Junior Intermediate bas 22 girls and 19 boys, Women are very keen for acquiring as mach Euglish as posaible.

Otherwise where wonld there be Mra. Sarojini. to plead tor Indian women in England or Mra* Rnkmini. Ammal to opp pone Mr, Reddy? The six hoars of Eaglinh teaching in the uew proposals will hardly produce sufficient proficieney to command respest. When Kanads is adopted in Mysore, lady graduates from Madras and Bombay will certainly be preforred tu those of Mysore in every walk of life. Eren now, people who are eager for their danghtera' edncation send them to Madras. Some girls from sahools in this State are now in Queen Mary's aud the Wonen's Christisa Colieges: at Madras and in Medial Colleges at Madras and Melbi. Even in Bangalore mad Mysore several parents, nút eatisfed with the amonnt of Eughas they get in Mysure State school, send their daughtera to Convents. Girls troar Bellary and Coorg and other neighbouring Distriete come to no for ingtrnotion. Hereafter all this will cease wo. What has wen built up in holl a ceatury will be undons in a fow A"yd

When Madras sud Bomby are not ensmotered of Mr: Karye's acheme why should we be? When the women of the sister Pregiducite leara roora and mone Englien and proceed to Wested countries to complete their Edacation; ghould dor womea: be proficient only io Kanada? OR conree rich parents will send their daughters to Madrag. " When Kansida and Eaglish ounsess exist side by oide the tormer will go to the wall.' (Memornadua Page 8.)

The edacation policy should ensaste from Simh and India as whole snonld emberk on a new policy. . If M ysore adopts Kanads, while sieter Presidencies do not, it spella rain for as. Taschera and Inspectroises will have to be impurted from ontside. Suppose we adopt Kapade for boys also, then all our higher offials, will have to be imported. Why should we bring in such a catastruphe? Knowledge alons in not respected; if it were, the Mahama hopadyayas of Sanskric Acaderay should in all justice be peid es liberally an Dr. Bourse.

Oosmania college (Memorandora page 65) ia not an inatance to enpport Mr. Reddy. In Hyderabad the court langange ia Persian and wo do not kuow how far the University is intended to benefit womea. Nowhere in the world' history is there a retrugrade axperiment made at the cost of women's privilegen.

The marriageable-age of girls in stoadily inorensing and girla do not leave thair parental roofs bafore they are sixteen. Eren sooorling to Prof. Earve's acheme the socondery
clucetion of se intelligent girl can be completed when olva in
 uge for 8. 8. L. C. andidates in 15 geart eccording to the reles of provent Xeany boys oudgirio do pmet at that age. Two girls have oven had to spply for exemption becowes below 15. Of soume dall etadentin take longer. We are mot charmed with Prof. Esrve's institete. Evea girle who go to Poone for ducatina profer the Einda Girl' High sebool to Prof. Kerve's inetitats.

The hobbie of men like Prof. Karve and Mp. Gandhi need aot be blindly followed. Sarily every moman need not fil apinning yarn.

The fint of text booke wrifaile in Kenede for apper ecocodary claseen (Memorapiam Appendix A) it vary deceptive. Mers pamphleta on Physialngy, Zoology, Mias rology, Entomology, Cbolere, Plague, Small-pox, Malarim Adtrology, Fijayanager, ald Geometry books I and II, the ordinary sext books nsed in the Lower Secondary clasees and everal old fashioued booke se all iscluded to make a long lint to improe the reader of the Propoello. If the Bonate geta a set of thave books and oxaminee the daten of their publications and seet which of them are ap-todate, we heve no donbt of the decision it will arrive at. It hat taken nearly fifty years to produce this poor set of books end nowe of them are on good an Engliah text book now in vee in the high sehool elesees.

The question of hogage is made much of. Girls in the if Fo:m feel come dilficulty in the beginaing. Bat by the tinse they come to the V Form they ave Eaglish more of less Ireely.

Is chalting ont plang for momente edection we thould nos alwaye be thinking of girle who etay thome from their 13th yeaf. For such girle any eduction or home otacation will be enough. Thert are othere whe have greatar ambition which should aot be chwarted by the new ruled aboat to bo made. If Kanade in considered anough lor thoes who marry eerly, there should continue at at present, iscilities for adrabce tudion in Englinh for boyn and giria alize we in Bombey or Madrac. Girle whe may wish to atedy medicine in Dolli or Madras or Eaglend ehoald not be injured by the new rules. II Engliti cannot be freely nsed, mooh of the pleanne of life is miseod. Mr. Reddy's propoenle and the Goversment memorandam would be a seeled letter to ledien with a elight knowledge of Engligh. They will not approcinte a newspaper or s zoval. So wh request that you will kindly apeak to all jour friends is she Senate abont Mr. M. C. Rangaiengar's proposition, and oppose him complataly. Mrs Rukmini Ammalt hands shoold be streachthened. It reforms in women's Edanation be merely ooncerned with anch modification in the exrrieulom an will open yet wider pathe of usefulness to womea mach service will be done to Mother Indin. The plen for Eaglish forcibly pat forward by MrMir Eamsa Huwin in the beginning of an extrnot quoted on dege 65. Hia samarke apply with equal lorse to the edacation of giric. Ho is satiofied with women talking a fow Jinglinh warda Bat women themselvee are far more ane bitions. Mr. Thompron too is not a champion lor the bighar education of women. But magy Indiay Christian Foman are far more smbitions and are not setiefied with the standard he eeter ap

The viswe of edecated Mysore ladiet on the sabject hare been well exprewed by one of their number, who in egre dante, and who, since Kannada in ber mother tongen, mons certauly cannot be accosed of mishing the vermonior to be negleoted.
 should ealy tay that bo io odicg to the dimbilitio under whoh car monme bive ehredy been tuffering and Mr. Reddy sucoiven mo thanty froce to for hin beovroleat proporal.

- My opiaion hat bree troen the begining the neot o
 fect that minder promen conditione grod knowledge ol Englinh in indispengible to orury man or wramen to beoome a - tree cilizen.
*Tbe vary fact that our girla loene achool at a very early ege maken it clent that they ohonld be taught an asech m posaible during thet briel period, of all that in necomary a thom, and Englinh being of vital importano in thoot day should have s large place in the girly' eurrioulam. I doon beloive what others sen, that agirl bee to apand bef briet prooiose echool life only in mantaring a forsigu langugge st the negleot of other and more avofal sabjocts. Bnt if abu gete med to the Englinh language from the begioning sh findo it eo otrain to loarn it end within the chort period at her diapome the enn learn soongh of Englich to mare bet parpomes The admantdgen of heving Engltah an the medium of inatraction overmeigh the disadrantaget.
wil a girl speada efow yeart over Eugliah, the benefite she darives ane of co litele valas. Tie whole world is before bof. She need not be at the mercy of our tardy tranalatora lor avery book and paper that io pablinbed is other coantrien for if any good book of general usofulnens is writtes in asy langange, as Engliah tratalation of it is enat to be epeodily lonnd. It in to be donbiad whether our printers, pablistert and tracilatort can even teap pace with thair weaters brow thers is this matter The Eaglish lagange plecen butore un whataver in ralmable in the literetare of the world thus esabling os to bave a Fide octuok of men end chipge In my opinion this is ons of the greatit of benofite that we dorive from the atndy of the Eaglist languge and it we alone thie very door so knowledge agoinen our gifly, we ery doing uothing bus a grom injustice to them.
*The vernacelent of Indis cen vevor bave the weme place so thone al Earope. Iedie in very different from of her eoabtrine, It in a a laod of one peopleand oas langange, but of mesy peuples and meny lagaagen. The need of a common langa. age is atrongly folt end that ased in supplied by Eagliah. Again the Indis of the precent day in not the asme ieolated. Indis of the pest. Timen bere greaily changed. Weare brought inte touch with the world and our ideat and thonghte too hare grately ebagged. Women's sphare is aniargod. Along with ber boacobold datien the times demend from ber ather dution en woll. Not only bes she to edacate ithoe at bome, but hat alco te acquaint the people abroed, whove ksomledge of Isdis in very limited, with the true atate of thinge bers and plead for the canse of momen sto our ciater Mra Sarojini has been doing. Indis la bedly in need of soch women and to dathis is impoesible withont that proticiency is Engitish which it only eequired by having it te the me-. diuse of indraction.
-Thit problem of women's education gare no little tromble to Pinto thomanis of years efo sad th promenten we the meme difficalty now and a thanased gears bence if will be the eame. The great philowpher's words "In the adminiatration of a geate beitber womacom a moman, or o men me mata has say apeoisl facetion, bat the gifte of natare are difinced eque Iy is both; sil pormitu of mas are parsaity of women sho" hold goed to this day."

All thaticmiked for lim, to allow womerte education to progrem, along with bay's esncetion, momording to she man raites and coaditions, Is eondasion we reqpent jud will be kind enongh to interpret onr viewn, to the Benata and try your beat dof to set beck, Forcenis edscation in the Provines.

## CYCLONE IN EASTERN BENGAL. Ax Appyil.

The oyclone of the 24th September hat eanced terrible baros in oertain diatricta in Enatera Bengal. Rai Sabib Bajuohnn Das, that iudefotigable worker of the Brahmo Samaj, writing from personal knowleige baye, that fitty per cent, if not more, of the bousee in certain localities have been destroyed by the eyclone and that the saffering of the poor know no boonds. Hollfled and halfelad they had long been in the grip of very great misery. The cyclone has now rendered them boazeless and cestitate and completely helpless. Slender though the mesne of the Brehmo Samaj are, it has at the call of hamanity oudertaken the work of affording relief to the dittrensed. Hai Sabib Rajmohan Das has been working in the Naraingunj zide, Babu Sasibhushan Mitra in Bhanga Sab-Diviaion in Faridpore, and Baba Manomohan Chakravarti, miecionary, in Bagerhat in Khaina aod Kotalipara in Faridpore. Babu Baradakante Bose, b. A., and Baba Abiumoh Cbandra Lahiri, e.A., have started relief work in Vikrampore and Babas Harananda Gapta and Prafallakatany Ray, Bac., in Netrokons and Kishoreganj anb-divisions in Mymeneing. The Execotive Committee of the Sadharan Brabmo Sumaj have placed in the hands of tbeir Secretary the enro of Re, 8000 and have entristed him with the workof organiting rolief in the affected aress. Half of the above sum has slready been exhansted. The Committee now etand in need of larther fands. They addrese this appeal to pablicaplrited oitizens all over the country with the hope that they would eable the Commities to oarry on their work of encooaring thoir belplens brethren in the affiected areat by a prompt and genarona ragponse to it.

Any amount, howeper amoll, will be gratefully recoived and acknowledged by the nnderaigned on behall of the Committes.

> Praserisaina Aobarii, Seorotary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, (211, Coruwallia Street, Caloatta.)

Mr. K. N. Dewal writes fmm Bangalore ander dato 17th Oatober. During their visit to Bangalore Mr. G. K. Devdhar aud the Hon'ble Proleneor R. P. Paranjpye delivered leco tares on "the Widows' Problem" and "Stadente and Sooial Reforn" respeatively in the Government High Sahool. Large andiances ansembled and lietened to the learned lectares with rapt attention.

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With reference to the NOTICE dated the 0th day of October 1919 regarding a FURTHER ISSUE OF SHARES, share-holders are bereby informed that the Directors have decided not to issue the said shares and that the ander-writing agreement in respect thereof has been caucelled. The Transfer Books of the company will the refore not be closed from the 3rd November to 7th November 1918 as notifed in the NOTICE dated 9th day of October 1919 refered to above.

> By Order of the Board R. H. PARKER
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[^12]
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## Vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1919. No. 9.



## "SONTENTE.

An Ominone Defeat.
The Britiah Labour Party' Imperim Policy.
Mranken in Indis.
'The Adminiathator of Bhav. ' engar.'
"The South African Commianion',
Postponement of the South African Cqumindon.
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-poverdment." This is significant as comitig from Mr. Henderson who is spoken of as the first Premier in ${ }^{1}$ a'Labout Ministry in Great' britain!: 'Apart ${ }^{1}$ from' that; he is a high-principled '" man.: The ${ }^{\text {' Challenge }}$ which is primarily a religious' paper and not a Labour organ, thus' wrote of him on the morrow $6 t$ 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 higbest contribution to the service of their fellows. If Labour can put forward more candidates of the character and 'calibte 'of' Mr '. Henderson; then Parliamentary government is safe for our lifetime; and byp its agency the general level of the common iffe may be raised enormously,"

Iranians in India, That the Parsi immigratiod 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, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ the ancestors of the IndoAryans 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 ol this interesting subject at present. On one point Mt. Sastry seems to differ from Dr. Mitra and other scholars, The latter held that the Indo.Aryans and Irantans 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 hived in peace and friendship for a time; and then they quartelled, 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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## Vol. XXX BOMBAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1919. No. 9.

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An Ominons Defeat.
The British Labour Party'e Imperinl Policy.
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The Mabaraje of Bikaner on Constitutional Reform.
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"The Light of ladia.".

## NOTES.

:An Ominous Defeat: Following on the repeated Tailure 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 state. ment that the defeat of the Goveroment was due to a combination of Labourites; Independent Liberals and anti-Ahens 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. Ballour's Cabinet after the South African War alter 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 tbat the Joint Com. mittees' recommendations leave the Government of India where it was in the original Bill.

The Britash Labour Party's Imperial Policy: A Reuter's telegram says: "Mr. Arthut' Henderson, discussing Labour's Imperial policy in the periodical Overscas, writes that Labour is certainly not a Little Englander in the sense of being indiffereat 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-goverdment." This is significant as comitg from Mr. Henderson who is spoken of as the first Premier 'in" $\dot{a}$ 'Labout Ministry in Great ${ }^{\prime}$ Britain. ${ }^{\text {© }}$ - Apart 'ftom that; he is a bigh-principled "man:" The Challenge which is primarily a religious paper and not a Labour organ, thus wrote of him on the morrow $6 f$ 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 personial gain, who because they are men of tharacter are not corrupted by politics,' but through politics are able to make their bighest 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 agericy the gegeral level of the common life may be raised enormously."

Iranians in India, That the Parsi immigratiod into Western India some twelve centuries ago was not, like the landing of the Yilgrim Fathers in New England, the emigration of an alien people to a new and unknown worid, 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 Brabmins were descendants of them. In pre-historic times, the ancestors of the IndoAryans and the Iranians, dwelt together as one community in the Panjab. The Karmataka of Bangalore gives a summary of a lecture delivered by the distinguished scholar, Mr. R.'Shama Sastry, in the Mysore University Extension series, on Iradians in India. Mr. Shama Sastry's conclusions mainly accord with those of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra whose lectures on the lado-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 beld that the Indo.Aryans and Iranians were settled in tbe Punjab as one community. Mr. Sastry, on the other band, 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. Accarding to this theory, the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians were ofiginally two different peoples, whereas according to the first theory they
rere one people who subsequently split it into two on some differences of doctrine and practice. Mr. Bastry will, we are told, deal with the causes of the secession in his next lecture, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra was of opinion that the rost important cause of the split was the question of cow-killing. The Indo. Aryans had sectled as agriculturists and is view of the vital importance of the cow to an agricultural conmunity, had foresworn beef, but the Iraniabs clung to their pastoral hablts, and went back to their botnelands. We look forward with interest to What Mr, 8bema Dastry has to say on the question.

The Adminitrator of Bhavnagat. The appoint* mient of Sir Irabhashankar Pattani as ddmintstrator of Bhavnagar during the minority of His Highness the Mabareja is obvousty the only suitable appoint. ment that could have been made. It is in consonance with the widelyexpressed wishes of the people of the State, and has been received everywhere with considerable satisfaction. His long experience as Devan of the State, amplified by his tenure of the membership of the Executive Council of the Gover. por of Bombay and of the Council of the Secretary ot Statein London, marks him out as the one man most fitted to be at the helm of the State. It is not stated whether sir Prabhashankar is to be the role Administrator pr whether be is to be yoked to a Political. We trast it will be the former. The appointment comes at a psychological.moment in Indian politics, and far mote 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 $T$. Madhay Rao, Lewan Kanga Carilu, Sir Seshadri Lyer, Sir Dinkar, Bao, Sir Salar Jung. But these men did ther wort under less exacting conditions than those $1 a$ which Sir Prabhashankar's administration will have to prove itsell. Standards have risen all round, and autocratic methods are out of the question. The people will have to be admutted to the confidence ot the administration, and it is in them that the Admwistrater will find bis aupest support and sacuris for, his work then the time comes for him to make over the skate to the young Maharaja The good wishes of a very large circle of Iriends will attend Sir Mrabhashanker's assumption of the most responsible lask entrusted to an Indian statesman in opr thme and wu trust he will be given health and atrength in ample measure to carry it on to the great benefit of the people of Bhavnagar end to the advantage of Indian feputir tion for admiaistrative qualities.

The South African Commission Indian Opimion of the a6th'September quotes General Smots as traving said in reply to question ta the Union Assembly that the Government bad mo intention to appoint a: Commiasion' to enquire into the whole Apiatic question. "The Commissiod to be appointed will inquare into the question of the issue of trading licensesto Indians, As our contemporary points ont, this is inconsistent with the statement of she acting Prime Minister, Mr. Malan, who in Jane last stated that the Commission - vould inquire into the whole Asiatic question in the Transvaal. Apart from that, the question of eradmg ticenses is only vae of the grievances trentiontd in Lord Sinha's memorandum presented to the "Inperial "War Corference last year, which Mr. Borton, on behaf of

- the South Airican Umon Govermment had noder.
- taken to consider lavourably: A rmore important question is the right of ownerstip of land the law relanng to which Lard Sinha turged was demoralise ing to all parties and the abrogation of which be strongly advocated. There were other points in the wemorandan. It is a question whether if the scope of the Commission's' enquiry it to be restricted to
trading licenses, it is worth while appointing it, end sending representatives from India to perti. cipate in it. Then, we understand that the Com. mission will be an Imperial one, but it appeare from General Smut's remark that it is to be appointed by the Onion Goverament. Under, the circumstances it behoves the Government of Iadia to make strong representations to the Imperial Go. verament as well as to the Uaion Goverament witb a view to widea the scope of the enquiry so at to cover all outstanding Indiza grievances not only in the Transvaat but elsewhere to Sonth Africa, and to strengthed itw character by making it an Imperin! enquiry.

Poxtponement of the South Atrican Commission: Since the above was in type the Government of India have pablisbed the following statement of the Secretary of State's "from himsell:" "The Union Government bave decided to postpone the teppointment of the Dommission for the preeent, It has been mistakenly inferred from a passige ia the Secretary ol Siate's recent speech that a request bas been medo shat the representatives, of India should sit as merabers of the Commission. No such request bae been made to the Union Goverd. mett. butrishat Government bas been asked to agree to the presence of representatives (probably one official and tone non-official) to be deputed by the Government of India to assist the Commission in its enquity, to sive information, and to tepre sent the feetnge and the views of the-Government of India and the Indina ppblic and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case. The question of the status to, be proposed for guch representatives and of the composition of the Commission may dopend to aome extent on the scope of the engairy, as to which information has not yet been received. It in hoped that the Unlon Governmeal will in any event agree to the inclusion of an lndian 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 Bir B. Robertson." This is entirely "t pariance, with what Mr. Montagu was understood to have said to the deputation which waited on him, and will cause intenge disappointment in this country.
Sir George Barnet in South Arrica. Indian Opinion has the following very relevant criticism of Sir George' Baraes, the member tor Commorce in the Government of India, regarding his enquiries on Irdian problems in South Africa :-"In bia fetter to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 15th July last, Sir George Barnes refers to the fact that he wat' recently io Bouth Africa and had several times discussed Indian affairs with Lord Boxton. So far as we are aware, he never took the trouble to interview members of the Indian community and get their view on ques: tions vitally affecting their welfare. This, we pup. pose, is typical of the Earopean official in India. And that is why the people of India so greatly denire 'a change in the form of government. What' E fine: opportuaity Sir George Barnes bad of making himsen fully acqualnted with mattern conceraing which he would have to deal with latel! But he missed it. He was content to confine bis enquiries to Goot vernment officrals and so tearnt onily part of the trath-His letter to Mr. Gandiai on the Asjaticg (Land and Trading) Act proves that."

Silver Currency in Framer. Iodia, witter all, is not the sole sinner in the matter of aboorbing rupeas. A Keuter telegram says that owing to the boarding, meltiog down ead export of coisage despite prohibition, silver coinage thas practically gone oat of circolation in France, although over eno thourand million francs should be in circulation.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER.

## BOMBAX. ATOVEMBER 2, F919.

## THE REFORM OF THE CENTRAL GOYERNMENT.

The Joint Committee on Indian constitutional retorm has finished taking evidence and the Bill as amonded, by it is expeoted to be presented to Parliament in the midale of November and to be finally passed about the middle of December. The present seems to be an opportane moment to indieate what feature of' reform win 'be' most looked' for in the revised Bill. The Indian public. will look, in it for a sabstantial measare of reform in the constitation and functions of the Government of India. The introduction of a measure of responsibility in that Government was from the first adyocated by Indian reformers as a desirable dxtension of the Montagn-Chelmisford scheme, caloalatéd "to héighiten its symmetry and popalarity. For onr'own part, we have from the first regarded the reform of the Government of India' as fat 'more urgently important than that of provinoial Governiments. Protincial autonomy: without simaltaneously atrengthening the Central Government by liberalising its constitution and its funotions, is, to our mind, positively detrimentril to the highest interests of the conntry. Indian history is a record of repeated chaos sapervening on provinces ontgroming "tse codtrolling anthority of the Central Government." Sir Harry Stephen in his evidence before the Joint Committee professed his anxiety to see a scheme of reform formalatod by Indians according to Indian ideas. This is a seemingly reasonable request, bat in reality it is an impracticable one. The oonditions set up hy British rale so complicate the Indian political problem that no aoheme of reform based wholly on Indian ideas will be effective as a means of ensaring a atable and ,progressive admpistration. At the same time, no soheme of reform which ignores the lessona of Indian history has the slightm est ohance of saccess. Now, the first lesson of Indian history is that a strong Contral Government is the indispensable condition of progress and prosperity within and security against dangers from : withath. Lerd Sydenham interprets "strong Government" to mean a Government whioh desires and is able to work its will in absolate digregard of public opinion. In this sense, there never was a stronger Government than the present Government of India. Bat in trath there never was a wenker, more discredited Government. The Simla correspondent of the Times of India cannot be acoased of prejudioe in this matier. This is what he says in his last letter:
Sirinata io now at the madir ol its repatation at home, and its anggeations are likely to carry leas weight than woold othorwine to the eves. The bither comusthte of papere lite

Iruth on the conduct of the Afghan Cmapaign, the ctir cengad by the Pajind mentencer and the Irdarnity Act, thegonoral discontatat of the English mencuntile wart at the emy change phition-all these ought to give Gorernment fari: onely to think, Ito loas of repptation has now reached a point at which its adminiat rative effciency is bonnd to nuffer:
The Atghan compaign and the Panjab: : Bentenees and the Indemnity; Aot, and emen the "exchanga position, axi boththe onlimination of asteady pron outi of deterioration which had been at work in the Government.of India. The great personalities of Fioqrofs liko Lord Curzonmad Loopd. Hardinge.end of a great Searetany of State like iLord Morley in the period between them ${ }_{x}$ reterarded to some extent, apd mafked to a mach grester :extent., the procesa of decay. The removal of the Imperial eapisad to Delhi necelerated the profoesf, and even Lond Hardinge's sagacions and bigh-sor led statesmanship conldnnot withatand its: The Cownpore Mosque troable/ which led to the personal intervention of the Wiceroy, was the first aymptom :of Proriacial administrations getting ont sof :hand. Wheil: the magnetiopersonality of that illustrions Viceroy: was withdrawn, the procons becane numistiskably obvions. The Madras Government, ifirst, and the Punjab afterwaids, showed that ithe Central Government was losing preitige in the provinces. Lord Chelmeford has, nos doubt, proved inadequate for his high office, bit it is not altogether due to his deficiencies of capanity andi experience: Only a statesman of enarmoza personal prestige, in Englandand India coold have steered the state with appreciable snecess in the difficult oircumstances of the last five yeara; with a Government of India constitated as at presentu Theiffghan war.and the excitement among the frotier tribes, are due to the same canse, namely, the weakness, owing to want of tonch with the living carrentes of Indian life, of the Central Government of India. A Goverament of India, evon under : the ipreient constitntion or absence of it, which forfeits the confidence of India, is certain to lose weight imith the Government in Englande. Wond Carzon, with all his amplitade of powar and prestige, had to soknowledge bis defeat :at the lisande of Lord Middleton,: becanse the Goveriment in England had tired of his lordabip's apopalarity with His Majesty's Indian eubjeots. If, an the Simla oorrespondent of the Times of India blintly sayg; the doss of repatation of the Government of India bas now reached a poist at which its adininistrative effioiency is bond to buffer-in our opinion, this untoward resalt has already happened-His Majesty's Govennment and Lord Chelmaiord him. self oannot bat conteraplate : an early change of Viceroyalty as an allexative to be preferred. The point we wish to urge is that mere change of Vicaroys will not permanently improve the political position. It will no doubt have the immediste effect of reliering the tersion in the
public mind. This by inelf is a most desirable thing. Bet reforms in the constitation of the Government of India, which place that Government in olose and constant tonctr at every point With the sarging force of pablic opinion and make it the foom of life and thought in thia conntry, can slone give it the atrangth and vitality needed to goverr Iadia 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 commanionting a liberalising itaprise to all the graden of admini* stration below itoin Withont the Government of India being liberalised, no amonnt of reform in the provincial Government and looal admialatration will be of much avail. The weakness of the Oentral Government will, as the Simla correspondent of the: Times of India shrewdly apprebends, infeat, all the ranges of administration below it. Provincial aritohomy was suggested in the Goverament of Indiah famous derpatah of 1911, relating to the ennalment of the Partition of Bengal and the ;transfer of the Imperial onpital to Delhi, avowedly an a means of keeping Indian influence nonfined to provincial matters and of preventing it from extending to imperial conoerns. Mr. Montaga devised his; scheme on this basis. Indian: opinion, however, has never accepted provincial antonomy as a sufficient sphere of fte political aspiration. The Congress-Moslem League scheqme proposed the same sort of ohanges. in the Imperisl as in the Provincial Governments. The present plight of the Government of India, as depicted by the Simla, correspondent of the Times of India, bas come as a conorete refutation of the proposal to leave the Government of India out of the responsible part of the scheme of constitutional reform, The dangery of the excessive strest laid on provincial antonomy (with ite implication of provincial isolation) has been bronght home to Indian pablic opinion in an unmistakable mannendaring the last few months. Why shonld Bombsy; : Madras, the United Provinces ind the Punjab: agitate against the Rowlatt legislation' which was evoked by the ocourrence : of revolutionary crime in Bengal end Was: most unlikely to be applied to any other province? Why should the United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal and Madras concern themeelves with the application and administration of Martial law in the Panjab at the instance of the Panjab Government which is in the best position to know all the circambtances of the case? These questions have been asked in all seriousness by responsible organs of English opinion' in India not all of them illdisposed 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 isolfled anit without interest in and sym-
pathy with other uaits. That the effeot of the adopm tion of the sobeme with the Government of India left out of $i t_{4}$ will be this, there cannol be the leant doabt. There is a third resion why the reform should begin with and not stop short at the Government of India, Events have oconrred since the Delhi despatoh was penned and even since the the Montaga-Cbelmsford report was drafted, to belle the doctrine of progression from the botiom to the top. India has not only e sent at the Imperial Conference, but is to-day an original member of the League of Nations. The anomaly of her being governed withont reference to the views and optnlons of the people by hall a dosen gentlemen, is obvions. It hai been pointed out by oritios not very kindly disposed to Great Britisn. The Indian people, on their part, do not like to be represented or misreprezented on the League of Nationa by persons in whose selection they have had no volce. The international statas and the porition in the British Commonwealth, of India have advanced to such an extent that an Irresponsible Government of India is absolately ont of the question.

## THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANEB ON CON. STITUTIONAL REFORM.

In bringiog the Session of the Bikaner Legiulative : Assembly to a close, His Highoess the Maharaje ! made an important prononacement on the attitade of, Indian States and their ralers towards constitational reform in British India and in their own territories. It is entirely dae to Hia Highnees that we no longer hear of the opposition of Iodian princes to the political progress of British Iodia. When all other resources had been exbansted, it was the time-honoured trick of Aoglo-Indian reactionaries to seek to frightea British statesmen by represeating that the Mahome: dane of India, the Indian troopa and the Indian priaces would regard reforms calculated to give effect to the fromises of eqnality of Iadians and Englishmen in the pablic services and the Execatire Government with distray. 评he Mahomedaa myth bae been rodely dispelled, end it is no longer poseible for the wost brazen reactionary to represent Indias Mahomedane as being likely to resent political progresa. At it is, the Indian Mahomedan, if angthing, is more metideat today in asking for the falfilment of pledges than the other commanities have ever been. The Lacknow compact has been aubjected to afiery ordeal and has omerged nascathed. It wat not, perhapa, ourprising that anmerous Hinda witnessen who appeared betone the Soathborongh Committee, while expreasing their diseatisfaction rith some of the terme of the compant, declared that they sccepted it pevertheless and deprecated any ettompt to reopen the queation. But it conld not bat hare impressed even Lord Sydenham that the representatires of the Monlem commanity who appeared before the Joint Committoe, sbeolately, refused to consider the Goverament of India's tempting offer to ald some more seats to the proportion allotted in the Lacktiow compect to Mahomedans in the Eenged
(bancil on the groand that that woald apset the an* derlying priaciple of that compact. The Indian Army and the lodian princes wére atill tramp eardé left for the reactionaries. His Highiness the Maharaja, bowever, radely placked it out of their hands in his memorable apeech at the Savoy Hotel. Speaking as a Maharajn and a Majot-Gederal tho had taken part with his troops in the war, His Highness rathlessly exposed the triokerg, incarring thereby the andying wrath of this parblind frafernity. He is not dismayed, howevar, and hie speoch at Bikaner shows that if it has to be done, His Highuess would cheorfally 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 opponente of reform, and His Highness had no alternative bat to state the trath ss he kuew it from his intimate personal knowledge of them. Bat His Highness doee not stop there. He maintains that the Indian states have a direct interest in ensoring progress and contentment in British India. He observed:

Whlut the Prinoes of India can alwaye be conuted apon to throw the woole weight of their inflasuce and renourogs on the eide of lave and order and conatituted authority, an they have invariably and anfinohiugly done in the past, they are, apart from all there weighty cousiderations which appeal to them most, prompted nut ranutaraly by reabona of soll-intereat almot to eue sach sourse. fuilowed as will anaure tranquillity on the other side of their borders and than avert atrione troable from grosting iuto their territuries. For ounditiour pxinting in Britieh.. Ludia, and the atytade. of the people thers, fud thgir inevitable reflex in our own Statet. It is quik clowr that any grievance and .disconteat ta Britide ludin, atill mote auarshy and sedition, are buand nooner or later to aprend to one States and to sffeot the Indian rulers and their Goverumenta. Many of ua are surrounded by British territory. With the ingoreased railway. telegraph and pootal laoiltostr, and the apread of edacation and Western thoughts aud ldeals, and with a large namoer of our State sabjeetr corrying on basiness in Britigh Iudia, there are, macin a ore than formerly, thequent and intinuate interebsage of iduas and opinions and grgiter wontoct between out own subjects and those of British Iudia

- His Highoess recalled the faot that the late Lord Minto had asked for the co-operation of the Princes and their advice in dealing with the aprest in parts. of Bengal and elsemhere. Wa are ano that had they been oonsulted yith reference to the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the iatroduction of martial law in the Puajab, they woald bave given equally modorating, advice. Mxuremism in any form is ancongenial to the Indiun tempersment-whether Findu or Mahomedan, prince or peasant.

His Highueg mext turued on his Indian oritics. Thase were of two olasses. The extremisty, or as we prefer to call them, "the impatient idealists" of Lard Morley, whe rather resented His Eighness plea for pationce and moderation. This class has since seen reanon to change ita opibiod. It now realises that His Highness' adxioe was inspired by sincere patriotiem and an inner knowladge of the forces at work in favour of Indian progress, and we bave yot
sean of late any sepetition of the old style of its criticism with reference to the Maharaja's counsels of trast and moderation. The other class was represent-" ed, so far as we bave seen, by a solitary journal, the : Justice of Madras, which called upon His Highness to prove his sincerity in the advocacy of politicsal reforms in British India by pointing out the practical reforms he had introdaced in Bikaner. His Highnese declined to degrade himself by replying to a charge of insincerity bat with a view to prevent the public from being misled by such criticisms, be recoanted the reforms which he had introdaced. 'The Leegislative Assembly fof Bikaner was first instituted in 1913. It bas a nonpfficial majority, enjoys nearly all the rights which were conceded to the Indian Legislative Conincil after it had been in existence for thirty jears. Only' one question and one resolation wero disallowed daring the six years of the Bikaner Conncil," and only one oat of fifteen resolations passed which was not accepted by His Highoess' Govern* ment. Farther reforms in the direction' of widening' the scope of the Assembly are in contemplation. The Maharaj Kumar has been nominated a member of the Asscmbly, and he, said the Maharaja, "is in foll accord with my views regarding the benefits of the representative system of Government. His Highneess nest gave a long list of the refurms introdaced in Bikaner since he assamed charge of the, administration twenty-one years ago. These inolgde adrance in local self-goverament ; the system, of admipistrution introdaced 17 yeara ago; the famine administration of the State ; the jndicial reforms, inclading the institation of a Chief Court ; the reorganisation of the Revenue Department, inclading remissions and concessions made to the poeule; the remarkable increase, considering astare's handicap in the rabi coltivation in the fervile districts of the State; the re-organisation of the Castoms Department; the more than trebliag of the State reverues ; the development in the railway system of the State, excluding the far-reaching projeots of railway exteasions, as also the irrigation projects in regurd to which questions were pat; the inatallation of a big electric plant to supply to the general pablic electric light and power gnd last, but not least, the specially liberal policy which His Highness' Government have for the 'last (wo years, in particalar, inangarated in regard to odacation and medical relief in the State., Hie Highpess added for the iuformation of the pablic that since bis coming of age the most scrapaloas artention bad been paid to keeping his privy parse entirely separate from the State. This is, indeed, is otriking record, and if all or moat other States conld pmulate it or the glimpse which His Highness gave of the sbrennone life of the conscientions zaler, there would be far leas sweeping criticiam, mucb of it pecesaarily bat not anavoidably ill-informed, of Indian States, of which His Highness jnstly complained. The Maharaja said :
In conmon will many of my brother Pribcel, I have devon thd the bess yeare of my life to the service of the State and to the iuteresta of the people. That neoensitatee much bard work aind even tha sarifice of one"r health and ocufort to the
extent tbat for monthn one hac bed to itit in ooe's atedy from early inoraing till hita in the evening with ooly a briel inter Tal for a harried mesk and without even the coneolation, some timen for months on end, of meaing the breen of cas's ehildran of oflore dear and neme to him frum the time one rinoe till loog aher suamer. If the oritics of the Iudian Princen really realied chic, they woald ant attribate to thom in omoh rwop-
 aineority of parposes.

It is well-known that His Highness doen oot spare himself, and there are some other ralers of whom also this picture is true Bat as the Maharaje bimself observed, to contead that everything is perfect in all the States woold be sa absurd as the sweeping allegations often beard that everything is corrapt and rottep in the Indian States. Then, again, later ia his apeech, efter referring to the strict injanctions as to the dnties of a raler required by the Hinda dharma, His Highness candidly remarked:
${ }^{4}$ With the pesce and eocurity that ben followed the advent of the British in Iodis and after the contianed ntrite and strain of ap many ceataries, a reaction wat inerita ile. Princes in sume onsen come to adopt easeloring habits, With orme petent Ministern, thinge went on more eatufactorily, bat in the cane of nugerapolone Ministers, desiring to gaia ondiue powef or wealth, the energies of the Raler were diverted in other direction. It is thinge like these whith are zesponsible for the viown that mre held eboat' the Indian Statee. But they have lappily changed or are changing onoe agsia,"

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

Bnt what is there to ensare that the change shall take place in all casen, that it, shall be permsent and continuons, and that is shall not be sabject to relapses according to the idiosyneracy of individual princes ? The objection to antocracy is not that it may not be benevolent, bat that there is nothing to ensare that it shall be only benevolent and never melevolent. It is essential to the well-being of the State that beneficence of aim should be the, coontant attribate of its Government and not a casnal concomitant dependent of the accident of the raler's personal character and pre-diaposition. Representative Government ensures this, we do not sey absolately, bat in 8 mach grester measare than one-man rale.

## ST; FRANCIS OF ASSISI

IL
(By Mr, Aghoray Iyer, B, Ac, B. C.)
There was one day aniong 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. Erancis, himself taking up the question, went over the whole field of haman achievement, speaking about the excellence of arts, crafts and sciences alite, bat passed over thea with the remark that tho greatest was not in them. Then, to the impatient and astonished disciple, the leader spoke with deep pathos is 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, thay should recognise in him a mésseager 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 beart of this man could not react in the firre of hatred or anger, ,
. His bumility was beyond, words, He was the greatest moral force of his age. The medizval world looked to him as to a mayter. To him was braught the allegiance of all, classes; yet to this man, wha. without brilliant gitis of mind or charm of person, became the ruler of human hearts, there remained no consciousness of his greataess. God had chosen him for His task, because in him ${ }_{i}$ He had found the weakest and the most sinful of mortsls.

What would have been pretended self-effacement in others was with Francis, espontaneous feeling. Then, the love of bis heart drew even the wicked. Robbers were overwhèlthed by his compassion and became disciples. Io the' loving ministry of saints on earth. that which bias the most powerful appeal to human hearts is the conversion of the wicked. Herc, the Saints of the East and of the West are akin. We see in Mirabai, the queen-devotee of Krishma, and Srl Gaoranga, 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 chaptet in the life of Francis is" his" relationship with Sahta 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 instincla of her iex to become a ser. vant bf. God. Such self-effacement was bers, such radiant ' purity shone about her that Francis, in a moment, knew ber greatness and accepted her as a lellow-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 laithfully carrying out the instructions of this good and thbly man. Ramakrishan and bin, holy wife, Frátcis of Assisi and Santa Clara, Buddha and Yasodhata, and Vivekanandáánd Nivedita, are some of the conspicuous lastances in the world; 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 soal, the limitiog conscioneness of the body is left behind, and purity alone shine 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 pariorajaka (wanderer) like one of our own samnyasins. Now alone, now in the company of his bretbren, he started on many. a campaign of religious preaching, and with sweet and simple words, alike of : deeds, he drew numetous men to the feet of God. Toil might exhanst bim; like frail mortals be might
seem to clutch at material things for protection. But without any effort, the mask is torn and the spiritiz in bim stands revealed. What a míngling of compassion and strength in such occurrences! Francis, after months of wandering and hard preaching, accepts with the complacency of child. hood 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 tha journey should have been reversed. In a , flast the rider on the mule has discovered the larking thought in the mind of his follower. There is no alternative, but that he must implore his pardon for the offance. Qualms of remorse wrang the heart of the tramping monk and to his dying day he carried the memory of the unsaintly feeling be entertained towards bis leader. The Lord Jesus, washes the feet of bis disciples. Vivekananda carries bis first dicciple on his shoulders for several miles, during the latter's fatigue. "Verily, my compassion opercometh 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 bis character with such selfishness, and be a bad model to them. So be left the tower and spent the night under the skies, taking leave in the mornigg of the Cardinal and his prisond 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, nevertbeless. 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 woat folly was it, thought be, that he threw away the inoocent joys of bome, and the op. portunities of service among bis 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 be came out into the dark, and gathering up heaps of mow, lashioned them into imagen and addressing them, as wife and children, ssid 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 bim almost of carrying a point of discipline too literally. Men like him bave atares where no ingenious mind is necessary to excuse a lapse in practice. Wbat their minds have apprebended as right and good, their hearts throb with, and their whole will is exercised to testily in conduct. Francis was literally beyond all ldeas of possession. In one of the loity mouds of his soul be could not hear fropn a brother in reply to an enquiry, that the latter was returning from his cell.' The very idea of a cell for bim.
self sounded as adiscretion 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 camo into the world naked.
Truly has it been said that a man grows into the likeness of the ideal he is contemplating opon. 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 Crucifed. He was no conscious artist or : poet, but music came to his heart and he sang., "ite 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 bis myriad manifestations od éarth the thought of the web of interrelations in the world must have been to him as the air he breathed, and he sane the "canticle "ot the sun" in 'the "luill blaze of realisation. The whole universe was one vast brotherhood and sisterhnod to him. But the sweetect of all sisters to this soul was death and his welcome to her was the most cordial of all. There conmes to us across the centuries the thundering ascription of his words uttored in a passionate fervour of longing " wel.onme sister death? welcome! welcome"' and mingles iteelf with the yet more dominant note of the saint of the great Indian mutiny who broke the, silence of difteen vears, to say. with his last gasp to his murderer: "Thou too art Hel Thou too art Ee! "
The story of this life would appesr valueless, like many others, if the impossible question is asked, why in snite 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 lifs 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 experlences find a record not merely in our brains, but they evoike a living response in the hearts of the self-consecrated, and in the unfathomed depths of, the soul, in unbroken stilliness 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 Churcb, Calicut, (Malabar District) writes to us:-"At its meeting on the 29th ult., the South IndiaUnited Church unatimously 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 pablicity 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 sucb restrictions upon the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicants as will lead to the total probibition of the traffic." The South India United Charch is a body of Indian Christian and European Missionaries numbering nearly 200,000 soils. Representatives came to this meeting of the Assembly from all parts of the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travancore and Ceylon."

## AT APPEAL.

## Tuck Lati Rac Bamado


Burn on the 16 th of A peil 1848 and stor heving led a atrenooge dite for the aplith and regmenation of the sountry in rariopp fielda of activity, mocial, morah rokgioma, literary and odaentigoal; Eeo Bahadar K. Veoreatingnum Pantale paeved eway at Medran on the 97 th of May 1819 in the F8rd Jear ol biy egs
There exis be ne dosbt that hil wan a toul that would hart sdorned sod solightenoi say coentry of netionality. Born at ttipa when Eindu 8ociaty wan andergoing redieal and orgenis obasget, owing to the apirit of western anlightameat and oirgliation bia beat throbbed with anxiety for the fatare of hie somatry and at himell to work for ite regonoration
Hf teat the pioneer of Boyial Reform and of Widow Romepriage Moromente in Sontiern India, wiol ha marted in the yerr 1881 and for which be werkod with riagle-miaded derotion, earnestroes of purpose and : ninceaily, of conviction. Armod with conscienes and courage, ha moultully corabated with obnoxious inatitations and ouctomen, tried to pui down corraption in offieial life and elevated the tone of morallty of the poople boif by bis writinge and preachinges. Awong the formes may be meationed the papor called "The Fivekararthanin atarted by hime whereia be relenticealy exponed the foibles and weakneseos of thit Hiadesociety! By bie efforth child matringes and anutoh partice wert diecournged, fomale oducation wa popalarised and dopreverá olhemen wero mined from the thraldom of igooringe.

Ho wai the mater of a good, enay, simple and. olear atylo is Taloga and wat righty knowe we the sther' of modern Tolagu Proses He wrote simplo tration id' Telugu an at vitrioty of cobjesta, moilt ase Astronomy, Zoology, Phyciology and other scientifio subjecte, with, the object of diffusing knowhage hatoong the mesees. He wat welhrerted in the art ot mairt which be lirgely' aved lor patting doye wiog corrap tica and wocial erili. His litarary norke werg compiled and poblished in ten volumens

He atarted s Widowi' Hoad and gave the iumatet free bourdiog, lodging and edication. The Town Hell buils by bim hno dedicated to the Prolic of Rajnhmavary, the Veorenal. ingam Theitio Library, the Prager Hell at Rajabmandry, and the Vepreselingay High Sobool at Bajehmandry, the Bocinh
 City Brobmo Satmaj Buitdings fo sddition to the gif of oll his propertios worth about Ric 45,000 in trant to the Fithakarini Samaj tor charitable parpoies, spenk volumes of his pbilac. thropy and large-beatteduene.
 pacoiontio and strong abiding religiona sud moral mense. He otarted the Theistic Morement by fongding ithe Payar Sameng in 1878 and preenhing the roligion of tho one Trae and Sapreme God.

Vegresalingan pantula is the greatent man bora in the Teinga comatry daring the last restury. His itroag iron will, bis undsuntod eosrage, hin, complete mell-sesrifice, ble incority of conviotion mil monatnemest of parpoces, bie mabition to give oot the beat in hire to the eorrice of the conntry, his fourtom and dininteroved patriofinm, regalated and anscined by a keen samse of duty, bis bold and intrapid stand againat mociel porsecution, hié leoling lor the weak sad the deprosech, matil bice utand oat in bold relief to the rest of bie conatrymen. Aratis the nase whum we should trones sad revere and whose memary we aro to keep green by ruixing * snimble viemorial.

At a mating of the ditizent of Ryitmandry; ather the domines, it wes reoled to reine a memorial to porppotenta bia memory, sad ly atrogs excoative evmaritten wie formel to barry it oal At a mentieg of the Monmial Exceotive Coosmitteen hald on $86-6,19$ it wis reootrod to. oultoot herde lor the paropen of rixing E carat of Rue Bisedar E. Yerredingore Pantala and minhiniag the landurtione narted by hime.
 ourrying aat the sforemid abjeota sed the Comeition it sending forth this appent in the foll coneldecoe that il will moot with at mdeqnate reppoten trose not coly the trivench and eduirers of Pintain Gava belf almo frome tho genorose pablh to
 Pambola is equally doer.
28-7-19.
R, Papayta,
Bajhhmuadry,
P. Gouviditi,
Secrotarifos.

The Virealingam Menorin! Oommitter. N. By: All doaatione to be remitiod to that Treatares, M. 'Re Ry. P. Sanderacive Rao Pas. tula Gurain. Ay a, l. High Count Vakil. Rojabmundry.
"THE LIGHT OF INDIA"

## The Edion, The Indian Social Reformer.

 sir,The heeding of this papur formes the titie of a book by Ms. Havold Begbie in biah he bes rebemently alicolked Hiaduiam in vary offemive tarme The book woraing, Ee it dom, with the troot offiensive expremions the writue could iaront and socthing with the mont ourping aritioicre of Eiadaism, marks the clinas of Cbriatian bootillty towardy the grent roligion of India. The contente of the book do pot juotity the titlo chosen by the writar; it it a minnomar to call a book like that, "Tbe Light of India" which places belore the Indian jouth the derkeet pietare of Elleduiem चith a bright setting of Obristianity with a view to atigmatise the one and beightea the other. The book would have beon bettar antilled, "The Light of Chrithenity" of "Twe Light of the Wet." Howevar irvolically the writur may have shosen the titu for bis innidions purpones the Indian yonth eno mot thil to doteot "whiad it a thought for cell-sompleconey that the darkoese of Indit appeary light to Mr. Begtio, which enhanees the valae of Indir's religion whoee troer lighe atbe witer bed men would have onroly blinded bia finion.

Bufore turniog tha the main diecranioz of the satiject I wible to meke a fem quotations from his brok whiob go to prove the validity of the elore remarke. To begie with, - Hiadaism in a waltering choos of terror, diminom and and eartuiaty, a roligion withoat the approbenaion of a mored prolation, withont a mord rodi, mitboas defaim comionsdmente and withoust a Cod. The apiritalization of Iadia the most matorial and ebildishly maperatione saimalinat that over maquersiod at idealiame: Tm Hiada Gode we whted and sboaicoblo; promitition in a mones of frenoint "many of the cemples. The atorien rolued of Erishoc's lite, mye ose athbrity, an more shas pay gos olse to diatsoy the mopale ead corrupt the Einda jouth: On the quber bead be regarde, "Chrintinoity's elomatiag motali'g in aconotry
 bimell with the rain belief that "Hiodaita is now child dentrojiug the idole which wers onee ite foys" bat hevente the gbeence of "the nisa of the Croses on in form
 Einduiam, hat it has opotritualized it. The rictory
of Cbribt in Inlis in the viotory of feedom, of virtue, of elevetion, se well te of moral grandear. Ohrist etanids in the bintury of mankind sbeolately slone and unchallengeably sapreme as the Light of the World." Thesa qniotations amply evidence the entire soperiority of the writer's religion to which be asaigne an anchallaogeably high moral valae, on exclu. sively bigh apiritality and whioh he regards an free from idolatry and eaperatition.

Mr, Beghie has disproportionetely deyoted more than a half of his book to the warious atories of Bhile and Doms beooming converte to Christianity with too mach of petty detait repatition whicl are apt to bacome cloging and repulsive, vinily belisving to be asserting thereby the atrength of Christianity es aseligion of groat apiritual force-m tset which I am inclined to think rather detracts from his argament than eddeang atrength to it. These atories parely cerve to dieclose the weakness of Cbristianity olearly to an Iodian yoath.
Turning to the subjeet of idolatry the blame cannot be entirely laid at the door of Ginduism. No religion of the world is entirely free from some form or nemblance of it. What do the Cross and various pictures in the charches stand lor? Do they not symbolise the iden of God 7 then what other purpose do they corte? In thisfonnoction I mould point out an innocaracy of fecta whioh Mr. Begbie betrays when he asye that Brabun is not wormhipped by the Hindua and that no temple has been raised to this God. It might be known that the Brahma is the great Gura of the Hiddus whose name is the first word that passen the lipe of the Hiadus in nill the devotiocal prayers thay do and that temple at Pashkar in Rajpotans is raised to this Gud. It in not olear why. Mr. Begbie pretande igsornace of this feot or it may be that be does not know it at all,

In conclncion İ cannot bat remark that it is inbrimen to oall thic religion good, that religion bad, these mornis decunt, those abominable, for every country hat its own reigion and morsle pecaliar to ite people. What is good in the eyes of one is bad in the eyes of another. Every conntry mant leara the modera method of "sympathetic treatment of other's seligion and respect its owr." No religion of the world oan olaim au oxclative sapariority and freedom from flawn. Bat the key to the enigms, why Indin of all the conatries of the world has been woat anbjeot to sach collural attacks, ia to be lound in the words of that able Sir Julin Woodroffe who in bia bouk, "In India Civilized"-which former an answer to all the bouke of the kind noder seriew and which Mr. Begbic woald do woll to stady for hínself--has rightly remarlied that the inatitutious of a colonred people partionlarly of a politicully nabservient one are very likely to appear inferior to thewe without uuderaisnding and freedon from prejudice."

## Mentr,

C. H. Zoters.

Gralint.
[We bave omitted long paerages from the above in which Mr. Zurthi dealt with Christianity after the manner of Mr. Begbto whith Hidduiam. Mr. Begbie does oot denerve this sincerest form of fisttery.-Ed. I.S.R.]

As it has been brought to the notice ul Government that the Kartiki Ekedashi Fair will be held at Pandharpar in November next, it is bereby notified for general information th. $t$ owing to the need of military trafficy the Great ludian Psujnula Nilway Comipany candot arrange for additional panenger or peeinl sraini for pilgrime proceediag to and from the anid Fair. Intendiog pilgrime aft, therefors warne nit nof to undertake the joornoy on this occation.

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# INDIAN*SOCIAL*REFORMER: 

Vol. XXX. BOMBAYTSUNDAY; NOVEMBER 9 , 1919. NO. 10.



## OONTENTEH.

-The Eutaian Kaleidonsope.
Total Prabibition in the United Stintes
Sir sictati O'Dwryet': Evi derce before the voln Cammittet.
Beligion and Socinl Beform. Who is sikh.
Lord Sinha's Speeches.
The State and the Peopier:
The Bombny High Court and Saljagrobi Luwyert.
a he Chicfe' Conterence.
The Chicfe 'Contercace.
iVeracity, Rastern ad Vergaity.
Weptern

The Aberigines of Chbota Udepur.
Univeraty Settlemente io Eoglond.
Mr. Sarendre Nath Banerjen and Mazeiai.
Litergture in the Nizamta Domintons.
Sir Abdur Rehim on the Calcuta University Commiestort Report. E , 1
Literature on Iodustrinl Welfare.
A Charity Performance.

## HOTES:

The Rissian Kaleidoscope: For several weeks ${ }^{1}$ past, Reuter's telegrams copinded to announce that the Bolsheviks were beaten on all sides and that their utter annihilation was only a question of a fetw days.' A message bo 'the' 2 Sth Octobèr stated that the fall of Petrograd was regarded as inevitable. General Yudenitch bad informed the Times corres: pondent at Helsidgfors that he would be in Petro: grad in $\mathbf{a}^{\text {i/ }}$ fortnipht. The British monitor, Arbus, was bomparding the Krasnajagorka with two 15 inch guns, outranging the guns of the fortress which; it was hoped, wourd somifall: On October 30th we wert informed that a telegram to the $\frac{1 \text { forning Posi from }}{}$ Helsingfors bays Yudenitch's entire operations bave falled, and it is feared that the retreating army may be driven into the swamps west and south of Gatchina,' 4 bich is apparently the Bolsbevist plabi. It is now certain that Finland will not aseist Yuded niteh, fearing that the triumph of Koltchak, Denikin; and Yuddnich would threaten Finland's pational existence, A Another message of the same date states that it is now undoubted that Yudenitch hes suffered a setback which is specially serious in view of the rapid approach of the wibter. It is reported in Helsingfors that he bas abandoned Gatcbine and withdrawn the whole hine, which is now four-miles from Gatchina six from I'sarskoeselo, and five from Krasnoeselo, and he has Jittle chance of securing a lavourable base for renewing his attacks. The Bolsheviat witeless claims successes against Denikin and saya risings hava broken out throughout the Ukraine and are spreading to Poltava ;and Ekaterinoslay. Denikin's troops are fiercely fighting Makno's brigands, who have reached Kberson from the Crimes. The scene again shifts with starting rapidity. A message of the ist November reports that, on the 31 Ot October, at noon General Yudenitch had regained ground west of Petrograd and re-captured Ropsche, ten miles south of Paterbol., The gap between the right of the Esthonisne and the Jeft, of Yudenitch's army southwest of Ropscha is now relosed. The Holsheviks continue to concentrate, aspecially south-wast and south of Potrograd. Numerous Oommunist, zeinforcements are coming upifron thej South. 4 HIS-
singfors telegram dated the tist says: General Yudenitch has appointed General Vladimirov loced vernor-General or Petrograd.

Total Prohibition "in" the United Stales: TH amendment to the connstitution of the United Stites adopting total problbition br the manufactute and sale of liquor'as an orgabic part of tr als been ap: proved by the reqdisite majority "o Staxes, Bat fit does not come into force kill Januaty hext Medit while the special wat legisianon establishry btoht
 are signed. A Bill to Bridge bver the intertemth
 President Wilson vetoded it on the groond that the prolongation of wat time probibition should 'todt'be extended when the war has ended. "With great rev pect to the President, we think this is nothing but a quibble in the face of theifastithatatheicoiantry had definitely accepted the priociple:at pantiog 3 展 constitution and that this will condelinto forse fat a. few mpaths' time; diThe uPpesideats. vetb tomill only operate 'as ain idvantape cto' thoset whorbat agitating to get the racceptanceiolsotakspronisition revoked. But: Congress has boldif grappled i with the gituation, and.thas repassed the 4 bull hover thit President's veto by inajorities: in exests of:the twib thirds required to veto the peto 'He copfoss that the President's action in this paitteritebms tol haver been inspired more: with wiowrite spite Congrest than to help the nation. A Ater pteqjis decitione wetioh of the representativess of the peopde; the allegesion that the adoption of the' palinyiof, soted prohibstition is due torthe action of/wineipullegstasd bisjbbiniok, is np longer possiblei is , ithig eid to 1 owoq ont An: line 11 iceb odt to anois
thola
 Committee: -India, the London orfan of the 4 diah
 the rule laid down by the Chairtman, "Word'Selbordes that all references' to the 'actaz' a aminofitraition' of India, unrest, and so ob, woght we inadrissibitel', wat
 before the Joint 'Coinmiltee bf Patliametty'bit' 4 fic Retorm Bill, Sir 'Mithael-O'Dwyet' was alldwed to make allegations regarding the Pdiniab" thoubles. The aptasss of our contemporaity's tamplaift t accentuated by a comparison of some of Sir Michade O'Dwyer's statements : with those made before-the Hunter Committee at its two'first- -gittings at 'Delh Dy official witnesses. Sir' Michael toth' the", Joint Committee in reply to Lord Sydenhan'stregarding the existence of an organised "conspiraty behig the Punjab disturbances: "In fact, they found that the disturbances in the Punjab were very targely fomented by men who came from down country. Some of them, calling themselves Mr. Gandh's men, came from Delhi, and Mra Gandhi bimself said that tubey were rifomented by some very cratity eduanted man on men. Itwas their igeteral improssion in the, Remjab shat ithe edgrantin vasion and those preparations wert measit to isynchrooise
sid thitemissaries' wert yent loon Alghoistan to people who tomented the disturbancess in the Punjikn: In contrast to this, Mr. Orde, Saprintendephof Polices who had been instructed by Goverapent to make enquiries regarding the Deiki disturbances; told the Hunter committee, in the course al bete evidence, that be had originally thought that Delti was responsible for the agitation in the adjoining (Panjab) districte of Machas Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Meerat \&er: As:4 result of bie special investigation, Mr. Orde found "no connection established bet ween the local and outside agita. torn If there was any connection, it was extremely vague. Agaia, "There was no fndication that there wat any conaection between the Puajab and Delhi distarbances. Witness found no trace of Bolsherik inflaence behind the disturbances. The result of his investigations went to show that the causer were purely aetidental."...The next witness waf Mr. C. A. Barraa, Chbief Commissioner of Delhi. Replying to Sir Chimanlal setalvad, Mr. Barrou gaid that te "generally agreed with the conclusions arrived at by $M \mathrm{Mr}$. Orde in his report that there was no evidence of any organised conspiracy. He did not suggest that anybody from Delhi stirred up the disturbaoces in the Puajab or vice versa. Ithere 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 be endea. voured to prejudice the Joint Committe, and be was allowed to do sor

Religion and Social Reform; Sir Narayan Chandavarkat denounced in strong terms, at the service at the Prarthana Samaj last Sunday in memory of the tate venerable Pandit Sivanatio Sastry, the attitude, of, those, who held that religion is an affair of the heart aed bad no concern with social reform and politics Ele illustrated bis megument frome she bife of Pandit Bastry. The Challenge, to which wo oitem; refer with pleasurs, in the issue recoived last week, urges thas religion alone can sotve the great probienes of the day in a wholly satisfactory maoter and calls apon the Church to give up.its isolation mid to apply itself to the task of reconstruc. fion. It. conclodes a striking attucle headed "The Atrike and Atter," thus: 'tII the Church of Cbrist in faitbful in ' bringing the Mind of its Master, 10 the poivor of His spirit, to bear upon the ques. tions of the day, it will create in society a passion for justice, a bunger and thirst after rightcousniess, which will check the makiog of uareasonuble demands and cruse reasonable demands to bo cranted belore they are even expressed, But it must then do more than commend reason and patiedice in general *terms. It mast read the sigas of the times. It must become clear whether or nol democracy is the will of God for our people and tenerntion. $1 t$ must resolutely think out what is involved in its answer to such a question and fearlessly proclaim the conclusione to which it is led. Ind to say that the Charch mast do tbis is first and foremost to say that each individual Christian is called to attempt this, It is not $t 00$ mucb to say that aext to the, maintenance of personal commanion with God the reost argent daty for the Cbristian to-day is to think, and think, and think again what is implied tor pur civilisation by the teaching of Christ."

Who is a Sikh? That the concession of com. munal electorates will have a narrowing infuence on social asd religions matters, as Sir Sankarad Nair told the Joint Committee of Parlioment, and crystallise class divisions, is evidenced by stepz which the Chief Khalsa Diwan is taking to lay dowisa hard end fast definition of a Sikh. The
following definition thas beea tentatively saggestod in the colomas of the Rhalsa Aiboenk:-"A Sith is be wio believes in the Unity of God and Brotherhood of man and regarde tbe tea Gurus and their very embodiment, sri Gura Granth Siatib, as the only means of salvation and lor religiona conduct admitt that for every Sish it is essential to wear Kashas and that for an Ampitdhari it ia compulsory to observe complete- Rohl-(injunctions)." it will be obvionsly ous of the question for the officer preparing the roll of electors to examine each applicant ta bis boliefe and condact in religious matters. The only part of the suggested defiaition which be can verify is the weariag of the Kash. There is nothing, so far as we know, to provent any person from wear: ing Kush, il he desires to do so. Any attempt to use the communal electorates as an instrument of religions inquiaition, will be rightly resented. Every one who claims to be a Sika, Mahomedan, Indian Christian or Non-Brabmin, ahould be accept ed as buch in the absence of evidence to show that be is an impostor. The burden of prool should reat on thoso who queation bis bons fides. Any other coarse will be not only impracticable, but intolerable.

Lord Sinha's Specches: Messra. G. A Natesan and Co., of Muaras gave brought out a volume of Lord Sinha's speeches and writuaga- A biographical sketch of forty pages is prefixed to the oollection. The distingursnod aubjeot of the aketch medo hit first public speecn in 1896 at the twellth session of the Indian National Congresg at Calcutta, proposing a resolumon declaring taat it was desirable that no Indian Priace or Cntef should be deposed on the ground of maladministration or misconduct until the fact had been established to the satistaction of a public tribunal so consututed at to command the confidence alike ot "Guvernment and the Indian Princesf add Cbiefa. 'The next public speech in atter an interval of tourteen long years, on the Preni Act in the Indian Legisiative Council as member of Lord Minto's Government, Lord sinba evidently does not love to hear his own voice, for bis next important pablic pronouncement was his presidential address to the National Congress in fyl5. The volume prints in full Lord singa's memuraudum on the treatment of Indians to the sell-goveraing colonien, presented to tou Imperial Conterence in 1918. It atso includen bis, maden speech in the House of Lords in reply 19 one putting a question regarding the Katarpur riots by Lord sydeniam. For tome reaton, it wat Lord Carson and not Lord Sinas that moved for the Joint Committee in that House, though we remember, to have read somewhere that Lord Sioha had come prepared to speak. This volume is priced Rs. three.

The State and the:People. We have referred oncebetore to Sir Abdur Ravim's convocation address at the Convocation of the Myrore University. Tbere if a passage in 4 referring to the encouragement of the backward classeh which deserves notices "When the State". asid Sir Abdur Rahim, "is asked to play the role of a guardian of the peopie and not that of a mere watchiul policeman, it bas to take as much care of the slow and the , backward of its wards as of the more vigorous and pusting ones, if not more , At the sumo time, the State would itsolf be a heary loser it it failed wo encourago intrinsic worth or talent simply because it bappens to be more comanion in one community rather tban in another." The last sentence enshrioes a truth which is ignored in controversies regardiog the claime 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 insuc, sir Abdur Rabim's comments on the report of the Calcatta University Commission.

# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER. 

' BOMBAY, NOVE BER Q, 1919.

## TEE BOMBAY HIGH COURT AND SATYAGRARI:LAWYERS.

Commenting on the judgments of the Fall Bench of the High Court of Bombay in the case of the Satyagrah lawyers of Ahmedabad, who bad taken the vow of passive resistance on the passing of the Rowlatt Act and pledged themselves to seivil dies obedicnce of any law that a Committea appointed in that bebalf by the passive resisters might pame, the Madras Mail thinks that the Court has taken a "narrow". yiew of the question, as affecting the members of the legal profension. The Mail Ingtances the case of Mr. Lloyd George, with whom the High Court in, England never thoaght of dealing for professional misconduct or breach of duty although some years ago he, though on the rolls of the Court as a Solicitor, pablicly declared prasive, resistance to the Education Act then passed by Parliament, That is, perbaps, not by itself a conclasive ground to show that the view taken by the High Court of Bombay is necessurily 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 politioal stmosphere there is different from heren:- Those, however, whorard familiar with the faots of English history and the anoient traditions of the British Bench and Bar, cannot dismiss the Madras Hail's instance as of no weight. The High Conrt's view thet the lawyers con? oarned 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 Britioh tradition of the Bay is that its meubers do not, in the eye of the Court, live by the law. They are sapposed to. practise in tho Oonts for no remuneration. They capnot 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 mast be judged by the light of a higher fixed atandard, if any, than that of mere livelihood provided by the profession de facto, but not de jure.
That higher atendard mast be familiar to all carefal atadents of the history of the Britiah Bench and Bar; and their traditions, the written and unwritten lawn which have hallowed them as among the most important institutions of the British Commonwealth and Constitation. The High Courts of British India, to whioh our other Courts are aubordinate, have been deliberately modelled on the prinsiplea and practice of Eis Majesty's High Courte in England, espeoially with reference to the familiar maxim at to the independence of the Bench and the

Bar. That maxim is one of the offshoots of tage lish hisiory. That history telle us that up to the Revolution of 1688 in Englapd, when the Gilion Rights became : law, Pspliament as the legislative powef of the land, was regarded and ag a figitade not as the law-making butonly as the how-deolaling power, that is to say it had juriediction only in declare laws which alreadyerriated in Natrate ap God's lawn of justice and reason. And it was the Common Law Courts alone which had the supremé power of determining whether a law declaredity Parliament and the King, was binding ton 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 conld be disobeyed by a subject with in punity es being contrary. to thota lawe. Thas Lord Coke, bigoted. Tory as he waty did not shrink from tolling the King to hip feet that the Common Law administered by the Court owade allegiance to a higher King, that is, ;God, and in Dr. Bonham's case he held that "the Commor Law will control Acts of Parliament'and adjudge; them to be nitterly 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: Conrty have jarigdiction to declare a law void, zill remains in force with this limitation, ihat thôe Courts, in exercising that jurisdiction, cannot proceed on the test which obtained previously to whether a law passed by Parliament was in the opinion of the Court, contrary to God's laws of reason and jastice and, therefore, liable to be deolared 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 lawa are valid and mast be obeyed and what laws are void and may be with impunity disobeyed. That being the power of the Conrts, it would seem to follow as a necesagry corollary that the members of the Bar who are allowed to plead in those Courts, become members of the Courte bound by that power and therefore bound to recognige those Courta as the only anthority in the Commonwealith to determine what laws shall be obeyed and what lawa shall not be obeyediby the sabjeot. 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 anthority to whom he owns allegiance for the purpose of obeying and disobeying laws.

That, however, does not exhsust the case. There are some important considerations which arise necessarily from the corollary above ntated. Is passive resistance, disobedience of law, of such, a kind at to confliet with the professional daty of
 bere il any morat' lafit br'culpability in ft-ut thing puprofesionat in the sente of oriminality or dintionesty or distionotif:" All the taint that is shid to be"itrolited in passive-resistanee' it that if is
 PKorfice fith the profestional auty of the lawyer: As id'thit, the element of disobelience Tin ${ }^{\circ}$ In an ${ }^{2}$
 reititede in'effect obieys the lato, Becauge he volanatily's 'allows the 'ravi he objectato to tate to dodree and "willighy"suffert ite' comisequences." He' edinimite no violetice; 子eatist by foree no athority;

 erexmple of Sodrates ant of Christ Jesin to prove' the: Abd. ©ndian' Piceroys hate approved

 Gondtithtion, hasitradition'afly' ocenpied a nulque Poritiont "The'sindependence' of thè Bar has beoome
 the one ${ }^{n}$ baten, it bowe profesional allegiance to the Codty; tri the ${ }^{4}$ other, It is boand to the public in firtace of "hbitit hlirgitince to espouse its canse

tathwt are apt to prove, with the progress of soctety dandrances to sooisl progress ad exigencte', Which are' almay more or les in advance of liwhan and the public hatre, as has been said, a right
 or focial exigency and timeworn shell of formal Iation In so deciding, the Bar has been in Htgland regarded as the proper guide, the bulwhe "b the people's rights and liberties. This fadition thinds expression in Lord Morley's "Poltitses nid History" where be spenks of " the shaken atitude 'towsrds law as lav-even poperfål la whers speak of a statate as' cobweb. The political theory of Justice, that it is or category created'by the fat "of the Slate," has been showly giving way Wo the viem that "Justice í not made by stánife but that it exists an a stadard outside ot legal sales." And this is Conhrind by the presènt tendency of the Conrt to 'reveritto Ghe did' way of the British Courts' which acted"upon the principle of Lord Coke above cited, Thére wán atime not long since when Judges used to speak of their function as one only to adninisler the law, not jaskice., Bat the present Lord chtef Jistice of England said a shori time dgo thás' British Coutis exist' not to exponnd lav bity to admindster"justice, and thatiaw is only a conventionl This observation of Liord Reading is nof a casaal remart-it is 'expressive of thè modern' "tendency" "Z'regard" Courta" as" empowered to administer God's jastice and where they cannot, to sidy that the lat is injust and must be modified: The linter ts now coming to be regarded not as a thers intefpreter of liw'but an one whose duty in
to holp pablie ppinion egaiat zojost-lamer-If is that which disciagriahed the, independence of the Bar from that of the Bench. The former hat more latitude than- the latter is the intereate of the growth of the idee of juat laws Thal is one of the traditional privilegea of the Bar-hence the rale which supposes that a Barrister is not pald 'fot 'his professional servićes' and carnot sue tor rembneration for serilcet protesalonally rendeted. Thí British Inw,' recognined in Indin, regarats E Barristet do'one who does' not lise by' (ly Late.'
'If that'is the standerd of the doty, bow oun he* be feid gailty of professional misoondact becarese he refolved for'cietil disobedience' to'n law or advises tis cllent in fivour of atoh disobedienoc. So long as he doet not commit violence or an act' of dishbuesty; sd long civil disobedience csnnol bo tegarded at disobedienot of the law, becance he - does not' resfat the law,' be voluntarlly' taker ill consequendei' and thereby' volaritarily atd in effect obeyin it: This'riew stemt more in icoordance with the traditional; bistotic statac of the legal profention than the view keken by the Bombay High Cotri. Aad it accotine' for the fact' emphasised by the Madras Mail in ite sdrerse commente on that Court's Judgment that'Mr. Lloyd George'n dechdration some 'yerra ago that' he' was resolved to resist' 'pastively the Edinotion' Aot passed' by' Parliament; whe nol taken notiot of by the British ${ }^{\text {i }}$ High Court, although he belonged to the legal pros fessiod as a Solioitor and at one time prnotised in' the Courts as such. The poinf la certainly one whick oalls for an athoritative deciston of the Privy Cobncil!

## THE CHIRFS' CONFERENCE.

Except the opening address of the Viceroy, the speechea' of "Ilis Highness" the Maharaja' of
 Higbnees' the "Jam' bf Navinagit 'proposing' - revolation • it' bigh" 'appreciation of the' melection and the labours of the Mabunja of Biknater ay the representative of the Roliag Plinees' of Indid at the Peace Coiferenes, and the 'iattor's scknowledgment of it, pething hat beoe mate pablie sefatiag to the procedingt of the Ohieff: Coeference held at Delhi leat week. It in inevitable thet - His Excellency's forminl addrest on at ocension of this kind choald coasist to nomo extent of general propositioos Apart from the jemonay with which the Pripees regard ang expreseion in pailice by the Hiead of the Government, of India, which may le capable of biog conatraed into a reflection on the iuternal "fuirs of cheir Staten, it is imposable for 'the rnont' ingenions viceroy to invent propositiona which may be of eqnal iotareat to ill the members of the Conference, differing from one nather, wis they do, io biatury, statacisod othor conditions: Lond Chelmuford's addrese wan nol

Wating in the commonfuces whink are the carrent coin of ceremonisl ntiersuces. After a refereuce to the excelleut raille, to the ruling Princes who died darlug the gear, and to the unc:essfal ead of the Wur to which I heir Highnesmes had coutribated generonsly, His Exceiltncy rewided the Princers of a new danger . Which threatened them and the Government of India alike. Said His Excellency:
There ia anew sporit abroad in the morld, impotient of jestraiut, prone to louk apon order an tyranog, prupperity as profitering, and expcuriven an of living as the reault of maladmi iaration. This spiru, emvitterad by hign prises, due partly to the fatare of the last monsoun and pirity $\omega$
 tra: inou, exsiced thy the downfll of tae great $P$, wera and ene, afaged by reorat and oubte propaguta to think tha: ana ehy muans happlieses and prosperity for all. this spirit Le the most sobile and the gesatest dinnger ihat $h$ as ever o mue
 whole, are leas Jikely than Enruie to be primarily assailed, but suntiar ur later was may all, be furced to pepel tbe" nitact, whethre it oumen Irom withuat or uibia the body pilitic. The 'ulrungett weapout in the pamply of onr defenee is gand guvernmas which, while insiaired with aympithy for the lugitiante aspirations if the peor, le, to resolate at all simed in the maintaisace of prbils drd.r. By thit mens only; oan peace afthr war, edfery atier daileer be beonred. I hust
 armoury in well tar:tithed in on far as oonserus the $p$. pitut of the Enpliag fur which jon are yerpounible.

That is how it atrikes L ird Conelensford, Vicery of Intin. The new suirit is dapable of a more cberfful presentarion, aud the old opirit which nees iu it a meunce aud dunger, may ityelf be describerl, by a more subutitution of terms, a im: putient of freedun, proue to louk npon manitentatioun of liborigy untacks on order, int ana of cirroucy ai the accention of fahlous wealeh, eubnigur mant of atbrixa an the criterign of yool govermuetita Oar readers puasi make their ohoice bet wren the twh |at we rempetally sngest to all parsong ia, namio. pily that the problem of good goyer ymeut, demagds visiou.

Weil poare the storm to those wha hear : 11
A deeper vuice earoas the sturm,
and it is the atntesiona who lietens and has and exr uthatel fo this deeper voiut teross ' the atornt, who miny hupe to cope mecesnfally 'with it. Ohiert. wist, he may he siok under the weight of his arnour. We triet that Their Hixhneases bave nint naderstood His Excoliency to invite thein to piaso Rowlatt Auts when he enjil ied them 'to sea that their armonty was well furbished. As "for Hiil Excellency's eluboration of the metaphor abont bailding on olld toundationa, Their Higlluesser will do woll to bear in mind the other bulf of the trath: "No mana putceth a piece of a new garment npon" su oldz it otherwise, then holh the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was mken out'r the new ugrealh not with the old." Their Hinhuessen will he wise to eschem noch and similur mataphors altogether. in visualising their problems of \$inte which is neither abniding not jot garmeut, bit an organic and
living entity unl' shumli bs dealt with as nuch. ot meamanship canuot be learut frow the builder or the tailor.

His Excellency intimnted to the Conference that it. was rhe inmením of ths $G$, verune it ot Latha and His Mijenty a Givernment to extadish ${ }^{\text {r }}$ ' periunpent Chamber of Princes. The furmal 'initiogarstion and rrcognition of the Chanbar, naid the Vieerog, wout be reserved for a later date wher tha delaild of ita contatitation and lauction's havo been "Worked ont.' But His Excellency indicated the tren of opfiniou in regard tos me important phints onaurcted with the constitation of the Cianber. 'Phe firsf point is, which ol the rulers are to be inela led sud which, uot, iu the Cunuber. Phe ludina Statets of onit Praleris are awirt, widely diff rid regurd to thanote every thuy which makes a State. Tue ex env of theit
 Dhar aud $\mathrm{S}_{\text {apastwadi. The popuiations auder themi }}$ alsu dataer enormunaly. Taen bistorical pasition aud scatue umoner their fellow Cuiets is a very varyng 7nabity. Tue siggestiou had been made that the Ine of deunrcativa suoald the bused ou the sulate liviChete 'baviug a cerchilu aunbor' of gaos beiag altuwed the piviege, and thuse witu less, yeidu tept outh In his speech at the Cuplerevice hat yexi, Lord Che.mof rd sald that it "upurad tó hite aqu Mr. Sluatagu that'ic would be uavise to alupt thes sus: temtion aud that the huo of duilitrexitua shouhd be bated'upon'coustithinual eoundiderativus, that is to say, tipuo the uature of liè hik bétwen un iutivi:
 recointureded ia their repurt that the line should te so "drawa ea to separite' rulers' who ejosy filt puwerd of iuterual uduiniatration from the others, It woille apprear from the Viceroy's remarks that the Chiffa were nut agread as to this privieiple and thast, therefore, Lurd Chemofors aud the Soctetacy of Siate wero couvinced thet, after all, it wonld be really' wisest to base the distinetion pi: hurily on the sinte liat: Wi do not know whethor this will ecmuend itseli to the Chietsi bat to ns it Itenis in no wise uivinguishide from the Guvernment if Idatis uminatimy by unue Ubiefs to the Cunacl.' We dareany that therd is sonno customary practice geveraing the grant ot salaies, "Gut the poiut in thats atates are'uicre exsily grauted or withilra win than foit powera, nuil auler the silute priuciple the se at of a Pituce tid the Contiber with he entirely a matter
 We thuse 'that the pifiuciple sageented' by the Victruy 'last year' is wura inidilitibie. "As in Interbatioual Lut' all Stater, great and enalf, 'are' treated as equalt, of in the' proposed 'Cuncil or Chambry, all Siates whith enjoy futerual antonowy should bs uutilled ed of right, irrespactive of the nuwler of gnos fired io honour of their ralers, to a
 ubsolete insitituiuns datiug back to the time, when the arrival and departare of high pereonages xiop regarded as anspiciuns occarreices worthy beings notified to the public with nstronourical segnracs:
.74wadagh the morements even of very minor perqoanum anch ma Reo Bshadnre und Justices of the Pewon ane froblished beforebaod in the newnpaperg aud tha birainz: of gangowdee for onet $=$ prypone in wante of money cad s zonroe of veedicsu frouble to the person eatrasted with the firing and pi initation to the, pablic, withia earabo of the expluion. May fpdina (Xhiefs come and ao withont ine honiar of's sulute, thongh they are entirled to one $A t$ the ruk of being classed with Bolsuevistas me wast any that the argament coto the respective merite of men with cleven ond thueg with, nino gaus appears to be puerile. Wo earnesily truet thet the wore enlighteped Chiefa Will riject this fictitions basia for their Coamber.
" Ad regurda the pune of the Chamber, it had been enggental in the Yontagn. Chelmaford report that it uhoold be pae with no Oriental flavour bat withoat dintinctive findnar Mahomedan ansocistions. The Chieff recoumbuded at the last Conference the denignetion po "Nurendra Msidal.", The Viceroy getwed to think that this pight not be to the liting ot Hallomedan Priqoeg, bat if they raived no oljecciou, the Government of Iodia, be said, would readily, agree to it. A yart frum the view which Mabowedan, Priceet may taki of $i t$, te think that the choice t", iot a happy oue. Suuskrit in a lavgage in Which the fucilitios for coluiug names is practicaly sulfuited, add it is no anaunal thing for a thing to hisve furiy or Gifty numes. Bat amidst this weslth of aytruaymulthe sohular recogaisen and aeage procrites different bhades of meauiug. Narendry is to dubt componis applied to princes in Sanskrit, but we thing thet primarily it hay refereneo to per sonsl pre-emibence. It meane rather * Pripce pt Hetint wR Chitf of Men " the epilbet Milton appliei to 'Cromwell. Now, every. Priace, Indian or other it bot necemarily whyt we ohould aall 'A prince of buen:" Tu aruid sack diffocitien and to meet Hı́dá áa Muhowedan susceptúlities aliko. it in desirable to bupe a plain Euglinh name; and we saggeti for tha paryaze, "the Iudiau States Couucile" 4 gradione Dapakitur, Pursiau pume to what, after, sif, is dorumily and cuseutiully, a modera Britiph. Iodian institation, ie a lauicrous afeciation. The name te bave saygested is direct; simple, and has po inconveciept masciations with the pasto Atso, it emphasiser ihe importance of the Sieter ruther than that of the pulers. Thit, wi consider, is a patier of tirst-rato importance in the conse tirotional' dertlopment of Iadian States. Lodividual Stutes, may preter to be reyresented ia the Chamber. by respopaible Miviotors instead of by the Chiefs thoroselyen. Thia, will jresent po difficalty in a Sintee, Cuancil, wherems it if dupufal whather it mould be appropriate or alluwed in a Ghamber of Priaces, Then, agaid, When the time comen, wit mnef, for foo presertailvee of Uritish Iudia to take the place of the pricuaneut ofinciala fo discuasiag imperial stijucte
 will he.in rendy, foruth. These quest men will be beat diciunsed and tetild not so unct by the ralem and officinaln of Britush Iudia as by tha represeutmires of the people in both terriwrices.

## VERACITY, EASTERN AND WESTFRN.

Lard Curzon, when Viceloy of Indin, made a famous speech in which he contrasted the velacity of the West with that of the East, to the disadveatage of the latter. His lordship, we hope, hat read the evidence of the American journalis!, Nr. Bulit, belure the Fureign Relations Oummitle of the American Senate on what passed between him and Mr. Liuyd George regarding hit mission to the Bulstrevis Government of Russina. It is impossible ba the lace of in'thut buik should be speaking the ruath, and neither is an Oriearal. Mr. Bullitt produced documents belore the Commitiee relating to his missiun to Rusba of which Mr. Lloyd George led Parliament to believe that he knew nothing -the must egregiuns case of misleading the public, said Mr. Buluth; that he had ever known. Mr. Lluyd Geoige bimsell offered a British ciuiser to send Mr. Bulatt to Kussie. The visit originated is a requeat from Colonei House and Mr. Latiung, but the hame evening Mr. Buhltt dined with Mr. Lusyd Gearge's secretaly, in Mc. Lluyd Georgots apartment to discuss Kussia. Betore bis depuition bo saw Mr. Pbilip Kerr, the f'rime Minster's secretery and recelved foom him a letter which he produced. In Russia, Mr, Bultit reported by teregrain askigg Colonel House ta send cupies of iwn messages ta Mr, Lloyd George and Mr, Ballour, whicu, Gulopel House suid be did at once, Mc. Hullut repuried on bis relura in witing, the substapce being that the Boviet desired peace. Tien comes Aft, bullut's account of his repuit to the Hime Minster, whict thaty be eet alongside of the entirely incousinent atory whict Mr. Lloyd George told to thd Hulud drCotrimion on Aprill 26.
Mr. Bellity comment on this contradiation is is followst- ${ }^{-}$Oa the occation of that atatement of Mr. Lloyd Erorge; I wrute the Piesldent. "I clipped his statement from a newsplapes and bent to thi Pietident and I isked the Preadent to intorim me whether the atatemeat of Mi Lluyd Croige way thot or antius lie was anabie tu moswer, ta mas mucb as be wuld anve had to itply on paper"that Mr. Lloyd Gevige had made at mithe stuteintot. So flogrant was this shat matwus me.nbers the Britush Misuion called on me at the llatel cillunas a day or mo later and apologized for the Pruma, Mintster'a action in the Clie.' Alter reading Hantyof Mr, Bullits went on:-'It was explained to me by, the members of the Britist Deiegation who caild on me,that theq reasons lot this decẹpion was that. although, when Mr. Lioyd George got back ti London, be ioiended to make statement very fave ourable to peace witb Russia, he fuund that ford Nurticliffe, acting through Mr. Wickhat Steed, the editor of the Timei and Mr. Winstun Cuurche ill; the Britioh Secretary lor War, "bad rigged the, Conservative maj rily of the Huase of Cummons against him; ind that they were ready to day hom then and there if be attempted to speak what was' his opinion at the moment on Russian polittes. If this had been alleged of an Indian leader, bow our contemporaries woutd have delightued to moralise of the lack of veracity and molal conrage among

Ind anf; atld Christian Minstunaty 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 $x$ xhortationa regarding the mote in others' eyes, will be mare effective.

## TIE ABORIGINES UH CHHOTA UDEPUR.*

Thure is ao siniject of wiler ethnoloyicul intereat thau the filk-fire noll enstoms prevailing amoag the uboriginal tribes. Man is to be atndied as an orignilic wholp, and not as a conglomeration of indivilads. The ahorixinal tribes ot Indin are rembuns of the fnce known in the Rigotala as Dasyos, anilulthongh thene tritiag have bean bronght ander
 Aryan type fur many centaries past, they preserve a nuique charactaristic of primitive hamanity in a living form. Mr. HI J. Autis, ditring the a tive perfiod of his servire as Diwan of Chhotm Ddepar Sentr, in the Rryakanthe A sency, twok speaial interest in the stady of the manners and rastoma of the anrions uburiginul tribas called Kolin, BhilsDhatikn or Tadrin, Dhanakn, Naikne, etc. The fange of Mr. Antii's atn liemiat very wile and oncompasses the on ofation, liet, hubitation, religions and snperstition beliets, modes of worship, blatk masic. marriage and fineral deremnoies. The most ioterestline portion ol Mr. Autia's gotes is that relaring to the marringe iagitution of the variony tribes. The nameriage curemany in vogne aruong thase tribes reprenents the varions elages of the evolation of the iuntimion of marriage, commenciny frum mere arizura of a female nind antaral nuinn to a nonewhat rfiowl Brahmenaic form of inaringe obtaining amonar the Jalmunio alurigisen. Arong some ribea, like Dud Sirsi, a hride ian a chathel tor anle, and every relution and even the villace commnuity enjuge perquinton or in metary comaileration in the ante of a gifi. Tue Patel or hemilimar aunetimet officinten as
 are ireely fistribured.

The Aara of Paikishin forma of marriage, splerered win the oll Hiduo Inw luoks, in wheh a xirl is all or kulungpen, liy foree with Whimate reroncoliaing with her pareals by petty gulta in onth or kind, npieir so be in achull voxue enous the tiber. The psendirerging exhibition of the bride at He chase of her departure from her pmrat's house to that of her hastan', prevailiag

 turlupe turt. whe prectuila to b - wiured witha view to
 Geunsir tents ure, an doubte, shed by the airl nad her anceite lin the civitu-d commanity of bixh omete Hitudis and nthing other racen, int crocidiletenss wre nino a buonrused even mman moilern Ciriatoudom

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atiquette and tho coremnay in readered moidiution
 mothers. Jibtas marriage is a eitpyly affir mo divorce in eqnally simple among these ahorigines. Among Bhils the marrisge tie in dimeotved hy the buebnad tenping a piece ont-of hia tnrban and handiag jt roper to his wife whershy the latter if frea tp select osecond pasband. The ahorisines bave po mptaplyaiml theary abont the condition of the deve + gel nonl aftert desth; bat the degased is given a morsil of sweet foditpst
 atter death like a caraless tervehorl - We hnivi Mre Antia will probligh his notiss to the form of a dindetat

University Settiements In End Ind: The Challénge remarki on the lack of remitents and workers in University Settiem ints in Eighand at the peesember fimos Itgters to the Preze ent mentiag; in the colleges." writes our conteroporacys: \& have not, so Ifar, sufficed to fill the gap. Is it tupe; perhap i, that the old buttleq are a little mitshapen pow? We have advanced far in aocial fact and thedry in the balance of power and the grip of ptdblethes since the'dxys of Toynbee and Barnett. In the idea or theiformiof: a settlement no longer io keping with the, spicit pad. the need of the times?, Should they be pemodeligd or utterly abolished? These ara questions that may well agitate the minds and pen 4 d' ${ }^{\text {on }}$ torters pondents. In any case, we shall returnt to the matter. For the issue is of mom'?nt: "Oh the ohe hand are the collegea; twhere scores ace senvinedy, anxinus to learn and sarve i, end an the othpr hand there are surely fields tatill.'
a 14 ,
Mr Surendra' Nath Banérjea and Mâzuinf: Th the Reformer of the igth Octoher, ia cuniribititor referred 10 Mr. Surendranath fianerjea on the fory disciple ('nty yearsago) of Mazzinj- The inergels protests that this is a aross misconceptign, at ithe attitude of Mr. Ranerjea in regard to, the preat Italian patrint. "In 1870" writes our contemporary; "Mr. Baneriea delivesed an address oa "Mazzini, before the Utarparah Hitakari Eabha which is printed in the volume of his published speeches. Mr. Banerjea there expressed his g'eat adiniration lor the aplendid intellectual and monal gitis and the lofty patriotism of M+zzini. $*$ : His selisacrifining devotion to his country he - presented, as an object lesson and emulation. But linked with this appreciation there was a note of warning. Mazzipi was a revolutionary; he followed rev lutionaiy mettind for the attainment of his end. "In his speech Mr. Banerjea warned his countrymen not to follow him in that respect, but resolutely to adhere an canstututional means for the attainment ...es their country's salvation. That represents his Attitude in regard to the great Italian patriot.":

Literature in the Nizam's Domsnons: In theit last annual review of buuks 'purnisitiod in othe citate; His -Exalted - Highness the Nikam' Government
 deserve to be singled qut for commendalion. We are however indebted to the Anjuman-l lishat af-
 and Undu poems written by theilate Nawh Fazilat Jing Bahadur (Moulvie Anwarniliah Xhancs danib): The deceased was dnown for the echplachippend piety, but it is a savelationto fiud that he was also a poet of no mean order. The poems breathe áderp spirit of devotion. Moulvie abdot ${ }^{1} \mathrm{Haq}$ Sahib, Curator of the Translation" Burearitionamaie University has laid the "Urdureadnag qumbio ,under a debt of gratitude by bringing eutia foleqtion trom. the poetical works of the foremest-of-Uldu-poets. Mir Taqi Mir, to which be tan atuded ty thinable introduction."

## sir abdege rabim on fae catcutta UNIVERSITY CUMMISSION REPORT.-

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1 sum also in cumplute ngreement with the opiniun of the Cumbingion that eduentio: of the gilla shuald receive at
 tu tom bric ly aurarate to say thit ednoate i women would hely w sprand educution aud eultary in the fatnre geceratione and in the geurfal ammanity more repiuly and tefertively than wide the narmber of edncuted nert. In fact I helieve that onges sunomion has uspare 1 the eeclasi $n$ of the Ludian ladies ny further pryagnidn work wall be needed and the capucity of naceudag generati ne fur all gund work will b: immengely luppuped. 1 de not knem of nother nore $p$ tent caase of the dugeneraion of the conury than the undiom prevalent if Lutis efpecis ly am.ng the M,honedane, by remon of Which women lue all chancea of depulupment in free and nutuzul Wejs.

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Vol. XXX, BOMBAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1919. No. 11,.


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The Probiem of Cbristianity ${ }^{\text {' }}$ in India 1.
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## NOTES.

The Russian Situation. The latest messages to which we were able to refer last week in regard to the Russian isituation, seemed, to, show that Yudenitcth Koltchuk, and Denikin were gaining ground, or at least that they were in a more lavourable position than the Bolsheviks This week's mesuages, howover, tell a different taie. Yudenitch bas been badly beaten at the very gates of Petrograd, Koltchak's forces are, retiring on the whole front in Siberia which the Bolsheviks 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 Guildhail speech nate gth 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 quicksend, that bo predicted itit the early days that Bolshevism could dol be suppressed by the aword and that, though he wished to see his predic-' tion falsified,' it has not been, and that they could not continue a costly intervention in an intermina. ble 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 band, and Liberal papers like the Daily News and the Manchester Gwardian, on the other. The Times denounces the speech as the revival of the Prinkipo policy. The Daily Mail, its stable companion, beads its articlo "Shaking Hands with Murder." The Daily News hopes that Mr. Lloyd George, having now seen the right way, will take it. The Maschester Guardian thinks the proposal is wise if tardy, and says much will be forgiven the Prime Minister, if he bas the courage to carry it out. The French Press, which hoped to get back its vast loans to Rassia by British military intervention, is naturally disappointed, and contends that the Premier's policy is tantamount to a capitulation to Bolshevison. We are sure that India will be heartily glad of the policy of non-intervention in Russia: Holshevism may or may not be the incaraite 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. Appeaqances are altogether against this belief, but they may be deceptive, If, it is as Mc. Lloyd, George said it was, the less reason for any outsider, to inter:, fere. Foreiga intervention only uaites 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" countriesol Also, perhaps, the Russians would have|l established some stable Government by this time. 1 Anarchy is a state of unstable, equilibrium, nand 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 chestapts. out of the fire.
'Japan' and the Philippines. We reprint from the pages of the current number of the Philippine Review, ${ }^{\text {, }}$ an interview between Baron Shibusawa, who is one " the industrial magnates of Japan, 'and Mr. Gregorió ${ }^{1 .}$ Nieva, the editor of our contemporary. 'Mr! Nieva Was on his way back from the United States where: he bad gone to plead for the 'independence 'of 'hls'' 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"r the Baron point blank that Japanese ambition was' regarded in some American circles as the main objec* tion'to the independence of the Philippinie Islands. "Allow'me, therefore, 'to ask, you, 'he added; 'ta if Japan 'would bnily be ' mere copy' ol Europe in her' policies regarding the weaker countries of the Far: East, ; i e. it Japan is merely-going to be the new oppressor of the Orient," Tae Baron would not pe drawn into': any general statement, regarding European. nations. He said "'Japan has no pusiness, whatever in the Philippines, We sespect the grawth and progress of your people, and, if we can, we should only be very bappy to render you any, assistance for the sake of our, brothers of , the South.: It is, perhaps, necessary for Japan to govern and pacily Korea, japan has iosisted in this. But as to the Philippines, it is en different thing altogether."

The Joint Committec's Recommendations. Reu: ter 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 sand about the introduction of responsibilitity 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.reler in another context to the statement that the revised Bil makes clearer sorne of the broad outlines, notsbly, the principle of diarchy in the provinces, The most noteworthy recommendation foreshadowed by the Times is that there would be'
extablished 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 ander the Reform Bill. We interpret the rest of the message to mean that the Grand Dommittee idet has beon given op. that it is proposed to a give vider. range to the Governor-General's ordinance making powert in an emergency, and that if a permanent Isv ia 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 Parlinmentary 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 Finence portiolio of the Government of India and that Mr. W. M. Hailey was to succeed him in that olfice, 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 conlerred on him. As the collengue of Lord Sinha at two Imperial Conferences, he has evidently been selected for the same honour: His presence in the Hoase of Lords will provide dianclay and the sepa: rate purse proposal with a convinced suppotter and champion. There is a sentence in Reuter's summary of the Timed forecast of the Joint Committee's recommendations, which seems to soggest 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'e accession to the House of. Lords is pro. bably not unconnected with the need for finding e capable exponent of it in Parliament. As for Mr. Hailey, he is a very capableman and but for his brusque manner he would have been better appreciated by the Indian public. People have lorgotten that the "atrong" 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 elg-zag line of promotion for anybody. But the Indian Civil Service is very, versatile body.

The Arms Act. It was announced some time back that all racial discrimination in the adminietration 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 ont licenses, certain other classes to be granted licences without previous eaquiry, and the rest to be granted licenses as at present. This was a much less liberal measure than what had been foreshadowed by the Vicercy, 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 suctr persons are included all those who were registered under the Ordinance of 1917, which, as the Bowbay Chronicle points out, means every European and Anglo-ladian 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 nember of the Provincial Legislative Council has given notica of motion at the next meeting for the appointment of a Committee of officials and non-officisls to report on the quali. fications to be fixed tor persotes who may be allowed to apply for licenses to possese fre-arme without preliminary enquiry. If some such step had been taken belore issuing the orders in this Presidency, the enomaly which we have pointed out would have been obviated.

Nussing Homes. The Governmeat of Bombay have taken a useful step which will be tauch appre. ciated, 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 ow: medical attendants. The last privilege seems to be curtailed to some extent by the provision that the medical attendants will have to be selected frum mong a list of physicians and surgeont to be ap pointed by Government as Honorary Ehysicians and Surgeons to the Nursing Homes. Patiente 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 doctorn who may or may not be included in the Govern: ment lish. 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 if calculated to detract from the utility of thit beneficial measure, will be modifed so an to allow of any doctor with recognised qualifications to attend on the patients. The charge per day has been fixed at Re 9 for an European and Re. 6 for an Indian patient. Thí fee will cover the rent, the supply of furniture, bede ding, food and the services of the ordinary nursing and the menial staff of the Bome. In addition to this, a charge will be made of the actual cost of apparatus and drugs, of stimulang and surgical dressings. Fees will be also charged,for extra aur. sing on a fixed scale. The remuneration to medical men is entirely left to private arrangemont.

The Amritsar Congreas. 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 80 invited to respond to the invitation; So far as we can judge, there is absolutely to differ: ence of opinion in the country regarding the occur. rences in the Puajab, wbich will naturally bulk largely in the proceedings of the next Congrest, and such differences as there arein other mafters, are not of capital importance. The main trouble here is entirely personal, but surely Indian leadert 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 absolately no important difference to justify the rivalries and secriminations so painfully evident is some places.

Cotton Cloth Control: The Government of India have decided taat Cotion Cloth Control should be placed in abeyance lor the present, The Cotton Cloth Act will, however, remain in force and its pro-. visions will again be put into operation, should apeculation in cloth or any other cause force prices ap 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 ohanging at the bead of this artiole the name of the first miscalled Oriental Conference held at Poona latt-week, into ove which is etymologically more appropriate and, as regarda aíms, is not less comprabensive. Indisn and, indeed, all Asiatics are Orientals to the Earopean hat not to themselves. For their own convenience, Earopeans have divided Asia into the East and the Far East. To as, their Far East is the East and Persia, Afghanigtan and Asia Minor is the Westo A Conference baving for its object the stady of the caltare of these coantries, is not, therefore, an Oriental Conference. It is bigh time that we ceased to adopt in a spirit of anperatition names which Europeans have invented from their own point of view and for their own convenience. So far as we can judge, the Conlerence held last week at Poons takes for its province the antiquities and literature of Asiatic coantries which have infla. enced, or bave been inflaenced by, India. It does not deal with Greek and Boman classice, though - Greece and Rome had both close caltural and trade relations with India. It does not deal even with Hebrew and Cbristian antiqnities thongh there are Jewish and (hristian commanities in India dating almost from the beginging of the Christian era. This, in our opinion, is a serions omission, becanes the organisation of the early Christian Charches and monastic ordere bears a striking resemblance to Baddhistic practices. Christian antignities from the Earopean and Cbristian point of view have been thoroaghly explored and there is no need for as to go over the ame groand. Bat their relations to A Asiatic, and especially, Indian caltare, have not been seriously atadied, and this the Conference can andertake and encoarage. Apart from the Christian and Hebrew sphere which, for bistorical reasons, has become merged in European rather then Asian antiquities, Aeia falle into two grest spheres of cultare All civilizations have started from peninsalas. Creece and Rome and Ania Midor, were the starting points of the streams which have gone to make Furopean oivilisation. India and Arabia are the fonntain-heads of Asiatio civilization. Indis throngh Boddhiam and Arabis through Mahomedaniem have influenced Asiatic thonght, belief and oultare. Today, and in India, and nowhere else, have all these corrents of civilization met and mingled. The Enropean, Arabian and Indian are all focnssed in this ancient land. It in permissible to iofer that onr country has been providentially selected to be the birthplace of the sommon caltare which shall unite maukind in one great brotherhood.

The Conference at Poona was a striking sucoess. The proceedings began with a modest introdaction by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. F. P. Vaidya. In the course of his remarks, Mr.

Vaidys called attention to and appesled for support of the monamentál éndeavour of the Bhandarkar Oriental Inatitute to bring ont a variorum edition of: the great'Indian epio, the Mahabharatin. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay addressed the Conference and conveyed the weloome of the, Presidency ! to the delegates. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was then elected President and, owing - to hir absence throggh illness, his address was read by one of the Vice-Presidents who took the ohair in his place. A happier or more auspicions seleotion to the , Presidentship canld not havg heen made". Sir Ramkrishna is, by common consent, India's most illustrious Sanskrit scholar at present. His infurence and his example have done much to resuscitate Sanskrit studies amongi us.' Some : inity yeare ago, speaking of the state of Sanskrit scholarship in his time, Sir Henry Maine said that in abont. half a century it would either disappear altogether or, if it sarvived, it would be kept alive by the laboars of European soholarso This prediction overlooked the deep religious and caltural significance of Sangkrit in. India, and it did not foresee that the great. effect of English edaeation on the Indian mind will be to rouse it, to : realisation, of, the imperative need of a nation to find itself, if. it to attain salvation. We oan never underrate the :work of Enropean scholars who helped, to keep alive the emoaldering embers of Sanskrit scholarship in the dark age whioh preceded the establishment of the Indo-British Empire. Buit 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 soveral such Indians-names always to be held in reverent remembrance. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Isvarchandra Vidyasagar, Rajendralal Mitra in Bengal, and reBhagwandas Indraji, Bhau Daji and Bhandarkarin Bombay, are the leading figures of this illastrious galazy. Sir Ramkrishna alone in still happily with as, and his address shows that age has not dimmed the vigour, the clearness and the accuracy of his great intellect and massive scholarship. Sit Ramakrishna concladed his inspiring address on a valedictory note. "I close the active years of my life," he said, "with an assured belief that sound oritical soholarship has grown np 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 st the illastrions scholar and reformer.

## A CRUSADE AGAINST CASTE.

The course of modern influence in the Madras Presidency, especially, the Soathern and Tamil half of it, has been peouliar to itself. English education began early and was roceived Fith
avidity by the literary olasseg." But its progrean did not seem for long to muke iny differenee either internally or externally fo those that roceived it. It was not infrequently the oase thet then who loved and spent mach of thoir time in the atudy of Englich Iliteraine, carried thair-acaste-marks on their forehesde and the onsteopicil.in their hearte anitiffectedly we if thoy had ineves fallowad their studies to: range :beyond Mand 1 Converts to Chritiant ty fromit the tower classen expeeially, were namerous, bat the ilteritio caster stridied the Bibld and Shakespeare and continued to follow the rales of caste as rigidly their forefathers. The Brahmo Samaj movemont made litite impresoion, nor the $A$ rya Samaj, on the , Indian mind in the "Soath. Social Reform, whether of the Shastraic or the rationalistic brand, equally fell fiat; bhough eha latter, bad a little more isnccess 'than'the formert. It seemed that nothing could awabehithe South from its self-complacenoy which'seemed noi have been accettrated by English teducation. B Bat eppearaices ere deosptive. Though there bas been ne sign on the adrtace, all these efforts have been eilently leavening the leadingi mind of the Sonth. And it seems that, at last, we are on the ere of revolution.' The tecumalated impact of modern forces seems to be 'beginning to tell. 'The shell shows signs of eitrsity, and it may burat at any momeat.

The slowness of the Sonth to react to modern ideas, 'is due to many canses. "It has been the leader in the post-Baddbititic Hinda revival. Sankara und Ramanaja were the apostles of modera Hindaisio and they wert both men of the Soath. "The ascetic iderl of life had been implanted in the South by the example of these illostriots thinkers. It hat also to be said that their reformi' had done mach to parify Hindaism' of the corraptione which had erept into it. They had virtally banished Tantrie worship from the Sonth. The high-caste Hinda: of 'the Sooth might , worship idola, bat he was alvays in closer contact with the philosophio side of his faltb, apon which Sankara and Ramanaja bed built their colts. Tben, ,again, the literate castos, owing, to the conditions , of thair existance, had perfeeted a aystem by which they conld safeguard themselves from the influences of their envizonment. They were thas able, while deriving what material advantage they conld from the modern factor in their environment, to prevent its making any parmanent dents in their armonr of casite and custnom. Bat this can not last for ever. The pressure of modera forcee, especially in the form of the non-Brahmin movement, is increasing, and there are signs of distress in the citadel. Men like Mr, Srinịasa Ifengar and Mc. C. Rajegopalacharya bave sounded the note of slarm. And Mr. Jastice Seshagiri Iyer in his recent address has

* proclaimed that the time for epathy mod eell. complacency is prect, end the alternative now is to frankly embrace modera ideas or to be owept into destraction.

What we ioot appreciate ia Mr. Seebagiri Iyeris address is his frank admiasion that he hea bimeslf been slow in assuring and seting apon the trathe which be enanciatos. He told hin hearen that the revelations which, as President of the Social Sorvice Leagae, bave come home to him eapecially of the lot of the Panchamas, bave been the imuediate iaspir ing caase of his conversion. His words are worth quoting :
One word ot partonal explination bolort I ait dowa. Very for poople can axcues mi of helerodox, I cosiform mont to arthodox obvervaoom than anj mino io a aimilar station of lifo. I believe ie very many of then, bat I do aot eliat my oyed to what is in and around out, I hare bean motiag alowly, more slonly then I ought to hart done. The prosidentahip of the Madrat Social Serrice Lengue bem beon orevolation to anc. It has opened my eyout to manay thinge; - oot the fock of thom ie the andag quarry of Panchama lifa It in a erime to aegleot the bringing out and olvering of the excolleat muthrid that lies there. We have threwn heape of dift and dast over it. We have kope it trom the light of the atad and the ameap of heolthy breece. This material ie at lenst me escositial for boilding the astional edifioe as the bright matal that is on the curficoes. No ona with a apark of patriotion can aiford to aegloot to prom that sabstanos inte serviou. It would be a folly and a sin to the Motherinad to do mo.

It is, however, not only the position of the Panchamas that has to be improved. Custe mask go. Mr. Seshagiri's remarks on this question took the borm of an exhortation and a remonatrance to the apoatlen of Varnashramz Dharma.

I know they ard erry, sinoere sbout the inviolablity of avate rules. I mom sare they mite boosetly of opinion then it is poasible to moye amoothly and to mork out the evivation of the mamee by matherence to Varnmhrame Dharime. Their bigb eharacter, parity of life and fotellectad attainmente domand respect?al ponsideration los their propuganda. May I ask mone questione? Du jon eetioualy thint that yoa are not adding to the minery of your childrea by procisiming gourcell as belonging to a bigher order o! beingu? Do yoa thiak that it is poseible to stem the tide of demoermog and to cut ap in Iodia alone the role of the prient agoinetiby wishee of the reat majority of the peoplof What bae toon your echiovement is the puly Hare yon taken note of the onorinoun aumber of convorse to other fiitba? Take Malabar
 Eave you looked finto the sencas igaret an to roligionf Go beck decende alter deocide and yon will find that every ton yewre has deplowd yoa and added adbarante' to other religions. How do joa moonant for thiol Yonr intolerance and your oppresive asamptions of appors iority bave shrown the oppremed into the arme of others, Take Tinnevelly, Tanjors and Trichy. Tbe cerne thiog hee bapponed. The converted Chrietian or Mohamanodan will shake hads with jou, whereme the petieut noesaverted pariab has to staod jurde off. It in thin that goa went to perpetata. You have doac injary enougb. You are mainly repponsible for the bittorneese with which polition conroversy in being cerried ou in thia part of Iodia. Ia the same of stl that yoa revere desint frome farther sitempte at rambablich ing an order of thingn whictin in doomed. Let your anorgiot
 nuthiaking nigidify. We mat more 0 , It may be that we' shoald nut run bediong. It ibet in gour econeel I sua ! with jou; bat yoa thisk jol ena go bekk, joa ant

Wholly mintaken, and you will be pat down by generations anborn at men who used all the great gitte which edncation beatowed on them to clog the wheel of progress snd to bring sboat disunion and disharmony and to make their lot in life misornble, and aubappy.

- Mir. Jastice Sadasiva Iyer who presided has been a consistent Shastraic reformer all his life. He presided on the occasion of his brother Jadge's lectare and his conclading remarks were:
All baman beinge mast be given the opportunity to diselose their true casta. All were borin undras, i, o., born for service, thowe who remained undrat in the lower renee being fit only for bodily sertice gaided by others. This is trae Democracy, not the Demooracy which think that the rote of a foulish or wisked man is equal to that of a wise man. If they world not abolish the prement roten caste asitem it would abolish them in a aation. He way seriously thinking if giving nip the name ' Hiadu' if within ó jeara from this date, the rigidity of coste sad this rigidity of so-seiled Einda religion which did not take other nations into fts fold ahoald continue.


## A ORUEL 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, Ramanbbai, like his late emi. nent father beforo 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 marriager The Arya Samaj does not regard the hom as idolatrous worship, but the Pratthada Samaj dces. Thus, of the two leading Theistic movements' of modern Iodia, one, the Arya Samaj, does not feel any difficulty in adopting the Vedic parts of the Hinda ritual. The Prarthana Samaj (and' the Rrahmo Samaj), on the other hand, have not been able to do so, consistently with their view of how 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 oot profess any of the old-established faiths. Many persons, including Prarthana Sama|ists, have conscientious scruples against making the declaration. Mr, G. C. Bhate endeavoured by adding a clause qualifying the declaration to save his sctuples, but this has since been declared inadmlsslble. The Prarthana Samajist in this position bas oo alternative but to submit to the orthodox rite, if he wishes to contract a marriage which is unquestionably valid accerding to the law. This bas evidently been Mr. Kamanbhai's dificulty. 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 saprapadi 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 bis position. They may adopt the expurgated version of the Vedic rite prepared by Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, and take the cbance 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 cerfain. 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'a Bill will be of no use to them.

## THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA. I. <br> (by Mr. Manilal Pareke.)

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 nonChristians. 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 boen oriticised by such men as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Son 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 hack the conrage or do not care to speak ont their minds on a subject of such supreme importance a man here and there raises his voice and even attempta to give some solation of the problem. But of all, it is the high-caste Hinda 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 fir to give a practical solution of the problem by establishing what they called national olarchee, the last of them being the Kingdom of God, Devache Darbar, by the hate Mr. Tilak of the Malarashthru, butall in rain. There is something wrong with the Iudian Christinnity to-day that hampers every free and forward movement, and the missionaries and the principal Iudian workers are aware of a deadlock in any real and genuino advance of their wort all over India. No more does a Nilkanth Shastri (Father Neheminh Gorel, the prince of Indian converts), or : Krishna Molan Banerji, Kalieharan Duuerji, Narayun Sheehadri, Pundia lamabai or a Tilak, come forwand to join the Christian fold, as was the case in the pnat. It is not that the Hindu chametor las deterioratol daring theso days, nor is it true thet there are nut.
among the Hiodus a great many disciples of Christ The fact is that althong the casteaystem bas been much pore hax than ever before, these people who have great atrength of character and many of whom bave no caste oither for themselves or for their families, prefer to atay outside rather than gome into the Christian fold. And shy is this?
In reply to this it has been often said that it in bo canse the Chnrch or the Christian people are denationalized that se many people find it diffioult to come in. This in iadoed trues butit is ouly half the trath or oron mach lets. The denationalization so often complained of is only the effect. The aanse of it is that the Indian Charch is to-day almost completely proleturintised, 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 beon ssid again and again by bis foes or critics among whom last may he found even Christians, or whether it is because he has come with heaps of money as more than' one misslonary hat had the candour to confess, or whether he bullda by "pxtoznal moans", 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-day! rarely oomes across the right type bf man, and he gets most of his material almost exclasively from those classes who want to be civilized before they become Christians. In this connection the followiag twords of Kitoher: in bis great book oalled "A History of Missions ia India" will not be out of placé.
"The main body' of the Indian Christians converted in more recent times if either trom the lower strata of the lowest Sudra caster or from among the outoastes. It is one of the most attractive tasks of the mistionary historian to investigate how, now here, now there, une of these groups is laid hold ol and gripyed by thristian Missions, how to a greater or fessor degree mash move ments follow, and how these movements cone to t standstill almost as saddenly as they begin......These masses of poople have been mainly attrapted to the missionaries for social or mundane reasons....... Shoala such aid ameliorate their social position, they soon become impertinent and supercilions towards the caste that were formarly above them....It is a fruithnl subject for discassion in missionary circles, whether it is wise to proletarintise. Indian Christendom too greatly by too large en iofux of Pariah congregations, and thereby to rondor Christianity wholly despicable and unieceptable to the higher classes es the religion of the Pariah."

Whereas the Kinglom of Heaver grown from within withont, (I am speaking altogether of the Protestant missionaries in all that I say : here, for I have very little personal knowiedge of Roman Catholic mision-work) have gone in (Ior this work of sivill. ving of the nubaierged portion of the Hindus, ponfonading it with the Kingdotn of Heaven itself. Thas while the durest of the Christian Church are opened wider and wider, they are closed in a corresponding manner for the bigher chames or castes of the Hindu. Things bave gone so far in this direation that for a high caste Hindo to be a Cbristian is tantamonnt to
his sabmerging among the lowot and the lowest classes. It is like esking an Americati or a Ebrepreat to be submerged among the negroes. Is it thed any wonder if the high-aste Hloda bas strank from: such a step when" no sane 'Earopean', whethor missionary or not, has ever taken it whether in Amerion or in India whish latter hat cortainly a higher civlization than that of the negroes and oontains the peoplo of the same race as the Europen的 themsilves $\boldsymbol{F}$ 'There may be individual cased whore both mes and women have gone in for such submerging through marital znion, but these are rery rare exceptions, and inoh cases are to be lound among both Enropeens and the Hindus. But the broad fact remaine that sven the misaionary, not to speak of the ordinary European. is as moch a Varnashrami as the, nopient Aryan ever was, or the modera Hinda now is. I shall never forget - sharp reply that I once. recuived from a young American misolonary, fresh from Amerioe and full of enthusianm for the prenching of the Kingdom of Heaven. He had just atarted work' and was asking for suggeations as to how he should proceed and what now lives ho conld work on, when 1 cold bin ithat one of the things that might help the canse of Christ in a real way was intermarriage between the European. and the Indian, he had the courage to tell the in reply that I did not know all the facte of the matter; and that it was positively wrong to go in for such intor. racial marriages. When I told ble that most of otre own caste distinction were orlginilly hased ou thate yery colour distinctions, he suid ". Oh ! the racodidilnow tions might remain even among the Hiadui thonglt the caste might go." This, young Amorican is not alone in thinking thay: glmont, all the misoionaried have thought so, with regard to themiolvee, for tho last contury, So far there hay been bat one minn among them who "hay had, the connigh to say that intermarriage on of the pory beet means to forther the casuse of Christianity in India, and hag gone in for 3 one much for, the sole purpose of sdranoing the Kingdom of. Hearen. Personally I do not blame the mivnionary dr tho ordinary Earopain for haritating to. take suobre attop, bat I would certainly blame any oug who tould heve some law for hicosell ind tuothor for oflors, or who refasing to rise above race-distinotiohs himself would igoure the saine dietinction it the eass'of others, and when these latter find fithard to do so would' accons them of cowardice and weatress! at the missiofaries havi been doing with rogard to the high-casto Hiodut Althougb I am far lrom being an apologist or np holder of the caste iystem as it ft, 1 , do believe tha castorabolition should not be tantamound to bubbinerg ing of the higher among the lower casten which un fortunately it comes to in the present Christian tol in India. Therofore, to ask a higb-qaate min to enter the Christinn fold today is to ack, him to take up crons Fliah neither the missionary hinsell it prepared to take, not do the majority of bis converte take uf. It is tike asking bim to take up in real viqurlotis manner the crose of all these besides that of his own. Is it any wonder it be strinke from doing so ? In thit
connection the following words of Meredith Town. ahend, a very shrewd obnerver, will be worth noticing! He alys: $:$
"There fo io India no Christian' caste, and thare nover will be. Not to mention that the idea is in itself opposed to Christianity, there ean be no such organization unlens the Enropoane will admit equality between themselves and the natives, and they will not. Somothing stronger than themselvea forbids it. They may be wrong or right, but their wills are powerless to oonquer a foeling they often sorrow for, and the very pissionary who dies a martye to, his efforts to oopvert the Indinns, would die nobappy if his daughter married the beat convert appong them. In presence of that feeling a Christian caste is imposaible, for the Hiddoo, a true Asiatic, will not admit that with equaliky in araste inequality in race can co-exist."

In spite of all this, many "high-easte Hindua have made most heroic sacrifices to begin with, but they soon get tired of such business and often lot the weight of this tremendous cross fall on their Hinda wives which the poor inspirit Hindu women that they are they bear ailently and meekly. Sometimes the poor Hindu woman is forsaken altogether by for hasband who, after divorcing fer. proceeds to marry an educated and cultured wite, and when that one dies marries another even though the first wife who was lott tơ fot all this whils in terrible moral and mental misery, might like to join her" husband who will not now recoive or simply becanse she with her uncultured habits does not now' suit the refined tastes of suoh a Chrlatiun gontleman who may now be holding a high position among Christians. While the convert is thas pretebing and praotising his Christianity the poor woman in living a blameless life, and that she does mainly beoause the syirit pf Hinduism prevente her from following any, other course which would gertainly be wroog, Again if she joins bim from the very frot which also, several do quipg to the "same Hiudoo spirit, she leada 4 life of joner anguish whioh is altogether bidden evon from her own busband, and much mors from others.
This kind of proselytising, benides being unfalu to the bigh caste converts, is mosh unfair to the whole of the Hinda civilization, It eims at nothing but its complete subversion whether it was Ita dolibcrate aim or not, the procedure that has been sofar followed if it becime successfal according to the wishes of the missionary would mean brilding ap of new India entifely from the 'bottom' npwards; and all this in the name of Christ!" Thu missionary bas all these hundred years most syatematically depreciated everything that is good aud nolle in the religions and institations of the land, and now after proletariatising his own fold as mach as possible would like to build sow society, new oivilization on this fonndation. The missiopary eannot believe in any civilization bat his own, and instead of being after the manner of Siw Padi. ans, Indian to the Iudians, a Ilindoo to the Hindoes, be wante his Aook. to he Finglish and Amerteans. As he is
particular about his colour, so is he about his civilization, he has come to give us a univeraal religion, bat this has beer so identified with national forms that he cannot rest atisfied anless we take his national torms, whether of chureh-life or bocial-life. There is no wonder if he has succeeded in this too, i. e. In de-nationaliaing his flock, becanse he has his material mastly from the lowest and lower classes. To quote again Mezedith Townsend:
"The Missionary nover becomes an Indian, or anything which an Indian oould mintake for himself: the inflaence of civilization in too birong for him. He cannot help, desiring that, his flock should become civilized as, well as Christian. H H understands no civilization bat his own and by unwearied admonition, by governing, by teaching, by setting up all manner of nsefal indotries, he tries to bring them up to his tarrow 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 Earopeanization of the Asiatic.an.... The reault is that the missionary becomes an excellent pastor or an efficient sohoolmaster 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 is another column the prospectus issued by the Arya Mahila Samaj of a project for supplying milk (ree of cost to expectant and nursing mothers and little children. We understand that the first centre will be opened at at the Depressed Classes Mission Socitty's Home at Yarel, on Sunday the r6th'instant, end that it. will be iunder the control of mr. and Mrs. bolioni. the Superintendents. We cordially commend the appeal to our readers, and wish all success to this bumanitarian 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 SOOIETY, DADAR BOMBAY.

## The Editor, The Indian Socidl Reformer.

## Sir

I shall be highly obliged if yoa will kindly gize pnblicity to the following douations handed ozer ta the Indian- Educatiou Society at Dadar: Shrimnt Sirdar Babasebeb Gborpade, Chief of Ichalkarabji 1,000; Striment Rajesaheb Yikramebhat of Jawhar 1,000 . Your bave best aolng ehie sorit of favour svary now and then and 1 to hopufnal to this time and in latare too. Along pith the donations gou will kindly insert a few remarkg io connection with the Society's xofk.

Last week the Improvement Trast granted our application for a plot of land measuring $14,000 \mathrm{kq}$. garde. We are going to epend peorly two hoes of Rapees over the High Bchool Buidinga. Fandy ane being collected by the Becretaries. The wort of collection is foilitated by the active and eathosiastic eflorts of some of the mombers of the Society, mang whowe aro :-Tbe Hon. Mr. Lallubbsi Saminlder, Mr. Matbnrudea Vasanji Khimji, Giansrri Progji Thackoreoy, Voloji Lakhamey Napliog, Mr. D. R. Patwardhan and Mn. S. K. Bule.

Youra truly, M. E. Khotsam, Secretary.

## THE BOMBAY EIGE COURT GND SATYAGBABL LAWEES?

Sinn-
May I add a fow wordo to your ine articie on the Bombey High Coort doaition ia the ereep of the Satjogrohi lawjorm thet so Satyagrahi will fool wortiod over the docision. With great defarence to jour opinion I may my that an appond to the Prity Condel in inmdriablo.
On a political isuce it is anwine to moek the decinion of
 atrong. Aguin the oont of such an appeal would be a moed.
 lend for to sdequate return: Lavily, the atcinios dirmolly halpe the end the Setjagrabi has in view, far trom being : decition ignaiond him.

Satyagrabien anderiook to disobey the haw and the ponalty. It the verg. andertaking bringe about the anfioring be toaght for, it is the mot eary, moth dignified and moot effective ferm of Satyagrabe whiok the High Coart hat dicoovared for him. The one difficaity betore bir, Gandhi wet the choice of a fant for dinobedienet that would be mont ouitable for the conqueat of an exclueive onemy that woald not give battle, vir, a atatate pasted with a reservativa in to present abayanoe. That diffioulty would beifeolvod ail once il the High Court or the Government decided that the very pledge was a dicobedience of the law. If there had boen an ex. press seotion in the Lagel Prectitionen Aot or the charter Aot that vakila and pleadern sbould not nadertake cipil dinobediance, I, have no doubs thal Mr. Gandhi would havo melocted thiar law monimently suited lor disobedienos by anob members of the bar as decided to onter the tiraggle The decition, it broaght into offeot would be a triampt for Satye grabis and brigg ont the true beanty nod unconquarable atrength of the prisoiple.

## O. Bijacopalaofar.

## THE ABYA MARILA SAMAJBOMBAY.

## Fris Mile Dintabotioy Fuad.

In a city like Botmbay, so beantilal and no wealthy, one shaddere to see the high mortality amongat women and childres and when ons trien to onter into the enanee, ose is moved to the core to find that starration-want of proper nourishing food of the Indian is milk and how little of this the poor anfortanato litife mites or their mothere get \% Our eity in foll of rich merchanta, phileathropie and generome, Doen not the lot of the poor anfortanate erontares more their bearta ?

The Arye Mahila Samaj hme aterted a froe milk dirtribation fond with a vien to meot at leact to a oertain extent, this hard prossiog want of poor expectent and nariing mothers add litte children and ham appointed a Sabeemmitten to look atter tha managamont of the food mad the distribution of wilk.

The Arya Mabila Remati appeole to the gespoone minded poblice rich and poor who are tonched by the bardehips or safforiage of the poor to holp the Samej $\approx$ math at lien is thoir powor. SNeed it be mentioned that thees lively, It talee propar care d, will lorm an invalomble treman of oar Mothero lond and thas will repay the kindnem shown to them?

Mombers of the enb-Committee: Lady Laxmibni Chaudsnaker, Mrai'Larmibai Paralkas, Mrs. Sundrabmi 8irors. Mra, Dargabai Medguolkar. Mru, Sashilabai Jayaker Mr. Majulabai Lad. Mra Awsatikabai Gokhaley. Mra. Manjalabai Bhandare, Mien Kriehnebai Javores Mien Kathibui Nowragge. Netailew regarde the Cootree in the
openad for fres diatribution of mill will bea peblisbed iver on, All solvoriptione and dosetions aboold bo kindly farmorded to:-Dr. Min Keabibai Nownage, an LM, itan Atmaram Mansimen

Senctary. Girguam, Bombey.

Frow Mik Sapply Fupd.

## JAPAR AND TAE RIILIPINES.

The Philippim Rosion pablished the folloning intarvien betrose Baron Stibasawa and ita Editor, Mr. Niopm

Editor Niem,-I came to Tokjo is the firt place, to have the pleserve of meoling yoa, and then cbtala goop viow on cortain aldee ol preinit day oriontal politient' To begia with, I would like to know what you think aboat matlopit in the Orimat now that the war it orex.

Baron Shibanama-I abould way, int of all, that we ell mont work jointly for civilisation mad anivertal wallures I mesa by thin that if natione woold contione, min the pent, to make of thair rapeative progront an exclonira, eelfish inoe, and abould astions in the faturs fail to improve thair mochode of policien, and jaut ge ohoad at in the path than conficta may arime agcin, We mant vint thinge with browdor mind, and bope that satione in all progrowiag alite. Thil, of coarm, requiren cooperation at well me matrial and opiritanl adrancements and a spirit of jantion and bamanity, as orr common slogen and object.

## Sech in my tincore belief.

I lear, howevar, that, it ewol comatry ahould mok to develop the remorises of the world for ita own ceke, in moond Garmany may arine as e result
Of courta, mocording to old thoorive, emoh coontry mont napply ite owa interesth. To my mind howeyar, thin is a minteke today, loy 1 bold that emol eovolry ibould be tiad. ful of othere' intersta. Otherwien there man be room for diangreementa. There are etill quite is low, who beliore that they maet develop this of that nation of the Orionts and ars ectually looking formard tor a ohance lor it. I esanof but tail to agree with this. What I think in that 'we all obould co-pporate with ench othos, and make oar region and the peopie of the Orient prosperons. We all wuat enjoy proaperity and happinew. We all ehozid make the world our home, and the terime of the old diplowsoc' 'sbould no longor proyit. This is oby I mid I hope cool aatios and people choald look not only ettor thair owa faterinta doan bat alco aftar those of others'. For if owe somotry in prouperone, its noigbbouriag coantrie vill abo be prosperont. I hope, tharefore, that Oriental coantrice thenld cooporate with ach other, with Earopt aleo omoporatiog and changing hoz old polieies about the East.
Ed. N.-Do jou mena that we abould follow the *open door poliog' for all and everybody?
B. 8 , $-\mathrm{T} \mathrm{c}_{\mathrm{i}}$, sir I should my an, $I$ would wodorve the opes door polieg a mecimary tor the dovoloproent of the Orient, to thise give opportanity to all sed everybody.

For iostanee, Chine her minee and otber rnoonseng, bat tho candot develop them, beconco of bat beok of mense sod tramportation troilitien. Aad abo ande lorsiga anpital to develop them. This is aloar ingtaces of the sood of the opes door poticy. But if capital shoald ever go to Chise or cloenthers fie atifer diaregaed of the fatercute of the proople of the eoratry concenned, eoijy to take more of the proftit it ibould rukte, them I an alsnid copicalitio domiontion may oneso. The edranes and progreve of the Oricat require thet we abould abandon the theory of eclbobsom, without allowieg,
bowayer, any dierespect to the privileges and prarogstives of the nation to interest. It is in this, I think, that eooperation is noeded monk. To quote an insbance, there has been recently a mieundertisnding betweor Chins and Jepan, in that the Chivese poople believe that Japan in in Chins for selfich ende. This if migiake. In my opinion, Japan mast assist Obian jointly with the U. 8 .g and I hope a thorough andortanding will finally follow st to our parpoces in Chins, and that Americe will eventasily realize what Japan's zal poliog in Chins is.

My Ides of Japan's Chinese policy is not my own sloze, Buainesm mon and othere boliere in it. Chine't door must be open and in thin we should eo-operate with the U. S. The Cbinese people are slendering as. We may have made mis takes, but we woald only be very happy to correct them. Bat China is not entiraly correet, and it would seen that the Chinese people are becoming nervons. I balieve Jepan mast do jastice to Chian and other Oriental conntrien, well wat jour own country, and we sincerely pay our respect to our brothere of the South.

Ed, N.--While in the Staten, I noticed that. Japan in the only hindrance or the ainmbling block to the anocesainl eolntion of the Pbilippine Cese, and, in this respect, allow: me to exprens my idess and propound come questions about Japan. It il everywhert believed that the grestest menece* to the oxisience, of a Philippine Repoblio is Japan, and that your conntry in only waiting for a chance "to grab mine", using their own words. Allow me, therelore, in this conntection, to ask jou It Jupan wonid oaly be a mere oopy of Europe in har polloien rogerding the wesker oonatrien of the Far Eact; 1. e. it Japan if merely going to be the new oppreptor of the Orient.
B. E.-I bhould say that il auch ingpioions are really the teelings of come Americans, I thonld not believe that they are libert yoloving Americenn. They must be irresponaible American who see nothing but aggresgion in ut, Japan hat no buninest whatsoever in the Philippines. We respect the growth and progrese of your people, and, il we ost, we should only be vary lisppy to render jou any emistance for the alte of our brotbers of the South.

If Amorionn iny that Japan would grab the Pbilippines becane of Kores, that has no loandation. 'It farhept nocemary for Japan to govern add paify Koren: Jupan has insinted in this. But ato the Pbilippinen, it in a diferent thing altogether. Whesber jndepeadont or not Irom Americs, we will reapect the integrity of your people. And e0, if Amerion has seme iofe of reapeot for the ceate of tha Jtapnese pooplo, she should andentand what we mean when: weg .fay that we piy our reepente to yoar people. And it yont independenoe in recognised by the U. B., I am une that the oirilisod Japanese and the leaders of Japan would only be happy to recognize the status of the Philippiuets I am not a politioinn bat 1 think, from the opirit of in Jipuneak nation, that whenould only be happy to renpeot jons integrity, should the U, S. grerantee joa independeno at well me to pay our reapeat and regard to onr sinter nations, be they the Philippinea, China or otbert.

Ed. N. - Alad what bave you to any about Shantung 1 .
B. 8.-a Aa I aid I om not ip politice, bot whatever Jupan hes promined she hat elsaye folilled. And I toel quite muro thet whetevar promice hes been made st to Shatang, we will fultll it, and reatore Bhantang to China. Bot ahould Amorione continat to distrast Japan, there woald be no and to is,

I an pooitive wi will hovour out pledge, withont any neces sity for Amerionue to slander Be; they ilwaye do.

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Vol., XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23! 1919 NO112



## GONTEENT郎。

The Interantional Outicoh. The Indiag Relorm Bill. Social Reform and Obverntment.
Special: Franchine for the Depremed Cjacees.
A Diasbillty Rempoved. The Coverament of India as Cirla' Bducation.

The Problem of Chriatianity in tadia 11.
The Englinh Public Schodk The Wail of Diotritied Puajaba
Iodina Natiopal Congrepea The Bombey Presidency Social Reform Arsociation. Wileon oper Rusif.

## nOTES.

The International Outlookn, The centre of internationat haterem das spitea last week trom Russia to the United States. Friday's papers publisned the message that Yudenitch has resugned nis come mand as tes desired to avoid reterning htre menys The action of the Senate ot the United otates. in regard to the Peace lreaty bas been the cause of considerable anxiety. Tue Kepublican majority, having closured the debate on the Treaty, have natroauced important reservations'some of which had been previousiy declared by Yresident Wilson to be such as. would cut sue neart put of the Covenant and mean rejection ot the Treaty. These reservations incluce the decining of obligations regarding the terntorial integrity or polucal independence' of any other country; withnolding the assent of the Uatted .states to tne Shantung arrangement, also a teservation giving Congress authurty 10 regulate the appondment oi the american delegates to the Leagac of Nations and international commisstons and u reservation declaring that the : United States aione shall interpret the Monrae Doctine, which is, wholly foutside the jurisdiction ot the League of Nations. is is lucky that ${ }^{2}$ President Wuson' is reported to bave made' striking "progress towads recovery trom dis Hinesst itho Presiacat, anye the latest message, has intormed Mr. Hitcngock thut he will "pocket", the Peace Treaty it Senator Lodge's reservations which amount in bis opinion to dullification of the Treaty areinserted.' afeanwhile, it is hoped to deleat the ratification resolution embodying Senator Lodge's reservations upon which the resoution tavouring ratitication without teservauons would be offered. In the event of a denilloct ensuing a compromise would be sought.

The Indian Reform Bill : The Indian Reform Bill as revised by the doint Yarliamentary Committe, was expected to be published last week. it is understood that it will not be published nere till Tuesday, Meanwanc Keuter aus sent us some further torocasta by the London Timas. We give them below. The Report ot the Joint Committee wul recommend to Yarlament that the question of
women's eafranchisement ${ }^{\text {b }}$ be relegated, to the toconstitated legislatures in eact province. ${ }^{\text {, Tie Joint }}$ Cotmmittee has not accepted the recommendation of the Crew Cominittee in tavour of the abolition of the India Council, which will be retaried under various modifications,' among' the 'most importan't of which is the attachment of each Member of the Conncil to one or ottier of the India Office depattments.: It'is understond that the CommitteE recommends the relerence of the question concerning the protection of the interests of the mon-brahmins ir Madras to the Madras Gevernment and in the tase of the Deccan to the Bombay Governmemin As-regands subjects to be transferrect, the: Conmatule gemerally follow the recomimendations in the Feltham Report While the Governor's- heavy responsibility is fincreased it will be shared more fargeny that ortginally contemplated with' the members, of the exeeutive half, of" the 'Government. In promulgating ordinances to replace Bills refused by the legislatare, as in some other important matters, the Govertion
 The enlarged Bill amply fulfils the tope expressed by Mr. Montagu on the second reading that 1 . will emerge a more liberal endowment of British India with the beiginnings of responsible government. It is understood that the Labour Party, 'urged by the more extreme elements in the-Indiat deputations, will move amendments ' to carry it'still further, but it is 'not expected ' that- either House wilh disregard the considered judgment' of the Com mittee with regard to the necessary safeguards and reservations.

Social Reform and Government y very hopoful and cheering teatare of the ume, is the deep interest -whicn some heads of Goveroments aze evin, clag in social reform. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay is doing shis best to deal with the housing - problem; and we trust his endeavour will be crowned with success.:- A complete scheme bas yet to be published.- Before it is made final, we should like one point to be cleared... Is it desirable to tolerate any' more-poie-room tenements? Except, perhaps, among the very rowest classes, there, is ulways in the poorest indian house a partuioned space for the katchen at least.: To build any more one-room tenements would bo to add to the diffculties of the next generation. The introduction of legisfation to put down betting and gambling is most walcome. It has beer undertaken not a day too soon. We are realso glad 'that" the Government of Bombay are introducing a bill dealing with the - prowlom of prostitution: in Bombay. The evil has attanned dangerous dimensions: and wo axe grateful to Goverament lor their resolve to put it dowa. Detaining a woman whether minor or not, against Der wul, with intent that she may have intercourse even with ood particular mandi is-mada an offence $t$.punishabie with fine, imprsonment and . . whippiog.

Lord Sydenham when he attempted to deal with the problem, was told by some "respect. oblen Indian gemtlemễ, that concobinage was part of theindian socitly sytem and that any attack apon it would'be' resentiod 4 Hi Lotdship necepted this sbtheless? falsehool noil proclaimed it to the world. We are that that Bir George Lloyds Government are not to be put off in that way. Even if it were true that in somecintes 'there is a custonit of toncubinago it is thy luty of a civilized Government
 provisiog pf the pill deal with Norolbel-liseper: It gives, to the Police authorities power to deport drother-keepers ta, places oulside the city, wheres es the preseaf lay poly allows, their. removal from. one place to aoother within the city. Brothel-keepers will be everywhere undesirable, and uoless they aro sen to place where they canot carry on their profesisiono this, provision may, only, mean the shilting of the evil. from, Bombay, to some other
locality The suburbs ol Bombay which ares at
${ }_{c}$ present, not notifeably infected with this social

- disease may be injuriously Affeced. The case of
beggars is guite different., Wa welcome, these measures hearfily and, quf auggestions are, only meant to indicate the noed pi carefully raming
"their prdvisions 60 as to make them most effective lor the purpospo fatended.
"Specingrapahise for, the Depresiced Classes. "We .. have urged on several occasions, the need for mak. ing piovision for the representation of the backward and depreased classer in tha enlarged Legislative Counculs $u$ But wh cannot agree to the slaggestion, .-made, apogg diters by the Hon Mr. B. S. Kamat - in his, note on the subject submitted to the Joimt - Rorlinmentapy Committee, that- Lower property :-qualification should, be fixed, Ion the Depressed Inetasses 30 As to bripg, on the dectorat roll in fpughly ntha same proportion as the electors of the othe -s compunithespeat to their sult male popatation. - Apart crom the propalility that thid proportiop may - wery tof each community, which has a special eleo , sprate it is doubtiful if anything short of manhood - suffrage will suffice to bring 5 per cent of the adult - nmalesjol the dgpresied classes on the electoral roles. tinhe property qualifichtion has either some signo. ficance or it has not it the former, it will pe diffcult to prove that a depressed classes man with a lower qualification is as good a voter as others with l, whe orouary, qualification If, the latter, it should nbedanco away, witio in, all cases. The reahyin inet,portant quosuon refating to the reptesentation pet i, ponly the depressed and 1 pe backward but also the $\cdots$ moddle ofasses is: pow are Wha sqing to haye a. , isufficient gumber, of, men, who cap; deyote them-j ":Belves A0. politice without payment, of inembers? It The days of the amateyr degislator are past Unless, memher pays, close nad constany attentlon to his.

- ADidabidty temoved. We are grad to learn that : 0 the resull of representation of the Committee of .. Bubgetore Centonment Brahma Samaj, the Goverp;
- ithettiof India tias directed tho introduction of the
 Diyocé Act OX 86 g añ the Special Marriage Act of 1 $1877_{j}$ incethe Civil sod Military Station of Bangalore.
-s As these Acts were not in force in the statipńtill now, *, the pattits ${ }^{4}$ bo wished to marry , had tö fo either to Bbmbay bt Madras - I is tinder: : astood that widowremaritage will shortly tale placé




## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> - ${ }^{-1}$ OMBAX, NOVEMBER $23_{2} 1919$.

## TTHE GOVEBNMENTOFINDIA AS \& UIRLS EDUGATION.

The hesolation of the Goyernment of Iadis on the edacation of girld iasaed last month, does well io dopromting tho $f$ generch appliontion of the rieme and conclasions of the Calcatta Onivonity Commission oe the reamditions of the odrcation of momat in Beagod, to all parte- of the cosatryn+ ITot all the dimcalties iet forth in the Commision't report at obetractiug the edacstion of girlo in Bengal, the Government of lodia rightly observe, are foond or at lenet 'fonad fa th' equal dogree id till parth of India in nome of yhich, for intance, the ingtitation of pordah in quknown., Agoin, as the Commistion bave themselvee pointed oat, the paaciky of private offort ta the 'muttef of pobl-diementary addeation of girla, which charactétisede, Bergal, is tot disooverable in all parta "ol the poqptrys "fo thin teapect," to quote the words of the Commission, "Beogat rhich pridee ituolf apon, being edacationally the mosit edvanoed of the Indian provincess, Tatis tai behind Bombay in the city of Bombay slone there are ten private High Schools = for girle. The Goveramant of Ladia ahporve that in some parts of the Bombay. Presidenoy privale effort baí ridaifeatéd itsdul in a remarkable tranner.
 owes at dabt unof … gratitade, to... Janit for" "their" pioneering , the onase of Imomen's edacation. "'Thaif axhmple' hut robeed' other
 beon fallowed and asitained by, i. gepaine approtistion' of ' ito walue and importencen...Thas aigan sadceas which has dtteitided the two women't colloges
 in anotheg uhopelal ingige. The odd opponition to the ediection oh womed has diod -downi in it many parta of the totantry;" "Tlis fin largely-the direct" resth of Thé spread, of edacation "amon onen" abd pirtly of theofforta ;of; neligiona impd, mopiel, raformerch The Arya Bariaj - and the Brahmo Bamaj, bave given a great" Impetws to women'd edadation, and' po alno han the Sopina Metorm movemente. Some of the main obaticlen to the apread of, moman'f, edgcation. boing faelty wosial custemer the splorrici, movemsente which beel to change' thene trastoma necosisarly favour ite
 len in the provincei and among commanitioe whore she pardah doen- - oot prevail- Ie those provincee uad commanities where it does proviif, the'grtirth
 ponerfally promote the edracement of wowen's edacation.
The greatest obrtacle to wocial' tefortuysbowerer, is the prevalliag iliseriacy, especintly among women. Tbo Concatio unitersity Oompincion hive doné this writer the great hooore of placing at the head of theoir thapter on the sotject, nome oberrmion-which he made at tho Bijapur Mocina Conteringes last yeart It
was to the effect that edocation was essentially a question of mocial zeform $\mathrm{m}_{\text {, and }}$ in edacation, the first pleceruhonld be igizfo to mopequ's education., The edacation of a singla girl moant the oplift of a whola: family in a larger,senfe thap the edpestion of a singla, man. If education if a question of social reform,
 eapecially' of : women'm edacation: A way ;pas: to be fonpd, qut of this yiciong, circlen. The social and oducational obstaclpa to the wpread of momen's

 From, thin point of viewn (Tw, are inclined ,to regand the Government of Indig's glaboratipn of the difficalties in the way of women's droation as rather academic and ircelevant. If Government will but propide; sufficient fand $\boldsymbol{p}_{2}$ most of tho diffienlties will in canrse of time disappear. Moraliging po the back wardnees of the peopleq does not help. It Govern:ment:will sex, "Here, in tho money; ind s polation of the problape" there will be more chaneef of a solation, being foupd. If mo cannot have competent teachers we, mank mahe shift, with less competent pres, If the pranent carricalum is apsnitable we can devise a betten ope as ye go along If tho examination syatem in fand to dominate podaly par pyotem of ednostion, me can, easily readjost the relation of examinatiop to o teaching withont bringing matters to a deadlook, What wo went Goverament to do ia, to belp forward ibe earos in the one practical way they can, namely, by providing a genbrone grant to the epecial parpose of women's edacation. The most dicappointing part of this pesolation in its failare to grapple boldy with this all-important matter of finance, usince the jopending changes in the: ralation! between Imperial and Provincial finance will in all probability involve the complete dissociation of the former from edoostional expenditare in the provinces,"; the resolation fons, "the pronincial and looal agepciea will beoome not merely primacily bat exclasively responsible for the futare devalopment of the edacation, of girle, It wifl reat with them to decide how far they, will be, able to devote pablic mones to "farthering this form of edacatione and it is hoped that the anggetion which havo been, pat forwardin ${ }^{1}$ the pregeding paragrapha will be of aosigtance in indicating the objects on which sach money can most unefolly, be apent fad the, directions in which the adacation of girls can mast profitably be gaided.

Now let as see what these suggestions are. Looing bodiet ehonld eontinaeriton be thewagenoieg for the diffasion of elementary"edncation among girtain ar among boye" $\Delta d$ dioory commitiese day be appolvited to advies local bodies on educational topics, and jadies may be oo-bperted on schools cóm mittees of auth' bodiet. The Jatter provision slready obtaing in this Presidency. We hope some progressive local bodies will bring this into, practice at an early date fibg Government of India resolation has a good vord to say for the scope of the Primary Edacation Act in ${ }^{\text {* }}$ thia Preaidgicy, which anthorisep the application of
the compalsory pripgiple to girls as well es to boygo One Monicipality that of Bapdra, has notified ita, intention to introduce compolsory, edacation for both: girls and boye nuder the Act early next year. TV: do not understand what the Goviniment of findis méan by wafegurading the laterest of lower classes:in edacation When compaliofy eductaon is fatró daced, sll clagges of children biste to htent hchoo arid a guffictent namber of "echools bave to be provided befordharid to accomodate them anl" Eicept cond pation edacation, Twf cannd thitive of diny other
 dd'not eé any diffealty in boys and girls städidg together is primary dehoolgí It is mors convenient for young lade to tacompan theif sister to sithod of yoang lasset to attend this pame schools "ad their ${ }^{2}$ elder brothêrn. It baves the cos or an eacort áá
 etit sebbols. We think thá efomentary girls sechools? whether of boyt or girls, should be fred to admit the yoanger insters and brothers of the elder phpils. Wex abree with the Government that there is not mach scope for differentiating betreet the carricala of elementary bofe and girls achools: Feare ébsolately opposed to the mandsetore of special texthooks for giris schoold.: 'Thees 'mannfactured text-bobks, written' with e purpose," are one of the principal bane of the, préent day: As for telligious edacation tales from the epics and the ninatelligent readiag and recitation of the Korah, are not religions edacationin a adad: sense, zod nominal teligoted edncatida doos moré barm thatil good. We reserve par compents on
 article:

## THEPROBLEM OF CHRISTLANITX'INTNDIA:

## [II


${ }^{T}$ This is how Christianity in donationaliaed here in India, Mr. G. T Papl of thi Yo M. C . 4 in his, latest protest against denationalization in England say the yery pame thing. Noither the missionary nop hia convert looking to the quality which ho hay, can help it Christianity cannot bat, porsdonatipnalized and consequently perasitic and at best Angle-Ipdiane thin pould again exphin how Christians have genemplly more material outlook than the cother people of thin conntry. I shall never forget what a Jonng man, an Indinn, bolouging ta the Salvation, Army once told me, He, aid the moment a man. becomes a"Christiap po materializes. The remark is perfectly true. Peopla become, Ghristians for material ends and beneg tha moment they are baptised they forgel the duties and the responsibilities as Hindus or as Christians, sad beoome saddenly, consqions of their righto and privi loges. It is no wonder if the misionary has bogua to find fanlt with the third generation of those whom he baptised "twq or three generations ago. This materialization is inevitable. The Chistian churah in Gillët with men who have sold their birthright for a masp, of pottage, gnd now that they hava coms inta the

Dgyptian bondage of Wectern civilination, thoy lov the fleah-pots 'theroof too' mboh to think of having thera for the Henvenly Breid whioh Christ Jeens in

Thits such a procese of denationalisation in very eng in the cano of mont of these so-alled converts, it becomeng little nore difficult in the crese of the fow high eate converty who stick to the and. The prooese that is followed in, their case in thros, riso. The first thing that a mimiopary began to do with such converta is to Hinduise, thom as mach at posible.. The firat thing is to make, them, eat boet and meat, and erep drink vibe. The next thing that in done is to give such, convert wifo if be han none for it is a hwof moot missions that a convert, in cose ho has not marriod eanot remgin so for a long time while working in the mission., If he is already married and hes children, the -thing, that is done io to got his wifo and children baptised through prossare direct and indirect. In this veny, all the bridges are parnt behind him and the poor, convert is loft helpless in the hands of mindomaries. And in addition to, these, if the poor man makes, $a$ mistake and falle into some sin or other, as in most case he cannot but do there, being so many tomptations in his way from both kanakasm and kamini, woe be to him for ever t However high he be in his casto, and whatover the sacrifices that he may have made, he hat to take his place, lower than the lowest, not because there are hin morel mperion, but because they are more oleyer and outwardly correct in their be hanoura It requires a man of tremendons conviction and courage of it to withatand all this pressure and prooess and temptations.

It is in this way that the Christian Conrah, if it af all onn be oalled so, is altogether proletariatized, denationalized und angliciaed and 'consequanaly materis' alized. I do not think thas fhere ever was such a church raised in the whole history of Christendom, whether Eestern or Western., What wonder is there if the Hindus have stood aloof From such'Christianity which is no Christianity bat which in a most mulserable, caricatare of it? I believe that perthaps this ahowi, more than many thinge the sonndness of the Hindu heart, that while aocepting Chrigt as thiolr very own, they would have 'nothing' to do with the Westarn Corfatianity that comen to them in this shapo.' It woald aeem that the misuionaries are oubvorting not only the Hinda ciritization but the kingdom of herven' at wall. Why is this?
'A part of the cause of thin state of thing is alroady given when it seaid that the mingionary is partial to his own labour and civilization. The migaionary does not understand Indis nor its civilization: But what ts worio fir that he is not cooially as politically dead. No man who byot dead in thin wiy has any right to carry universal celigion from oie land to another. The missionary has as moch fleah and blood as his convert. or ait the so-called heathen bas whom he has come to. convort, porhape ho has mong A man who is not deed to these, to all, rocial and mational tion, is not is Christian, much leee a mievionary. The Protedant Christianity comes "to mo wedded to the worst form of aggreaive nationatian and imperialiem sy ato Wext
and the mindonary conecionety wanconolenaly it oon foniding and trying to promote both togethor. It hat been just now found that the mimionaries weve not altogether above promoting his national lntermita along with thow of the Kinglom of Heaven, wid thay ans sont away from India not to return soon. Ais the Kinglich and the Amerionn misionarien to fir above the German missionarien in this reppeot that they have no other Interenta bat thoes of the Kingdom of Heavon P And it the English people and mionionaries cannot truat the German misionarion, oun the heathen Elindus traat the English miasioniriet I Again ruppoing that they are mo far above the Germat mianionarice in this partionlar respeot; i.s; promotiag thoir own national interesta at the cost of thoce of this country, oan it bo aid that they bave not taken fall sedrantage of the protection of the British Goverament in order to prowalytise as many as posaible in the ensiont posibibe manner? It'is this that is the weakeet point in the 'work of the Christian misaionary. Proselytialag without perseoution has not moaning whatsoover. Proselytising with purse and politioal power' is as bad as and even worse than that by foroo, and in Indis we have example of only pach proselytinlag. Onn there be a Christian churoh without true martyrdom an anfforing? Can it be founded on such most unworthy and mised motives, and purely secondary considerations as have been moving the majority of the Christian converta? Thus the missionary has geiled to understand most grievously the epirit of Indlanciviliation as woll at that of his own religion which can be entablished only on the Cross.
It would' be too much 'to 'tay that' the mistiohary does not understand his own relligion, but novertholems I would dare to asy that he does not. That he han violated the spirit as well as the letter of the religion ho has oome to give us in more things than one can be proved to demonstration. Here fir one exumple of it in a matter that in most vital and important. Pant wrote to Timothy the following which are of nuiveral application and which have been at complotely Ignored by the misaionaries in Indis as poselble. The words are I Timothy 6-1-5.
"Let as many servante as are under the yoke count their own mantert worthy of all honour, that the name of God and Hir dootrine be not blasphemed.
2. And they that have bolleving mastery, let them, not destine them, beosuse they are brethren bat , rather do them service, becense they are hithful and boloved, partaken of the benefic: Theno thloga teaoh and achort.

- B. If any man teach othorwies, and cossent not to wholecome word, oves the wordh, of our Iond from Christ, and to the doctrine whioh is ecoonding to godtinoes.

14. He is prond, knowing nothing, but doting abont questions and atrifee of word, wheroof oometh away, trifo, milings, evil arminings.
15. Perverso disputinge of mon of corrapt minds and destitute of the trath, euppoang that gain is godliness. From nuck woithdreve thyoelf.
; The mianionariet have, expresly and as if it were of sot parpone, set aside the command contalnod in the first
"Two verses, a command, nat mergly of St. Panl, but of Christ himself as hesays in the third verse, and have tried to do a way with all centuries of old distinctions hatween the Brabmins and the Pariahs, high and low, nnder the false idea of equality and fraternity from which he would exclude himestif and his own people, The result of this has been exactly what St. Panl said it must be Christianity has been blasphemed outside the Chnrch on tocount of this very thing as the religions of the Pariah. Within the churoh there have been realized all those conditions that 8 t. Paul speaks of at the end of the 4 thand the beginning of the sth versee. The majority of the missionary's converts have confounded guin with godlivess, and demand equality of every sort with the high-anste converts in all things.

In all that I have said here I have spoken of the missionary as the representative, often a yiotim, of the system of work laid down by Protestant Missions in general. Again there are missione and missions, and no two misaions have the same polioy. ،There are some of them which are exceptions, guch as e. g. the Uxford Mission in Calcutta: Again no two missionaries are altogether alike or think in the same way. Many of these, both men and Fomen, are excellent people in many ways and make great ancrifices for what they think would promote the cause of Christ in India. Many of them bave no ulterior motives of any kind, Many of them know the defects 1 have pointed ont, they know the disease and are earnestly seeking a remedy. If I would blame them for anything, it wauld be for remaining any longer as instraments for that systom, 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. Ihe demands of the Cross of Christ never become greater, and all those who want to call themselves Christians and do missionary wort must bo ready to make groater sacrifices always. I would say the snme thing to many of the converts too who, I know, are feeling many of these things that I have spokeu of here. They have taken it' upon themselves to follow Christ at whatever costo Let them not behalf mid-way as moot of them are doing but go forward.
'Withdruw thyself from such' was said by St. Pari to Timothy. The same cry comes to-day in similar conditions to all those missionaries, both men and women, and to trae converts who want to find out a proper path. Perhaps it was in obedience to the same ory that Mr. C. F. Andrew : withdrew from the Churuh mission to serve the people in the way be has been doing. All need not lollow the sama path of service, but withdraw they must, if they want to be tras to Christ. May be, a greater path of serping. India and Christ will be fonnd soon.

## tee english purliv sohuol.

The Engliah Public Sohool has been commended by many administratore and othere, themsalyen productiof it, as an ideal aducational inatitution, and some Indimbe hate, ment ung. cohoed the senti-
ment. Wa give belovi aricisin of the syistem Irom slif Dlirer Lodgeforecent book "Chriatopher** 3
"So mach has been written' fn - description und glorification" of Public Sohool influed ${ }^{2}$ in mouldige charater and determining destiny, that no more wetds 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 wonld not be sent there.

- Bat in the midst of the praise, a critical voice is heard, and criticism is growing in intensity Parente are anxious; questions are asked; replies aró discordant or are diffenlt to obtain. Is everything really of the best; is it oven as good as it might be? Is the dis* cipline wisely conceived and properly carried oul in these originally monastic institutions, or are boys' of varions ages left too minch' tótheir own devices?" Do the werkest go to the wall? Are there inot excesses, is not the boy-managed disoipline too sudulenly severe, the contrast with home and, preparatory school too complete? . Are the bodily exercises or "sports" overdone, giving rise to snbsequent heartestrain and other troubles?*

Is the feeding wholesome and adequate or must it be supplemented from home?

Many suoh questions are, asked, and I do not presume to answer them. They have to be answered differently, it must be sapposed, at different, schools, and even at different periods in the pame school.

All I have to say or suggests concerning school lifa is absolutely general; it has no reference to any one sebool in particular, Spacinl and intimate Enowledge woyld be required for that. But there are certaingeneral characteristics which without controversy can be admitted -characteristios some of which are upheld by high anthority as sound and wholesome and beneficient. Let us consider one wellworn argument in their farour.

The disoipliue and hardship of school are said to prepare a boy for the discipline and hardship of later life. The note struok is preparation. So far, good. Preparation. for life is eminently desirable; and the partionlar preparation aflorded by school lifo 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 enconntered in the futare.

Inoculation is adinittedly never a pleasant process thongh authority says it is necessary. I Iet 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 seyerest form ta preare against milder attacks in the futare. Yet, according to the twisti-

I only speak fectinity of logg achool ruais, it which, maller bojs are swithed to over-extertion and faintlag by bhereviones Who are actuated by ather ignorance and akupidity. Af a achbul in Yorkehire this aytem of preposterounly long comperitive rune was in voguc, pehepa atill ia; and 1 bave had ocension, not in my .own person but in own my family, to curse it and its erquel.

- mopy of meny, the hardship and discipline of sabool $x$ daring fey the first yyer, nod ovep daring soboeqnent jeats for many boys, aro barsher and more grienons than saything they can reasonably expoot to encounter in lator life. In later lifo if me mako mistaken wo are puoishod, it many be by a fing it may be by secinsion, but we are not flogged, except for bratal erimets nor are we beaten by a jary of our fellows, or by some individnal stronger, than ourselvee, unless wo hare idjured him in a quite exceptional way, in some way so serious that he in moved to take the law into his own hands. We are not placed belpless in the midst of a copmunuity, whose members are of very parying dogrees of size and otrength, with traditional powars pver body asd somptimes soul, where tale-bearing in forbidden, and where wo are remaved from the carbing or prow tectipe agency of the polioe. No one expects to on counter traubles of this kind; and no inocnlate against the xisk of if seons carrying preceution nather kat.

In' later Hfe when we ram iato danger we take other prectations. If 'go amang savager we carty weepons of prooistion; it we encoanter civilised raffiats wo appenal to the arm of the laws.we protact ourselvee agalast bedily 411 -trentment la varione ways; and our sovis are our own.

But it will be said that at an earylier atage 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, 1 suppose, It does not seem natural and rights but to those whose savage period is ourtailed or galloped through, and who s1* roady' at ran early age have rouched a highor stage of civilization; the nlion character of the mired elemente of tohool life becomes painfully mpparent.i
But it is not alope, it is not eren mainly, the mere physical roughness and irresponsibility of seniors that 1 propose to criticise. These are painful, bat soma people can conscientionsly maintain that they aro salutary, that they are good for a small boy, and do not injure the big. boy or develop any view of craelty in his disposition. At any rate they do not seem, to fruso trato the main parpose 'for whioh echools exist, This I eonceive to be the development of intelect and of charactor. Some call it the "formation" of character, and put it first. If Iormation of character is possible by outside influences, then indeed those infinences boo come sapremely important; but character must be to a great extent inborn. It may be nufolded, or it may be withered, it development may be helped or hindered, but surely a school should develop charseter maninly through the intelligence. Awrkening of the mind wonld seom to be a main necessity fin any scholastic schespe. A system of training which depresses the mind and yet sleeps it at montal tasks for several hours 4. day, until fereling of manses or study-nostalgis is creetod which lasts more or less through life, few would have the hardihood to fopport; they can only deny that eny. sach prate of things oxistas and can take refoge in maintaining that assertion of this kiod is an accasation and misrepresentation made hy gome enemy.

## TEE WAIL OP DLSTRESSED PONJAB.

## 

The Editor, "Tbe Imdian Secial Reformer," Bombay. Sirt

We have made politioal Pajat lifaloen lor the oast 6hy jeurs, wo bave paralysed the whole of ledia by taking atora represive mencrise in the Paxint So they sid. Fot a tine Parjab wou is a doep amoon but the bs did not last toag. A band of tral Brohmene come frout boly Prijag (Alhbabed, The molony of god) from Shatioliteten (the abode of pmen) and from she 8ntyagrat Achran mitanad on the banke of parifying Sebaranti aod noused it wo lifo agrim, Asd the the ery ment soond. "W We mant bold this Seasion of the Cuggrem at Araritent. Foe the mbe of thoon whum indocritade spirit in roaming is the conen of their late notivitios, we mact dere all and furite the whule Nation in thie eity of the immortal ppring of lifa,"

Tbe intibtion extesded to Avrimer at Delbl wes coufintiod in the peginoing of Coteber leat, momatime mas opent in
 who had takea the cbreelold vawe of porartso thamility and mold-wide charity, wem eulled apon the toad the band of dervied bopet of the pation.
Tise worl bere the begun in figbt osraesh "The Seore. mixe of the dificrent Sabocematituen of the Roception Comeisien of ane 3ste 8 ruition of the Indian National Congreme and beiag aktored to do their beat the 'geperal meretrise and the V ivesharicmen ans melad to pat lorth , their bren poorgies for the tank they have andorteken, and at ban boon pablinhid by the Propageada Seoratanto .ovatroot for builuing the Pardan hae beea givan to the Bond Brot: of Allabeaca.
 sear and publie emerciations from all parte of ithe.country are ready to ourperate apd belp. . A large namber of delogeton sre expected from oniaide Fianjab. CCarsiaialy not, Jow than thirly baadrede) and Papint in axpeoled to poar forth ite thoumpda to tuke pert in is apathining with the gettetiag cont abd dangturn of thoir Mocherlaed.

Hogere wh ho most all thow axponeal IThat if the oupo sempe quation of the momert.. Amaritar ban beos bled to abo last euin duriog thy Martial Law peripd 4 it a pity that theo moneqed men who peid thopsando in raibe to aterape she indignity and dishonour of being insalued and abased by the myrmidons of officialdom do not come lorward to opook the trath abd than to wave the coantry (ralare and paled both) Irora the father kinl. Bat there in not the lases doibe that abey have nationed moob pectaiatily. Then there are fine to be paid for the follien of the thoaghtion and the borrible givene committed by dograded devilish men. Bat inapive of all thin whoa an appeal was made on beball of the Prajab Belide Fasd, Amritar ceate rut with ite wite and coatriboted abuta sixtosis to iventy thousuad repeen for that work. Aad now that an appeal , wae bocelly mado on batiolf of the Reopp.
 ponse. Sowe 15 tbomend ban beos colloctad in the aity and by pauting lorth ite oblole stragigh mother is thoveando might be collected. But that is all what Amritere cun do at this moment. The rent, of the Pajab in hoped th Iand belping pood, bat there two wous districte bapi safford inribly and will pe imposible for them to make op the whole defieieaci, To whin ie thore bat the poyper to do thpir, bet in watiog. 1 ! m.

Daughters and coos of the Mothoriand e Not lees than goes Lath of Pupees anght to be forthonming within , the pext thres jearg if you wibh to make this Andiveres ry meating of the National Conncil worthy of the ooctaion. The begging bowl of the Sinysai is at your door. The body of this devoted cerrast of hamanity cannot react you, all, bat the apirit will rommall over the country $;$ and it in my firm beliat that the National Canae will not anfer for want of gufficient fandi.

## Ebraddbananda,

Chairman of the Congresa, Reccption Committoge

## INDIAN NATLONAL OONGBESE $12:$

## Bullefin. mo. 1

Y. As already annonnced, the thirty fourth esmion of the Indian Netional. Oongrave will. be held at Amertsaf, in the Panjab daring Obrintmas next. The acinal dater .vill be annouced as soon sa fixed.
2. A sijitable site for the Pandal known as the Aitohioson Park hate been obtsined from the local Manioipality, and is not only the teat arailable bat aleg the roost convenient being clone to.the Railway Ststion, Amritear' (North Weatern Reilway) and the oity. Arrangemente are in progress to secure adequate honm accommodation and camping gronnd for the delegates from the variour Provincee.
'3. A Reception Committee hae bden Tormed oonsinting of aeveral handred membere, and Swami Saraddhand bet been elected ita Chuirman. Every person resident in" the "Pbatuty
 only in the csae of a lady, is oligible for nemberghip cud evary Punjabee intarested in the national canseg is fovited to join the Committee." All remittances of aecuint of memberohip anbseription and donationg bothld be eent to the Oentral lank of Indis, Let., Amritsar, on accoint of the Congrest Recoption Committee, without loss of time, intimation of the mame being fent to the Secretary, Finance Board, Congrest Peception Commitiee Office; A mritisar.
4. The Executive Committee of the Beception Comniltee hat decided that invitations be issued through the Cbeirpisn to all Indian leaders, irreapective of party; to join the Amritam Congrese, and the President and Geaeral Secrets. ries of the' All-India Congress Committee havél aleo been requested to move in the matter. The Reception Committee carneatly appala to all patriotio and public-spirited Iodians to respond to the invitation of the ${ }^{2}$ Cunmittee, and maki it point to allend the Amritear esesiont.

Bolletilin 2.
I. The fee lor memberebip of the Hecoption Committex fo Fia, 25 aud Ra. 10 ia the caes of ladies.
2. The fee for a delegate, as Bxed in the Constitution, in Rs. 10.
3. The rate for visitore' tiokete bavo been fixed at fullowes-Diatinguiphed visitort ; Re. 60, specisl ioitort Ru. 2ti and lat clase pisitora Re, 10., 2nd, olass Res. 5. Ludy vielters will be oluarged Re 6 embh.
4. Donots al lerge sume will be provided with special seata on dale acoordiug to the amonnt of their donation.

## enligtix ro. 3.

patel of the gentor.
The Thirtydourth memion of the Intisn National Con* great rill be beld in a opecially erected pandal in the Alchintoon Part, Amritear (N. W. Railwayh Penjeb, on gith, gyst and 30th Decomber, 1319.

The seseion will open on the 27 th al 2 p. m, some boure after arrival of the Bombey Panjab and Ca'cutia, Panjub Msil traing, The 28th will be devoted exclanively to the gnhjecta Committee which will mest at 10 m m . On the 29th the Congress will reanme ite aiting some what late, at 12 noon, owing to oslebrations in, conneetion with the birth, enniversary of Bri Gury Govind Singhi which fally on that dey. On the 50th the Congroes siting commencest II in m.

$\therefore 1$
The following zates have been fixel by the Reaeption Cummit tee lor the mose tiakete. for the delegateat-
L. Europan Styls.

IL. Indian Stgla
Bu 1/8 il
Vegatarisa :
Non-Vegetnrian
Re 218
As. 4
No afternoon tes or junch will be provided for those messing in Indian ityle

Charges por meal in ladiep ation will be plall the sbope. rates,


THES HiqDq WiDows; Hown BoMzat
The Biadn Widops" Home working ander the ouspices, of the Bombay Presidenay Sopial Roform Asegciation , ainoa! 1at Aagant 1916 completed its third yesr on 81 at July 1919 and the Commitee of ita management beg. to anbmil report. of the working dorigg the third year:

There, were seven widowe on the mil the plose of the, cecond year. During the year uoder report, 8 nevf widows were admitted, 8 mere marnied and one leff the Home of her own eccord thoa leaving 6 widows on the moll athe end of the third yesr. Out of the 8 widowe married, one belongen ed to the high caste, Marnths eommanity, one to the Konkanath Brabmin one to the Gojazati Bania, one to the Saraspat Brahmid, two Daivadnye, one Pathare Prably, and, one Madrasi Mudliar.

The namber 8 of maried widowi during the jear. comparea favourably with six of the seoond year, and two of the frat yesr. The neefalnese of the ingtitntion must note however, be judged only by the number of widow sdmitted. or marriage performed nader the aspicen of the Home Some parents ind guardians of widowe from private families seek the sesistance and advice of the Superintendent; and idi fact, the Home in slowly and ateadily gruwing in pablicity" and popalarity: It will, before long, become the centre of widow re-maryiege activities in the Presidency ' 纺帾 is is intended to be. Compared to the number of nofortunste nidowi mongst the different bigh-oeste communitien of thit side of India; the namber of marriagetr mranged is bat a drop in the ocesn, but looking to the prejadioes and difitiz oclties the institusion bes to contend with, the stendy progrean it han been making is distinotly encoaraging. It is peediesy to add that grester efforts ant necessary it the evir of enforoed widowhood it to disappear: from sanongat ws. Enoouraged by this steady progrens daring the bat threw yeare of trial the Coancil of the Aabociation has deaided to: continue tha Home and it is hoped shat the pabice will halp to maka it anooest by overy ascistaces. peondiary, of otherwies.

Of the aiz widowa at proment stajing in the Hown ooe in in Eagliah till peoderd, two in Eagtink firth ane in uttodding Normol Climatone is in Marathi sth, and one is bearning elomentary Marmblt, In addition to tbe litemary adication, they leare in the Homs oooking and olher household datioe, at well an tailoring in the elme condoctod by the Social Service Leages oe the promites of the Home,

It it it moterorthy that that proposels tor marringe coming from gentiomen an alwaya for oduented widow, and in sevoral suces lor widown with some English educotion. Thia in but axtaral. The marriageable age of gith in slowly rising, and among eotmmatition where grows ap girts are availabla, wea an educated yoong man or widowor is anwill ing to lece the provailing prejadiee againct widow morriage and the displemare of hin reintives, unlen be gote an edneated widow tor bie witi.
D. M.D. Knirasker continned the generoas belp to the I matitation daring the preent joas by treating the patienta from the Home, and giving anch adrios at was needed, froe of iny oharge. The Committoe beke this opportanity to give ine bect thanke to $\mathrm{Dr}_{\text {s }}$. Malvankar for his kindness and ajmpathy wist the Home Dr. B. R. Shirgavkar, M, D, (London ) waskind enoagh to inocoluts free of oherge the iamales of the Hume agcinst Cbolers daring the terrible Cbolert epidemic. Mr. Mangeeh Atmaram Sagoon, the meanger and proprietor of Mra. Radbabbai Atmaram Bagoons Book-colior, wes kiod enough to present booke of aboat Ras. 15 to the inmate, who wea promoted to Englinh ith Stadard in March lant. The Commitioe bege to thati all the pornoos who were good enough to thow their eympethy with the Iontitation by wesiating it fic one way or anothar.
It in a mateer of regret that Mr, A. B. Wagh, the Saparip teadent, wwoll as Mru. Wagh, thit Ledy" Saperintendent wore in indifferent health daring the year ouder report and had to leave Bombay for about six monthe lor change of climata. Daring their abeenoe Mp, P. B. Gothonker with tumily lifed on the promiser and looked to the work of etaper: rision. :The Commituee is mivel Indebted to Mr. Gothoskent foe the trouble be bad to thet in timely taking over the charg, of the lustitotion when that wai urgently nooded, sod to discharging bis datien very eatigfactorily in the sbeenee of Mr. Wagh, It is nufortanate thet Mr. and Mrt Wagh on accoant of ill benth find it impossible to contiane an Bapariatendente of the Hone and baive expressed their desire to be relieved of the responaibilition en early as posible. The desirt hee been commanicated to the Conatil which will make the necosoury arrangements fo'the matter.

Since the above report weat writen Mri Wagh sucound. ed to the illuess abo had been sufforing from for tome time, and the Committee ham paseed the following renolation in apprecintion of her werrices to the Home.

- Tha Commitce bege to place apon record ite deep sense of lose in the deach of Mre. Krinhnabai Wagh who had worked at comiderable sellesactifics in prowoting the welfart © the lastitation and in auperviang the wangeouent of the Home. The Committes expreenee and recorde its deep sento of sumpethy with Mr. Wegh."

The Committee regrota to record the death of $\mathbf{M r}_{\mathrm{s}}$, $\mathbf{C}$. M. Seth who ragalerly paid a biadoone contribalion towards the expenmes of the. Home alwoet frore the oummescement, sod urimod minosre interest is the cange of Widow Remarriage.

Total expenditare fot the mainitensece of the Hoone der-

alothat for inwation Re 88-11-6; reot Rac 660-0-0, ecter



Liat of Sabecripticen and Domatione (1918-19).

| The Hoa'blo Mr. Lallablini Somalda |  | ..- | ... | 400 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mr. Bhagwaodee Medha | den | ... | ... | 870 |
| Sir N. G. Chandovarkm | ... ... | $\cdots$ |  | 180 |
| The Elos'ble Mc. Jastion | i. A. Shah | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 180 |
| The Elon'ble Mr. G. E. | Parek | $\cdots$ | ... | 180 |
| Mr. L. Re, Tairee ... | ... ... | ... | ** | 90 |
| Mrs. Sieatal Hasareat | ... *- | ... | -* | 61 |
| Mr. U, M. Seth | ... ... | $\cdots$ | ... | 45 |
| Waichand Batior | $\cdots$ |  |  | 25 |
| Tbe Indias semfl of Mestrs. Jobn Diokincon t Ca . 18 |  |  |  |  |
| Dr. S. G. Rapaday ... | - m | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 18 |
| T, Q Kbmadwall | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 10 |
|  | ** mos | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 10 |
| * Gopalji Waji ... | m ** | ** | $\cdots$ | 8 |
| \% 8. Wr Kolkar ... | ... ... |  |  | 0 |
| - Magrachaod Keoji | ** | $\cdots$ |  | 1 |

## WILSON OA RLSSSIA.

## (From the Neo Repwhlic, September 17th.)

Woodrow Wilion wes inoe sa bistoringe He wna not perhapen diasingaishod lor amidaoca derotion to his mam, bal be suknowidged obsignnoe to the ralee the hed lold down since pld tiames. II it wea oror necencary tor hius to employ a deef inatiad of rhelorio, be was at eome puiat to mente hime ell that she fact oxisted. If it wan nocomery for him to institate a comparipon botween two bintoriual pheoomena he coknowledged the obligetion of illaminating hit criticinas wha the light of attendent cirenastance. Hi recognized bimealf as an imposing figure in the aseomblies of his orati, bat be knew that this fret did pot mako it safo for him to occupy positions out of which the verient tyro conld rout him, to the haghter of the whole conitaternity of cobolase Bat all that has abanged now...Woodrom Wilvon ia no longer the mervant of hietory, bat has beoome bei matier.
And so to atanda ap bravely befors her and aceorts the, the Soviet regime in Roscia is more cracl thas wee that of the Tuar. Doen any one imagive that Woodrow Wihon oref made the leat affort to meartain the freve of sither term: his comparion o Deen he trow bow geastal wat the aee of "Stoly pia's neckties" in the eappression of the liberal revo. lation of $1906 ?$ Hea be any acqauintaose with the atella. tics of Siberian exile, or any knowledge of the conditiona nuder wheh tracapportation io Siberis wat onariod on $\boldsymbol{f}$ Him be examined the relation between Traritice ufficinaldom and nach affirs se the masescre of Eisbioer: No, of conrme not; he bat been too buy'j. Bat of course he knowe all about the apirit and the prastice of the Sovies regime 1 No a be bem bees $t 00$ buny to inform bimpelf, He whe two bany to limea to Raymond Robins, Colonal Tbomproz, Mro Thaohor. He hat boea too basy to litem to asything bat earofally selceted vorde jusii'ging the policy be hed alruady adoptod andeyBrizine and Freooh promares He dered aot trant his virgion indocence of Rancian conditions akoe with that bold fellow the trath.

Bat my that Wrodion Wibou conld dencomatemte, by bietotion, act propegeadiatie wethede, that the Brivat seginta, condaesing a revolesiom, had conaved more mafiering is given timp than the Tarlacie regime, condating the eivil

Ufirs of a peccefal nation-what is the moral? Did the corrapt geveraneant of King George the Third oceasion a ithe of the sufferiag in America that atteoded the Revolation. Did the government of Loois XVI revel in excessees to be sompared with those of the French Revolation? Did Oliver tromwell nad bit Ironsides effect a painleas improvement in britiah afnira? Was it quite withont pain and elaghter :hat Mexico ejested a the tyrant Huerts $\gamma^{\prime \prime}$ Whose phrase we that we wonder ?
Rerolation is a bideoas, bloody business, and we oan nuder. usand though we cannot afropathize with the feelinge of thowe gentlenen who believe there ougbt never to be revolations, howterer incrasted the tyrannies againat which they are direoted. Fifery revolution we have ever beard of bag gone 100 for, It has yoelded at times to sheer blood loat. But in thet a remon lor liacking the connter revolation? Suppose that the combined Earopean potentater of 1790-whom Woodrow Wilkon would no donbt gall tyranta, being. safely butied-had snoseeded in orer-thruwing the French Revolution, would the roll of execotiont hare been brief and pleasant reading? If our friends Kolenak and Denikia get iate the heart of Eassia, doas uny one donbt that heart will spout bloud generoualy? Repolutions have alwaya been tarrible ; conater-ruvolations more terrible. Tuat in bistory, but what is bistury to Woodrov Wilson?
The Soviet role, anya Woodrow Wileon, is the rale of a miuority. So it in. Toure are, be saya, only 84 men who thare smoag them the control of the politionl deatinies of Russia. Well, it in not eo long sincu toar men were asaembled at Parib, heariag and determiniag on the policite of the world. How many men in America bave participated in the tornation of the policy of war on Rnosia, and a blockade nure terrible thon war? Oute, nnless you coant rubber staupti But by the ooustitution oue minh in emporered to act fur the whule people in this matter? No, that is just where our constitation is too democratio for Woodrow Wilgon. Fiad, il jua can, any olanse in it by which Amerioan lorcen san emrry on war in Siboria mithout cone greviounl sotion.
Still, has not the Soviet government been challenged to convene s constitutiunal convention based on onivereal sultrage, to determine whother a majority wisbes the Suviet form of guverumbut or anothet loral? To be bare. It is a pity that Woodrum Wiboon did not live in the serenteeuth cen. tary, to challenge Oliver Gromwoll to convene a oonstituedt anstubly. Ilbut would have oalled the donghty Oliver'a blaff; for there is not a shadow of doubt that the majority of the Britinh people would slavishly have voted for the iettoration of the Stuarle and the execution of Orommell. Pera' baps the British revolutiunint woald not have bowed their neoks ubediently to the will of the majority and to the ax, but in that case men like Wcodrom Wilaon could not have had to tdonlize anch anconth dinturbers. It in a pity thet, Wilton could not have sent the ohellonge of a constituent wiedibly to Webbington at Valley Forge. The waj Wabhingto would have reseived it would be interesting to the bistorina, it any one had lived to seport it Mirabesa and Danton, Maral and Robeapierre ooald have loat aotbing by aniveroully alected assembly but their necks, and those wore forvit any way. Rat the real work of the revolusion, Whish the biatorinae anite in pronouncing govd-how would that bave fered!

And while Woodrow Wimon is oo bent on denjing even proticonal logitimang to any Raseian regime that as not bated on mantitanat mesoubly except the regime of

Kolchak, Donikin and Co.-- why doas he not look about bim, like an bistorian, and diecoper the basis of other exisiing' gevernment? What' is the beaie of the governiment of Japan, Itals, Eogland even 1 dt what point, in the history of thow Governmeata do wo find a plabianite or a constintent assembly? And if we are to challenge the Suriet regime in Buseim, on the gronud that it in a minority rula, why not also ike Japanese regime in Koren, the Britiab regime in India? Ot does it eanatify minority rulo that it is altogether alion?

Revolutiong, so history ouloly maerta, are alwaya affuirs of the minority. In every bociety those are always in a minority who are ready to die for their opiaions. all, or almont. all may feel oppressed, bat ooly a lem will take the risk of. atriking for liberty. Aud those lew who are willing to die, but would rather live, will not imuediately sarrender to the indifferent and nerveless majority the power of determining whether themselves and the fruits of their laboura thall live or peribh. It they can, they will hoid power antil the new state whioh they bave wroaght has attained to the charactar of a normally stable atate, So hisporg saserts, but Woodrow Wilson is history's master. We envy hin the rease of power be must enjoy as be janks his former mistress aroand by the hair. But it occars to as that he is overlooking one rather important consideration. She will bave the last word.

## ADVERTI8EMEMTS.

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## Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918: No. 13.





## GONTENTE.

The Khilafat Queation and the Pence Celebrations.
The Vicercy In Madrat.
Lord Chelmiford on the . Reform Scheme.
Legiciation. Against the Soclal Evil.
Presidentship of the All. India Sonatis Conference. A. Historima at Political Pamphleteer.
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The Revised Reform Bill, Dr, Vlacent Smith on Indign Constitutional Reform. I.
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## MOTES. <br> 10:

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 aroument leading to the conclusion that because the question of the Khalifate has not been satisfactorily settled, thercfore, 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 toits logical lengtb, public Iffe 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 Conterence to declare that the Punjab grievances, sorely trying as they are, are not legitimete grounds for abstention from the Peace celebrations. If we yenture 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 Mabomedan 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 settied early and in a manner which will satusly the reasonable expectations of the leaders of Islam in this country. Men like His Highness the Aga Khan the Right Honourable Ameer Ali, Mra Jinnap, Syed Hassan-Imam, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbbuy 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 scttlement of this question will be enbanced, and not certainly decreased, by our cheerfully cooperating with the rest of the Empire in the celebration in a fiting manner of the victory which has been vouchsaled to the British Empire, of which wo 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 phantorn 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 bands of his Government and is well on its way to port. On one part of the reply, we feel we ougbt to make a few observations. Referring to the lact that certain passages bearing on what Eis Excellency called 'questions of i 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 bear in the time at bis disposal such represeatations as relate particularly or mainly to the community or province to which his hosts belong." We respectiully deprecate this view of the people of India as communities and provinces who should either not concern themselves with the grievances of.otber 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 lndia of whatever subjects, affecting the liberty or prosperty 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 $\Delta c t$ 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 Cheimsford on the Reform Scheme. Nothing could have been in better spirit than the briel reference which Eis Excellency made in his reply to the Madras addresses, to the changes introduced by the Joint Committee of Parliament in the Iadian Reform Bill, overraling, be it remembered, on several points the strong recorn. mendations of the Government of India. We heartily endorse His Excellency's exbortation 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. Seid Lord Chelmstord: "The Relorm Bill will now go to Parfiament, I feel confident that it will be passed in the near future, and I am therefore already taking all measures possible, so that wo 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 pat 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 loundation 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 foam about rural areas enticing girls, even kidnapping them, and once a girl falls into the hands of these monsters she is $\mathrm{d}-\mathrm{d}$ 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-lame, she is quietly' turned out, and then her fall is rapid. She gravitates to one of the lowest class brothels and polls 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 as that when giris 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 ortbodox members were afraid that the rescued girls would be converted to Chris-: tianity in the Rescue Homés to wbich they might be committed. We trust that the philanthropic Bombay public will complete the good work begun by Goyernment by establishing son-denominational Rescue Homes for girls zedeemed from the degrading bondage of the brothel. Underlying the probiem, are mportant 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 Nrs. Hallowes of Lucknow writes in $\mathbf{a}$ a other column under the apt heading "A Kight o Cbivalry."

Presidentship of the All-India Sanskrit Conferenca Thus the Indsan Nirror: "We find it difficult t1 believe that Mr. Hornell, Director of Public Iostruc tion, is to be the President of the All-India Sanskrit Conference which will meet in Calcutta in the mid dle of December. Instead of attending the Con ference Mr. Hornell may as well send his jackboo to occupy the Presidential chair. Is there no Sans krit scholar among the Bengalees, who is fit to fil that position? Mr. Hornell ought to docline thi profarred honour and tell those who want to thrusi it upon him that he is so overwhalmed with a sense of his utter unfitness to take the chair at uuch a Conference, that he must have nothing to do with it The fittest man for the Prosidential chair is the Senior Mahamahopadhyaya of Bengal and failini him, we would suggest the name ol Mahamatiopa dhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Bastri, C. I. E., R atanm of European reputatija. As Sir Ashutosh Mukberjet is the Chairman of the Reception Committee, wt look to him to prevent what is nothing short of scandal. If our Yandits wat to retain the respect of the Hindu commanity, they must first of all show that they are not Jacking in self-respect. Shade of VidyasagarI Upon what degeperate shoulderi your mantle has fallen !" Ia the next issue our coa temporary, which is always preaching at its compatriots, prints without a bint of apology, a fla contradiction of the gtatament that Mr. Hornell is to preside over the Sanskrit Conference. Mr Hornell is an independent-miaded Englishman; and we fancy that the Indian Mirror has reason to sus. pect that he does not sufficiently appreciate it policy nowadays of being more royalist than the King. Hence, perbaps, the invention to serve as an excuse for the invective. We do not think the shade of Vidyasagar would appreciate the presentday Mirror's sermon on self-respect. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept.

A Historian as Political Pamphleteet. Dr. Vincont Smith, as historian, has deterved and sarned the respect of a large circle of Indians as of others His descent into the political arena with pam, phlet in which history ts sougbt to be utilised as the handmaid of certain vested intereats in oppor sition to Indian reform, bas, therefare, pained and grieved many of them. We are obliged to Mr Nanjundayya, the much-respected Vloe-Ohancellor of the Mysore University, whose sober judgment, bigh character, and large administrative experienca in the great and progrssive sitate of Mysore, invost bis observations with special weight and anthority, for his able analysis of the several parts of Dr. Vincent Smith's book, the fret part of which we print to day.

A Welcome Movement. Many lndians bave long beld the opinion that a non-proselytising, purely philanthropic Mission; working among the ladias people, will be of immense service, not ithe least of which will be the awakening of a truer' apprecia. tion in the Indiae mind of the hamanitarian side of Western civilisation. The International Ked Gross League of which Lieutenant A. A. Haster writes in this issue, is such a movement. It is nonpolitical and non-sectarian, and bat solaly for its object the promotion of manitation and health among the nations of the world. We trust the profect will meet with warm support from the Govern. ment and the people of India.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

 BOMBAY, NOVEMBER $30,1919$.
## THE REVISED REFORM BILL.

The resalt of the work of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Indian Reform Bill may be anmmed op in one seatenoe. It has gone as far ss it coald in the direction of Indien demands without destroying the groand plan of the Bill and withoat imperilling its paseage into law in the present Parliament. The recommendations of the Committee in regard to the Government of Ladia illastrate onr meaning. The Montagn-Chelmaford report, the Government of India and his Excellency the Viceroy, and Lord Carzon in his speeoh in the Hoase of Lords, moving the appointment of a Joint Committee, had all of them been emphatic as to the inadvisability at present of introdacing the priaciple of responsibility in the Central ' Government. To have provided for transferred sabjects and ministers in the Government of India in the face of this consensas of opinion, would have been to ensure the rejection of the BillThe Joint Committee hava not done it, bat they have done one or two things which indirectly go to increase the inflaencer calcalated to maire the Government of India more reaponeive than at present to Indian upivion. The namber of Indian members in the Execntive Council of the Government of Iudia has been increased by the Cotnmittee to three; the right of votiog the budget (exclading the political and defence departmenta) hae been couceded to the Legis: Iative Absembly sabject to the veto of the Viceroy; the Concil of State has been made a reality by providing for it as well as the Legislative Assembly a syatem of direct election. These are far-reaching improvements. And though we adhere to onr oftexpressed opinion that withoat radical reforms in the Central Goverament, reforme in provincial govers. ments, will be not only oseless bat dangerous, we are boand to say that the changes mentioned above an well an the reforms recommended in the Ladia Coancil and in respect of a Sunding Committee of Parliament on Iudian Affuirs, are sare to sapply to an uppreciable extent the element of reapousibility which is not directly provided for in the oonstitation of the Government of India. The Committee has recommended that the Statatory Committee to be appointed at the end of ten years, aliould inclade the Goveroment of India in the acope of its enqairy. Having regard to the conditions and limitations of the Joint Committer's operations, this is abont as far as it could go if it expected the Bill to pass this aession. We cannot blame it for not so ehaping the measure as to ensare ite rejection by Parliament even if the Cabinet was prepared to futher a Bill so drastically recast.
In the achewe of reform se it affecte Provincial Governments, the Committee has likewise made noteworthy improvements. To begin with, the grand sabterfage called the Grand Committoe to give a popnlar colonr to acta 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 anbjeot, would overrule it on his own personal responsibility. This is honest and straightforward and these are qualities as mach to be appreciated in constitntional as in other matters. The Government and the pablic know exactly where they stand. No donbt from the theoretical point of view, this is naked antocracy, bat that, in oar opinion, is not wholly a disadvantage. Very few men wonld care, like General Dyer and Colonel Johnson, to proclaim, however mach they may wecretly wiab, that they are above all law, human and divine. Au administrator who trasts more to this bladgeon than to his powers of persuasion and accommodation, will very soon fiad that he can be more usefal elsewhere. Even otherwise, the new Governors are likely to be men with a fatare, and are most anlikely to covet the position in pablic life attained by Lord Sydenham. To adjodge the Joint Committee's work fairly, we shoald take the revised Bill as a whole and interpret its provisions with reference to the whole and to the traditions of English pablic life with which Indian administration will henceforth be in close coutact throagh the Standing Parlizmentary Committee. The Joint Committee bas revived India's trast in the British Parliament as the arbiter of her destinies. The ancompromising repadiation of the Grand Committee is typical of the frame of miad which the Joiut Committee bronght to bear apon its responsible task. The same directness is discernible in the manoer in which it has handled the electorates' and fenctions' parts of the reform scheme. The Committee has accepted the Soathborough recommendations in regard to the former with the suggestion that they might be enlarged and expanded wherever possible. The Committee has set its seal apon the Lacknow compact and declined to distarb 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 matnal argreement. We do not quite like the relegation of the question of women's franchise to the provincial Legislatares, as if the women of India were not as mach citizens of the State as the men. But we recognise that in the face of the attitude of men like Mr. Sarendranath. Banerjee and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, and the opposition of the Governments in India, the Selborne C,mmittee hat some excuse for adopting this timid course. We are not sare that it is only the new Legislative Conncils and not also the present ones that are iavested with the discretion to extend the franchise to women. If the present Conncils can intervene in the matter, we are sare that the Bombay. Legislative Connoil will be glad to pass a resolation to that effect st the forthcoming Deceraber session. As regards the fanctions to be craneferred to popolar control, the Times of India, we think, is in error in concloding that only edacation and indastries are to be transferred. The wording of the official sammary, taken by itself, does admit of sach a constraotion; but taken,
ss it shoold be, in the light of the previoas discossions, it is elear to our mind that all the asbjecta recommended by the Freetham Committee are to be transerred, inclading edacation in all ita atages, and indactrios. The apecific mention of these two departmenta is due to there having been strong opposition in officiol quartars to their transfer to ministerb (Since the above wes in type, this has been made clear by a Reater's telegram.) The Joint Committee has rejected the proposal of a divided parre, thoagt the Government of India fought hard for it ap to the laot moment. It has sdoptod the Indisn contention that Ministers shonld have the anme statas and selary as members of the Execative Conncil.

The chasges proposed by the Joint Committee in regard to the India Coancil and Office, are no leas, and in some ways they are more, important The whole cost of the India Office, inclading the salaries of the Socretary of State and membere of his Conncil, would be borae by the British exchequer. It in recommended that there shoald be more Indian membere than at present and that they shoold get in addition to the entanced pay of $£ 1200$ alloned to members of Concoil, a special maintenance allowance of belf that amonat per annam. A High Commissioner will be appointod to make contracte on behalf of the Goveroment of India, thas relieving the Secretary of State of bis 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 Iodia, and more particnlarly the working of the new reforms. It will watch over the exercise by the Governor of the veto powers vested in him. The Juint Committee felt itself precluded from recowmending that fiscal antonomy should be gaarateed by statute, bat it eaggests, that it should be aesared by the acknow. ledgement of a convention that the Secretary of State shoald so far as possible abistalk from intervention in fiscal matters when the Governuent of india and the Indian Legistatare agree and thoald ouly iaterveue to safegaard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arraugemente within the Empire to which His Majesty's Goverument is a party. This is vagne and not satiffactory. It might have been more defiaitely pat. The matter cannot atand there. Bat it is something that the Committee has said so moch on a question of somach importance and delicacy. Since this was written, the Momber for Commerce of the Government of India, who is on a visit to Bombay, said in the coarse of bis speech at the Iodisa Merchants' Chamber, in reply to a pointed obetrvation by the Chairman, Mr. J. B. Petit, arging that the Goverament of Indis shonld not conumit themselves to any fiscal policy till the whole question is carefully aifted by the people and the many public bodies throaghoat the conntry :
As 1 read these worth (of the officinl summary relatiag wo fisenal antoonomy) whea the Gorerument of Iodia ned tho Indian legislatare agree, thoy are practionlly to have a free
bead oo fue mationd mationt ere coeorned. It I an righs ie my interprotation, thin in a very groot otap topward, and India will have a great mamace of lredone which obe hene
 in the - Bombery Obrosidel, "that your tiems are here cangaine bat we may joia in bnping that my view is rigbt Bofore the arrival of thia telegram both the 8 ecretary of State and the Gorerament of Iadia had come to the occe. olacion that by some meses or other the viowe of the pablie mast be obtained oa the gezeral prisoiples intolved in the sabject of Imparial Proteruman befort any doxiaion well arrived at. Commeroid inhereate will, $\alpha$ sonts, be conanated and wes propone farthar to reatilabe the quation. By the appointanent of - Commitien of thin kind on whioh of course the anofficial membere will be falls mprimented, we shoald bope to be able to threak out the question and axtmine how for Indin's intermats would be likely to be sffected benefioilliy or othorwin and aitimatuly to arrire at - decinion on the quention of general poliog.

## Dr VINCENT SMITH ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. I.

[By Me. H. V. Nanjondatya, M. A. M. L., C. 1. I. ] If an extensive knowlodge of the History of Indin is a qualifiostion (as no doubt it is to a large extent), there is hardly any one who has a bettor right to pronounce en anthoritative opinion thes Dr. Vlacens Smith on the sabjeot of Indian constitutional reform. Bat the other elaim that he maken in the prebuce on account of his offioial experience of twenty nine years may not be of equal weight, as we believe that he retired long before the recent seriet of evente began to make a most remarkable transformation in the conatry. The 'historizal backgronnd' is no doubt a very important faotor, bat one aan, by selecting the particular background required, support or oondemn equally well any proposal for reform.

Dr. Vincent Smith concedea that recent evente have rendered a change in the mothod of governing Indla imperative, and that eolf-goveroment is an objeot not only desirable bat attainable withia certain limits. Bat it is difficult to understand why he should consider it 8 mistake to seek the goes of responible Goversment at present, when self-government, if it means anything in the sphere of politics, must necessarily lend to metponsible government, however diatant it may be. Haw far be has made out.a claim to his freedom from hosti. lity to reasonable practical reforma, cen be better judgod when wo come to a consideration of his "construotive suggeations" in the last ohapter of him brochure.

The pronouncement of Angast 1917 meana, acoord: ing to this writer, no more than that the existing Cablnet, if it remains in power, is bound to introduce as Indir Bill drawn in accordance with the 'geoeral torime' of the answer given on August 20, 1917. The oocssion was no donbt an onimpressive one-of an answer to a seemingly casual question by a momber of the Hoine. Bat the exposition of its origin, adopted from Lord Curzon's epeech in the Honse of Iords, shows clearly that it was not an offhand answer of an impubive Seere. tary of State given on the spur of the moment, but a statement of deliberate policy made by the rerponaible

Government of His Majesty. It is true that the statoment is not a legislative act. Bnt i: was a solemn declaration by His Majesty's Govern:nent ; and though, of course, free debate on the measure when subinitted to Parliament cannot in any way be fettered, it can hardly be imagined that the British Government can now go back npon the promise held out in respect of the affairs of an anrepresented dependency, or serlously reduce the concessions indicated by a generous interpretation of the 'pronouncement',

Chaptor II of Dr. Sinith's book styled the Historical Indian Ideal of Government, begins with Vedie folk-motes and ends with 'the goiden link of the crown' and details a number of faets 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 ont 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 despotio power in Government was not always the ideal of India or that kings were boand by laws. But he qualifies his admissions by saying that a masterfal king was always able to free himself from the trammels of the law, and that ordinary men and women of Indis sorave for Government by a person to whom they can render loyal homage which easily passes into worship'. Humad nature in India is not very different from what it is olsewhere and if suoh craving existed in Indin in his time, it is not we are afraid, quite so apparent in the India of the present day. Traditional ideas are of course importaut in tbeir place, but where there have bean so many and so important changes in traditional modes of Hfe, It is futile to expect that in this sphere alone, it is neither safo nor easy to medule with traditional ideas in Indin'. We know that the seed of all life, bas come down to wa from à long and unknown past, but we chiedy sustain life on the fruits of the past two or three years ulone. Whatever the ideal of Govern. ment may have been in the old times and in amill states, it is not possible to set up a personal antocrucy in India at the present time. It cannot be imagined that King Georgo can now 3xereise the despotio ppwers wielded by Akbar or Sivaji. Ingland will not tolerate it, even if India will submit.

- Conflicts of mices, cas'es and religions in the country are relied upon to support the tacitinference that a democritic advance is not possible in Indiat it is something that the anthor has corceded that Indians justly pride themeelves in the useertion that religions opinion in their land is free and that inost indigenous rulors havo shown stabsmanlike tolerance for all oreods. A proforad bistorinu liko bim could not deay the fuct of a certain vuity persisting in India in the midat of so much diversity, but he mates a more halting concession of this urath in this polemiuat pamphet than the does in his purely historical works. The long course of Mahomedan domination ia lndia and the $i$.roude of so many diverse elementa in each other'a territories, have taught the people to differentiute betweon socina and religious conoerns on the one hand and the polit cal aphere on the other, and to keep them apart. Ruligious tolemtion ander some of the Mahomedan rulens in
ormer 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. Bat even before the advent of the British Government, the different religions and castes of India had learnt to get on together, withont allowing these social distinctions to intrude undaly 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 popatation. It would be strange that over such a vast area and in such a large population, there are not occasionally disturbances due to religions or casto differenees. 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 aocount. India is not the only country where such occasional breaches of the peace occur. Much more serions conflicts take place between different classes in Erropean countries in greater namber, but they are not considered enough to render the people unfit for constitational Government. It is the tubhion to dab facts intended to be used to support fore* gone conalusions 25 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 oonsequences to be attributed to it. It is true that it is a very ancient institution, that it has thoasands of sub-divisions, and that it cannot be abolished at any rate for centaries more. It is therefore all the more the duty of practical states: men to devise suah methods of political and social reform as are consisteut 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 pupilage under : unmitigatad alien domination. It is a gross exaggeration to say that $t$ ere are many casto feuds; and that they are as viruletit torday as thoy were a thousand years ago. It is a well-knowa fact that the Indians haye all alung been notod as a peace loving feople and sin alarly free rum fanaticism; and it cannot: be trat to say thit easte has been, oven in the past, as much a cause of dieruption as is sought now to be made oat. But for expluitation by interested persons quite reoently, the misunderstanding between Brahmans and non-trahmane would not have ittained so mech prominence as is has in some parts of the conntry. The doctrine of quality o all men lefure the law was not in vogue till quite recently even in more modern coantries, and lndia with its caste was not a greator sinner than others. It would ho wever be a poor commentary on British administrati $n$, if it bas not learnt the lesson alu $g$ with uther nations aftor more than a century of the rigu of law.
The criticisms contaised in the chapter herded "Fnin Visions" need not detain as 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 lees in as experimental stage. The visions may the more or less the exercise of the imagination of the illnstrious anthors, but their elimioation does not ne-
coenrily discredit the proposali themialves DT. Vincont Smith from his stady of history may not consider them, worth anything; but he cao hardly deny that there has been a very remarkable change in the country within the past decade or two and it is heritable thiat the porition of the Government canuot renain the same in rolation to the people of the country that it has been belore the present war.

It may be true that some petitions and other demonatrations bave been got up, giving expression to fears -that reforms carried ont on the linee of the report may result in pacing the majority of the people under the heel of a tyrrannous Brabmin Oligarchy." This kind of abuse of the Brabmana as a class har become the fav. ourite derice of all persont who are opposed equally to the Brabmans and to constitutional relorms. 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 Brabmans, and with the campaign of vilification cairied on in so many directions, and as shown by the results of many reconl elections, the fear that they will be the majority is quite groundless; and if any injustice Is fikely, it will probably be directed against the Brahman. The Brahman has never formed a close oligarchy in India and has not been tytrannous even when he had the chance.

## A KNIGHT OF CHIVALRY. (By M8s F. S. Hallowis):

Filliam Alexander Coote, a philanthropist of European fame, has passed away leaving the world much the poorer. He was a man whe recalls the memories of the old dayn of romance when paladins rode ont from King Arthor's court to succotir distressed damsels. The anngls 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 Divins hamanity 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 Alezander Coote was Secretary and then Director of the National Vigilance Association of Great Brituin. This is an Aseociation of men and women for the repression of cricinal rice and public immorality. From it came the international work for the surression of the White Slave Traffic. In 1898 the horrors of this traftio in women, as Mr. Coote encountered it in London, and by correspondence with workers on the Continent of Europe, almost overwhelmed him. The uttar hopelessness of existing methods to accomplish the overthrow of the trafficisers, for they found it quite easy to avoid legal responsibility by the fact that the crime was not wholly committed in one conntry, but in most cases was commanced in one country, continued in another, and consumpied ine third or fourth drove him in bitterness of soul to ory to God for light and leading.

He was answerod by a Fision whioh tuld him to visit every oupital of Earope and form an International Convention, which could deal effectivoly with the traffickers. Withoat monoy and introdietions, knowing noforeign langasges he seemed the last person to un-: dertake such a teobaical Mixaion-yot so solemnly and vividy impresed was hes that he asked. Ged to give him a sigu, by sending $£ 200$ for travelling expenses, He told one friend and his seoretary. These three alone kuew. His friend refused the money; but i fortnight later a lettor reachod bim from a comparative atranger with the exact sum - £200! The sign wae giren, He went forward upou his remarkable journey, and visited* Germany, France, Holland, A ustrim, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, Norway, Swedan, Switzerland, Denmark, Belginm, Argentine Republic and Uiited States, America. In all these countriea National Committoee for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic wert formed.
The first International Congrees was held in London in 1899, one hundrod and twenty accredited delegntes from these nations attended. An International Burean was established in London, which kept all the Governments in touch. The second Congrese was held in Frankfort in 1002; the third in Paris 1006. Space fails to give the names of the distinguished mon 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 - vigilanes is the price of immunity.
Since the great War this work has been sadiy disorganised, end Mr. Coote and his Bursen have realized the magnitade of reconstraction. He wrote an opoch-making pamphlet in 1916 oalled "Commercialized rice. What is it? Can it be abolished ?" Out of his wide experience-the widest that any man bas ever had, he urged the nations to logisiato against Commorcialized Vice.
"So long as Governments allow this trade in thoir cities, so long. will the lives of tons of thonsands be blighted by a terrible contagion; so long as prottitution is assumed to be for men a physical neceusity, and for women a financial need-so long will religious and edacational work have no chance in the competltion of vioe with rirtue.

Civilization must come to see that prostitation is a . social crime of the worst type, most dangerone to the physical and moral welfare of any nation. Lat there be equal penalties enacted upon the man who buys for immoral parpose and upon the woman who solls for that parpose, and prostitution as a traile would cease; and the rising generation be tanght the orime of handing on a disease to posterity which is nothing less than race suicide".

Thus has this Knight of Chivalry urged apon Governments their daty to deel with Commercialised Vice; thus he threw upon those who legislate their responsibility of atating for what purpose this trade is to be allowed in the fature. He took the deepest interesti in Indie and wrote several times recently encouraging the movement here:

## THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL.

## II.

[The English Pablic School has been commended by many administrators and others, themselve products of 1 it , as an ideal educational institution, and some Indians have as usual, echoed the sentiment. We giye beloy a oriticism of the syatem from Sir Oliver Lodge's recent book "Christopher." $]$

Well, suoh aseertions 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 seoking earnestly to avoid exaggeration, I feel bound to say something on the subjeot 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 sehool is a strange admizture 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 boardingsohool education cau hardly contest the statement that it is, or has been oharacterised by some features which may be called defects. Such are:-

Disoonragement of intellectaal keeness.
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 publio opinion, on pain of punishment.

That these are characteristice of public sehouls, where boys of differont ages are left to the tender mercies of each other, to the discipline of perfects, and aubject to unwritten laws which are Draconisa in their soverity, can hardly be denied. That they are merits, fow wil ${ }^{1}$ bavo the hardibood to assort. 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 suffioient resilual power to emancipate as before it has subsided.

Joy in mational study, eagerness to recoive informa-tion-though perbaps not from hooks-denire to uulerstand something of the nature of our snrroundings 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 nnd engerness is ofton killed in the growing youth : and for this catastrophe I feel bound to acouse, first the anvisdom, indeed the ignoranoe, of toachers, and nest the more or less suffoesting room of the sohool. Deaire for knowledge may in exceptiunal cuses return but with little abatement during a college period or in lutar life, but daring the priceless years of boghood it must be bidden, it mast be indulged seoretly if at all; an atmosphere of apathy and magislorial oybivisu too often succeods in killing it.

Few toachers 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 enconragement is not one of them. If that is in any degree true it would be diffioult to frame a more serious indictment.

The lumbering orudeness of the average professionall school boy hides, and in normal life effectively conceals, a multitude of virtnes. His pro. fessionally gaarded attitude, undemonstrative, reserved, incapable of intelligent expression, and yet with sensitive tentacless shrinking at a touch from his fellows, is like the shell of a crustacean, a protective covering which inf vitably hinders free development and which, in more favourable sarroundings; 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 oramping influence over the higher faculties limited to the school period. It lasts into Sandharst and other establishments where men of good physique learn self-government ander strict bat intermittent discipline, and where warped bigh sptrits are responsible for occasional outbarsts of rowdiness or even ill-ireatment. The tendency too often is to regard a ñew-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 triea to stom the influenve of meaningless tradition; but at some schools a new boy seldom experiences the smallest chivalry or kindly help in his initial difficnlties and can easily be rendered miserable, while in the worst cases, the thoughtless power of the stronger develops into an obscene bratality.
Not with such aid would one expect a CommonWealti to be saved. And yet here are our defenders and underneath the crust they are fine fellows all the time. Hence all these troables are aninecessary. They thwart and spoil the incubation period. They desipate energy. Many are the evils which come to fruition in times of peare, wheu the output of energy is greater than the demand for its exertion. Only a call is needed -a summons to dauger and responsibility for true manhood to assert itself. Expression then barsts its hard crust, human nature is once more free as in childhood, a hero at the front is once more at liberty, emencipated from the painful protective casing in which his personality was masked and even his fumily affection partially obscurel.
"Mfuch has been aaid and muzb neets to be aid, about the lack of scientific traioing in the past, and about methods adopted for teaching Science, in the present. Ifeel atrongly that no person can be considered educated who grows up without some unspecialised information and clear outlook on the univerae of matter, both animate and iannimate, of which be is a part. I also conaider that it is easy to be too specific and technical in imparting thia information to the average anacientific boy with no special aptitude for the aubject; and that a couric of unprofeasional or humeniatic ecience might with advantage be devised. But it is iampproprinte to enter upon topien like this in the pretent book. I wrote an articie Io the Forinightly Review for August, 1918, on the subject-

## THE NEW INTERNATIOSAL IEAGUE FOR RELIEF.

## (By Limit. Ablan A. Hontran)

We are throngb with the war. Bat not with ita aflictiong. Thoee aflictions to-day conatitate a challenge, for all those who consider thomeelves servants of the world or servants of India, to draw and wosk together on an international basia to fight and we trast to conquer ${ }^{4}$ hanger, deatitation and disease."
$\Delta$ new organization with ach a definite hamanitarian object in view is now being developed. It is called the Leagas of Red Cros Societiess Its head is an American, Mr. Henry P. Davison, formerly head of the Red Cross War Conncil. This is his platform: -
"In former times the Red Crosi fan an organization for war, to mitigate the borrors of war and to relieve victimg of disasters. We now propose to make it the greatest of all peace organizations through an international bond which I bope will eventaally take in sll of the ations of the globe.
"With no politionl or governmental or sectarian conuections whatever, the Leagae proposes, in this international compact, to work for the betterment of hamanity by distributing the knowledge contribated to it and by atriving local agencies to keen activity. Knowing, lat as say, that a pestilence is aboat to aflict any part of the world, just as it was known that the Spanish influenza was advancing, the Leagne will warn the threatened territories, offer the best preventive and corative methods, advise the local Red Cross organizations what to do and generally iaspire the proper agencies to a correct avd efficient haudling of the problem."

Being an American and only freshly arrived iu India, I cannot jadge whether this conntry would be ready for a project of anch dimensions and deruaude. Bat I am convinced that those of Ludia who have the canse at heart of making this land'cloan, nealhig and noand", will do well to etudy thia acheme and try to connect up with it.
The Leagne has sothing to do with jolitics,-and perhaps that will detract from ite popularity, Eir we hanase beings revel in politics-butit has wuoh to du with the relief and anccoar of the matious. The hraz gae is in line with the best of Indim's ideation, nin idealian that we westerners ure coming to appreciate and admire.

## LNDIAN POLITICS.

A Sbeabstion por Future Woridia.
The Editor, The Indiase Sucinl Reformer.
The Indian Boform Bill which is now on the threnhold of the atatate-book of the British Parlinment is detigned, samaing that it andergoen no eevere changes doring ita final presege through the Hoases of Commone and Lord, to give Indisas a foir mensure of renponsible Governament and a muity of Sell-Gorerament. When the prorinions of the Bill take practical effect in our midot, whioh wh bope ore
long will eores to preat mot ealy will our promat iden of siminiatration be porturbed bas aleo wa are likely to ment with acoideuta slung the peth of our daty, ataccatiomed in we are to the moden of esll-goverment Bringing the Bill into effect will be opening np and chapter in the politieal history of Iodia. Thereelter, palition will so longer be the fabion of capitaliate and buainemmen sor will theatinon to be the plemerable keinors-peacing ombitiun of ibs Juwjor clags an it hes been up to now. In other words, the deys of amateur politien will hare gont bor over. Politice vill suanme anch ocharacteriatic that mon bat an araent, Induationes and persavering etndant who purnues it lay and sight wift fiad it worth bin while to indulge ie it.

Goling through the polition history of Iadia of the period Intervening between aow and the time choe tot the ifrt time India ome into contect with the wentert politioel lden and inttitutions, we do not find the asmet of ot lean hall a dosen Indiant whoes sole rocation in life wate politios. Wa bave to tonfon to i point of shame and regret that scoepting that-illutrions foundor of the Eervante of India Brsiety and the first Indian Mamber of Purlistoent we asanot aboose a third to be inoladed in the octogory of pertona whote be-all und ond-all wa polition. By this me do not man oren an iote of dieperagement to many worthy mone and danghtert of India who have in a romarkable degree contributed towards the polition regeneration of Iadia, For from it. Our objeos it only to briug in to prominence the regrotiable teot that in the courte of searly Imobandred yeart of har Feetara connection, India prodaced ónly one Golibale and one Dade bboy Nowroji. Now, to meet the altered condition of ad miaiotration songequent on the passitg of the Bill into a lat Iadia reguiren meay Gokhaled and Nowrojis. In obler worde to enceesefally stem the ride of foture Indian polition, a slean of prolemional politiaians is required, and il atope art not Isken now, we will not be in a ponition to jaetify our olaime to further inataimente of Self-Goverament when the Itatutory Cormission viaita Indis. Therefore, in evary pr viser, a clane of profentional palitionan fast like the clase of Duciurs in Enginerst of Vakilm mast come lato exiatence.

At prepen' the whole country in inerrupersed with a namber of pulites I rruanisotus. There is tot : Fll ge whigh ham

 lis Seretary of Stete. All the maerisin fir the formation ut a dins ul protemional politioians se shrme. What is wanted in only a happg. cmbination if the marialm. If eesh of th se unuberives pulitenl $i$ situtione trke up the quretion now, and enob if these train up at leas ont candidute, wi heve uo frne thst, before th: Setntory Oumminoion' referred' to in the Bill (Indian Relurta) viaire Iurlia, a clew of per. sons whe will be an anchority in palitised mollers and on whom the conntry ean depend will bare beed bronght fato being. Xut till then the ennntry will be in positios to deel with seriuge politice and to nadertake the heavy revponsibilities of Soll-Governmert of Home Role.
3. V. Sasyu.

Girgana, Eombay.

## THE HYDERABAD DECCAN BRAHMA SAMAJ.

The Editor, Tbe Indian Social Reformer. Sir

By the Groce of God Bralian Samod was mabiliged here in Eyderabad Decent or maner meotubliahol, about
nix yanre ego. Since then Divine Worehip bas been regue larly held from weak to week and religious and eosial work atondily entried on by the Samaj. We have now aneregetion of sont 30 tull (Anashthanic) Menber: and sbout 50 Eympethisers. The Samaj hae been enabied to do como work of religions and. cocinal help and uplitt--small work but, we truat, real work-smong a large community composed of backward and neglected olagses to whom such wort hat been a Godeend.

There is now agenaral and ardent deaire among onr con* gregation to give pernimence to ong Samaj, by providing it with building of its own. During the past six years onr weekly servives, lectares and other meetings have been beld either in private houses or in baildings lent to $n d$ by the courtaty of ather Associations. Thie sfate of thinge cannot, however, be permanent and we have felt led to make a great offort to colleot lands tor the trection of 3 Brahma Mandir in tlic City. 1t it astimated that the building, inclading wite, will cont Ra, 20,000, Oar small congregation, conwiting montly of people with yery slender meana, hap pledged inell at a Conference recently beld nuder the Presidentahip of our eateamed brother Mr. G. B. Trivedi, B.L, Secretary of the Bombay Prarthan Samaj, to raise among themselvea Ro, 4,000 (fonrthonsand) esch member being pledged to contribute month's income. We may expect another Re. 2,000 to be oontribated by the pablie of this city. This may weom a mall contribution for the First Native State fa lndia to make; bat onr canse is little anderntood and till less appreciated here and the amount named above is the utwost that in the present afate of public leeling ean be expected locally, over and above the contribation of the congregation. Thas we mast look for the remaining Re. 14,000 to friende of the Brahma Faith in other parts of the country, particularly in the great centren of Brabma Congregations. We trust that the cause will appeal to the heart of every irne Indian Theist and we trust and pray that onr Brabma brothers and the friends of Brabmoism everywhere in India may be led to liberally belp this effort that a small and 話rggling Samaj is making. Contribation will be gratefulls received and acknowledged by the noderaigued.

> N. G. Weligear.

Procident,
181 h Oct. 1918.
Hyderabal (Deooso) 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 wiuccessful 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 thants to their Excellencies, the Principal Father Blatter, said that the success of Joint education was due to the fact that the Fathers bad a definite purpose in lile. "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 htman 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 pripose in life th the secret of bappiness, 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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# INDIAN*SOCIAL*REFORMER. 

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.
Offcef-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD; FORT.
Editor:-K. NATARAJAN
: Ul XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, DEGEMBER 7, 1919. No. 14.



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| The Khilafat Question and the Peace Celebrations. | Legistation Against Commercialized Vice. |
| Indian Christiaos and Constitutional Reform. | The Referendum. The National Congress and the Moderatel. |
| The Bullit-Lloyd George Controveray. | Dr. Vinceat Smith on Indian <br> - Conatitutional Reform 11. |
| The Bengal Eton. Wbo is a Slikb. | Indian Cbristian View of Conatitutional Reform. |
| Eosial Retorm in Britigh Indis. | The Khalifat Question und the Peace Celebration. |

## NOTES

The Khilatat Question and the Peace Celebrations. At some inconvensence, we have managed to find space for a lengthy letter from a valued correspond. ent 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 corrcspondent has misunderstood our reference to Mr. Gandbi's contempt for tactical advantages. It was meant in appreciation and not certainly in depreciation. Then, as segards' our referenco 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 bands of the Imperial Govern. ment. We bave supported, and certainly support, the case which they have made out in all earnest ness. His Higbness the Aga Khan has publicly stated that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, Lord Sinlia and Mr. Montagu have pressed the views of Indian Mahomedans as strongly as any Maho. medan representative could have done at the Peace Conierence. Mr. Gandhi has also stated that His Excellency the Viceroy is doing his best in the matter: Lt is the fact that Mr. Lloyd George's most recent reference to the topic was not calculated to conciluate Mahomedan sentiment and called lor the protest which it evoked in this country But statesmen engaged in delicate negotiations have to disarm opposition outside by emphasising partial aspects of theit proceedings. Mr. Lloyd George bas a Christian public in England to reconcale as well as a Moslem public in India to consider. \& statesman in that position has a difficult role, and bis words should not be interpreted too literally. In this connection, a signiticant 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 Conlerence of Moslem Howers to deprecate ithe 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 Majeaty's action in thes direction has not been the subject of discussion with the British Goveroment. With all respect to Syed Hassan Imam and Mr. Jinnah, and without egnoring the fact that they bave recently returned irom England, we venture
to deprecate their view that the British haweymment itself is seeking, to bring about the breach rathec: 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 be expects that the present Peacet 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 fiew 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. Yaul's speak in terms of uastinted admiration of his organizing capacity, of his untiring fodustry; and of his unerring judgment. The preseat 'paper' is in the form of a letter ardressed to the Indian Christian Association at Nagpur. It dealls with the bearing of the several issues involved on the Indiab Christian Community, but the -broad priaciples 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 Mant chester Guardian turnishes what it calls the key to an understanding of the Bullit disclosures and their repudiation by and on bebalf 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 tail, can then be as il. they never had been, like a solicitor's letter that has: "'without prejudice" written on top of th. 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 uto 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,".

Honed on the sighteen wourien of the sir
To blow the harrid deed in evere 1 Je.
or "some young American" of Henry James" undertakes an official Mission without suspecting that he must prepare to be denied thrice daily beiore. cock-crow: Then there is indignation and recri** mination and ighonts of. "liar". But really we do not think there is any liar in the busines-we mean.
any complete liar; merely a want of precise adjustment between various theories of the demands of veracity in pablic life." Eveaso, Lord Carson whe is Foreign Secretary today because, no doubt, be well knows the various theories of the demands of weracity in European diplomacy, professen to be shocked by the prevalence of similar theories in the much older civilization of Asia, playing the Bcllit 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 Etons About a year or two ago, some wealthy persons in Bengal started an institution in Calcutit on the lines of the English Public School. This iostitution known as the Hastings High School or the Eton of Beagal, does not seem to be doing well. The school is languishing owing to financial striagency. 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 orthodoz Hindu and Mahomedan boys so that they may be given the same kind of lood as they ere accustomed to at home. It is expected that this will attract a larger number of boarders. At present the messing arrangements practically debarr a considerable number of Hindu boys whose parents and guardians whant 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 manaers are a sine que mon 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 systemn. We printed in the last two isgues Bir Oliver Lodge's criticism of the English public school. Why can we not think out our Indian problems trom 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 olten leads to perdition. Why should educationists ape politicians in their mania for the line of least resistance?

Who is a Sith Mr. Jodh Singh M. A. writes us 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 Kbalsa Dewan. Leaving the part that conceras 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 Sabjdharis and Keshadharis. The Ford Sahjdharis being osed in opposition to Keshadharis, it meant those who did not wear Keshas, Oa this underatanding many Sahjdharis took to Gurmuryada. It will be for the Dewan to imagine in what enviable position they will fiad themseives by this new definition of Dewan. Can the Dewan give any proof from Sikh bistory that all the sikbs before the time of Guru Gobind Singh wore Keshes? I believe that the Guru had Keshas but I want a proof whether the commanity at large took to this."

Social Reform in British lodia. The Dascen Ryot conciudes a well-informed and closely-ıeasoned article on Bindn social organisation and the need of reforms in it, with the following true observations: "The net result therefore is that thongh we are now IKing in the twentieth century and in a changefal world, the Anglo-lndian 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 tor reform, reconstruction or reorganisation of society is the Legislatare. But here too the prospects are dart. 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 semoving social anomalies, this idea of government is the greatest obstacie 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 Lerisiatures should have free hand in social legislation. We wat a party which, recognising that politics is not a mere game played for the personal aggrandisement or potoriety 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 noanimously adopted by the National Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Indis, 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 tor additional legislation, which shall be deterrent to Commercialised Vice, whereever practical among all races in India; this being the cource of very wide-spread and devastatipg disease, which saps the public bealth 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 tho man who buys a woman, either for money or kind, for immoral purpose, and to the woman who relle hersell for that purpose. Second, that the mana or woman who trades in women or keeps a disorderly house or has vested interests in sacb 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 is his memorandum on Indian constitutional reform submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee when he insisted on the referendum as especially suited to Indian coaditions. 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 measare on the people. According to the usual form of it, the people of a State, by procuring the sigoatore of a certain percentage of the qualified voters, may. compel the aubmission to a vote of the people of any recently passed Bill. In - few States it is possible for the people themselves to take the initiative and, by securing the sigastures 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 formalative, initiative, referendum, the people themselves bave a Bill formulated which when signed by the requisite member of voters, is filed with the Secretary of State, who bas the Bill published and gives notice of an election. If the requisite number of voters endorse the Bill, it becomet the law of the State withont 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 REFORYER.

BоMBA?, DECEUBER 7 , 1919 .

## THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE MODERATES.

It was annoanced in the first bulletin issued by the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress to be held in Cbristmas week at Amritsar, that invitations wonld be issued to political workers irrespective of party to attend and participate in the proceeding of the forthcoming Congress session. We svailed ourselves of the opportunity offered by the announcement to express our earnest wiah and hope that the invitation would be cordially responded to in view of the recent events in the Panjab, which have saddened the country from one end to the other. Since then Swami Shraddananda, 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 anprecedented success. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehra, the President-elect, has followed ap Swami Shraddananda's appeal by a personal lettar 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 contiued to work in the Congress without you as il mast have been to you. The Punjab bas now built up a common platform of Its own dire distress and invites us to meet on it. I ventare to think that much ean be achieved by mutaal and earnest endeavour in the way of coming to a common understanding as regard most of our difference. But shonld we continae to differ, the Congreas will give all a patient and respectfal bearing," This appeal is addressed to members of the Liberal or Moderate party. The Pandit enforces his assurance of a patient and respeotful 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 issus of the Servant of India that Mr. Sastri sailed for India on the 98th 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 attendanoe" at the Amritsar Congress. Mr. Sastry is at least as deeply committed to the Reform soheme at any other member of the Liberal or Moderate party and his resolve and that of his Society to attend the next seasion of that body, will be welcomed by our Panjab friends.
The pablioation aince our last writing on the sabject of the main features of the Reform Bill as revised by the Joint Committee, has intrcdaced
a new factor in the situation. The Liberals have welcomed it as a striking and acceptable improver ment in seteral 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 repadiation without reserve. Our own view coincides with that of the Liberals, and if joining the Congress means repodiation 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 onswer to the question whether or not he should attend the Congreas, woald 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, $2 s$ it may, the attitade 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 asid, 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 oonstitutional srrangements and making them a success with a view. to justify the grant of further responsibilities teni; years hence, the Radicals will continue the agtation in India and in England to. have the Aot expanded so as to admit of the grant of fuller aatonomy 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 firat eloctions, to refuse to take office as Ministers, and to reduce Liberal or Moderate Ministers who may take office to impotence by opposition and obstruclive 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 isy that they will have a patient and courteons hearing, but anless a minority can, consistently with its convictions, abide by the decision of the majority, it pats 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, responaible members of the Radioal party do not intend to boycott the new constitational 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 themselven in a position which may greatiy embarrass their fatare course under the reforms. An athoritative decleration on the part of the recognised Radical leaders as to what thoir confed of action will be when the Bill becomes law, will, pertiaps, facilitate an early Clecisfon on the part of sucb Libernls as bave not already made up their minds that they shall, under no circumstances, join the National Congress.

For ourselves, politics as politics has few atiractions. As:we have repeatedly eaid, 'we should much like a party with a constractive programme of social reform, iselading edzostion, public health, and temperance and social parity. Noither the Liberale nor the Radicals are ready with such a programme. Neither of the partiea bas 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 x programme than among the Radicalh. We say this notwithstanding the attitade of Mr. Surendra Natb'Banerji and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry towards Women"s suffrage, which can only be characterised hs reactionary. The Liberal party has no leader who, like Mr. Tilak, rose to prominence by attacking socidl reform and reformers. On the other hand, it numbers among it leaders, Sir Narayan Chadatarkar, who has been as stout a champion of the remotal of social wrong and injuatice as Mr. Tilak has been: of the orthodozy which would perpetaate them. Speaking with special reference to Bombay, we may eafely say that the Liberal "party stands for the education and elevation of Women, the abolition of caste, the co-operation between all seots and commanities, elimination wf race prejedice, and the promotion of coprdial relations between East and West by 'means of increased intellectual, commercial and soeial interconrse. Althongh it has no definite social programme at present, it is the netural -agency throagh which social reformers can beat 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 querter of a century, can be aurprised at the social reform party not placing implicit trust in a political organization inspired by Mr. Tilak. Holding as we do that the country hat grievously suffered daring the last thirty or forty years owing to the imperialistic pro-occopations of oar ralers absorbing them to the almost total exclusion of a constructive policy of raising the Indian people in the scale of nations, We are moat anxions that the greater freedom and facilities of legislation promised by the reforms should be immediately and fully atilised to make up for lost time. If, as is quite possible, it is fonnd that these reforms do not farnish an all the power and initiative aneeded to carry forward such a programme, that will be the most impressive ground for demanding
that more power and inltiative 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 Earopean countries. The deatruction of that Empire, we doubt not, will eventually lead to the final and hopeleas. disorediting of imperialistio ideas. That is why we hall the end of the war in the victory of the Allies as a good onuse for rejoioing in spite of the faot that some of the Allies are themselves deeply infeoted by the poisen which has wrought the rain of Kaiserdom.

## DR. VINCENT SMITH ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. IL.

## (By Mr. H. V. Nanjundayyi, M. A. M, L., C.I.E.)

Varions suggeetions from other sonroes are notioed brielly with running comments. It is urged that a sta. tatory obligation that any partionlar offioe should be held by an Indian is equivalent to a disorimination against Europeans, and is opposed to the Charter Aet of 1833. This is no donbt a plansible view, and the proposed limitation has, on that account, been avolded in the Bill now before Parliament. Brt it is curions that such an argament should be employed in this connection, when it is notorions that a provision to have a minimum of Indian members in the Krecutive Councils bat been anggested mainly as a safegoard against their continued exclusion from sach responsible positions on the score (real though not avowed) of their birth.

Dr. Vincent Smith enters into amore minute orftioism 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 muok nse in examining these Nown. 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 emphasieed in the Report (owing to its having from the beginning assumed mainly a polltical aspect) it may be questioned whether there is any such abrnpt breach, exsept in two or three instances in which new and untried methods are experimentally introduced. The distinction drawn by him between selfgovernment and reaponsible government is ingenionn, bat it may be questioned whether the kind of self. . government which is sbeolutely 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 antocratic in the strictest sense, wonid be worth anything as a gift in the eyer of anybody in India. He is quite right in assuming that the self-govornment which would be valued in this coontry implies the Government of India by Indians, so far as may be, and we may add government primarily in the interest of Indis, and also as the anthor elsewhere observes, for the good of both countries.

There is a good deal of truth in the remarks aboint 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 em. bodied in the Bill is a tentative one, and at any rate at present, does not require all that Parliamentary Guvernment involves. It may, in course of time, lead to something more suited to the condition of India as a selfgoverning unit included in the British Commonwealth. Surely there must be some other ways of making a Government remponsible to the people than the mode in vogue in England. That some such aystem should be evolved in the near future is inevitable, as it is too mach to expect that the demands can now be silenced for long with the sort of responsible gevernment which in the author's opinion India really needs and deserves, 'as connoting a government sensitive to public opinion expressed throagh elective assemblies and other channels.' The assertion that the Government of India is likely to feel its responsibility to Indian pablic 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 factions agitation and intrigoe. But it is difficult to sce how the parliamentary supervision which admittedly is not woll carried ont, at presont, can bo bettor secured, especially when more autonomy is granted to the Indian Govornments. The author saye that increaso of autonomy is held to be nocessary by all parties, bat he forgets that Indian opinion is decidedly opposed to reducing the parliamenbary control over the, Indian and Provincial Governments, except in proportion to the increase of the res. ponsibility of the latter to popular Indian control. He is opposed to the creation of a Council of State, which he considern to lea a oumbrous Indian device. In this he seems to bo in agreement with the prevailing Indian opiuion. His somewhat too sare conclusion that Home Rule in the sense of Government by a pure majority, which in India would moan a pure Hindu rule, cannot be, is leduced from what be fancies the conduct of snch a majority would be in two selected instances. On the question of coonomy cersus progress, he thinks that the prevailing policy will be for the former to the detriment of the latter; and on the question of cowkilling, that the IIindus would all combine to prohibit it and would provoke the fierce and violent resistance of the powerful Mussalman minority. Yot he might have seen from the way these matters are managed in the more advanced of the Indian States, that they will not be nfruid of apending money where efficiency and prugress are considered nocossary, and that difficulties about suoh $q^{n e s t i o n s ~ a s ~ c o w-k i l l i n g ~ r a r e l y ~ o c c u r ~ t h e r e . ~}$ The same persons who are very load in their cry for economy when they are out of office and void of responsibility often become adyocates of 'efficioncy' and oxpenditure when in office themselvos, and will invariably require to bo kept in check by hostile critics.

The author, not satastied with the 'futile' task of mere analytioal or destructive criticism has supplemented it with his orn 'constractive sng gestions of a practicable charnoter.' Of the snggestions by other people
that he has noticed, he has warmly expoused the proposal of a Royal Viceroy at the head of the Governmont, and suggests in an indefinite way that the positions of the Viceroy and the Governor General, which involve distinct duties should receive formal and pablic recognition and be regarded as forming an essential element in the revised constraction. 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 bat 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 sabject, he makes some sound and sensible remarks. Although no scheme of constitutional roform for British India can be directly applied to the States, nevertholess, $a_{8}$ ho says, it concerns then in its operation; and in his opinion, the time has come when the affairs of the Protected States shoold no longer be considered as those of foreign territory. Though the idea of a great South Asiatio Federation, as put forward by His Highness the Agn Khan, may be visionary, (and we do not see much gain to India by its realisation), a closer federation of Iritish 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 sbare of attention than matters tonching the interests of the Indian people more directly, showing that the anthor bas not cast off the (porhaps natural) bias contracted during his active sorvice in this country. We have already noticed tho ourious way in which he invokes the aid of the Charter of 1833, as if the Parliament were incapable of altering a statatory provision made with the intention of remov. ing 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 execu. tive functions is discussed in an ioconclnsive manner, mainly in relation to its effect on this mach belanded body of public servants, and the author can see no solution of what he takes to be an impasse except in a tborongh investigation by yet another aathoritative Committee in Eugland. IIe saggests, 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 idee is not one that would fiod any enthasiastio support in the present day.

Certain suggestions for the creation of new offices, soch as an additional Secretary for the affairs of Indian States, may perhape improve despatch of buainess. The only suggestions that are likely to serve the parpose 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 Conncil should be enlarged and should consist mainly of elected members, that the official majority shonld be abandoned. and that official members should not vote at all. The anthor goes further and advocates that the differences between the Execative Council and the Assembly should be referred to the Secretary of State or to a Board of Arbitration in England, and that a Conncil of State or Senate is not wanted. These are important conces sions and go much farther than one would expeot from the general trend of the author's opinion; but they are a pparently meant to be modified by his reservation that the Government of India muat retain extensive auto. cratic powers.

## indian ceristian view of con. STITDTIONAL REFORM.

## (By Me. K. T. Paul, b. A.)

The Indian Cbristian Ascociation of Madras cabled me and Lord Selhorne neking that I qive evidence on their behalt before the Parliamentary Committee. The All-India Christian Associalion cabled me and Mr. Montagn abont the eame time for the same porpose. Instructions were aent by mail and arrived after my evidence was called for, bat brief indicstions had been included in the cables and were very helpfal. In the main, however, I was thrown on my own resources ; which meant considerable responsibility, seeing that there are so many achools of thonght in our commanity differing with the Provinces, and sometimen in the same Province.

A farther complication had happened. Mr. Chowryappah had elready given evidence in the name of our commenity and had traversed the whole gronad of the Bill and the Joint Scheme. Dr. BhaWha, the President of the Indian Christian Association of Britain, bad offered to give evidence, and, as he bad not been in Indis for forty years and for other reasoun, it was impossible to join up with him. It was important to avoid, as far as posiible, the false impression that there are any rival camps among na, and yet one could not do otherwise than atate his convictions. I therefore selected just a few live issaes. bearing specially on oar commonity and stating my views on them to the Parliamentary Committee and re-inforcing the viewn by farther elacidation privately to three of the members of that Cowmittee.

In the first place, I dealt with the general question of Commanal Representation. My line was determined fortanately by the prespule to the Memo-
randam presented by onr All-Indin Connail on the Montagu-Cbelmsford Report. As Christians and an childreo of Indis, drawn from all clames and commanitiee, from all langnages and prorinces, we stand for Unity; our working sim is one United India, our privilege and opportanity are to atand between claohing commonities, to act as motnal interpreters, to serve them all alike, alike, and we trust to take onf share in leading them all to the common goal of as all-the adpancement of our common conntry. While thia is true, it is nadeniable, and, in fact. well-known to the whole world even as clearly as noonday San, that India is sharply divided into clashing comme nitice and that those of them who are in possession of power and inflaence are not above exploiting their vantage to the profit of their own groap. The point before the Parliamentary Committee, however, wat whether this commanal rivalry amonnted to saoh a serians evil as to make it nusafe to confor a nabatantial measare of Renponsible Goveroment on India. There were those ou the Committee and in ifflatace oatside who were watching for any and every evideace to reinforce their opposition to the Declaration of Aagast 20th and to whittly down the Bill. This was very olear to my mind. My own personal experience in the District Buard and the Manicipality of Salem, and generally in Soath Indis, thoroughly warranted my stating that come manal rivalry, while real and acate during a stage of social evolation, does not amonat to a democratic dise ability. I cited fact from my own experience with bames and narratives sach as are known to the pablio and can be verified by enquiry.
I certainly appealed for Commnnal Representation as an interim measure, for there is no practical alternative. Bat in the method of arranging for it, our bigh principle of eventaal anity rales out oompartmental voting, and therefore I asked withoat hesitotation for the method of reserving seata for our commanity in all 'plaral constitaencies."
The actual numbers indicated in the cables I arged for, and followed up the request in conference and correspondence.
Female suffrage was another live issue among oar circlen in London. A depatation had waited on the Secretary of State. Several witnesses had etated their views strongly on the sobject. The Committee. was clearly undecided either way, and I andersiood was seeking farther light. The attitade of our commonity could be only-one way. Oarladies stand first in literacy, are doing a real National service in Edacation, and are rapidly coming to bold a accial ponition equal to men. I pointed out that in India the family is the anit, and that when the legal head of the family is a lady ahe conld not be denied the votes and that Wherever income or edacation is the qualification it will be anjast to refase the franchise to woman, for then it will be merely on the score of sex.
The question of the transfer of Edaration was another sobject dealt with. The Madras Abeociation evidently wanta to reserve Elementary Edpcation. Madrss Missionaries want to reserve Higher Edd-
cation. Neither the All-Indis Conucil nor the National Missionary Conncil had npoken. On this all-important sobject I conferred with Dr. Miller, Mr. Oldham, and certain otber Missionary leaders. The conviction with which 1 webt from Iodia were strongly confirmed by all that I beard for and against the snlject. My only conrse was to present my pereonal views, making it explicitly clear that I was not committing oar commanity either.way.

Edacation is the most centrally formative factor in National progress. Oor progress, as I conceive it, should be normal, that ie, relating to the past and resching on to the fatare, freely assimilating the best that the Weat can contribate. This line cannot be taken in an effective way outil the guidance of Edacation is auder Indians who are sabjected to the public opinion of their countrymen. Moreover, the problem of Edacation in British India is whst pertains to some 300 million people. The very nambers imply that it sannot begin to be really accomplished until the responsibility is directly rolated to the conscience of the people themselves. All that $I$ had stadied aud 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 reaponaibility for Edacation shonld be saddied on na from the very day that any responsibility is transferred and any constractive policy dratted by onr leadera involving finances and man-power. Edacutional responsibility will, I am sare, prove to be the most edocative of our responsibilities.

The fear of the Madras Association is communal injustice. I admit its existence and possibility of continaunce. Bat it arises not from those who gaide the general policy of Edacation bat from and becanse of some of its administrators. Whoever comes to bold the helm, the administrative personnel will be nuaffected. I do not then see that the reserving of Edacation will improve the present sitaution or its transter maks it worse. The real remedy lies in pub. licity. Whenever an injostice is done, whether in detail or in a general measare, the facts should be immediately and fully broaght before the anthorities nad what is wooh more effective, before the pablic. It will be quickly realised in the futare that the crushing enemy of darkneas is light.
The fear of the Madras Missionaries evidently is that Iligher Education may saffer in staudard. I am not convinced that Higher Edncation has had the best standurd always onder the prèsent arraugement. I udmit the existence of the particnlar factor which may cull for a lowering of standarda. The remedy however, is not in reserving the subject ander the present regime. It is 'departmontalism' that persists in readering Education wooden every time something happens to pit life into it. No matter who holds the helin, the sume thing is bound to happen.

I have therefore advocated that Eduration be transferred ia its eutirely so far as admiuistration goes, bat that the shapiug of its conlent and colour be left nuder the effective control of a Bourd on which there shonld ba both experts competent to speak with
sctaal experience, and representatives of the general pablic opinion in the country. 1 don't mind indicating that sach a procedare, if adopted, woald really be the beginning of the transfer of an lmperial Portfolio, that on Education.

That terminates my evidence and its 'apologia'. I may be permitted to make one or two anggestions of possible ase to our commanity. The time bas fally come for as to dismiss from our minds the idea of a special protection from the Goveroment. Whatever jastifcatiou there was for sach a feeling in the past, it is no longer tenable in practical politics. The whole coantry is entering on, a career of democracy. Oar place is right in the midst of it. Oar destinies are within, and not in any sense, withont.

We have almays gone on the assamption 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 Iadian commanity 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 hoar of retrievement is, however, not yet past. The form of democratic polity is not democracy. In fuct, it is doubtfal if Chrietian democracy has yet fonad full development in any part of the world. Oar responsibility then is to take a direct share in the growth of true democracy sud on as extensive a scale as wo possibly cau.

Oor greatest contribation will probably be at the District and the Manioipal end rather than at the Provincial. It is simply imperative that our men all over the coantry enter the arena and face its temptations and trials. For a long while Leadership may in most cases be in other hands. Bat no leadership is werthy which has not been disciplined in loyalty. In fact, our rightfal place is ever service and not rale. Let as take our places jast what they might be and it is as certain as a physical law that welcome and recognition awuits us in the ratio of the quality of onr service.
High parpose is, however, not euongh for recognition or for successfal work. Hard stady is the first necessity, Political work was bitherto on the plane, so to say, of the platform. It coald not bave been wach more when there was not real responsibility to shoolder. The sitnation is now changed. The sphere is changed from the ideal to the actaai. The date of every local sitaation shonld be stadied with care, actaal resalts of schemes in other areas in Iudia and slewhere scrutinised, resources of finance and manpower cast op in a basiness-like fashion, before conclusions can be drawn such as will be acceptable to the public to whom we are respousible.

High principle is not enough, bat withont it there is nothing enongh for Christiun democracy. In fact, the distinctive oballenge to as is just there. All can study, and plan, aud carry constituencies and conacils. All canot stand uncompromisingly to high principle. All caunot keep it to the ead. All do not, epen in the so culled Cliristian countries. Here in onr laud we shall, to that extent, have contribnted
really toward the constraction of trae democracy as we shall have stood withoat compromise in the stress of failure and in the strain of saccess.
Further particalars and details this is not the occasion to saggest. The point I wish to arge in that henceforth no educated Indian Cbristisa shoald aroid the responsibility of citizenship except for realIy adequate reasons satisfactory to conscience. There cannot have been a more intereating of more important ten years in the history of India than what is before us in the second decade of this Centary. Oar opportanity therein is a glorioas responsibility. I am confident that there is that quality of faith and patriotism in our men and women which will yet bring as out to a worthy responee.

## THE KHALIFAT QUESTION AND TEETEACE CELEBEATION.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

## Sir

In your editorial note on the above subjeat, in your issee of November 50th, you soggest that the anti-Peace Oelobrationigte led by Mr. Gandhi have allowed themselves "to be led awny by mere contiments" and arrive at the conolasion that. "our countrgmen" ehonld participate in the fortheoming Pence Celebrations, while strungly presting their views re garding the Khalifat on the Goverament. It only the premisen, on whioh you have bated your cnnolusion, correctly represent the fictors of the Khalifat problem, I think everyone would agree that there can be no fairer and ressonable conrse than that which jou indicate. Bat unfoitunately, the eitantion it not as essy at jon would have it. And in attempting to act befors yon the situation as I understand it and as those de, who donsider it a daty to abstain from the Peace Celebrations, in connection with the Khalifat question, I ahall not burke facing the faota. For, I believe, that our politice owe their preseni degenerate features, into the detuils of which I need not here enter, to our having enshrized "tautice" so-called at the cost of Trath. The loes our "londers" allow thomtelvee to be awajed by "tention oonsiderations" the moouer Ludia will be abls to have a clean, haalthy and national political hife, wherein personalities do not loom large, as they now do and the pablic weal ia the only motive of actiou. I need hardly, therefore, say that I do not think there is much room for regret that Mr. Gandhi has said that the Tanjab grierances are not legitimate grounde for abstention trom the Pence Celebrationa, as it is after all a donestic and not an Imperial question, and il Indians are not able to get justice done to the saffering Parijab, it will be their own fanlt sud within their own hads to sot matiera right.

Bat suoh is not the cuee with the Khalifat question. It in an Imperisl question, directly ariaing out of the feace oparations and from the atondpoint, of Iudian Moalemes, they would maoh. rather prefer "the continuance of the war"t io a dienonourable settlement of the Tarkish question. It it ซere a Beosed daty to have shed homan blood like water to astert the zauctity of the "ecrap of paper" containing the treaty of Garmany with Belginm, why sbould is not be equaily iaenmbent on Great Britain to radeem her pledged word to the Indian Mussalmans, throagh the Preaier and the Viceroy of Iudia. If yon woald therelore lores the ingue to ita logical conclnsion 1 would eay, that naleas yon prove that the Khalifat question ea proponuded by the Muslema in Iodia is fanimentally wrong and oontrary to dictatef
of Bight nod Jatiea, war ie proferahle to an ignoble penol And lat them eng what thoy wiold, cortianly another warld war in borad to be the oalmination of the polici of matnal exploitation which in still owayiug the oonacole of this "mighty" Empirst that have some ont succental in the war. Is there any peace in any of the elliod countrime sod would ache mas in the etreet" in ang -al the alliod nationa moknowledge that Peace hat really come ? Loaring thow generalisutiong, I pat it to yot, $\operatorname{Sit}$, at to what is the duty of British atatesmen frons the Promior downwards townta the Iedian Musienc, to whom they held out hopee of the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoma Empire, It it not theie daty to henently strive to Inl6l their pledge to the Indian Wooleme, their compatriots ia theory at lesth and who toot no litule part in the coniquet of the Germae territory?

Great Dritain is one of the big fuar at the Peece Conference and when Italy wat prepared to go to the extent of refasing to gign the Pease Trenty with Cormany becanme ber demande as regarda Fiume bave not bees met, does not Great Britain owe as mach to the Indian Mosleme ! Eren grauting that owing to noed of expedienoy in international policic, Great Brituin doet not want to go to suoh an extaut herself, as ludia in an origion member of the Langae of Natious, will the Governmont of ladis and the Souretaly of Stats Fhom yon deseribe as being "genuiouly" anxious to bring aboat a eatioficotory wolation of the Tarkish quastion, hold out - promise to the citizena of India with whow thay are in agreement over the Khalifat grestion, that in the event of - non-satislactory oolation of the Tarkieh question being loroed at the Peace conference, they will iustract the Indian delogates at the Pesco Conterence nut to sign the Peace Trunty with Tarkey, af a prutest? I wait for an antwor aid I stppose, it will be in vin.

Ia more or less anambignous langage, I pnt it that the necosaity for Indiant to abstain from the Pence Celebratoun a E protest agoingt the proposed diememberment of Turkey ariese from the fiet that the time has preeed when it would have been sulfidient only to press oar riewt on the Government. I also pat it that the Byitioh statesmen afe thenegives plandiag to break their colema plodye abont the ramintenance of the iutegrity of the Ottoman Empira. I tervently mish'I am miataken and ahall teel bighly relieved to be fatly contraductod. And such a contradiction bas become aboulately necessary, 1 am uat ond ont an optimint and therefore pessiuism is not the oanso of ay painting the darls side of the situation confronting the luJion shoslems in regard to the Khalift queation. I tremble to think of what would be the aupresedented nature of the Khalifat agitation when the ever-drended dismembernent of Tarkoy does take place. Statesmanehip to bo baqkrapt nof oniy in Great Briteic bat in Europa aloo and an I remember the intensuly passio cate religione side of the avorage Namenman, I cannot wilhout mingivinge comprebend fally the fir-reaching effectes a mishandling of the Turkish question in bonud to $h+w{ }^{2}$. ${ }^{-0}$

The cat was let out of the bag when a apesker at the Khalifat Cunference at Delhi meid that men who receutly retnraed from England said the English peopite wid them that the Iadian Yoslem aboald abow by action, bitiaterse regard for ths Khalifat than by niere apeanh: Aetion is the cracial teat the briitigh people apply and action bme beo come necesestr.

Aad even taking the narrowert viow of the metter, no no can sey, m wome interented Angl-Indian criticn are saying, thes the anti-Pence Celchration tonvement is eithor anti-Gorernmeatal or dialogal. Frisudahip and aincerity are
iested in times of adveraity and at a time when the circumutancens were adverse in the warfronts and the clarion esll for India't belp in the war came, as Engliahmen with whom I bave talked over the metter woald pnt it, "Indis piayed the game" and she neither telted of charter or guaranteen of Britain's good Iaith. And certainly if at the time of plenty and prosperity which Pence may he bringing Eagland, India Seels noable to participate and rejoice it cannot sertainly be called eithe ${ }_{r}$ angracefal or eultifying herealf. Nor can it be ssid that India ie not grateful that the war, rather the killing part of it, If at an end, for all.India joined splendidiy in the colebration of the Armistice day.

Bofore conelnding I wonld draw attontion to the following tatement in your oditorial note which I have ventared to diapute in no many words. It rans: "Men like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Hon'ble Ameer Ali, Mr. Jinnah, Syed Hassan Iman, Sir Fazolbhoy Carrimbhoy and others are fully consoions of the ponition of the British Empire and do not expect it to uchieve the inposeible." By thie, you wonld have no infer that these leaders of Iolamic thought recognise and acknowledge the sincere efforts of Great Britain to redeem ber pledged word to the Moslems." Of the leaders you mention, only Mr. Jinnah, Mr, Syed Hassan Imam and Sir Fazal Currimblioy are in India, who can be conveniently got jnto touch with and asked for an expreasion of their opinion and the confirasation or contradiction of your statement. Of the aboye three 'gontlemen, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Syed Easaan Imam hava sxpressed their views on the question pablioly. This is what Mr. Jinnah enid to a press representative so late as the 16 th November: "Speaking of the Khalifat questioo, Mr, Jindah said be was alraid the tate of Turkey was almuet eealed. In spite of the eolemn pledge given by the Premier in January 1918 aboat tho maintenane of the iotegrity of the Tarkish Empire, tho British policy was pareistently diroted towarda the breach of that pledge rather than its fulfiment. Indian Muesalmese had ahed their blood no lees readily than any other community and thin policy tuwards the Musenlman races was bound to end in rery great dienater nuless changed. He did not believer swid Mr. Jinnah, 1 in the anxietg of Eugland and ber allien to apply the principle of self-deternination and independence to the Arabs." Mr. Jinuah is a typical politician as that be is nut averes to being a "tactioian" which, in modern pulitioal phrasoulogy is termed as "diplomony" and if a diplumatio politioisa as Mr. Jinnoh zays as mach and follows it with a support of the anti-Peace Culebrativn movement, I think it is a sign to the aathorities, bow monh thoy aro estranging Indiail opinion. Mr. Sgod Hessan Iman in a statement to a press represontative as late as 27 h ih November Baid :-

- "The value of thees refurius (Iudiau Reforms) may be oudurustimated at the present noment by reason of thie ex. isting uisympathutio rale ag ovidenced by the Parjnb in. oideut and the unjost policy of exploitation of nou-Caristian peouple au avidenoud by the attitude of Great Britain towards the lelamis countife. There is no doubt that our faith in the bunesty of the British Cubiaut has been greally shaken by the first Minister of the Crowa having belied of his preacen ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ounduut and atititade all his previous professions of goodwil ${ }^{1}$ torarde Tnrkey and the queation of the Khalifut. The feeling of misurat that is growing in India is due to many eircumstances and not the lenet among the cuntribatory causes is the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towarde the Ottoman Liupira, and the expalsion of the Turks from Europe may afford tu the funatios it Europe the satisfation that the Nislom is 40 unure on the Elarupsan soils, Dat 1 have no
doubt if suoh an event takes place the Moslem population living within the Britiah Empire will retain in bitter memory this British act of injustice."

Both these gentlemen on whom you relied and whowe lateat atterances I bave taken the liberty of quoting sre, I believe, the lateat arrivale of Moelem leadera from England and their statements are therefore more firsthand than thone of others. Even dow it is not too late for the anthoritise to win back the confidence of the Indisn people who are by nature a trusting people by renewing their solemn pledges on the gabject and by consenting to postpone the Peace Celebrations to alater data till the Tarkiah-question is astis" factorily solved. What I object to and what I warn the Government against is following anbious policy of saying one thing and doing nnother under cover of diplomacy. It is secret diplomacy that has been greatly responsible for the world devastating war and it is that which retill prevents any prospecis of a real peace. It the Imperial Government do want to asisist at the dismemberment of Tarkey there is nothing like facing tbe fact and telling the Indian Moelems so, directly, without any manourre. It will then be more posible thin ever to allay the surely inevitable disoontent consequent upon such a policy. But an honest and open policy is ever better especially in dealing with Indiana and all I urge for in a candid and honest policy on the part of the Government. It the Goveroment really wish to redeem their plighted word let them show it by some tangible action of any kind. As you remark elcewhere 's an ounse of practice is worth a ton of precept" and this certainly applies to Government as it doces to the people.

I bave allowed many an ill-in formed and venomoun critioisms on this anbjeot go unchallenged. My motive in replying to your cortainly well-intentioned critioism at this length is that I hold you in sincere respect as one of the few independent and atardy journaliate India has the honour to possess, with whom conscience and principles are the ohief gaiding fector. So I am anxions that you flould reconsider your attitude of the qnestion in light of the facts addaced and once again formulate your views on the eubject.

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# PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING. 

Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1919. No. 18.
"I will be at beroh as truth, and us uncompromining as juetice; I am in caroent——d will not equivocate -d will not


## OONTENTB.

The Reforms and the Divorce Among Sikht. Radioain.
Indian Liberole and the Na. tional Congrese.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjec's Mavilcato.
A Poonr Concordat.
The Khilafat Question.
The Church of England and Parliament.
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The Retorm Bill in Parlia. ment.
The Taraka Lipi.
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The Problem of Christianity in Iodia.
All-India Hindu Widow Remarriage Conterence.
Ouru Gobind Singh's Brithday Anniversary.
The Title "Hon'ble."
The Bank of Taiwan, Limited.

## NOTES.

The Reforms and the Radicals. In the leading articie last week, while stating that no definite announcement has been made of what the Radicals would do with the Keforme, we suggested the possibility of their working to bring aboat a dead. lock. 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 questicn of boycotting the relorms. 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 geats 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 Hisdu. 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 Retorms than that represented by Mr. Satyamurti's observations. The signiticance of the unanimous vole 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 evidentiy disgusted with Radical-Moderate bickerings, and is determined to do what she can to end inem. And at Amritsar, and in sight ol Jallianwalla Bagb, even Mr. Satyamurti will not have the beart to resist the cxbortation of the martyr province of India.

Indian Liberals and the National Congresp. The Counch of the Western ludia National Liberal Association bas issued the following statement:-

It having been broaght to the notice of the Conncil of the Weatern India National Liberal Assonjation, Bombay, that some members of this Association have received lethers from Bwami Shraddhenandaji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and from the Hon. Pundit Mutilal Nehrn, President. elect of the forthooming aeation of the Iadian National Congress at Amritear, sppesling to the said menbers to sttend the oession, the Conocil leal it right to publish the following statement of what, in their view, is the right attitade for the Libersla to adopt on the subject of the said sppesl:-An regarda the Panjeb troables (on whioh stress is laid in both the letters of the appeal) the Coancil have from the ontret represented to the anthorities, both hars and in Eogland, in nnmistakable terms, their view of the policy pursued by Government in reference to martial lave edmini:stration and other main aspects of the Punjab situation from lime to time. The Moderates' Cunference, which is to meet this month, will give farther expression to the viewe of the Moderates on those questions and such expression ${ }^{\text {, }}$ Will be mote effectire then if the Moderaten joined the Congrese under the present circumatances of the polition situation, with special reforence to the Reform Bill. This Cunncil, therefure, while strongly sympsthieing with the people of the Puajab, se of opivion that the Moderatea, an a party, honld not attend the Amritsar Congreas.

The Moderates' Conference will be held at Calcutta probably on the 22nd instant, and Sir Sivaswami Lyer is expected to preside. We referred last week to the Servans 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 tnrough the Lords, is likely to bave a disintegrating eftect on the Moderate party, if it has no programme beyond the supporting of the Reform Scheme.

Mr. Surendra Nath Baneriee's Manifesto: Mr. Surendra Nain. Banerjea, President of the All-India Moderate Conlerence, 1918, in the course of a manitesto regarding the fortncoming Conference of the Moderate Party, says:-The Keform Bill and the tuajab disturbances will form the chief topics of consideration. It is of the first importance that all professing moderate views should muster strong at the conleserence 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 Relorm Bill with a view to ensure its successful working; nor is it of less 1 mportance that, the representatives ot moderate opinion should meet in a conference and devise means to prevent a repetition of the deplorable events in the Panjab which bave filled the pablic mind with horror and indignation.

A Pcona Concordat: The Non-Brahming and Moderates of Poona recently found a common platform in opposttion 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 Moderater and the Nou-Brabnias pailioly protested ogeinat this diegrecefal attempt of the Tilakites to imposes on the pablic. The Eonourable Mr. Paraujpe pretided at the meeting which passed three important resolations. The first recounted the anti-national sectivitien of Mr. Tilak, bit oppoti tive to social roform, bis antaguiam to the elaration of the Non-Brabming and the ontonchables, bie attempt to wreck the Montann-Chelmaford reforms, his onptare of the Congrese organ in England which is bare to lead to ita speedy exinestion and ceveral otherb-and protested against the attempt of his followers so give him an addrese in the vame of all the citizens of this oity. The eecond resolation comprised the besic principlen of the Progressive larty which are, (1) the difinsion of education among the depressed deetos and their eleration; (2) giving of the neseesary educatioual factitios to the backrard cleases and their accial aplift; (3) eocial and sociareligions legielation on liberal lines; (4) economic and moral clevation of all clasaes and (5) removal of all the politio cal diestilities of Indiane by all conntutiousi methode, The third resolation authorised a Comaitee of five persons to intimate to the organizere of the Tilmb-Addrees meeting that unless they presented the adiress ouly on behalf of Mr. Tilak'e admirets, they wonld be compelled to protest agaiast it by resorting to all constitutioual mashuda whiot 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 tempetate pace in politics in order to consolidate poli. tical 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 lull 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 Iuture of Turkish Turkey. We quote Reuter's telegrame: "In the House of Commons, Colonel Aubrey Herbert asked whether the Greek landing at Smyraa had occasioned any anti-British feeling in India. Mr. Montagu replied that the Greek occupation of Smyrna bad certainly led to grave apprehen. sions 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 Conlerence the impertance to India of a peare with Turkey consistent with the policy contained in Mr. Lloyd George's speech of January 5 th, 1g18. The Government of India and the representatives of India at the Peace Conlerence had always opposed the partition of Turkish Tarkey. In the House of Commons at questiontime, Mr. Cecil Harmsworth stated that the Government had pressed that the

Peace Negotiations with Tarkey should be tatea uf with the least possible delay and the Allies were now discussing the question of the resumption of negotia. tions in Paris." We are glad to note in this connec tion that the probablity of a breach with Germany, owing to the delay in the ratification of the Pence Treaty, which seemed imminent some days aga appears to have been warded off, thanks chiefy 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 tbere was little reason to doubt that the communications which were now being held between the Allies and the German Goveroment 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 Committeo ot Parliament, introduced in the Indian Reform Bill, as a meana ol 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 Bouse 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 Parhament, instead of having to pass the usual stages of legislation, Lord Haldano 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 deala with Padiamentary procedure ooly. It provides that when a measure has passed the Cburch Assembly, constituted in the way set lorib in the Addrese, 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 resoJution in each House for the five stages mentioned above, and provides a reviewing Committes so nt to secure that Parliament does not act in the dark,"

Sis 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 Cbandavarkar moved the principal resolution which ran as follows: That this meetiog desires to place on record its deep seose of the lose the country bas sustained by the untimely death of Sir Ratan Tata, who wis greatly esteemed for his catholic charities, and for unostentatious aid to the relief of suffering, hamanity and for other deeds of philanthropy, haviog for their object the phyaical and social welfare of his countrymen, (b) Tbat 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 Mirroy thinks that Lord Chelmstord's speeches in Madras read very much like the valedictory utterances of a parting pro-consul. Oar impression of them is quite the contrary: they rather show that His Ex. ceilency is at last feeling bis 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. <br> BOMBAY, DECEMBEK 14, 1919.

## the anglo-arabian entente.

We referred last week, in a paragraph on the Khilafat question and the proposal to take oo part in the Peace Celebratione, to the telegram published in the previone 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 Tarkish Empire. It is as well here to give the words of this message which has passed withoat comment in the Indian press. It was dated the 20th November from Constantiuople, and was pablished in the dailies on the 4th inatant. It ran as follows: " lt is reported that depatations from the King of the Hedjaz and Azerbaidjan have arrived at Sivas, whither an Afghan depatation is atated to be coming to attend a Congress which will appeal to the Sopreme Conneil in Paris to reapect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. An appeal will also he addressed. to Iodian Moslems. There is a report, which is not coufirmed bat is thought to be not improbable, that Mostapha Kemal is endeavouring to exploit punIslamism." Sivus is the capital of the province of that yawe in Asiatic Tarkey. The Hedjaz is the part of Arabia between Mecca and the southers end of the Dead Sear. Azarbaidjan is the northernanost province of Persia, and bad been ander Rassian occapution till recently. Weare notaware thut the King of the Hedjaz has also been granted sovereiguty over Azerbaidjan. Probaily what is meaut is that delegates from Azerbaidjan bave alao arrived. Azerbaidjan bas a large Clristian popalation, but the balk of the Moslem popalation is of Mongol Turkoman descent, and appaks a form of Tarkish. On the withdrawal of Russia, Persia bas not been able to enforce law and order in the proviace which has votrinally relapsed to her. The adhesion of Azerbaidjan does not, therefore, mean the participution in the Sivas Congress of Persia, the Shah of which mas quite recently un honoared guest iu England aud who receucly eutered intou trenty contiuning and ronfirming the tradutional friendship betweeu the Britist nud the Persian Eupires. The satement that the King of the Hedjar bas sent delegates to the Congress at Sivas to appeal to the Peace Conference to preserve the integrity of the Ottowso Eupire is, on the fuce of it, inexplicuble. The constitation of the Hedjaz into an independent Kingdom was iteelf a vilolation of that integrity, andit is iuprolable that Hia Majesty the King of the Hedjas prefers ouce again to sabside into bis old role of Shereet of Hlocca. What is meant hy the message probably is that the Powere shonld preserve the integrity of Tarkish Tarkey, to ne Mr. Moutaga's precise phrase. This is exactly what the British Government and the people of Iudia sloo wish to be done, and in joiniag a Congress to promote this ohject the King of the Hedjas is in no wise deyarting from his policy ol Arabian independence. Not nach importance need be attached to the anconfirmed report aboat Mnstaphà Komalis attempt to
exploit pan-Islamism. Some people have panIslamism on their brain and nothing can dispel their obsession. For our part, we do not see why it shonld be regarded a greater danger to soek to anite all the Moslem nations than to seek to nnite all the Christian or Eoropeals nations.

An interesting acconnt of the revolt of Arabia and the principal persoonalties involved thereiu, is pablished in Asia, the Joarnal of the American-Asiatic Association, pablished in New York, Mr. Lowell Thomas, an Associate Editor of onr contemporary, was a member of the ataff of Emir Feisal, Commander-in-Chief of the Arabian army, and in that capacity, he sam the ioside of the brilliant campuiga by which the Tarks were saccessfolly oasted from the Arabian peninsala, As rggards the geneais of the Arab revolt, Mr. Lowell Thomas says that the Arabs thonght they sam in the young Tark movement the dawn of a new era of freedom and liberty. In fact, they plased an important part in the revolation which resalted in the overthrow of Abdat Hamid. Bat they soon disfovered that the Yonag Tark leaders were more tyrannical oppressors than the old Sultan himself, Shereeff Hnseein and other patriotic Arabs despaired of seeing a happier day for their coantry, when suddenly the world war palled Tarkey into the maelstroun with Great Britain, France, Rassia and Italy pitted against her. "It was the hoor of opportanity for Arabia. The Arabian nationalist leaders immediately took advantage of it. With all the pent-np fary and hatred of five hundred years of slavery and dishonoar, they leaped at the throsts of their villninons maters. From all parts of the desert cawe the swarthy. leau, pictaresqne sons of Ishwael to avenge and free themselves at last.; Shereef Hassaiu and his fuar sons had worked out a plan for the revolation. On the 13ch Jaly, 1918; the Shereef gave the signal to all the tribes of holy Arabia, who bad been previonsly warned to be ready to rise at a moraent'd notice. Simultaneous attacks were lannched ngainst the holy cities of Mecca and Mediau. The Sher ef himself led the attack on Meccu. The revolationaries failed in Medina. Iu Mecea they succeeded. Mr. Lowell Tnomas buya that the Ottouian troops conld have beld oat for many mouths luager, but fur their incredible fatnity in bombs rding the nosque of the holy Kasbu, the shrine built over the famoas black stone and sauctified by the veneration of generatious of pions Mahomedans. One shell, we are told, actually strack the rock: bairoing a hole ia the holy carpet and killing ninepersous who were kneeling in prayer. This infuriated the Araba who swarmed over the walls of the great fort, and were soon in nadispated possession of Mecca. But this effort exhanated them. All their awnauition bad been expended." A leng panse. ensned. Shereet Hapsein sppealed to the Allies. And with the hour cume the man.
Thomas Lawrence, a yonng Oxford gradate, had heard the call of the East, and was exceavating Hittite rains in the ralley of the Enphrates, when the mar
broke out. Before be finishod his Uaiversity eareer, he had procoeded to Syria sud, adopting mative coetame, had tramped barofoot over handrode of milea of desert conntry, living with the varions Bedonin tribes throagh whose villages he passed. He retarned to England merely to finish his archaealogical stadies, bat this done, be went back to his ancient raing, to toil over andeciphered inseriptions that unlocked the secrets of by-gone civilisatione When the war broke out he was called to Cairo as an expert in the topography and languagen of the Near Fest, and wae given a commission at econd Lieatenant in the map department. He was twenty-sir jeam old at the time He had already spent eeven years wandering throagh Turkay Syria, Pelestine, Arabia, Meaopotamia and Persia, and soquired amore intimate loowledge of the peoplee of those parts than any other Earopean. When the Arabe appealed to the Allies for holp, the Britieh were the first to respond. They oot ouly sent anpplies to them, bat gave, writes Mr. Lowell Thomas, more important military oncoaragement: they sent a number of their young military officers to cooperate with the $A$ rabs and offer then advice. Prominent among thoee sent was Thomas Lawrence. His services in organiaing the Shereefian army and in leading it to victory, were so highly apprecisted and he won the confidence of the King of the Hedjas to anch an extent, that he was permitted to aign the King's name to state papers. Ont of gratitude for his services to their conntry, the Arab leaders made him an emir and prince of Mecca, an honour unparalleled in Arabian history. King Haessin himself presented his British commander with the carved gold sword, worn ouly by the descendants of the Prophet. Here is Mr. Thomas Lowell's pen-portrait of this great AngloArabian: "The five-foot three Englishmen atanding before me in his brown camel's hair gown, over which hang his kaffieh or hesd-dress of heavy white brocaded silk covered with gold embroidery, anderneath a snowwhite robe tied with a gold embroidered belt in which be earried the carved amord of a prince of Mecca, all set off regally by the agal, the headband of heavy cords wrapped with silver and gold threads that held the kaffieh in place-was the real raler of Arabia." Inwrence al ways wore the Bedouin dress in Arabia even to the bare-feet, and never pat himself forward, always preferring to act throngb Arabian hands and minde. If Lawrence had been of the type of the "strong men" so adored of AngloIndia, the freedom-loving Arabs would never have taken him to thair hearts as they have done.

Divorce Among Siths. The Khalsa Advocate learns from a correspondent that the 8ikh brotherhood of Kahyta 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 REFORY BILL IN PABLIAMENT.

After a three day: disensoion, the Reform Bill paseed the third readiog by agreement ia the Honse of Commons on the 6th instant. Several amendments were moved bat none was adopted. One of these related to the inclanion of Barmat in the schemon It was moved by Mr. Spoor, the Laboar member who ast on the Joint Committee, but withdrawo on Mr. Montaga's assarance that Barma woald get withoat delay one of two thiags. It will either become a Governor's proniace nader the Indian Reform Bill or if it was desired to give Barma a different constitntion from the rest of Iodia, then new legislation wonld be introdaced at the next session. Mr. Montagn himeell thonght that Burma woold prefer a special Act of Parlisment. The Times in a leading article atrongly disagrees with this view and hopes that the question will be carefally considered in the Honse of Lorde. It points ont that Barma is an integral part of India and that the decleration of Augast 1917, constitated as mneh'a pledge to Barma as to every other province of India. The Burmeat are as mooh eatitled and gralified to share responaible goveramentas cother peoples ander British control in the Indinn Empire. It declaree that at present Barma's commonications with the oatside world are worse than any region in tropical Asian Rangoon and Mandalay ought to have been linked ap with Cslcatte by rail long ago. It the present parpose is carried ont Barma will be eandwiched between Indis and the federabed Malay States. There are cogent argoments. An equally strong reason for inclading Barma in the scheme of the Bill, is that anless this is done, the continuance of Barma ander the Goverament of Iadin with Barmese representatives sitting in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Conncil of State, will be an anomaly. Sonner or later it must mean a clean cat, and neither the people of Iadis nor those of Barma wish to have it broaght sboat. The fatare of Barma lies with India, and toseparate Barms from ladia, apart from its administrative inconveniences, is shortaighted policy. Whatever may be the immediste ontcome, the Barmese, like the Ceylnnese, will ore long look to the Indian mainland for gnidance and inapiration in national movements:.

The other amendmente fall under two heads: the resctionary and the progressive: those intended to make the Bill lesa liberal, and those iatended to make it more generous. The former came exclasively from the amall nomber of Unionista, the latter from Laboar and Liberal members. The restrictive amendments covered familiar groand and their only, or chief, interest wat that it drew some noteworthy observations from Mr. Montaga and the Laboar and Libersl benches. The most important of them moved by Colonal Yate, to do away with Ministers, and sppoint members of the Execative Cunacil from smong the elected members of Legislative Coancila, wae negatived withoot a division. Even Sif Henry Oreit, a fellow-Ubionist, declined to sapport

Colonel Yate's amendment. Sir Henry Craik's amendment providing that Governors mast have served ten years in India ander the Crown prior to their appointment, met the same fate, bat it drew from Mr. Montagn a warm compliment to Sir George Lloyd who woald be ineligible onder Sir Henry Craik's amendenent. It would not be right to say that there have been no good Governors who were Indian civilians, bat it is trae nevertheless that these have been exceptions, just as the narrow bareancratic administrator has been the exception among Governors recraited from English pablic life. Indian opinion bas long been ananimons in its decided preference for direct recraits from England, and it is an opinion resting on a broad basis of experience. The Labonr amendments showed more breadth and vision than the Unionist ones. It is not easy to follow the telegraphic summary of the debates as obvioasly the proviacial and the central governments are not safficiently distingaished. For instance, Colonel Wedgwood is suid to bave con tended that poblic health and sanitation would bemach better looked after by Iodian Ministers. The Feetham Committee recommended these for transfer, and we do not think they have been omitted in the revised list placed before and eccepted by the Joint Committee. Colonel Wedgwood's remark is intelligible only on the assmmption that it refers to the Government of India. The discussion on the amendment drew from Mr. Montaga the remark that it would be possible to extend the list of transferred sabjects before the Statatory Commission sat. Mr. Montaga declined to accept an amendment for preferential treatment to Bombay on the groand of its greater progress than the other provinces. An amendment leaving the Central Governoment to raise its own revennes, led to Mr. Montaga annonncing that Lord Meston was coming to India to preside over a Committee which woald de. cide impartially between the provinces and Central Government and arrive at a solution.

The only other amendment of importance was one moved by Mr. Speor rednoing the probationary term to within ten years. Mr. Montaga explained in the course of his speech deprecating the amendment that the Bill laid down that a commission nuast be appointed, bat that it did not mean that investigation was impossible earlier, and that if there was remarkable aud nuloreseen development in Indian conditions within ten years, a commission conld always be eppuinted in the interval. Colonel Wedgwood speaking in support of the amendment aid that the amendment was moved becanae the Laboar Party (to which both Mr. Spoor and himaelf belonged) might be in power in foar years, and they wiehed to make it clemr that, if so, they wonld not he tied down by the terme of this provision. Mr, Bonar Law told 4 Glasgow meeting on the exme day as the passing of the third readiag, that there wonld be no general eleation for at least three years. He had no doobt grod resons for his statement, bat the conciliatory and even deferential tone adopted by Mr. Montagn to the Labour party in the debates and in his conolod.
ing speech shows that he at any rate was not going to minimise the importance of the intervention of the Laboar representatives on the progressive side in the conrse of the debate. On the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Montaga received what can be fairly described as an ovation. The Libour and Liberal leaders blessed the Bill, and prophesied an early extension of its provisions. Sir Donald Maclean joined Colonel Wedgrood in paying a hearty tribnte to Mr. Montaga's bigh qualities, bnt Mr. Montaga himself perhaps appreciated most Sir Heary Craik's observation that, after donbta, he bad learned to place mach confidence in Mr. Montagn's statemanghip. Mr. Montagn acknowledged these congratnlations in a fioe speech in which be declared that that was the prondest 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 conld be no pride or pleasare in a Crewn Colony in domination or sabordination, in fying the British flag for the beaefil of British trade, bat the only Imperialism worth having was a trasteeship intended to develop the conntry nuder the Britisb flag into a partnership in the Commonwealth. He went on to observe that the constitation provided in the Bill woald be of little ase 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 mast be exercised, as though they were applicable to a conatry of growing national consciousness on the road to self-Government and not as if we were administering a great estate. If we remember, the Goverament of India in one of their despatches bad 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 iddefinite futare date. Speaking on one of the amendments in the early stage of the second reading, Mr. Montaga gave the following timetable for the inangaration of the reforms. He said that he had had correspondence with the Viceroy and the Government of Iodia with regard to what woald happen if, as was boped, the Bill received tho Royal assent before Cluristmas. They hoped that the rules ander the Bill after being pablished in India and after receiving the opinions of all concerned, inclading the local Governments, would be brought home in time to bold new elections in November, 1920, and that the new Legislative Assembly woald wit in Iudia in Jannary, 1021. 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 alpha. bet provides for the sounds peculiar to the Dravi. dian 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 ohe 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 LABOCR PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

What concessions Cepital is willing to make to labour is the United States is indicated in a platform of principles enanciated by the groap representing Capital in the Industrisl Conference celled at Washington in October io find a solntion for the national indastrial anrest. The principles are as follows:

Prodjction-There should be no intentional restriction of prodactive effort or outpat by either the employer or emplojee to create an artificial scarcity of the product or of labour in order to increase prices or wages.

Tha Establishimintaga Pboduotive 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 matual interest on the part of employer and employee. Each establishment should develop contact and fall opportanity for interchange of view between management and men, through individual or colleotive dealing or a combination of both.

Conditions of Work-It is the duty of management to make certain that the conditions noder which work is carried on are as safe and as satig factory to the workers as the nature of the basiness reasonably permits. Every effort should be made to maintain steady employment of the workers boih on their socount and to inoreace efficiency.

Wagss-The worker should receive a wage sufficient to maintain him and his family at a standard of living that should be satisfactory to a rightminded man in view of the prevailing cost of living. Women doing work equal with that of men ander the same conditions should receive the same rates of pay and be accorded the same opportanities for training and advancement.

Hours of Worm-The standard of the work schedule should be the week, varying as the peanliar requirements of individual industries may demand Overtime should, as far as possible, be avoided, and one day of rest in seven shoald be provided.

Sxtrleyzat of Digputrig-Each establighment shonld 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 managemeat of its essential function of judgmemt and ditection.

Rigit to Asbociats-The asbociation of men, whether of employers, employees or others, for collective action or dealing, confers no anthority and involves no right or compalsion over those who do hot desire to act or dea! with them, as an associntion. Arbitrary use of stuch collective power to boerce or control others withont their consent is an infringement of personal liberty and a menace to the institutions of a free people.

Regronstrinity of Asociamon-Every ansociation, whether of employers or employect, mast be equally subject to pablic authority and legally answerable for its own conduct or that of lite agente.

Fazedox or Conpract- With the right to aseociale recognized, the fundamental prinoiple of individual freedom demands that every person maut be free to engage in any lavful occupation or enter into any lawful contract as an emplojer or an employee, and be secare in the continaity and rewarda of his effort.

Tay Opm Siof-The principles of individaal liberty and freedom of contract apon which our institutions are fandamentally based require that there should be no interference with the "open shop." While fair argument and persaasion are permissible, coercive methods almed at turoing the "open shop" into a "closed union" or "closed nonunion shop" shonld 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.

Tel Rlagt to Striki on Look Oif-In the statement of the prinoiple that shonid govern as to the right to strike or lock out, a sharp diatinction should be drawn between the employment relations in the field (a) of the private industry, (b) of the pablic utility service and (o) of government cmployment, federsl, state or municipal.
In private industry the strike or the lock-out fn to be deplored, bat the right to strike or lock out should not be denied at an oltimate resort after all possible means of adjnstment bave been exhansted. -Both employers and employees should recognize the serionsness of such action and should be held to a. bigh responsibility for the game. The sympathetio atrike is indefensible, anti-sooial and immoral. The same may be said of the blacklist, the boycott and also of the sympathetic lock-ont.

In pablic atility service the pablio intereat and welfare mast be the paramount and controlling consideration. The atrike should, therefore, impose such regulations as will essure continuous operation, at the same time providing adequate means for the prompt hearing and edjastment of complainte and disputes.

A trike of government emplogees is an attempt to prevent the operation of government entil the demands of such employees are granted, and cannot be tolerated. The right of government employeen to be beard and to secure just redress should be amply safeguarded.
Trainige-Practical plans shoald be inagarated in indastry and ontwide of it for the training and upgrading of industrial workers, their proper placement in indastry, the adoption and adaptation of apprentideship oystem, the extension of roentional edacational and sach other adjustmente of our edacational syatem to the needa of industry as
will prepare the worker for more effective and profitable service to society and to himself.
Teades Union's Prinoiples: The Trades Union representing slmost five million workers, has declared, throagh 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 hall 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 onder 16 years of age.
"To secare a greater share of consideration and co-operation to the workers in all matters affecting the indnstry in which they arc engaged," a National Conference Board was proposed to provide for the systematic review of industrial relations and conditions, the Bonrd to consist of an equal namber of representatives of employers and workers, having due regard to the varions sections of indastry and clabses of workmen. Formation of these Boards would be encouraged by the Department of Labour.

Prohibition of all immigration for at least two gears after the deolaration of Peace and at such times thereafier as there may be an abnormal condition of unemployment, was favoured in the declaration. At no time wonld immigration be permitted to exceed the nation's ability to Americanize the incoming foreigners.
P.

- THE PROBLEM OF CHBISTIANITY IN INDIA. I.


## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

 Sir,I have read your periodical with considerable regalarity for twenty years and what I bave admired most is yonr babit of conrtery to those with whom you differ and of fairneas to those who oppose yon. It has been seldom that you have seamed to me to yary from this rale. Hence my sarpriae is the greater that yon ahonld pnblish the article that oppears in your issue of November 23rd called "The Problem of Christianity in India."

The writer maken this extraordinary atatement: "The first thing (that a Miseionary does with his converts) is to make them eat beef and meat and even driak wive." The onls possible reply to sach - atatement is that it is an anreliesed and ancoath
falsehood. The writer either knows nothing of Indian Christians and their ways or Missionaries and their methods or he does know and twists his faets. In either case, he is incompetent to write on the subject he has chosen. Bat, yon, Sir, do know. Hence my. sarprise at yonr giving hospitality to such ganche abase. Many missionaries are vegetarians from personal preference and practically all are abstainers and never in any circamstances whatsoever would any one of us dream of forcing any convert to eat mest. Many Indian Christians are vegetarians.

The origin of the hoary lie which your contribator foists on your readers is this. In the early days of missionary enterprise, say eighty to handred years ago, the converts were few and of good position. They were invariably outcasted and as a consequence they had to come into the componads and frequently into the homes of the Missionary. At that time, the drinking of gpirits was a nuiversal custom among - Earopeans. Tbere was no conscience against it. That has risen in the last fifty years or so. Hence quite natarally the convert learnt the castoms of his Padre. Hence alao unfortanately in the popolar mind in parts of India, becoming Christian became ansociated with eating meat and drinking alcohol. Bat that was geverations ago. It is inconceivable that any missionary would in these days ase inflaence in the way alleged.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Yours etc., } \\
& \text { •. T. M. }
\end{aligned}
$$

[ We sent a copy of this letion to Mr. Manilal. Pareikh, the writer of the articie in which the btatement occurred, and we priat his reply below. Mr. Manilal does not attempt to prove the specific statement regarding beet to which objection is taken by our correspondent. In the circumstancea, we cac 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 siagle gtatement, his competence to deal with the subjeet should have been queationed. Mr. Manilal, we may add, in a Guja. rati Brahmin, a graduate of the Bombay University and a quite recent convert to Christianity, and we have no reason to think that he bas any animus against Christian Misaionaries. The danger, which he fears is, howover, disapproved by such expressions of the Indian Cliriatian attitude to national problems, as that exemplified by Mr. Paul's paper on conatitutional reforms, which we printed lagt week. The fact is that there are deeper forces at wark which both Mr. Manilal and the average Mistioary ignore.-Ed. I, S. E.]

II
Ma. Manilal's Reply.
The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,
You will kindly alluw me to make the following reply to your correspondent.

He jays you a handsome compliuent for "yonr babit of constey to those with whom Fua difer and of fairnese to those who oppces jon," and then in the rery next sentence shows his sarprise that yon ahould heve published my article. Is that his idea of faimens?

Further on he asy that I am incompetent to write on the qubjeot I lave chosen. May I ask him the reacon why I What main conclasione of mine does he objeat to? What has be to ony against so many things 1 have said, thinge which are vital to the natier? Leaving all my chiof proponitions pad
oonclarions entirely atide, be bes chosen ouly one sentence of mine to find fanlt with, and thereapon to haug bia charge of incompztence on my part and want of wisjom on your part for publiahing my article. It is more than nofair, though of a piece witk that miesionary iatolerance which would brook no difierenos of opinion thetsuever. The missionary would condema whole syateme of religion bat mast aetis be infellible himsell.

Your correepondent objecta to my siatement that the conFerts are made to eat beef and meat and even drint wine an the firt etep in that procest of de-Hindoining (this de' in tde. Eindaise' was lost through the printers' negloct along with other mistakee that had crept in this eecond pert of my article, amatter of which $I$ wrote to you last week) for whish the missionary is mainly responsible. Iour correspondent mays in reply that there are many mise joneriea as well es Indian Christians who sre vegetarians. I know that and I said at the end of that very paragraph that there are some converts who withstand this proces of de.Hinduisiog. But theae are exceptions. Will the gentlemen aseure me that out of every hundred vegeterian Hiuda converts, even five remaic so to the end? It wonld be a very small proportion, bat 1 am alraid ceen that would not be foond to be true.

Further, your correspendent sags that wine-drinking wat common in former times when the missionaries harboured thair high-caste converta of respectable familiss. Now no bach converts come forward and so the missionaries lave closed their doort against all comers. I was told recently by an Indian Cbriatian of note from Madras that he had eeen Brabmin boje made to lodge by miseionaries with grooms and men of that cless. I have myeelf seen such converte ancome new-deday, thongh they be Brahmine, boarding and lodging in a way not nuch better than in the grooms' quarters. Converts' Homes are coming into fashion now, and they are part of the mission-compound-syetem. The procese of de-Hindaising in the manner 1 spote of is in full swing today, perhape nore than ever, now that the converts of old tspe do not coma. The mifeionary may abstain from drink, bat his converts or their children know better how to enjoy the aweets of westera civilization When they cen affurd thom. I have seen sinch converts in a mast flourishing business of this kind, atudent of theology, indalging in drink on the first day of the month when they get their pay. From the missionary's hone to the mission compoand or converts ${ }^{2}$ Home is no progress: rether otherwise.

It is not at all a quastion of forcing the converts to eat meat and drink wine. It is not the miesionsry who does it, now at least. The system does it, and the missionary, as a cless, is mainly responsible for it. I suid in my article that some missionatie sre victime of the eystem, and your correspondent perhaps may be one auch. My main contention is that the present method of evangeliention has resulted in the creation of a Christian commanity which is entiraly pro letariatised, denationalised, anglicieed abd materialiged: that in. anmuch as the mistionariea have kept their caste or varna pure it in anjuet to the higher cestes of the Hindus : that inasmach as this commonity wonld hase separate political privileges it would end in organising in Ludia what is nutbing lese than an anti-linde connter-State which wonld be rainons to the best intereste of both the Iadian civilization and the Kingder of Heaven: and that all this is absolately contrary to the command of St. Pan and of the Lord Jesas Christ as eet forth in I Timothy 6-1.s. Your
orrmepondent has maid oothing whatsoever with regand to thit. I wonder if be hasever thunght of the problera is the Fay I have put it, of if he hae noderaiond my meauing lully. In cose he bea, and hat nuthing to any in reply to thit meia oontention, bis in indeol case of one who rould swallow camele mid jet atrain at agoat.

Yount traly,
Mamilut C. Pasiny.

## ALL-INDIA HINDU WIDOW REMARBIAGE CONFERENCE.

## The Editot, The Indian Social Rsformer.

Sir,
If wat in lecember 1914 whon the Paujab Vidhva Virabe Sahaik Sabha, Labore cane ioto existonce by the good anture, bruad-mindedaens and charitable disponition of a donor, who does not wigh to diselose bis name in publio. In the begin. ning, be gave s building, yiolding a monthly reat of Ra 100 or E , which was collected by the IIony. Eeoratary of the Sabhe for spending in the osose. Over end above this, he contribated more money, whenefer required anslintedly. It the first year 12 and in the aeonnd year 18 widon martiagen could bearranged nader the anspicet of the Sablia by ite worigers, In the third yenr the donor allowed the Hony. Secretary to make bis budget upto Rs. 200 P. M. During this period (1917), the Sable sacceeded in colubrating 81 marriages. In 1918, 40 widow marriages took place and the enuual expenditure in the jear onme to Ks, 2835. During the curreat jear viz. 1918, it may give pleasura to the well-wishert of the canse to learn that till the writing of this letter 81 marriages have been arraogad to lar, ad it is hoped there will be eome more atill in the remaining it monthe of the year. The donor hat now been pleased to eet epart for the expenees of the Sabla two new devent builuing, letching a montuly rental of Re. 705. That we terted work with a monthly incone of abiat fle 100 and now wo bave got Rs. 705 P. M. at our diaposal through the kindness of the donor. In the end of December 1919, the Sabbs will complate its Gfth year. Now to encoarage and to eularge the ecops of this noble canse well as tu take advantage of the esperience of other in tarious provinces of India, it bae been reeolved by the Committee beld on the 18th Norember 1910 that we sbould mete it an. All-Indie Movement if it conld be at all posaible. Honce in order to guage the sitaction, it bas been deaided to hold an "All Indis Eindn Widow Remarriage Conterence daring the Cbribtmas week at Amritsar for a few hoars, where promioent social refurmere and ather important workers interented, in the movement shoald be iovited,

As this is a heary responsibility, I rqquest the aympathi. sers to co-operste with the Sabbe on thit occmion. Fur thit; all pereons sad officiale of the sacieties working lof ecoinl reforms in varione parts of India fnclading the Panjal Fithoat any distinction of cate smong the Hindas, ars requested to sdrese the nadersigned on the following pointe : -

1. Probable proposale fur consideration at the time of the Cosference.
2. Nacnes of genilamen to whom afecial invitations sbould be sent in Iadis inclading the Paojab.
3. Namet of the gentlemen who may be requeated th cend paperi.

Thowe who mish to koow the canve we esponsa, can addrem the oftice lor literatore, prepared by the Gatha in English,

Urdu, Hindi and Garmukbi, which will be supplied tree of any cost. Enquiries will be promptly aitended to. Sgm. pathisera ure requested to coopprate and anpport the movement. In the end, I have a eanguine hopa that my this appeal will recitios an earliest responge and not go in vain. The Hindu editors and other jourualists devoted to the social reform are requested to please make comments on $i t$, so that this sppeal may aitract public sttention.
any help from whatever direction and quarter, in any form, will be thankfully reeeived and ntilizad.

> Yours Faithfolly,
> LAJPAT $R_{A I}$ SANAI,
> Hong Secretary,

The Funjab Vidhya Vipaba Sshait Sabha, Labore.

## GUBU GODIND SINä's BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY <br> AND

THE NATIONAL WEEE.
The Tribune of Lahore bus been requested to publish the fullowing latior:-
Drab Bruturrs,—Gura Gobind Singh's Birth Day Auniverary falla this year in the Xmas week. In those daya prominent men from ell parts of India shall gather at Amritgar, the aacred city of the Sikh3. It is proposed to entertain Hinda, Muhammadan, Chriatian and other leaders, gatbered on the oceasion, at a dinner or Tea Party in come mencorstion of the great Gurn'e word in the direction of natiodal anity. The Dianer or Party will be given on the birthday of the Gura ou belalf of the Sikhs. It will be purely a gocial fanction. Prowinent Sithe from Amritsar, Lahore, Gajranwala, Lyallpur eto, bave ulready expressed their willingnees to juin and take on active pert. It is desired that abuat 1000 ron-sikbs be invited on the uocasion. Expenees for the Tea Party will be aboat $\mathrm{kl}, 1500$ and fur Dianer Re, 5,000 . Thuse iaterested will kindly communicate with the oudersigned.

Sabuul Surgil Cavficbieua,
Nazir Hunbo,
Qwalmandi, Lahore. $\qquad$
TUE TITLE "HON'BLE".
The Edit,r The Indian Social Reformer. Sir,

Now that the Reforms bill is sure to be passed, may I jnest draw the attention of the powers-that-bo to the suggestion in the Ruforms llapurt that the title "Hou'ble" for Council menehere should be drupped. It was a very wise saggeetion and wo have no idea whether they sre guing to drop it as proposed or whether are likely to retain it. It I may any ao, it is not very desirable or healthy from the political atandpoint, to let lousa 1000 or $1500 \mathrm{H}_{\text {on'blea }}$ bafore a bewildered cuatify -uut to pieak of the other thonssids, among the wunld-be and pruspuctive aspirante to the title. Joke apart, it is also a print to te considered whether the dropping of the "Hou'ble" will not belp to a considurable extent in the putity of electuneering comprign aud folitice and in the ouning to the fram of aex with real deaire 10 work for the public welliare bat nut for tha abike of the glory or title beLine such mentierehipa in the Conacil. In sddition to the passing of the Currapt I'ractices A:t, the Gopurnuent might woll take this atep allou to purify Indian pulitics end ats partier. The appellation "Hunbou" cau be dropped to all excopt for Exectivo Cunucil Menbera and Miniblere, $\mathrm{I}^{\prime}$ renidenta and Vice-Mreidents of Connuilo.
But, ia the Cunacile aud Absemblies, the membere nust adopt tus practice of the Huase of Comaune apd address one shother as thu H un'ble member suad aud or the Hou'blo member for bhubay or l'oous or Malras or Tanjore.

## TEE BANK OF TAIWAN, LIMITED.

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[^19]'ol XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1919. No. 16.


## OONTIENTH.

The Rev. D. Mackichan.
The English Presson Martial Law Excesses.
The Retorm Bill in the Houge of Lords. .
The Gandhi-Candler Corres. pondence.
An Unucemly Controversy, Indiane in East Africa.
The New National Platform. 1.

The Problein of Christianity is India.

Recollections of the Late Mr. Viresalingam Pantulu.
The Borstal System, in the Punjab. 1.
What Bombay is in most Need of.
Rural Credit ia the Philip. pines.
"Culture, the Underlying Purpose of the Nation." The Presidency Women's Sporte and Games Tourna. ment.

## NOTES.

The Rev. D. Mackichan: The impending retirement trom 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. Eis 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 strik. ing. That, during recent. years, the natural caution of his Scotish ancestry, has been rather strongly reinforced by the equaliy natural reluctance of advancing years, to move with the times or even to recog. nise that the times are moving, goes without saying. But in all tha. 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 ladia, and by a transparently sincefe 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 com. manding talonts, had they been applied to any other walk ol-hife, would have brought him to the front rank. They wero devoted in the spirit of his re-ligion-which be, if wo may be lorgiven for making the observation, rather interpreted in a certain spirit of Imperialism which became the dominating principle of English and European politics duriog 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 urginated, thoughtul Christians had begun to perccive that their religion had departed from and should be brought buck to its pristune ideal of service to, not the mastery of, mankind. We ure inclined to think that Dr. Mackichan did not teel bimsell 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 kindliest 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 Hanter'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 tor the administration of Martial Law in Amritsar and Labore, 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 snot down in cold blood, was the climax, thougb the bombing at Gujranwala ran it close. General Dyer who personally directed what the London Times and Marchester Guardian do not hesitate to call the Jhallianwala massacres, produced a telegram from the LientenantGovernor approving of his action. The Viceroy, it will be remembered, took upon himself the responsibility for giving Sir Michael $O^{\prime}$ Dwyer a free hand, in bis 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 Gwaydias 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. Ihe Indian, press was muzzled. Pleaders were not allowed ., to enter the province. The Anglo-Indian press so far as it had knowledge of these nappenings, 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 bim 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 bim as much as to the historian of events that are past. "Crimes by constituted authorities worse than the crimes by Madame Tussaud's malelactors. 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 Dy constituted authorities in the Puajab."

We say "some of the lacts", tor the burden of letters irom the Panjab has been that the full trath 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 Retorm Bill was passed unanimously by the House of Lords on the rathinstant. Lord Sinha is reported to have read so rapidly this 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 bis trepidation. When allowance is made for these considerations, one cannof still help feeling that Lord Sinba'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 mach. It is not necessary to go in detail over Lord sinha's grounds. An Indian in that position could certainly have exbibited 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 tighe 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 ioth instant.

The Gandhi-Candler Correspondence. The letters which have been exchanged between Mr. Candler, Editor of the Haq, the Puojab official newspaper, and Mr. Gandhi, regarding certain animadversions in the Haq on Mr. Gandbi's efforts to promote ${ }_{H}$ indu-Musum unity, illustrate the dangers of official journalism controlled by an Editor who, on his own confession, is ignorant not only of Iadian etiquette but the amenities of public controversy. Mr. Candler seems to have thougbt that be was putting a poser to Mr. Gandni by asking in his journal whetner he (Mr. Gandhi) was prepared to get bis daugbter married to a Mahomedan, 10 proof of his sincerity regarding Hindu-Moslem buity. Mr. Candler professes that be was unaware that this was offensive untul he was told by a Hindu friend that the question might appear to be deliberately offensive and in bad taste, in view ol lndian etiquette and tradition. We do not think that there is anything intrinsically offensive in such a question il asked in the right spirit; but we may take the liberty of telling Mr. Candier that, Indian etiquette and tradition apart, a question such as this, put to the course of a political controversy, would be regarded as violating the decencies of public controverky in every part of the world where gutter journalism does not bask in the sunshine of offictal patronage. We are sure that Mr. Candier would never bave dreamt of asking whether liarl Curzon will give bis 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 sincertity 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 journatism. The sooner it closes down the Haq and sets Mr. Candier to the kind of work for which, as bis article which we print today shows, be is eminently qualified, the better will it be for itself and the province.

An Unscemily Controversy. Wo regret the unseemly controversy that has ensued on the preseatation of an address in the name of the Poona people to Mr. Titak on his retorn from his legal and political missiun 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 lact that in his own circle be has in some notable respects given effect to the principles of social reform. His voyage to England was itself an act of practical sucial reform, even though Mr. Tilat 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, bis scholarship, and uablemished private life. It was a plucky act on Mr. Tilak's part, at bis age, to have undertaken the long sea voyage and the discomiorts of a prolonged tay in England, during a large part of which heengaged himselt in public work on behalf of his country. It is to us a matter of much satisfaction that his influence in Eagland was steadily exerted on the side of moderation. Serious as our differences with Mr, Tilat have been in the past, and hesitate as we must to forecast the course of his politice in the future, we cannot but recognise that in his own way be has Gilled an important (and, who can aay, unnecessary?) role in our public lifo, and that he may yet prove a potent constructive lorce, if he brings tis 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 workera.

Indians in East Africa, Mr, Gandhi has received the following cablegrum from Mr. Andrewt, 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 againgt luture immigration and to stop Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated to be that through Indian contact depravity is the result but advance under Coristian western civilisation. Government economic com. mission report recently published takes rama attitude meationing specifically Indian moral depra: vity and approving South African exclusion policy. Intense indignation expressed here by local Indian Congress gaihering which was remarkable for itt 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 Atrica while demanding complete continuance of all existing rights. Circulate and explaia 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 guffer this kind of thing to happen.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBA Y, DECEMBER 21, 1919.

## THE NEW NATIONAL PLATFORM. I.

We are glad to see that the argent need of drawing up a programme based on the social and national needs of the conntry, and of making a concerted effort to give effect to it, is coming to be generally recognised. The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye outlined sach a programme on a limited scale recently in Poona. Profegsor Kale in a letter to the press last week arges the same view. The Laader of Allababad has enlarged on the idea and the Sanj Vartman of Bombay has pressed it forcibly on its readers in a recent pumber. We have been working at the idea for a considerable time now. The time is now come to indicate bricfly our conclusions which, we need hardly say, are of a tentative oharacter. Such a programme can be finally drawn np by a number of trained and experienoed men sitting down together and applying their mind 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 popalation by a number of religions. It in futile to hope that any one of these religions will ever eatablish 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 chonld 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 Mahomedun, a third is a Hinda and so on. In other words, Indian nationaliste should cultivate and encourage the apirit of active religious toleration, in place of the pasaive one which has prevailed in India from time immomorial. 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 Barope. Let India have the glory of giving a new and more fraitfal interpretation to this ancient beritage 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 religions toloration. We realise that it will be the one which oar be most easily utilised, to create prejadioe and opposition against the programme. But it is, in our viem, the most important in our scheme, and prejudice and opposition must be faced and satisfiod.

The question of caste is one sfecting the Hindu popalation alone. It is curions that while Hindus will admit the potentiality of other religions to raise their votaries in the spiritasal scale, they do not think that their own religion ean do
an equal service to persons of, all castes within its fold. Becsuse of this, our new programme must declare in emphatic terms that all men have absolute ly équal spiritaal, moral and intellectual potentialities, and it should be the aim of the Indian statesman and reformer to convert by every meaus these potentialities to actalities. 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 discass, for repressive treatment, and it should be the object of tha new programme to remedy this ancient wrong, Not only justice but expediency and nitional uecessity 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 fall height of their statare, that the Indian nation can be helped to make its fall contribation to the service of humanity.

There is a great danger which we must take immediate steps to gaard against. Oar social drawbacks and defects are many, bat in one respect we enjoy an advantage over western nations. We refer to the sentiment against strong drink inculoated by all our religions and ingrained in our Indian nature. This sentiment has been somewhat disturbed by the impact of westem example and, we regret tc 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 Ministe: shonld have any truck with this evil. Firmly, unhesitatingly, resolately, the policy of Total Probilition shoald be proclaimed at the first opportanity on the opening of the new Councils, and we shonld 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. Bot there is no excase 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 altimate goal ahould be to make the educational highway from the primary to the postgraduate stage free to all, to men as well as women. No child should be debarred by penary to make the utmost of its God-given talents by anitable edacation. Mach more shall have to be done to redeem the ohildhood 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 cracial test
of the efficiency of ita administration and of the soundness of ite civilisation. All credit is due to Lady Chelmsford for taking up the work of ohildwelfare and pashing it to pablio notice. The tendency of thought now reveals the essential unity of the spiritana and the political. The final verdict of hisiory on Indian statesmanship will turn on what it does for India's little ones. Inasmuch an he does his putmost for them, the Indian administrator will ensure for himself asipation here and hereafter.

The education of women should take a specially prominent place in the national edacstion 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 aingle 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 edncation is a means of money-making would have gained far less ground than it has anfortanately done. Onr programme must give women's education its rightfal place. This will be useless, unless the social customs which abbreviate a 'girl's schooling, be dealt with. Infant marriage mast be legally prohibited and the marriage of a girl below the age of seoondary education, discouraged. The age of consent should be raised. The franchise shoald be conferred on women at the first opportanity, to mark the acoeptance in our national movement of women on a footing of absolate equality with men.

From every side, come complaints tégarding the alarming growth of prostitation. There has evidently been a break-down of the social system, due chiefly, we think, to the bigh rates of mortality since the beginning of this centary from famine, plague and other epidemics. The anbject has to be carefully investigated by a commission and legislation undertaken on. its recommendations. The sabject has been stadied carefally by devoted men and women in England and America, and the results of their experience should be atilised. Empirical setion 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 applipd 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 slandard of parity for men and women, and no law which, expressly or impliedly, recognises a difference in this respeot, is likely to do good. The women of India shonld make their voice heard on this point, and onr new platform should farnish them with ample opportanies for doing so.

## THE PROBLEM OF CHBISTIANITY IN INDIA. <br> ```(Br " Kotqarh.")``` <br> I.

Mr. Manilal Parekh's two articles opon this subject a a intensely interesting. With the facts of denationalization, lack of coloar, of life, of spiritrality in large sections of the Christian commanity, the present writer agrees. Even with Mr. Parekh's conclusion as to the only remedy be feols 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 thoughta and discipline which srrogates to itself the name of "The Indian Charch."

Possibly the writer misapprehends Mr. Parokh': position opon one point, if so be craves indalgence in advanoe 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 statina is tanght, reaslting in a highly anpleasant attitade of self-assertion apon the part of converts from the lower classes towards those who are their social apperiors by right of generations of education, cultare, and velf-respeot? If the latter ia his meaning one oan appreciate it, and even aym-pathize-especially as regards the astonishing lack of perception displayed by so resny missionaries and other Earopeans in this respect, together with the evils and oomplicatione resulting.

If, however, he woald wish to perpetate differences upon a basia of caste, rather than apon that of caltare, refinement and education, one is inclined to trast that be will wot carfy the more thonghtful section either of Christians or Hindus with him. Sarely the only basia apon which a family or individaal-can be considered to be apon a higher plane than another will be in the posses: sion of finer traits of characier, a nicer sense of honoer, a higher intellectalal and spirital life, and a wider and deeper culture. Any other badia of differentiation-whether of caste or wealth or official position-is artificial, and as we grow wo wards the light, ahould be lesm and leas able to win our allegiance and sapport.

One agrees with Mr. Parekh that the fadiscriminate baptian of maltitader of ignorant outcastes, hae operated against Hindas of a higher social order accepting the Christian religion. Bat in it merely becanse they are ontcastes? It is not trae to the spirit of the noblest and traest in Hindaism. Valmiki, Tiravallavar, Rams Das, Kabir and a bost of other saints and sagen, are not the lesa reverenced because they were of low-caste. It is
even held their glory, and it is the glory of India thet this is so.

Had the multitade of outcastes whom the. missionaries have awept into the Christian fold, come to the Lord Christ with the simple devotion exhibited by Sadama Bhagat when he went to Dwarkapuri, and anbsequently evinced that indifference to wordly 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 mach in the fact that the converts were oatcastes, as in the knowledge that these people had changed their religion without undergolog any spiritaal experience which would justify such a step, and that their object in deserting the gods of their fathers, was material and worldly rather than apirital.

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 fecl that a largo portion of the community with which be will have to cast in his lot if he feels impelled to accept a great spiritual trath, are themsolves quite anooncoions of that trath, and look apon the path which he has come to consider the way of salvation, as a way of gain and worldly aggrundizement. In this way, the reckless proletariatising of the Indian Christian body undoubtedly must repel those who feel the call of Clurist and nust hinder many from following Him.

This is bat one of a number of factors at present operating to make it difficult for a self-respecting man to beoome a Christian in India.

And yot in considering Mr. Parekh's article it mast be born in mind that long before "proletariatising" began to take iplace, Hindas were disinclined to nocept the religion of Christ ns brought to them from the West. Indeed it might almost be said that the sttempt to bring ubout the so-called "mass-movement" among the outcastes was "a council of desperation" apon the pitt of the missionaries-the outcome of their lack of success in converting the higher types of Indian manhood to their doctrine and systen.

The above would seem to indicate that the unues of the failare of Christianity to win a phoe in the heart of India, as cummerated by Mr. Parckh, are more or less subsidiary and that If we are to get at the real difficalty we mast go deeper.

Aboat this decper altimate canse, the wriler of this article ventares a saggestion. In order to do so ho mast perfore tonoh apon his own personal
experience since arriving in India nearly sixteen years ago, and in doing so wishes to beg the indalgence 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 Chirist, bat Cbristianity 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 traththat anything beyond it was superfluons, that any trath taught by any otber religion was better taught by his own, and that India in order to achieve her alvation had nothing to do beyond accepting that trath with regard to the Lord Christ which the Weat had worked out for her ander the gaidance of the Holy Spirit.

In the conrse of time he began to study the propagandist literatare of missions, and soon came to the conolusion that if Christianity hud been presented to him in such a manner he would himself have been unable to accept it.
As a consequence be decided to study the greater Upanishads, the Darsanas and Vedant Sabras, and also to steep himself in the atmosphere of the later Puranic literatare which so largely inflaences 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 Hinda attitade towards life was.

As regards his parpose for beginning this study; the result was distinctly unsatisfactory: Of course be found mach thet was intellectually nnacceptable, much that was demonstrably fallat cious, as he would have found in the scripture of his own or apy other religions sygtem. On the other hand, it began to dawn apon him before many months had elapsed that these works contained the intelleotanal efforts of those who were seeking to grapple in the boldest and noblest manner with the deep problems of life, its meaning and its parpose.

Before long he discovered to his astonishment that in altempting to solve some of these problems the ancient thinkers of India had often shown a finer spirit and a haman intellectaal peroeption than the great minds of the early Chareh daring the centaries when it was taking shape and evolving its areeds.
The writer made another, to bim, most interesting discovery. He found that there were rast and important a reas of thought and speoulation upon the meaning of life with which the Charch had never dealt, or with whish it hed dealt most ansatisfactorily. Upon tarning to the Hindu scriptares he found-not so mach in the aotual solutions arrived at as in the general tendency of thought and method of approach-the key to mach that the Caristian Religion as evolved in the West, has never attempted to explain, or abont which is teachings have been frankly agnostic.

## II

As these new vistas opened out it was a shock to discover bow highly disconnected and fragmeniary the religion tanght by the West as Chriatianity really was even at its best. As ordinarily tanght in this land it was worse than that-it was puerile. The Lord Christ has taught that it we desire to enter the Kingdom of Heaven we mast become "as little ahildren," 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 taughs here in the name of Christ.

However, and aduitting the above, the greatest defects of Christianity as tanght here at present appear to be negative rather than positive. It consisto in an array of mighty life-giving traths, each of them developed one-sidedly, laying vast stress apon certain aspects of life and entirely oblivious to others equally important.

While tho 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 new and higher glory in the light of a clearer underatanding of the significance of mach that hitherto had lain hidden. The light from the Hindu scriptares 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 religions development of intense spiritaal significance to his own apiritual progress, and has been deeply influenced by it. Yet he is not less Chris-tian-only more Hindu in his concept, and be humbly believer that in being more Hindu in his outlook opon life he is more Christian than lee 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 solation of any spiritaal or religions problem. In this case it has been, and is, most difficult to express, and your correspondent has re-wrilten this paper four times in his attempts to do so. Even now he feels far from antisfied that it makes clear the trath he wishes to convey.

His conviction is this:-The missionaries came strongin 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 shonld accept whole and entire the Christian system of the West, developed as the trath of Christ had reacted apon the Western temperament. Their conception was that Christianity should replace the age-Iong religious development of Indis: This was their purpose, but unless the writer greàtly errs, the Divine parpose was very different. It was the will of God that the trath of the Lord Christ should be brought to India to be
completed and rounded ont and made a perfect whole-n soul-setisfying and intalleni-satisfying philosophy of life, its meaning and ita parposeby conjanction with what it lacked and the anoient treasare-house of Indian thought and apiritual experience contained. His conviction is further that, though in a great rariety of poinds the Indian epiritual ideal at its best bas been both nobler and intellectually sounder than that of Christianity as developed in the Weat, it nevertheless needs Christ within it in order to realise the goal of its aspirations and the object of all ite spiritual labours. All else-all ecoleniastical systems of discipline, all Western modes of thought, may go, but the fatare faith of mankind, whether it be called Hinduism or Christianity, muit settle ite relation to that stapendous Pertonality and the message He bringe to the heart of man.

For India's sake and for Christ's sake-ayc, and for the world's sake-the poor cmasoulated parody of what Indian Christianity might be, must go. In East or West, as Mr. Parekh says, there never was such a thing beford. Wheiher it will simply die out, or, waking to a higher ideal, break its bonds, and freed from outside money and oatside control be born anew in self-respect and spirituality, no one oan say.

One thing seems certain to the writer: When Christian Indians learn to be true to Curist 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-rightfal place in their devotions, when it dewns upon their cons. cionsness that all these came before the Lordpartakers in His purpose and preparing man's soul for His advent, and that their teaohinge are a priceless spiritasl beritage-the Old Teatament of Indian Chriatianity, whon the Indian followers of Chriat turn to the deepest and best in the apiritual life and thought of Hindaism to find the wherewlh: al to bridge the gaps in their faith we brought them from the West, and thereby learn to fashion it into a coberent and astisfying whole, then and then only will Carist find His trae place in this land. Then only will the Indian Christian' oommunity cease to be denationalised and at the beck and call of foreigners, and its members will see that the Lord came'not to destroy Hindaism bat to falfill it.
Christianity and Hiadaism need each olber. The best in each is fncomplete without the other. The traths of each remain bat half iraths withuol the light which each can ohed upon the other. As men have learned to see with eyen unblinded by the age-old prejadices and preconceptions that shackle them to-day, they will come to anderstand that when the divine synthesis hes been affected a irue Christisn will be able to call hioself a Hinda, and a true and perfect Hinda will be able to say, "I also am a Christian."

## RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LATE MR. VIRESALINGAM PANTULU.

## (By Mr. R. Veneata Sivedo.) <br> My recollections of the late Rao Bahadar K. Vire-

 salingam Pantala dute from 1882, the year of my removal from my native village to Rajahmandry for my stady, though my intimate acquaintance with him began later on, in the year 1880, when I became his papil in the Culloge at that place. Daring those seven years I shared with my boy-comrades of Rajahmandry several of the wild and exaggerated notions current in that town aboot the reformer. We ased to think of him as a hard-headed and even hardhearted man, who was bent on forcing down the throat of an nuwilligg society those terrible, nanseons thinge, the "reforms"! We woald therefore shrick from such a one whenever we chanced to meet him in the atreets. Some of as even thonght that he was entrasted by the powers that be with the function of a Creneral Censor over the condnct of men, and that Whatever emanated from his lips was gospel trath to the Government. At times I heard in some public meeting his voice, quavering as mach from enthasiasm as fromastabborn asthma, though what he spoke was beyond my comprebension or immediate interest. People, we sarmised, naturally dreaded this man who was concerned in ashering in hostile reforms, and who, moreover, did not hesitate to holding up for panisbment bribery and other malpracticesBat this was only one side, the sterner side of tha man. In those days, the farces of Mr. Viresalingam were a dainty alike to yonng and old. The weekly I izeka Varthani might have been a sonree of dread to thuse concerned. Bat to ne yonager folts mighty was the interest provided in its lighter, literary side. The sarcastic hnmonr of the leader, the fan and frulic of story and comment-these anreservedly commeuded themselves to the reader.

Later on wheu I became his atadent, I saw things more closely and olearly. Mr. Viresulingam was a power in the College. Not even the good Principal Metcalfe who, like tbe poet's village preacher, "Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change his place," had dedicated the foll term of his edacational aervice in India to the prosperity of the Rajahmondry College, wielded balf the inflaence which Mr. Viresslingam exercised over the stadents. I do not refer morely to his popalarity. And it must be suid once for all in jnstice to the decessed that if ever there breathed a man who set a defiant face againat the vile art of coarting popalarity, it was most emphatically Mr. Viresalingam. He was never a hauter after popularity; and yet on many a oritical occasion, he was aurrouuded by scores of loyal stadents who were mest ready to do auything for him. He was most popular and most iuflnential, not becanse he catered to the whime aud funcies of his papile, nor chose to be gnided by them, but becanse he coavinced them of the trathfutaess of the canse be adrocuted and took the reins of gaidance entirely into his own hands. Often would Mr. Viresalingam eugnge himself in earnest and apirited conversation with his papils on the larruing questions of the day. He appeared to us in the class-room, like Socrates before the marketplace of Athens, with an ever-ready and nanasailablo dialectio. He opened his bosom to ns and freely apoke to ne of thiugs great and amall, withoat reserve or eeremony. Thas be songht to foster in his stadents a spirit of bold and iodependent thinking, especially on the anbjeet of social relorm which was dearent to his beart.

## THE BORSTAL SYSTEM, IN THE PUNJAB I.

 (By Me. Edmund Candlbr.)It is only daring the last iwenty years that we have learnt wisdom in the treatment of the young criminal. Our grandfathers ased 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 gouthful offender was natarally depraved, an ineradicable spront of Satan. The treatment prescribed was to whip "the offending Adam" ont of him, as a dreadfal example, a pariah to be shunned by respectable society. We, of a more mercifal 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 aro twenty-one. Gradaally 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 meoh sinned against as sinning. Such was the primary dictation of hamanity and mercy. Apart from the ethical, there was the economic, argument, 一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 oentury that the "juvenile adalt" 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 institations derive their name.

The aim of the Borstal institations 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. Dat the peculiar and special featere of the Borstal sysiem is the conditional release of the young prisoner to an approved society, or individaal, and a period of one year's probation after the completion of the sentence. How great a stimalas this is to effort, and how admirably it lends itself to the design of the institation, will be gathered from every page of the second snd 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 pat new heart into a lad, to bring out his personality, and to encoarage in him a sense of responsibility and self-respeet.

## What bombay is in host need of.

## The Editur, The Indian Social Reformer,

## Bis,

Bombing in now pasaing through an Induatrial boom the like of whioh wen nover wituessed belars, It in the earmest bope of all that it is only an indastrial boom of ary bealchy kind. There have been geveral induatrial booms in all Westera Conntrise, bat, on ench oosmaion, many conpanies of a questionable aature apring ap, Whioh altimately came to grief and which everi affected the cound concerna. Also, there is the danger of too great an imitation or rivalry in one aingle line of basioest. One hopes that the presont cumpiay promoters instend of adopting the get-rich-quick method, will look to the intereets of the companies and of the conutry and will apply thamealvee honeetly and onthusiastically to the encoesfifl mitnagement of thoir conseros. It in mont gratifying that, alter all, Bombay ham awakened bersell to the necessity and advantages of having Fire Insurance Dom: panien of ber own and that she has aleo leunched on other industriee like Woollen yills, Chemical worke, eta. She many also venture, if possible, on Shipbbuildiag; Steam Narigation Companies and Michinory and Mill atorae manafecture and other key and nitior induatries for which we now depend on other countries.

Bot, with all hee indastrial greatnees, thare is ons thiag, Bombeg in in most need of and the laok of which hat been, more or lens, $a$ bendicap to ber interesta. And that in the absence of a weekly Journal, commercial and finnoial. In England and in America, the number of commeroial and finaucinl Journale are legion. Each induatry or frade bas ite own Jouranl, mostly weeklies; and canh inductial or trading oentre oun bosest of aeveral Joorank. Wheremp; it it mont aupprising, and it is mosi lamentable too, that Bombay bas not got a powertal commeroiel weekly to saleguerd hae varions interests, Bengal has in its two Journals, the Capital and the Commerce not to epeak of the other jouraale like Railways, Engineoring and Planter's Gazotts eto., Iwo powertul commercial weekliea most vigoroualy and zenlounly gaarding and enpporting the interesta of jute, soml, tee and other indostries. In the whole woild, Bombay is the only manafacturing centre, incladiag of course Abmedabed, that has gone on sll these years without a Journal of each a kind and it is wonderfol the need for it is not felt even now. Pertupa, the iden ie there and it hat not been giren shape or falalled vining to inorlit. It is also earprising that no English joaranlist has shought of atarting a finanoinal weetly there. Bat there is one aspect to be olearly borne in mind in this city of predominaitity Indian interests that any jourasl of the usaal Auglo-Indian type or aympethies has not much ebances of enceess. It whould be atarted onder Iadina anspices with poseibly an Indian Board of Directors and it must be an organ to safogoard the several manofactariag and trading interesta of Boanbay:. An English Editor with great Indian Finanoial experience might be appointed as Editor and there is resily no harm in appoiuting on Euglishman as Editor notwithetanding the possible sidicale as egainet Swadenhi precept and exanupla.
I smquite surea weekly would be a real saccese and would pay ite way. Why ! if thare had been a jouroal started last Jenuary, it wuald have receivel conoiderable suma by pabliabing the prospastas as of the innumerable eornpanies that were foontel. Even now, it in not too lata. In addition to company prospestases, it shoald pablinh the reports and meetiugs of all companies with above one or two lakith of capitel. It should have the chare and atock market
list not ooly of Bombay bat aleo of other oition; in thoald have cormespondsate in all sitise and wonatries where Bombey ben besinem conneotian an for erenpla, China, Japan, Persian Galf Regioa, Rat Alrien oten and it ehoald gire mperate pages lor Benke, Imaracoe Companien, Railwagu, Milla, Import ani Export trate and atber tradee and indastriep. Ia - word, it abould be like the Ecmomist or Statiet of London or oven like the Commerce of Colontita, I hope the leading Iadian merchanta will eoon etart a Jograal of this nature.

In this conneotion, I woald lite to draw the atmation of Guancisl prople to one poiut, though not quite relereat to my theme. To all spparasoes, is is quite olear Bombay is barating with money. Alac, by our greater exporta than importa, exobeage is affeoted and cooniderable belance in dne to Iudis. Will it not be adrimble to bay all Indisn Sesarition which are now held in London 1 The Government, them selves, might enoourage thia poliog of Indians bolding the sterling secaritien which are now held in London. In that way, Bombey will fond employmente for fie arplen funde and aleo, the balanee in favonr of India will be decresed. The Governmeat seouritien beld in England ran to many millions and then, there are the ehares of Rallway and other cons. panies. There is no roaton why thate ohonld not be bought at their market price by Indiana. At present, we don't Gud quotatione for these in Iodian pepers. The proposed weokly shoald pablish the market quotations of all ladian recarition and abaree hold in England.
K.

## hURAL CREDIT IN TEE PEILIPPINEE.

Mr. Mek Crateher, Aenistan Director of Agrienturg, ion tribntei en intereating artiole to the ourrent nomber of the "Philippine Revicus" on the remerkable progrest of ruta oredit in nume islend daring the last three yeara. He obeirtes: IIt may be noted, that the firt raral oredit eoviely in the Philippise Iblands, ander Aot No. 2508, was orgenised et Cabanatuan, Nueva Esije, Ootober, 19, 1916, praotionlly three yeern aga By Ostuber, 1917, one jemr from thit dete, there were sboat one handred raral oredit ampatiotione fo oporation reprenenting eambioed onpital stook of over P. 800,000 , of which over P. 80,000 had been pad in and Fat being loeved. out in same ranging from P. 30 to 100 to membera of the amoois. tion, small faruent who were asing the money thoo obtained or utrictly mgrioultaral parposen, the cotal memberobip of the ascociationa at that time being entimatid at 20,000 farmers.

At present writing (Septamber, 1919) thert are 872 incorporated aseciations end ofer one huadrad move in qurions siegen of incarporation. The combined capital stook approximater P. 2, 300,000 of which more than P, 500,000 . has been actually peit in. The total membernhip of these mancintions is now mors than 40,000 , and small loans which aggregets orer P. 400,000 have been made to more than 8,000 members. Io addition to the sbore . finencial ativilia, the legielatare debignated the rural aredii essociations as agenit to tom the fand of one million pesos to reoponsible farmors, to sid them in plantiog uncoltirated areas to rice and corns. The Seerefery of Agrionltare and Nataral Hesources finslly passes on all ipplications lor loane from thie fund receired throngh the asooistions. A ppliontions for loant to the amonat of P. 700,000 through nome 200 wacociatiune have already been received and favoarably woted apon by Secretary Aproibla, From thit it can readily be seen that a fand of more then P. $1,150,000$ bey been mede arailable to omall farmers through rural eredit, whers three yeare ago these eame farmert recoived gothing to oll from thin conren and wore forced to cocept small losmentrory at ruicons rates in order to earry on thoir asinll larming veataren,

## " CULTURE, THE UNDERLYING PURPORE OF TEE NATHON'.

This is the key-note atruck by the Ootober-November isene of the Vivekachintamani the organ of the Children's Edacationsl Movement whieh beging with the culture of women as "wife in India illngitating the trinmph of novi over environment" by the thrilling atory of a great woman with the ebild-heart (Mrs. Henry Fawoot) who like "Victoria the Good," though born in the weet, has lived to fulal in ber own life and person, the ancient ideal of noble "woman" at wife in the hand of Aryavarta, the land of neble jdeals. Thus doth it call attention to the "Central porpose" of the ancient Indian civiligstion. uUnderlyimg every oivi. lisation is a spititual parposes-for which the nations have longbt valiantly while thay livel, bequasthing it as an heir loom to a child,-me the young world of the future. This coltare, the dearly "oherished treasure" of the natiou, is the oatoome of their leading thonght, which in tarn, is their manaer of looking at life,-a thing whioh mast be realised as the nation's roligion, naing that word in its broadest nonae. Thas is the "Ardla-Narievarn" the bighent embodiment of the religious ideal which permeates the "cealture"the "central parpose" of the vation's existenes in India and ita astivition in life. The Indian is the greateat Home. lover in the face of the world, and there in not a boul amrong them, be he the saint or sinner, bero or walkliag, who in his beart of besrts does not reverence the noble divine form of momen sa "trhakti" the embodimeat of soal-power, at whose feat he will lay down his very life, if need bo subordinatiog all other parposes of life to the "centres parpose" of the nation the "casiet" no to spea ly, in whioh the bent traditions of the ancient epiritual oivilisation of India in preserved. A man will easily renonace the world, the world of pasiong, of polf, power and position, in the ecstaoy of his devotion to God; bat even, ouch a man like the great Sri Rumakribhna Paramabamsa Deya, eane not bear to see a womauly woman (i,e. the idoal womana) in tears. WAll bis devotion to God will take winge and fy' at the great Soint sald if he- nees her in tears. No simply "cannot afford it." All honour to the Sadier Commiasion that they bave been able to catch glimpse of this "sootinl parpoes" round which revolyes the great apiritual civilisation of national lodia.

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 Gawes Tournament, on Monday the 22nd instant at 5 P.M. Lady Tata has kindly consented to preside.

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TVol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1920. No. 44 .

| Iadia Office Charget. <br> Who is a Sikh. | Caste: Its Origin nod Growth III. |
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| Profeceor Tranaig on the German Iodemolity. | Mysore Social Notes. The Turkinh Pence. |
| Who le an Extremiat? The Late K. R. Mitra. | The Paper Scarcity Canada. |
| Protection of Cattlo. <br> The Prince of Wales' Vinit. | The Baok of Taiwan, Limited. |
| sir Narayas Chaodavarikar on the Puojab Iragedy.* | God in the Prison. The Baok of India, Limited. |

## MOTES.

India Office Charger. Alter 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 sceepted and it-boing fiven effect to. The Govermont of Indis notifies that :

His Majuet'M Government have decided to matho a sontribation of $£ 186,600$ per ansiam, with effeot from the ourrent Gnancial jeaf, towarde the coet of the administration of the Indis Office. This amonnt is made up asfollowt:-Salary of the Seoretary of State and Parliamentary Under Seoretary $£ 6,500$. Enatimeted ocent of the Iudis Ofise establishment which is omo plojed on admialatresive and pajition, as dietinot from agenoy, functions, $£ 180,000$. A contribution of $\$ 40,000$ per annum on nocount of the oost of the India Offies hes hitherto been mide in puranence of the recommendations of the Welby Fome miesion, to that the edditionl contribution whioh will be paid in concequenoe of the peasing of the Government of Indin Aet $\mathbf{1 9 1 9}$, is . $\mathbf{E 9 6} \mathbf{8 0 0}$. The amount uhown againat itom (1I) han been. adopted on the recommendation of a Committere, oppointed by Hin Majesty's Government to cemen the coit of the Indis Office esteblichmont emploged roppeotivaly on ageacy and jonagency functiona; and it will be in foree for $1920-91$ and the following tour yeare, at the ond of whioh pariod step: will be taken to reamese the contribation on the information than available. Asa result of this settlement the annuel dobate on Indian Afeirs in the Hoose of Conmons will take place not, at hitherto, on the preseatation of the Enat India Acoonnta, but on the ocoscion when the Civil Service estime wet, in whioh the contribution towarde the coet of the India qfiow is inolnded, are brought op for consideration in Com. mintioe 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 offize establishment employed respectively on agency and non-agency functions, is decidedly unfar to India. The question was decided by a Committee appointed by His Majesty's G overnment
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 lndian respresentative 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 in that weicxpeot that the Seoretary of State's diflearmomente will ampunt so about $£ 46$ millione, and that he will be able to meet theec from the recoveriee whieh ha will make trom the Weer Office in reapeat. of pejments made by un in Indie on their bohall and by molling Comnoil Bille for \& 8 妾 millien.

Who in a Sikh? We Dave noticed from time tas time the controversy in the Punjab as to whoshould be megardecese : Silkb-fomtine purperes of the Sikh electorate under the Reform scheme. The difficulty. arises from the. fact that the \$ikhs are, unlike Mahomedans and Christians, closely connected by social ties with the Hindus. From political motives, attempts have been made to confine the terma "Sikh" to followers of Gura. Govind Singh who organised the sikbs into a military confederation. But these bave not been able to uproot the traditional interconnection between the Sikhs and the Hindus. The definition which the Punjab Government have devised for the "Sikb" in the electoral scheme, is the very worst imaginable. 4 press communique issued by that Government says :-

The method of devermining olaims and objectione in con. nection with the regiatration of eloctore in Sikh conatituencioe has beoa disonsesed by the Puojab. Advisory Committee on Beformes. The Committoe was eviattod in its dincussion by Babe Sir Garbakheh Singh, I. co 2. m, and Sardar Buhadar' Arar Singh, 0 I. n. They recommended that casem, of doubs should be settied by the devlaration of the pervon conderned. and they anggented that the declaration abould be in the following form :-

- In the presence of the Gari Granth Sabib I solemnly affirm that I am a Sikb, that I believe in the Granth Sebib, that I believa in the Ten Garas, and that I have so other roligion.'

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 bis religious belief in order to get the right to vote. Under this defiaition, a Sikh who is a member of the Brahmo

Samaj will not be entitled to vote in the Sikh electorate, although for mocial purposes he remains, and is regarded by the commanity to be, a Sikb. The case of the late 8ardar Dayal singt is an instance in point. The State goes beyond its legitimate limits when it takes opon 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 is 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 be invented commanal electorates Fivents sbow 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 ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ of peace imposes upon Germany charges for reparation which cannot lail to entail far-reaching changes in the trade between her and other countries. The German Government will have to effect payments which cannot beq less than $\$ 750,000,000$ a year and may even eiceed 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 bee 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 bad 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. 4 sinister German emerges, benf upon trade conquest. It is obvious that there is much in the deliberate plansand expectations of the Allies which runs entirely counter to this sort of commericial change. Their owh trade programmes are flatly incongistent with the programme which thrnugh the reparation requirements they impose on Germany.

Who is an Extremist? The Bengales (Calcutta) in. troduces some comments on our remarks in a recent issue on the resolutions passed at the National Liberal Federation thus: "The Imdian Social Reformer bas 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 Secial Reformer is prais indeed, specially when the object of praise is no other than the National Liberal Federation." Our contemporary does not surely mean to eay thet 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 judgmeat on the merits of each question as it arises and not to suit our judgment to ine predetermined conclusions of this or that party. Yournalism is degraded to hack work when it is made the tool of party interests, and we bave neither the taste nor the talent for journalism of that kind. We prifised the resolutions of the Federation because they were really well drafted and denerved praise. We are glad that the Bengales appreciates our observationg, but there is no need to rank us as partisans in order to give point to its appreciation. Our contemporary regarde our remarks as the straw showing thet the countryf is veering round to sanity and moderation. Ia this particular matter of the Punjab troubles, there is absolutely no difference, and has nevar been, betweer Moderates and Extremists. If anything, the Moderates are, as from their riper experience they should ba the more effectively condernnatory of the martial law excesses. We are airaid, therefore, that our apprecia. tion of the Federation's resolutions on Panjab 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 ol 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 bis living in Bombay. He started the Manoranjan, now known throaghout Mabarashtra as the premier illuterated Marathi monthly. As a publisher he did incalcolable service to Maraibi literature. He was a thorough going social relormer and his Manoranjan month after month advocated the advancement of women. He was a member of the Social Reform Association. and bis services during the Basu Bill agitation are well remembered. He was also a member of the Bombay"'Prarthana Samaj. He was thorougbly devoted to his work, but latterly his health had been very bad. Jast befora his death he uaderwent an operation, the shock of which be could not survive In Mr. Mitra, Marathi literature loses an indelatio gable servant, Social Reform and the cause of advancement of women, a courageo us champion.

Protection of Cattic: Mr. Mancherss D. Levangix senda us a copy of the reply which the Government of India have sent 10 his memorial, addressed " to His Excellency the Viceroy praying that the 'killing of milch and agricultural cattle may be, discoaraged and their export restricted. In their' reply the Goverrment of India etate that they are of opinion that a matter of this kind, being highly...controversial, is , best. lelf Arst to locats discussion, for which the provincial legislative councils as expanded under the scteme of constitutional reforms will afford suitable opportunities. With reference to this, Mr, Mancbersba informs us that the Hon. Mr. Khaparde will move the following resolution at the Imperial Legislative, Council: "This Conacil recommends to the Governor General in Council, that steps be taken by legislation and otherwise to discourage and whereever practicable to prevent in the interests of economy and the increase of agricultural produce generaliy the slaughter of milch cows, and agricaltural animals and their export out of British India.0

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER.

BOMBAY, JULY 4, 1920.

## tae prince of wales' visir.

In siew of the attempts made in some quarters, motdrionaly hostile to the rights and liberties of the Indian people, to get the promised visit of the Prince, of Wales to [ndia, next cold weather, modified or cancelled, by misrepresentations of the attitade of Indian leaders, calculated to prejadice the British pablic on its most -anceplible point of fervent devotion to the Crown and the Royal Fumily, we think it our daty emphatically to assert that the Indian people, irrespective of race and creed, are whole-hearted!y longing to aocord an enthasiastic weloome and homage, in keoping with Jadia's traditional sentiments of affectionate loyalty, proven on previons occasions, the most receot being the coronation visit of Their Majesties whose gracions kindness and sympathetic bearing are fresh in the pablic memory. Further, the Indian people realise that the Frince's visit, and his consequent close contact and interconrso with representative Indians, will enable His Royal Highness, as nothing else can; ts ascertain at first hand the trae state of pablio affaira and pablic feeling in this conutry. We strongly protest againat the attempts to prevent the visit, which are clearly inspired by an evident desire to avoid this most desirable result. Fally recognising the conatitutional limitatious of the British monarchy, the Indian prople know from happy experience, from Queen Victoria's time, that the Royal iuflnonce steadily eperates to amoothen their path to eqnal British citizenship. Iadia feels that the Prince's visit, like those of Their Majeaties, will draw closer together the ties binding the British and Jndian penples and will be the fraitfal means of removing mionnderstandings, of redressing wrongs, and of mromoting Empire molidarity. The cancellation or modification of the visit at this time will, therefore, create a profoand disappointment and lead to misunderctanding, and nill be regarded as an anmerited slar mpon Indin'e devotion to the Rogal Honee. In view especially of India's nostinted co-operation, at the call of the Empiro, in the war, this will be most nofortumata. We earueatly trast that the machinations of Tadin's enemies to prevent Eis Rergal Highness's visit, will be steraly reprobated by the British people and by His Mnjesty's Goverument and that His Royal IIghnem'a visit will not be postponed, modified or abandouel.

What Indian leadera feel is that His Majesty's Government should reslise that this instinctive feeling of the Indian people to give His Royal Highness a truly Iadian welcome, has at the present moment to straggle 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 Laggae might have been more bappily worded, and it is no wonder the Pioneer has taken prompt advantage of it to farther its sinister ends. Bat to those who anderstand the inner mind of the Indian people his meaning admits of no donbt whatever. In passing, we may remark on the impropriety and the practical inconvenience of individual leaders dashing off messages on such momentous matters withoat consalting other representative men and adopting a course likely to harmonise all sbades of opinion in the conatry. The mass-mind of the Indian people, it is trae, is deeply wedded to the tradition that the King is not only the soarce of all power but that he is also personally responsible for carrying on the administration on jast and hamane principles. If the masses of India are inclined to attribate their blessings to the Sovareign, they are no less inclined to inpute 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 safferings to his Ministers. Legal fictions were the recognised method of jaridical development in India as in medieval Earope, bat neither ralers nor roled ever thonght of this particular formala, evolved in the British spirit of compromise between democracy and antocracy. The British oonstitation epentually became antocratic in its forms bat democratic in its principles: Indian monarchy, on the other hand, while maintaining certain vestiges of its original democratic environment, degenerated into pure antocracy. That is by the way. What we are trying to impress on onr readers is that, althoagh the Indian mass-mind is as yet nabble to grasp the idea of a constitational monarchy which postalates that the King ean do no wrong, our edacated leaders do not soffer from a similar disab lity and they are boand in duty to take an opportanity anch as the one now happily open to them, to impress on the masses this essential diatitction between the British and Indian idea of kingehip. Not to do so, (and much more) to seem to cuantenance the masa-ides, is a gritvons failare of leadership.

At the same time, British statesmen should visnalise the position of Iodian leaders amidst a people whom the discreditable neglect of Anglo-Indian admiuistra-
cors hat allowed to remain so largely illiterato and nnecquainted with the principles of constitutional g. vernment. We, therefore, appeal ts the Bitish Iublic, Parliament and Gureroment to enable the Indian people to demonstrate their heartfelt devo tion to the Throne with undepressed hearts by taking prowpt and effective steprs to ease their minds. of the oppressive load of humiliation. sense of wroag and injastice an 1 anxiety, which weiphs on them owing to the failare of the Govern ${ }^{-}$ ment of India and the Secretary of State to realise the gravity of the Panjab excesses and the nonfalfiment of the Prime Miaister's solemn pledge to the retention of Constantioople, Thrace and Asia Minor by Tarkey. Adegnate and immediate action, definitely expressive of condemation and censure of all officers, whatever their position, actnally or morally responsible fur gross Punjub excesses, effective measares to prevent their recurrence, and the revision of the Tarkish Treaty in keeping with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge, are essential to enable the Indian people to give their freest and fallest expression to th-ir instincts of love and loyalty on the occasion of the Prince's visit.

## SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ON T日E PUN.JAB TRAGEDY.*

## Tere R-or Causto

In view of the detate which will shortly take place in loth the Hou es of Parlianent, it is highly neceseary thit we shonld do onr beat $t o$ put before Parliament and the British pablic the simple issues emerging from the Congress Sab-Committee's Report, the Hanter Committee's reports, the Government of India's and the Secretary of State's despatches on the anbject. The situation srising out of the tragedy calls fur an emphatic expression of the Indian people's point of view in a menner which, withont being nndignified, will leave no manner of doabt as to what it is the people of Indis feel and what it is the people -of Iadia expect of Parliament and tha British public to do to wipe ont the blot on British atatewmanship and British sense of jnstice, cast by the excesses of the Panjab official daring the prevalence of martial law last year. This is all the more neceseary, becanse the Hanter Committee's report, the Covernment of India's despatch and the Secretary of State's despatch, speaking with all respect, have not shown an adiquate arasp of the people's point of view in the matter. For idstance, with regard to the. cansen which led to the distarbances in the Pnojab, it is not enongh to say that the high coat of living, economic and other difficalties which made Jife burdensome to the people dariog the war, and the Home Rale movement, bad prepared the soil for a

[^22]distarbance, aud suat the N wilatt Act legis!ation ${ }^{\text {- }}$ served to bring it to a head. These do not lunch the rewl canses which led to tho distarbances. If the ee were the sole canses, how happened it that duriog the four jears of the war when ladia was almost depleted of ita army and the difficalties and adsieties of the Government were onprecedentedly great, there were not ooly no distarbances bat the people, in pite of a oarchiat attempts by a bandful of hairbrained mens stood by the Government, supported it loyally and showed every desire to help the British Government to win the war and come ont victorions? Why, then, should there bare been theae distarbances within eix. tnouths of the Armistice when the Government Lad* become stronger and were in every way able to cope. with them? The fact is that the Rowlatt Act. secking, as it did, to fetter the liberties of the peopla led them rightly or wrongly to feel that the Goverament were taking advautage of the victory obtalued in the war, and aince they had become atrong and. ivvaluerable, they were trying to fotter the libertien of the people and were inangarating a policy of anspio, cion and diatrath $I$ am not cunceraed bere to. disonse whether that feeling was well-grounded or not, whether it was reasoaalls or not, bat it was there and it was the duty of British: statesmanabip to remove that impreasion. It wae mont anfortanate that the Governntent of India did not, as they were exhoried by responsible Iadiau. pablicists to do, content themselved with the power of erdinancs which they alrealy possessed. Toat" is my first point with reference to the sitantion" Whioh created the Punjeb tragedy. I banbly. think that the distarbances lad their root. primarily in the nawise policy adopted by liove; eroment with reference tote Rumlath Act after the, Armistice. I am, theralort, of opiujon that it was Goverament that cremted the aitaation, and that Goverament cannot escape respoasibility fur it. To ${ }^{\text {. }}$ this important aspect of the quesifinn no atteation has: been paid either by the Hanter Committee or by the Secrenary of State for India and yet it is the cracial. factor in the eitastion, the key mut ouly to the right. anderatanding of the sitastion bat to the right eolution of the problems. which call for settlement with. refereace to the Punjab tragedy.
Mahtial Laf Exceseet Findictive axd Delibrratm.*
My next point in thaf, having ereated the sitantion Which led to the distarbances, the Government lan" trodaced Martial Law and handed over the people of the Panjab boand hand and foot to the military antburities, with the resalt that the Martial Law officera, left in the exercise of ancontrolled power conceived? and enforced their mesares with a vindictiveneas' amoonting to barbarity, which leaves no room for. doabe that they were beat opon hamiliatiog the. pecplo and degrading them in order to teach them . lesson which they will never forget. It is asid if defence of the Martial Lsw officers that allowance must be mado for the fact that they had to face a andden situation and that they bad to act promptly and decisively withzut afficient time lof cool and. cantions deliberation. Now, this defence is talsified
by the facte and it only worsens the case for those officers. For the policy parsued in the Punjab both before the distarbances and daring the distarbances was one of deliberatenesp, a stadied attempt to throttle all poblic moveraents and political agitations. And we cannot say that either the Panjab Government or the Martial Law officers acted on the spar of the movement. That is a defence which we may allow, in the cuse of the Government of India. For how else can we acconnt for the fact that the Government of India left everyihing to the oncontrolled discretion of the Local Government and the Martial law officers? The evidence of the Martial Law officers examined before the Hanter Committee snfficiently proves that what was done was done deliberately and not on the impules of the "ैument when there was no time for calm decision.

Nborsbity, tee Tyrant's Plea.
It is farther said that whatever the excesses, abuces and atrocities of Martial Law committed by the officers concerned, there is the fact in their favour by way of extenuation, it not exoneration, that they nucceeded in quelling the distarbances. The answer to that is given by the telegram which Sir Dinsha Wacha sent a few daya ago to the. Secretary of State for India and Parliament on bebalf of and as president of the Western India Liberal Association. As that telegram pointed ont, the Martial law officers, by their vindictive measares ased against an anarmed popalation, yoelled the distarbances, but with what result? Whereas the distarbances arose from and were confined to bat a small fraction of the people, the Martial Law measores by making no distipction between the gailty and innocent, hamilateed the people in such a way that the whole coantry, and not merely the Panjub, has felt its honoar stabbed, its sense of secarity wornded. The situation, in fact, miyht be described in the words of Lord Morley used in another connection. He writes :

The only dilence of reason of State is succest, and here the resalt soon proved to be not suocess bat failure. While so many lidividasls and ordera were exaeporated, no groat class of mooiety was roconoiled. Rigid order was kept, plottera were oowed, money was equeesed, bat the keenest discontent was quilukned in all those various organised bodies of men with lively minda and energetio interenta, by whom in the long ron effeotive pablic opinion in evory community in goneraled. (Morlog's Oliver Orom moll. Book V. ohap. 8.)

## A Forgotten Lesson.

This is the sitnation which the Parliament bas to taù.' Uufortanately the Secretary of Sta'e's despatch Paile to take sufficient account of it. That denpatch is certainly ontitled to onr appreciation for its condemnation of the abuses and excesses of the Martial Law. But one cannot belp feeling that it seems to have been infitten with a view to please all parties instead of boldly facing th; situation. Mr. Montaga eajs that the conclusions recorded iu that despatch have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chiof daty which lies apon Ilis Majesty's Government in dealing with the Hanter Committee's report is not primarily to agportion blame to individuals for what bas been
done amiss or to ioflict penalties apon them, bat rather to prevent the recarrence in the fatare of occasions for blame or regret, should unfortanate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred during the spring of 1910. Now this policy woald have been all right if there bad been no experience of the past to gaide os. But we bave had such experience to show that the policy of the despatch cannot longer be relied apon to prevent the recurrencs in futare of the excesses of the Punjab tragedy. Duing the Matiny of 1857 , there were excesses, there was violence and there was indiscrinioate retaliation. As the Viceroy of the time, Lord Canning, wrote to the Queen daring the dark days of the Mating, there was rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroal even among those who ougbt to bave set a bet'er example. Not one man in ten, said Lord Canning, seems $t$ ) thiuk that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand men wonld be otherwise than practicable and right. In spits of Lord Canning's attempts to check that rabid and indissriminate vindictiveness, there was indiscriminate hanging and shooting. Lord Canning, howtver, did not pablicly take actinn becausa, as he said, be did not like $t$ ) expose his c untrym?n and that it was enough he bad taken sleps to prevent the recarrences of similar vindictive barbarities io the future, should similar sitnations aris: We see nJw that the stens taken then were furgittin in the Ceylon disturbances three years ago, and now in the Parjab tragedy. Therefore, having thess precedents bgfore as, we think it our duty to represent to Parliament and the British public that the sitantion created by the Maroial Law excesses in the punjab in 1919 should be dealt with in a more determined manner than that formulated in the Seocetary of State's despatch. That is the object of this meeting and the resolutions which will be sub. mitted to you are framed on those lines.

## Lord Chelmsfond's Recall.

Before I conolude I ask your indu'gence to make myself clear on one point. One of the resolations which will be sabmitted to you asks for the recall of the Viceroy. On that question the Council cf the Bombay Presidency Association, whith.drafted the resolotions, has not been onanimons. It was passed in the Cooncil by a large majority. I was among-t the dissentients, It is not necessary for me $t$, state in detail my views on that question. Lord Chelmsford is spoten of as a bighly conscientious gentleman and he has had to bear the terrible strain of the War. At the same time, I foel oppressed by the thought that, as he is the head of the Government, the responsibility fur the rolicy parsued daring the Panjab distarbances coald not be shifted from him unless one is pregared to regard the high office of Indian Viceroy as a position of privilege withont any corresponding daties. That was not the ideal whi. $h$ a animated the conduct of oar great Viceroys, Canning, Riron and Hardinge. Tbe despatch sent by the Government of Iadia to the Secretary of Slato on the aubject of provincial autonowy in 1911 rightly pointed out that the maintenance of British rale in India depended on the altimate sapremacy of the Governor-General in Conncil. While recognising
the great anxietiea which the war bronght apon overy administiation in the co in'ry, I am therefore, onable to think that fub is ofinion is wrong in demending a change of Vieroyalty as a necessary preliminary to und as a striling index of a resolato change of policy in Indixa ad coinistration,

## CASTE : ITS ORIGIN ASD GRUWIH IIL

2. The third atage in the development of the caste system : strict endogamy : caste breaks up into an ianinite multiplicity of woatentight sub-castes.
In the Bribaunaradiga and the Aditys Paraga quoted by Hemadri in the Chatarvarga Chintamani and by Madhava in the Parashara Bhasa, we find intercaste marriage bas been totally forbidden in the Kali yaga.
समद्ध चात्रास्ती कारः कमष्डहात्राधारणम्।
हिजानामस्रणांडु कन्यासपयमस्तथा।
क्षानामसत्रणानं विकाद्य ज्रिजातिजि:।
शये दासगोपाठचुछमित्रदंसीरिणाम् ॥
मो ज्याष्षता गृद्पर्पष तीर्थेववाविद्रतः।
एवनि हो कगुस्पथं कहेरादौै मढात्ममि:।

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( } \Delta \text { ditya Parana), }
\end{aligned}
$$

Hemadri and Raghanandana condemned intercaste marriaga in the Kali jags on the anthority of these textis.: We find, however, that there is sufficient evidence to believe that iniercaste marriage was prevulent in Hinda Society in the beginning of the Kali yuga down to the 111h centory. The ro striction of intercaste marriage is of a very recent origin dating only from the latter part of the 11th centary.

Parashara who is regarded as the special anthority for the Kali jage (Parashara Ssmbita I, 24,) does not prohibit interoaste marriage, and as the ankloma forme of it is pernoitted in the Gribsa Satras and in the Dharma Samhitas we have no resaon 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 aprang from the intermarriage of a Brahmana with a Shadra, Vaishns or Kohatris woman are oufficiently pare, and arahmin may accept cooked weal at their house: (मोड्यो विप्रेने संस्त:) (Parashara Bamhite XI, 22-25). We alse note Parashare bimelf in the Kali age begot Vyase in a maid of an inferior $^{\text {a }}$ caste, Satyavati. The Manryya Vanshe aleo sprang in the Kali Yage from Mara, Sadra queen of Nianda. The pietare of the Hinda Society presented in the Mrichha Katike, a play belonging to the 5th or 6th centary $\mathbf{A}$. D. shows that the caste restrictions in marriage were then atill very elastic. Both Charadatta and Sharvalike married women of the conrtesan clase who were outceates. In the Karporamanjure of Rajashethare who whe yayavara Brahmin and was Garn to Makendra Pala, king
of Kanonj, writing an late at the loth centnry boasta of having married the danghter of a Chmahan Rajpat family. These instances serve to show that intercaste marriage was practised in the Miada socioty as late as the 10ib ceatary. And 00 the assertion of the Aditya Parana, that intercante marriagn, Sea-voyage, diaing at the bonse of, and taking the food couked by a Dasa, a Napita, \&c.: were forbidden in the Kali Yaga is a parafiction, is contradicatod by Srati and Smriti, aud has, therefore, no anthority. It ie expressly laid dowip in the Vjase Sambite :-

## घूतिहमतिडरणणानो विरोषो घन्मा हैये । <br> 

- In case of a contradiction between Srati, Samriti, and the Paranas, Srati 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 Parsna is not recognised as a Parans even: it is only an opa-Parans. Hence in case of a contradiction between Smriti and the opa-Parana, there is no doabt that the anthority of the upm-Parana mast be rejected. The followers of Madhava, IIemadri, and Raghanaodana, argae that in the Sutrae and Sambitas of Mana and others intercaste marriage. is permitted ooly generally. In the $\Delta$ ditya Parana it is apecially prohibited for the Kali age. Thas there is no contradiction here between the Smriti and the Parana. The injnaction of Smriti, we mast anderatand, apply only to Yagae other than Kali. This interpretation is anjastifiabla Parabhara, Vjasa, and other Risis, who are the anthors of the eacred lawn, themselves begot children on women of inferior cssten in this very Kali yaga. According to the Skanda Parana and the Vishoa Parana, the 15th or the 16th centary of the Kali Era is the age of: Yadhisthire Vyesa, the grandfather of Yadhis. thira, and Parachara, hia great grandiathor were; therefore, men of Kali yoga. That these Risis deo roted to the practice of penance shuald do an act: prohibited in the Kali ge mid that they ohould enjoin others to observe the lawe which they themselves violated, is, indeed, a fancifal interpretation !', Vijoanesmar and Jimatavabana did eartaialy writa', their legal compendis providing inberitance to father's': property by ason of a Brabmas bore of a Badra; for the people of Kall yaga, and not of the Satyar yage. Thas that all these writers did not ine tend to permit intercaste marrisge in the Kali yagal is a dintorted interprotation of the Shastras. It is also clear from this that the plea that the present Hinda Society is gaided by the regalations of Srati and Anariti is falco. The present Hinda Society is the alave of castom. Whon this onstom is inconsistent with the Srati and 8mriti, the recent anthore of apor Paranas invent new teats to sopport it. The writers of the legal compendis sapport these recent castoms and to show that they are not inconsistent with Brati and Smriti have recoarce to ingenions, fletitions methode of interpretation, limiting the meaning of the extant Brati and 8mriti texte, and acenming the existonce of
auseen texts（ धरृश्रुति）sapporting the prevalent castoms．If we abandon such tricks it will be seen that intercaste marriage enjoined in the Srati and Smrititexts is consintent with the Shastras even if performed in this Kali age．

Now we bave seen that the assertion of the Aditsa Parana that intercasse marriage was prohibited in the Kafi yoga，is a pare fancy of the Puaranio．The anthor of the Parana aleo onderstond that the costoms condemned by bim were not inconsistent with Siati and Smriti．Hence he bas resorted to the plea that the resolation（ समय ）of the apright（ सापु）is antho－ ritative like the Vedas．Raghanandana commenting on the passage writes，समग is सर्चिa or resclation （ Cdivahatatima，14）．Tue anthor of the Parana states $^{2}$ that the learned ubolished these castoms by issaing a role，and the resolation of the npright is aothorit－ ative like the Veln．＂From this it is clear that after that Mahommedan invasion apprehending a social revolation the Puadits passed a resolation to abolish certain time－hononred，libersl castoms．Lest their re－ solution be not accepted in society they tried to convince others that their resolation was as a a thoritative as the Vediss．Kushiarama Vaçaspati，commeuting on Raghnnandana＇s Odvapatatwa waites，＂ननु एतंपं के क्मणí कालौ निपेषجो वेदो नासित। कथमेतानि कहौ निषिद्धनि। तर्राह समय समय－घ⿱亠乂⿱一土巴亍ति।＂Now there is no Vedic text prohibit－ ing these acts in the Kuli yaga．How they cain be， then，said to be prohibited in the Kuli yaga ？To this he replies，＇and समय，etc．＇＂

We have aeen how Iliadn eociety in abaudoning iutercable murriage，widow marriage，Seu－vojage etc．， is thod following Sruti and Smriti，bat is blindly following reoent local castoms，though they are in－ conaistent with Srati aud Smriti and are injurions to sociuly．In conseiguenoe of this the fonr custes are now split up iuto ianumerubie sub－cast s among which iutermarriage，interdiang and all suris of sucial intercourse have been abolished thongh it is not so enjoined in the Shastras．Even here our social disiute－ hration has aut stopped．In every village，in every neighbourhool we fiad this process of sucial disrap－ tion at work．Parties are excommuicating aud iuter－ dicting ull social communications with one aoother． In this way the unty of our social life has been shattered．

In the Vedic age and in the nge of he Satrusand the Dhurina Samhitus，we have seen that caste distiuc－ tivate were babed not ouls apou rucial differences，litut also on differences of ocenpation．Fur this reason they were not injarions to the rociety but in wany respects belped its progress．Among the lower cuatis， even now ；caste distinctions are based npou differ－ pagy of race aud occupation．Hence the caste eystem Is hitil some vitality ia tha luwer strate of onr society and may persist uutil the condition of the depressed claseen is iuproved by edacation．But amoug the higher olasses it is no louger based on distinctions of occapation or race．The blending of races lo the Vodicage has abolished all Fthnological gronuds for ；preserviug caste distinctions among the apper clasess －Amoug them they now rest ugon a fictitious right
of birth，and are therefore interfering with normal and healihfal growth of the society．At present the －Brahman is not deprived of his social statns for pars． saing the occapation of a Sodra，as before．A person belonging to a lower caste，thongh possersed of qualities of a higher caste is not given a higher social status．In this way our caste system has been re－ daced to fictitions distinctions of birth bised neither on physi ial or mental characteristics nor on occopa－ tions．No progress is possible for a society redaced to this condition．
IV．Our Socicty can be made fit for the exercise of democratic rights，if these fictitious distinctions and inequalities are abolished，and so：ial classification be based upon the worth of the individuals．
Oar society being now merely based on the empty pride of birth，it was inevitable that the process of its dissolution woald be accelerated at the contact of a democatic rola like the British administration，hased on the worth of the iudividaal．And as a resnlt of it we see that Shasiric 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 edacation，the Brahmins who were formerly the hereditary teachers to all classes are now being compelled to take their lessons at the feet of gurus recraited from among the＇antouchables＇of oar society．How long can the Hindn society maintain its bereditarys institations based on fictitions distinctions of brith， nuder the inflnence of snch－a solvent of social in－ equalities？Two forces are also operating to bring atout the disaolation of our society the more rapidly． Re－marriage of even child widows being forbidden， the namber of Hindas in every province is alarmingly decteasing in contrast with the Mrhammadan prpn－ lation which has increasel，according to the last： censns report， 9 per cent．or aboat 4 times the rate of increase of the whole populution．In support of this we qnote the folloning extract：
＂Alnost every where the statistics show that they （Mohammaduns）are iucreasing more rapidly than their Hinda neinhbours，their girls are given in wedlock at a later ago and their widows are alloxed to remarry，no that a larger proportion of their females of child bearing are are married．＂（Imperial Gazetteer，1907，vo＇．1．P． 475 ）．
Besides，the Hiudn society by the adoption of a narrom poicy cf social ostracism is exconmanicating all pragressive Hindus tor nudertukiug nen voyage or sinular viohtions of carreat social practices．This policy of elimination is nothing short of a deliberate， slow suicide on the part of Hiadn society．In its stragule for existence with other rival commuities huw lung can Hindu societ y preserve itself standing ou an ecopty pride of pedigree devoid of worth aud ospelliug thuse who hy their light and leadiag have a right to be its leaders ？Uoless our society be aynin estublished on individual worth and ability，its doom is scaled．The integrating．forces that held together the multiplicity of the hetorogenions elements in onr sorid or，anism have been replaced by wights dis－ iutegrating forces fomented by blind intercaste hatred and petty j －alonsies and ouless Hiuda society eveu now exercising ita wonderful 10 wer of adaprability readjusts iiself to the new euvirouneuts it casuot escule its inevitable fate．

## HYSORE SOCIAL NOTES.

(Frem our Correeponient.)

## Palceayat in Poalic Schoola.

Sirdar Kantaraj Ure, our popailar Dewan, deserves nincers thanks of all who wish the gosd of our country, for the courageons atand he took in regard to the admisstion of the Panchames in'o pablicechoole. In hie epeoch on the elosing day of the Birthdey Session of the Representative Ascembly, in reply to representations arging lur the withdrawal of the Gorarnment Order permitting the admistion of all olseaes into schoohe maintained out of pablio lands, be pointed out in no faltoring terme that Government could not go back on ita previona order. Considerable anaiety was cuaned by the latitade allowed to the reactionarien to disonse the sabject, bat it wat unly an act of atateamanabip on the part of the Sirdar. He did not want to atille disoussion oa thia anbject. With your permission, Mr. Fditor, may I mention what I consider a eignifionnoe? Among thote who degired Government to go beat to primitive idene of orthodoxy and conservation were all Brahmine inclading, I believa, workera for the elevation of the depresed clasees! At the anme time those who very vigoroasly edveated equal righte and opportanitiee lor the Panchamas were representatives of all important comumnities in the State, the Bruhming, the Mohamedan and the Vokkaliga. Is it then wonder that Sirdar adbered to the policy of the democratic Dewan, Sir M. Vis $\begin{gathered}\text { eswarayya in whose regime }\end{gathered}$ the order admitting ell classes to pablic sohoole was first issaed? No doabt, Sir M. Vismesmaraya might have been

- Incpired by the enthociastio and sealoual Inspector General of edneation, Mr. C. R. Reddy, who is an earnent eccial nerrant and is personally interested in the elevation of the baokward and depressed olassee. At auch Mr. Reddy is the target of abuses of all kinds from those who aro expeoted to behave better, but ne these abuses are personal it it better to treat them and thcir anthors with the contempt they dearrye.

Social. and civic Absociation.
This association etarted ander Government anupices and worked through an Aisistant Commissioner to the Government is likely to andergo shortly nome important changes. The Assistant Commistioner in to be reverted to his serfice at Saperintendent of Police. I would not, for the present comment on the work of the Auociation, for I know not what real Social and civic work wee done daring the past two gears by the Aseociation, the president of which is Dewan Bahadar K. P. Pattenna Chetty, and for the maiutenance of whiob ounsiderable same of public money have been spent. 1 henr that next Taestay the Committee of the Associntion will discam the fatare of the Aasociation. It is generally beliered, that withoot a Goverament officer the work of the Astociation conld not be carried on. On the other band the non-official members of the Legisiative Cuancil are arging for the transference of the Aasaciation to private enterprice. I diall await the decitign of the commithe next week before I write farther aboat thia Associatioc.

## Mr, ayd Mes. Baleas Ure.

You might have read in the daily papors of the departure of Mr. and Mra Balraj Ure to Eagland leat week. Mr. Balaj $\mathrm{U}_{\text {re }}$ is a onusin of His Highnees the Maharaja and nephow of Sardar Kantaraj Urs, the Tewna, Mra Balarnj Ure ia a danghter of Mr. Linguryj Om, the Darbar Bakrhi. Ste is the firot Arses ledy to disard the parde and to proceei ont of India. In wishing the coople a plemant
joursey I wish to axprom the bope of manay here that they would intereat themselves ia the coold reform moreanat on their retarn to our mideh.

## TEE TUREISH PEAOE.

## The Editor The Indian Social Reformor.

I have been muoh atrack by the force and concicances of the conolading worde of Syed Hasain's artiols on the Peace Treaty pablighed in ' La Repabilqne Franosion.' Thes, rea as follown :-
"This Treaty will fall by the waight of ite own mapaciose injustion, bat it in necossery thatit shanald be lormally repa. disted by all docent-miaded and right-thinkiag peopla irrespective of rece or religion, interested in the wallare or bumanity and the fatare penoe of the world."

I would wish to add my forms repudiation to the im. menoe volome of auch protesta that are ooming from every part of the world. It is rafo to propheng that the Pacee is those terme, will never be carried ont

## Yuars faithfallg,

Sbantiniketan. C. V. Ampalife

## the paper scarcity in canada.

The nearoity of newapriat papor in Canads bal become one of the great antional probleme whish our estenmen (I) eeem incapable of aolving. In view of this trying atitantion in is intereating to know how indiferent the papar prodncost are to the neede of the Canadian paper conoumers when blg profiry are offored by the Unitad Stance oantomers,. Wiabla the past deonde the eapital incented in the Oanedian pulp and paper indaatry has incresed frum less than $\$ 50,000,000$ to nearly $\$ 200,000,000$, or four timen. The productiou hat inoreased frum $\$ 10,000,000$ to $\$ 100,050,000$ or ten timen, and exporta lrum $\$ 3,030030$ to over \$ 63,000,000 or twelve tianes, per annam. Coasdisn paper mille ase now thraing ont approsimately 800,000 tonc of aumeprint par jear, of which not more than 85,000 tone is oonsamed in Canada. To soothe the fealinge of the Canadian consumert of newaprint paper, the menulactatert of the commodity atate that they are alive to the sapreme and argent necesaity to conterving Cunades ram matarinl for donestic oonaumptiva and to that end are reduciag the exports of palpwood. It is diffionlt to anderatand how the sitastion in going to be imp. proved it the exportation of the faiched produet in inereaning, at anoh a rapid rate. The one resail of starving the bome mar keta to increase the export of papor is the coastant incrosess io the price of paper, both lor $j$ ib printing sad nomepapor pablishiag and the Can dieap prople are being evapalled to pay adrancers of aver 10) per cent, lor their priated paper and their nagref papera-The Inductrial Banner, Toroato.

## THE BANK OP TAIFAX, LIMITED.

The Bauk of Trawan, Limited have recoived mail adricy from their Tukyo Ofioe that the Grom Profit for the hall jed ending 81st Deceuber, 1919, with the balanee broagbt furward from late cesoant is Yon 63,978,859.95 of witich Yea 60,277,553-55 bave bese apeat tor earreat espentem, interost etr. Yos $100,030-90$ Bsone, Yow 1,578,000.00. divident of 10 per exat, Yon 730,000 co added to Beworre Fued (which now acode at Yoe 7,78 1,00000) and Yea $1,323_{r} 806-83$ have been carriod forwadd to mext mecouat,

## GOD IN THE PRIBON.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

## Sir,

On Sunday lact, on the ocoasion of my weekly vieit to the loce joil, instead of delivering any addrecs as nanal, I aeked the prisoners, the following two questions:

1. A good man mays that "to be usefal is to be great God is the greatest becsuse He is most aneful." Can you ang why God is seid to be most usefal?
2. The liquor that ame penple drink in our country is after all juice of some troe or plant, lermented or diatilied. Can *iyou say why piuas people hate liquor and soripturen condemn it as the moet abominable thing.

I proroised a prize of one rapee to the best and briefett answer to esoh of the questions, and gave the prisoners 15 minatest time to answer. There were Brabmine and uther Elindus of parious casten and Mohomedans and Christiane almo, and several of them gave beantital answers to the firat question, Bat one illiterate village cooly by uame Timmabha, remanded by the Miangalore Divisional Magiatrate for eriminal breaoh of trast, ejacalated: "God is most asefal beosates He is the only companion to be relied apon when our life goes out of our body." I considered this to be the bent suswer to nuy firt question.

The other question was aleo similarly answered by many, bat. the anower given by a Panchame oooly by name Koraga conomitted to the semoions for murdering bis wite happened to be the bent. He asid "liqnor is the nost aboaninable thing beoanee the man who drinks it, will even on denth-bed think of liquor-seller and the liqnor-shop insteai of Gud and Heaven."

As the jail rulea forbid visitore giving any present to the prisoners, I paid tha atro of Ro. 2 into the hands of the juilor to be paid to the priat-winnere at the time of their diesharge. I wished that the prize were a buadred fold larger.
\(\left.\begin{array}{c}Mangalore <br>

12th June 1920.\end{array}\right\} \quad\)| Youra traly, |
| :---: |
| K. Rabas Rao. |

## THE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

The tranactious of the $f^{\text {ast }}$ six months have resulted in a profit of Ra. $1 \pm, 82,978-1:-10$.from which the surn of F.s. $1,80,000$ has to bo deduoted to provido for depreciation on the Bank's boldiug of Governument Socuritioa together with Ra. 1,70,000 for Inoome \& Super Tax-leaving a net profit of Ro. 11,82,978-18-1 $\mathcal{J}$ fur the half year endod 8Jth Jane 192C.

To this amonnt has to be added Rs. 1,01,890-6-0 flyought forward from the last account making a total of (Re. 12,87,869-8-10.

This anm the Directors have di-posed of as fo:lows:-
In pajmont of an al-interim dividend at the rate of 14 per oont por annum, (Rs. 8-8-0 por aliare) free from Income fax on the pad up Capital of Rupous one or ro.
for the hell yoar ealel 30th Jane 1920 ... Re. 7,00,000. Carriod formard t) the pext acoong':..1 Rs, 5,87,869-3-10.

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Rates of Inland sabscription inclusive of postage Perannnm.......... Rs. 7-8-0. In advance. Foreign Sabscription inclasive of Postage, one pound Sterling per ananm.

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| 62 | 38 | 0 | 58 | 0 | 85 | 0 | 136 | 0 | 255 | 0 | 500 | 0 |

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The Bank hse aleo a large namioer of Oorrespondenam at Home and Abruad.

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CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Interest is ellowed on daily balances from Res 800 to Re . $1,00,000$ at the rate of $21 \%$ p. A. throughoni the je.r. $O_{n}$ sameseoeeding Re. $1,00,000$ interest is allowed by apecin) arragement. Wointerest will be allowed which dosw not smonat to Re. 8 per ball your.

## FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fised for one year or lor sbont perioda (G) ratea of interest which ana be accertained on application.
*Saringe Bank resonnta openod on lavourable terma, Rule* napplication".

LOANS, DVERDRAFTS, * OASE CREDITS.
The Bant granta socomamodation on torma to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank nadertakes on behall of its Conatituente the safe onotody of Sharea and Securition and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also andertakee the sale and parchace of Government paper and all deacriptions of Stocks at moderate ohargea, partioulare of whick may bo had on application.
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$3^{5-1-11 ;}$
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Uador the Patroange of and largoly sapported by the Grearamont of H. H. Tbe Mobaraja Gaekwap.
Registered andor the Baroda Oompanien' Aot III ol 1 \& 17 READ OFFIOE BARODA.
Branber-Xhmedabad. Nareari Meshnna, nod Eura
Capitel Sabeoribed..es onemRs. $80,00,000$.
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Benerve Fand $\quad$ 18,50,000.
DIREOTORS:
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Sir Yithalden Damodar Thaoker cej, Kt.
Roj Ratas Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakil Sogar Etat

## Barode.

Shath Manilal Revadac, $\bar{\nabla}$ ednager.
Rao Bahadar Ganajirao Re Njmbalkor, Bar Babha, Barcdo Stats.
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R. R. Sbirgeokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda Stato.
4. N. Datar, Accountent General, Barode 8tata.

CURRENT DEPOSIT AOCOONTS.
Intersat allowed on doily balanoe from Ra. 8 CO to Br. $1,00,000$ at the rate of 2 per cent. per emnem and or anma ovar Ras. 1,00,000 by opecial arrangoment. 8 x 0 iatereat which does not oome to Re. 8 per hall years will be allowed.

> FIXED DEPOSITS.

Recoived for long or abort periode on terma whjoh may its acoortained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, AND OASP OREDITE.'
The Bank grente socommodation on torms to be arranged againat approved reourities.

The Bank andertakes on behalit of its conatitaente she seffe, oustods of Sharer and Secaritien and the colleotion of divi." dende and intorest thereon; it alioo andertakes the alole apd parohace of Government Papoz and all decoriptions of Btook of moderate oharges, partioulari of whioh wey be loarnt os oppliontion.

> SAVINGS BANK DEPOBITS.

Deposite roceived and intorest allowed at 4 per oept, pien sonom. Ralen on applieation. C. E. BANDLE, -Genoral ${ }^{\circ}$ 15-4-12. Уеаянер.

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Sabseribed Oapital.......... Yen. $88,000,000$.
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Current Deposit Accounts are opened for approved castomers and Intereut is allowed at the rate of iper ceat per andam on daily balances of Re. 1,000 apto Rf. 100,000 , provided that the amonnt of hall-jearly intereet is not lees thas Re. 5 .
Fixed Deposits are received for one yoe und aborter periode on torms which may be mocortaind 2a application.
Every deseription of banking and excbange basione rabsactea.
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Poet Box No.207, Elomby Roed, Bombay.

1. MIBHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta
,1-12-17。
Poat Boz IIo, 106. Clive mreet, Caleatte

## THE UNION BANK OFINDIA. LIMITED. <br> (REGISTEEED UNDER :THE ACT OB 1913.) <br> At Bombay the lith November, 1919. gEGISTERED OPFICE. <br> 7) MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.

Rs.
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { AUTHORISED CAPITAL }- & \ldots & \ldots & 5,00,00,000 \\ \text { SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ... } & - & -. & 4,00,00,000 \\ \text { CALIED UP CAPITAL ... } & \ldots & . . & 60,00,000\end{array}$ PAID.UP ON 19-5-20. Rr. $59,00,042$ 8.0.

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14.3-20,

Ag. Manager

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85-24-17
Manager.

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Omce:-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.<br>Editor:-K. NATARAJÁN Annual Subscription (inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling.

## Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, JULY 11, 1920. No. 43.


 exoune, I will not retrent a single inch-and 1 wnil bs heard.


## HOTES.

A Bad Example of Christian Journalism: The Epiphany is a Corrstian Missionary journal published in Calcutta. In a recent issue it published a letter from a correspondent, named Hamedar Hossain Joardar, contaning the monstrous statement that ninety-nine per cent of Hindu widows were unchaste and passed their lives as prostitutes in private or public. The mozbid miental (and moral) condition of a man who could make a statement of this kind can only be saitably treated by a psychotherapist. The editor who publisted it either shared his correspondent's mental condition or was so anxious to damn Hinduism and all that is of it that he tem. porarily lost his sense of journalistic sell-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 bas not happened, and, no wonder, public meetings are being held in Bengal to dendunce the atrocious libel. Any person of ordinary education can see that the slatement 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 bow any one except a mad man could have ventured to make a statement of this kind without sufficient data, "The ninetynine 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 editpr whose brains had not become addled by prejudice should bave seen this and called for the data, or at any rate obtained an assurance to the effect that the writer bad the data. We have not the least hesitation in saying that there are no data to justify this cowardiy and reckless libel and that the editor loqy himself to a cowardly slander througb religiour and race prejudice, We bave had with us lor miny weeks past an article in reply to some writing, written by an Indian publicist, prolessing to expose the immorality in English and European countries under the guise of Cbristianity. Wo bave not published it and do not intend to publish it, because we hold that sweeping statemeats 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 arother's greatness and nobility of achievement.
The Moderates and the Viceroy's Recall : Com. menting on Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's powerful address at the Punjab meeting, which we published last week, the Tribure 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 bida fair to be sweft away. The process hae began with the speech which Sir. Narayan Chandavarkar, perhaps the most forcelal mcderate in the Westera Presidency, and one of the most important leaders uf the all over India, made at the recent Bombay meeting and in which be definitely aseociated bimself with the demend for the recall of the Viceroy. The speech that our distin. gaiehed conntryman made on the occasion ie, indeed, a distinctive landmark in the progreas of moderate opinion lowards a position of complete idencity with the rest of progreesive opinion in Indis.
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 ladian politicians. The real difference centred on the reforms, and that does not seem to be closing. Mr. Lajpat Rai bas 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 bandle 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 Keports 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 Martal 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 prolessional 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 misiortune to have adopted the law as a profession, was placed under a ban by the martial law authorties. 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 detence witt the help of legal advisors!

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBA Y. JULY 11, 1920.

## BRABMIAS AND BOLSHEVIKS.

The Independent (Allahabad) in a recent issue obeerved:
The tree Brabmia in really a Boleberik. He should lives like George maller, on whit God minds bime Plaia living and bigh thinkiog hae beon the real Brabminical dieal of life from time immemorial. Nut so vory loog agn, we hed bighly colturod Brabmins who aparsed the riabes of the world . . . . This true Brahminical idenl is not wholly dead in the conntry yet. In all our secred booke, the Brabmin who engages bimsell, in any work exoept reading and teaching, in condemned an a thief. . . Bat the old Brahminioal ideal in slowly reacerting itcolf; and when it comes io its own, mit mast sconer or latar, it will lend to the Boleberik ideal its trae meaning and porpose.
Thill mas be the ancient ideal prescribed for a Brahmin, bat the "Brahminical ideal" recogrised different ideals for different castes, military conquest for Kshatriyas, commersial enterprise for Vaiajas, and manal laboor for Sudras. Whether the castes were originally based on condact and character, as the Gita says, or on birth an 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 fanctioning of society in the spiritual, political, commercial and induistrial spheres. To bay this is not to defend caste as it exists today. Eiven as regarda the ideal of a Brahmin's life, the Brahminical ideal did not lose sight of secular intereste. It, no doabt, enjoined on the Brahmin learning and teaching as his sapreme daty, bat it also enjoined on the other orders the need for providing adequately to enable him to perform this daty. Poverty, as sach, was not part of the Hindu ideal except for Sanyasins who, after falfilling all their worldly doties, voluntarily renoanced them to prepare themselves for the life to come. The possension of wealth was sabservient to the spiritual and politioal interests of the nation. Plutocracy was rendered impossible in the Hindu aystem because the teacher and the ruler came before the merchant. The uther extreme of the role of the proletariat wat equally impossible in it. The Brahminical syatem firmly recognised private property, movable and im. movable, controlling if in the interests only of the owner'f own posterity.
Tho Brahminical ideal, again, did not rest on the equality of all men. It did not provide equal opportanities to all men neither did it eract 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 atrength.' This is sound theory, bat where the mistake wea made is in believing that a man's birth afforded a sure indication of his strength or capacity. This syatem broke on this rock. The Christian ideal in which the Mahar and the Mang ere the equals of the Brahmins and tho bighreate none

Brahmins, atrikes the orthodoz Hinda mach at Bolaherism atrikes the average Eaglishman or Frenchman, an the aprooting of the foundatione of society. Recently Mr. Menilal Parekh writing in these colamns bitterly complained of the "proletariatising" effect of Christian misaions. The masa conversione, embracing thousands of mea and women in an extreme stage of hack wardness, are viowed with no little anxiety not only by orthodos Hindas, bat also by eeveral Christian missionaries and Indian Christians. If, owing to ady oircamatanco Juth as another Earopesn conflagration or the growing dise: belief of intelligent men in wholecale religione conversions, these semi-Chriatisuised masson are deprived of their present missionary control, the feas of Bolshevism will become a reality in India, There is the danger-point, as also in the factory popalation, of the cities, the reason being the conscionsonsitin each case of a new senge of power in adrance of a new sense of responsibility.

The Bolsherik ideal bas been the subject of groas and, sometimes, unscrapuloas miareprecentation by hostile critios, bat two ensential featares of it are that it does not recognise any organio division of classea or cantes, 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 uoderatanding. There is nothing in oommon between the two except the initial B. Oar contemporary not only identifies the two bat molemaly tells its readers that the revival of the Brabminical ideal in this country will lend to the Bolabevik lieal ito true.meaning and porpose ! Lenin and Trotaky af the interpreters of Mana and Yagaavalkya! Sarely, the Indapendent knows momething of Hindaism, though not mach of Bolshevism. The Independent's idea of Bolsheriom neems to be that it is a practical interpretation of Tolstoy's Christian commanism. As a matter of fact, from all that wo have read of it, it is on it idealistic side a morement parely to engore an equal ahare of the good thinge of this world to all alike. Thim is a worthy object though the Bolsherik ahort-cat to it can only lead to mach avoidable misery, an it has actually done. Bat it cannot by any means be compared with the Brahmiaic or Chriatian ideal in which the world is a moans to epiritual ends. We shonld be sorty to denounce Bolsheviam on the atrongth of the prejadiced veraiohs of the Earopean capitalist press, but we eanniot admit the Indepondent's identification of it with. the Brahminioal ideal. The two aro an far mander at the poles.

Scholarships for Hiadw Lady Students: We are asked to state that the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association bas decided to give some scholarships each of the minimum monthly value of Rs. 10 to Hinda ladies studying in any one of the colleges in Bombay. Lady students desisonet of applying for them should send in their appoit cations belore the 15 th of July 1920. Printed lorms of application can be obtained from the Joint secretaries, the Bombay Presidency Social Retorm Aseociation, Servants of India Bociety's Home, Girgaon, Bombay,

## THE AGARKAR DAY. <br> ( 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 Ganeah Agatkar (1866-1895) and to try to spread the principles and ideals which be 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, M. 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 Muzaferabad Hall and was a splendid success. After this for the last three years the Agarkar Day is being regularly observed in Bombay. In Igry there was a dinner and a public meeting presided ever by Prol: D. K. Karve at which Mr. D. G. Padhya delivered an address. In igr8also there was a dinner and a public meeting presided over by Mr. N. M. Samarth. In igig owing to famine conditions and various other difficulties the dinner was droppcd. 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 dificult times it could do no more during the last ycar than to keep alive the movement which gave it its tirth. 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 4. biic meeting as usual. It may be noted E. $t$, 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 cosmoplitan dinner. The followers of the Agatkar 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. Hoffret, Bulgab.)
The great need for more aggressive Temperance activity, the increasing desire for united action, and the demand for Probibition of the drink traffic in being voiced in many quarters of India to-day. Dr. Mra. Gordon, President of the W. C. T. U. of United Provinces, arging immediate and united action for aggressive Temperance propaganda, stated "If we strike altogether and strike hard mach may be accomplished this year." Mr. Fredrick Grabb, Editor of Abkari and Secretary of "The Angle-Indian Temperance Assow ciation," pleaded for anited action in the Devalaya 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 anited 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 anity of command meant in bringing the great war to a viotorious close, united action may do to bring about singleness of parpose and well directed oo-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

Objeots whioh rrouiri ditad adtion.
I. There is a reason why our temperance literature is largely three-fourths foreign and one-fourth Indian; there are good reasons. why it shonld be three-fourths Indian and one-fourth foreign. The literature of America and England on the drink problem is abundant becanse it is the prodact of wide stady, therongh investigation and scientific research. Until sueh stady and investigation of the effects of drink on health, and every phase of the social and indastrial 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 helpfal in many ways bat it also should inspire and be a gaide to us in making such investigations that will give a clearer understanding of the liquor problem in Indis. The per cent. of crime due to drink, how liquor lowers the efficiency of Indian workmen: how it shortens life一oan Assarance Companies of India corroborate results of observations of the Companies of Earope and America; how alcohol hindera edacation; endangers the welfare of the obild; causes race degeneracy eto. are problems that should receive stady and investigation by this Commission.
The wealth of information that this Commission could bring to light would greatly enlarge and enrich our literafure on this vital question, and
bring it to the attention of the thinking paplio in a way that would go far toward enlisting their cooperation in the solation of the liquor problem. It would enable speakera and writert to lay their hands on definite facts and illastrations 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 secared from foreign sonices. It would enable an to aee our problem whole; for only by an adequate underatanding of ithe bigness of our' task' oha' platio be laid that will bring apoedy and oerisin victory.
II. It is not onough that Temperanoe activity should stir only oertain sections of the country; Temperance Edacation must be extended to the attermost limits of the nation. Those of all classel and conditions of life should be tangh the benefits of total abstinanoe for the individaal and Prohibition for the State.

Oar plana shonld not only be comprehensive,reaching all seotions of the country; not only thorough and practioal,-toaching life in every village; bat Temperaroe Eduoation should be oarried forward with unrelenting persistance until Temperance, sobriety and prohibition are written both in the laws of the land and also in the hearts of the people-antil the probibition gosl has been reached and all determined opposition has been silled. We must oreate gentiment in every villagé in tavonr of abstínace and probibition, enlist the cooperation of the leading villagers to petition and work for such a law, and having worked for it they will be mote apt to une their influence to secare ite enforcement.

The abstainer, who is such becanse of the mandate of religion, needs to know the facts regarding drink conditions in India in order that he may beoome a positive factor in redeeming his country from the ourse of liquor. The stadenta of India need to be aronsed to a sense of the danger of the drink eurse 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 stadents of America the ohallenge of the drink problem and train them for leadership in the prohibition canse, is suggestive of what a similar organization might dofor the stadents of India.
Let Temperance Education be nation-wide, thorough and unrelenting; give the people encoaragement and opportanity 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 prohibitivo masaries will be ensoted withoat serions delay. Wo have - a tremendoas tast io properly teach and instra $t$ the multituden of this country 1 While Indis is in a recoptive mood for Temperance instraction let the strong and true of all classes and creeds join
handa in a mighty Temporanoe drive that ohould accomplish more in five jears than might otherwise bo possible in a generation !
III. Onited notion is neoessary to seoure anflicient funds enol year to adequately finance a nation-wide Temperance propaganda. The cost of anrveya that may be attempted, experimental and resoaroh work, of printing tons of literatare in the variona ${ }^{\text {y }}$ anguages of India-choap enough to enable all to bay, of offooting therough organization and of training und isdpporting and effioient leadership, alio laoro ased expenses due to ficresed sotivity of all organizations opposed to the drink truffio, will make a largo anm that oan be raised in India if it is attempted by anited action and oonducted is cording to basiness prinoiples. Now a saggestion al to

## Thy meama for Sbotrina ditited aotion in Teypranoa Rzforig.

I. The regular "All-India Temperance Conferenoe " shouild serve to bring together a large and well ohosen delegation of Temperance adrocates, representing all oreeds, and classes and from all sections of the country. This Conference shoald mean the perfection of plans to bring aboat united action in a mighty Temperance movement that shall prest ateadily torward antil sobriety and Prohibition relgns sapreme in every Province .nad. State of India. It should mean the assembling together of the atrong and true of every race and religion, and of every agenog that holds dear the bighest welfare and the greatest efficiency of the millions of Indic. A well planned programme shoald be prepaired that will atilise the greatest apeakera and the beat anthorities available on drink conditions in India. This Conference ahould plan and attempt large thinge in Temperanoe reform bat it it of the at most importance that it beata differeni time than the National Congress if the beat resalla are to follow.
A chain of provinoial conferencen, also many oonferenoes in vernacular in varions centres of popalation, woald be of antold value for instilling. the enthasianm and parpose of the National Conference among the masses, and for enlisting, training and organizing the teams of volonteer workera who are to reach the village people. Those coipe ferences should be well planned, well adverticed and actunted by a definite parpose.
II. The anccess of a Temperance Movement on a large scale will depend upon an efficlent organisation that will bring aboat anited astion througy? ont the nation. The Temperance Federation iden as at Lucknow, Amritary, Caleatia and other places is a good one for it brings aboat anited effort of the varions agencien opposed to the drick traffic. We shoold look forward both to the organnisation of scores of anch federations and handreds
of Temperance societies in all parts of the country and also to their union into astrong All-India Temperance Federation. Sach an organingtion conld deal effectively with problems that require united sotion as mentioned above.
The saggestions of this article are offered with the denire that they may prodace thought and discussion which whll make possible a closer bond of anion amogis the hosts of India who are striving to advance the Temperance carse. The plans advooated here have proved anccessfal in the promotion of varions great movements in America. If there is to be an adrance in Temperance reform along these lines it will be necessary for the oonveners 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 regaird to this important matter, it is of prime importance that the question of anited action be widely and freely digcussed and the allIndia Temperanoe Conference Committee be informed as to what support they may expect in so vast an undertaking. Write to the Secretary of the Commitiee, Mr. Nand Lall, Amritear Temperance Soolety, Amritaar who will be glad for your auggestions in regard to united action in Temperance Reform.
the re-marriage of hindo widows. I.

## (BY R. V. K.)

Many are the reasons that are edvanced for the acceptance by the people of the Widow Re-marriage reform. Many too are the groands apon which the socalled orthodox party is not prepared to conntenance the reform. Both aides are atrong in their conviotions in their own way. Tc rake ap the whole controversy that has been a canse for prejodice and moob ill-will of one party to the other, is not worth while here. Safice it to say that unfortonately the high priests of Reform paid little regard to the form of ; religion to which they owed sllegiance and showed an attitnde, practical and theoretical, towarde everything Indian that warranted saspicion-saspioion in reapect of the ronadness of the paychology from which such measares, ostensibly to reform the society, emanated. They soented an impression on the part of the Reformers that their Roligion and organization of the Society was ao hopelessly rotten that Reforcu meant thorough sabversion ; and they were acandalized at this notion, as they could not comprehend how a society so atterly and completely rotten and a religion 10 worthleas coald endare for thonisanda of jeara past throngh so many political vicisitades. They were confonaded for Lutime as the real soarce of the tronble. That the soclety was not so rotten and the religion was not so worthless as to require opeedy reform, withoat the slightest regard for the means and the methode to bo adopted for the asme, they were inatinctively convinced ; and time has jastified their conviclion. They
with commendable resolateness pansed to consider as to where they stood and as to what they were abont They atontly refased 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 flash of a transcendent awakening for the upliftment of the Nation had assumed a degree, sonnd 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 occapied a second place in their platform, as it should with becoming propriety, in the case of a dependent nation, after they bad assured themselves that both of them were not so rotten as woald hamper them now and again, and make progress in the one work, to which they consecrated their lives, absolately impossible. And we see time has endorsed their pradent and shrewd verdict. They looked forward to a period, when they and they alone woald see to their social affuiry, withont 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 vieion was so purblind that men could scarcely distinguish real support from unbealthy sapport and healthy opposition from elusive opposition. Forty years have oleared the vision and we are now thoroaghly competent and intensely vigoroas to look to the second plank in our compreheneive platform. Uar progress shall be premediated in this respect and therefore acknowledging a cortain limit not taxing our energies to the prejadice of our first plank, let us determine the attitude we shall assame towards this most important item of Social Reform.

We can anderstand and condone the injustice involved in the matter of the treatment offered to women after the death of their comsorta by the organizers of the Society. For the psschological aspect of the whole question, namely, that the woman is more apiritual and less material than man, that she is more amenable to aathority, might have been responsible for the differential treatment thas given to widowsBat 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 tenderdess of heart disappearing, day by day, abeer injastice, bare injustice now falla to her share. Her comfort or the minimum easiness of life is becoming more and more peychological or anreal. She is now no longer shielded and protected as she formerly was. While submitting herself to oertain usages and castoms prescribed, they are not given that bare protection which ought to be extended to the distressed. Oar widows of old were treated kindly, received attention and were completely shielded from the horrid realities of life which their more infortanate sisters of to-day experience. Besides, the atmosphere which pervaded oar society then might be considered as jastitying the injastice meted oat to women. Bat the atmosphere that per-
vades modern mociety is fall of temptations on the one haod and entiroly void of a largeness of spirit combined with the aboence of moral infinence, on the other. It is excotly, therefore, that we are domanding a revision in the Social Code in this respect. For is it not wise and prodent to lift up a certain course of condact imposed in one atmosaphere, as acon as that atmosphere is changed? So here is a materisl case for the reconsideration of the Widow Romarriage reform. Are you going to bestir yoursolves or not? Be idle and the fatare js sure to be fall of mischief. "And then one day you will' wake up to find yourselves lost in a flood where you will not awim bat drift.

The almost totad disappearance of that moral force which there was to be found in the families of over fifty years ago through the break-ap of joint families into so many little families and the evergrowing difficalty 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 Hinda Commanity as makerhif in times of adversity.

We woald like to lay special emphasis on the words "as a makeshift in times of adversity." When we advocate Widow Remarriage, wo are advocating it as a dire and grim necessity to which we mast resort if we want at all to save our society from moral .anarchy. Moral anarchy is boand to come into being if obedience to a certain coures of condact is required .in-ab. atmoephere- which is, not rengenial, tor.the preservation of the same. The atmosphere of to-day
3 is dreadfally changed from what it was filty years ago. We conld then enjoin, we do not eay inflicts 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 mach of what they were doing. Their obedience to as then was willing and. .intelligent, and in the hasband's or father's honae, : wherever ahe lived she was an object of compassion, love and attention and of everything which inatinctive tenderness of heart coald prompt. There was sach - plenty then, that her presence was seldom feltias a - preaence which one would be glad to be relieved of, if possible. Far from feeling for hor "helpless plight" .they regarded their hoase, at her rightful retreat. .Now they talk of her "helpless position" in season and ont 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 an to the anitability of taking to an independent profession which will make ber independent of anyone. Thinge which aro beyond our control jast now may be responsible for this change in the anglo of vision bat that this is so esnnot be dispated. Daily lifo may be growing hardor and harder bat that ahe is asked to bear a proportionate barden cannot be devied. Often these creatares arg lold to see for themselves and they bave got to do it. The independent life that she leads io attendent with all the evile which are attendent apon it, of which the spirit of owning no allegiance to anybody whe will not tronble himself for her is not the least.
( $T_{0}$ be continiad.)

TEE WORORSTER POLTTEOHNLO INSTITUTE.

We are obliged to the Worester Polytechnio Inatitate for gending wa the following information regarding their Iatitate which will be resd with interest by eproral persons in this country.

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It is a college of Applied Soienos, granting dogroen in Mechanical, Civils, and Eleotrical Eagiasering, ead in Chemintry, also in Genernl Soieuco.

Where is is loontap t
It is loosted in Woroester, Masemohnatits a oity of mearly 200,000 , the reat of .widely diversifiod manafsotaren. It was founded in 1865, and gradaated its first olens in 1871. It aimed from the first to emphacise the praction side in engineoring, and, through ite eplendidiy equippetf Washbarn Shopa, which ere operated an anmmercial enten griee, bac followed this plan ateadily.

## Waxt is its equipumat.

To earry on its work, it bas Boynton Hall, devoted to Adminiatration Offioss, Library, recitation work in Langango, and Economion, sad iha Department of Oivil Engineering, the Washbarn 8 hopo, whioh farniah anarppaned facilities lor practionl work, in Mechanical Engineering, the Power Laboratory, with atoam and gas enginee and dyamon ; the Mechanical Laboratory; the Eleotrical Laboratory; the Salisbary Liaboratorien, deroted to Chemistry and Phycica; - welhequippod Foundry ; a large Hydralion Tenting Plang at Chaffias Station, five miles from the Lastitute on the Boaton and Maine R.R., and loonted on alarge lake, the property of the Inatitute ; a den Gymnavium and an ample Athletic Field, both the gift if the Alumni.

These are esob loar youra in leagth, in Moobnnionl, Oivil, and Electrioal Enginearing, in Chemiatry, and la General Sciencos. Enob londs to the degres of Beobelor of Boienco. Opportanity for gradante wort leating to gradunte and profestional dogrese, in aleo offered. Emphanis ls laid on the practionl in all the cources, bat breadth it cesared by a large amount of work in Langaoges, English, aod Eeonomion,

## Whaz compuren que tmoaire romon?

Intircotion io oarried on ander the direotion of aboat alty prolemors and instractora, and namerona masiatiaits in ahopa, Leboratorive, oto. Olasem are divided into emall eoctions, each stadent ouming into elowe rolationt with the profemors.

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Thene ares Algobre through Qamdratice ; Plene and Solid Geometry; Eaglish; Elistory; ivo loreiga langaagen; Cbemistay op Phycices ; and avidences of proparation la corthís. other anbjeote, enlled the Eloctive: Adnuission may, the om: cortificate froma an mocrodited achool, by eirtifience trons any echoul affilisted with the North Contral Aneooiation of Collogen and Proparatory Sohoola, the Amocination of Collogen and Becondary Bohoole of the Boathern Bration by Regents" oersificate, or by exeminatios. Certifiostan are accopted fur part of the antrasee requiremeata Eatrance examinatiol aro beld in Juse and Sophamber of anoh year.

WHAY ARE 9HE cooiAL ACZivifins?
Thencere provided through the coveral framernition, through athbetion, and the Gymanaium, and chrough the Inaitato TM.O.A. whiok in in charge of a paid 8ecruery. Tbe
eqveral linte of athletic eports are eucouraged, and class and fraternity teams are organized, in addition to those that Eeprezent the Institute. There is sloo a Glee Clab, an Drebestra, and a Dramatic Association, besides several engineering snd icientific societies.

What are the zxpharys?
The fuition and feea of euch stadent are $\$ 220$ per annam. The annual expense of each stadent need not exceed $\mathbf{\$ 6 0 0}$.

## Age acholabyeipg avallable ?

Atont ninety soholarships sre arailable, providing for part cur afl of the taition, Fuar Freshman Scholarships are - warded mnanally to the four candidatea for admisaion who peas the bighest entrance examination.

Worcetter offere many opportanities or stadeuts to help Ebenatlvea finencinlly during their lnatitute coaree The Peoretary of the Y.M.O A. keeps a list of such openings, and ins almaye giad to aid atudents in securing employmeut turiag their spare time.

How eagos is tas btudent boly?
For everual years the atteudance has areraged between 500 end 600. Thie nasber permite ouch stadent to becomo ecqnainted with bis clasemates and with a large nnmber of bin fellow stadeate in the other classes. At the sume lime is permits of small sections for recitation and laboratory yarpoget.

## How many gas the Inntituje amadoated?

Siuce the firah clage in 1871 the Inatitute has graduated noce than 2,800 meng of whom over 2,100 are living. The great majurity are engeyed in ouvapatiuns fur which their Iustitute trainiug fisted them, Many hape attaiued great primilence as engiueera or scientisus.

## Do oraddatze fycers Pogatiuns eienly?

Graduate 1 erely havo difficuliy in recuring excellant posi. tivere on gradcatiur, and, in mest instancer, bave their choice al atcral pusinions. Fur several yeart past the vacancits bragght to the attention of the Institate authorities conld mot be filled, no graduntes being available. This demand will doubles continue in the future.

Is gollex infoxanation avallable?
A a py of the Inetilate oatalugue giving detailed informa. dion will be sent on application to Pruf, Z. W. Coombel Chairme n, Cumailtce cn Acimission uf Studente, Wirceteter Folyteolnice Inotitate, Wortester, Mase.

## TEE PRINCE OF WALES VISIT.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

 Sir.Apropos your leader in the Reformer ci 4th July on the Prince of Walen' viair, it is a puiufal auty to havd to Tisillasiouise yon on the auljeot in regurd to the feelinga of she peuple. I shuald uot have thongbt it juoumbeat on me to courradiot you if 1 did not toel asonred that 1 have Entind nee the bulk of Indian feoling both arooug the maseen and the duonted leaderi, Bijifly opeaking the Indian Treple are uot enger tor the viait of she Priuce of Waies to Indie. Whilat many noold welcome the fortheoming vinit ellate Prince of Wales an giving the pouple an opportunity to dounouatrale the iuteusity of their feeling on the several - of maladministration of Britieb rule in Indian of whiol the Ianjab and Khialat wionge atand p:owinent, by
dissociating themselve日 from any welcome that may be accorded to the Prince, a large section of Indian opinion genuinely anxious not to woand-the saeceptibilities of the British prople would eagerly welcome the postponement of the Prince's viait to a later occasion when the situation in Indis is more calm and congenial th the visit of the Prince.

The inauguration of the reformed conncils is one if the chief planke in the programme of the Prince of Wales? Indian tour. But it wuuld be idle to deny that the werking of the Refurms saccessfully does not cccupy the sap:e prceminent plece it occup.ed last year. There is little or no enthusiasm over the Reformes now iven amonget the moderates who s ceded from the Cougress with the special objective of working for the Reforms. The recommendations of the Meston Committee, the framing of the relorm rales and the communal electorst a have greatly nullified what litule intrinsic valoe the Keform Act 1 ossessed. The Congrasmen or radicals bave never been enthasiastic over the reforms and revelation of the issecurity of life, honoar and property under the execative administration by the ventilation of the Punjab official excirses has destroyed any hoye that may have been larking in then that the Reforme night secure for the conntry opportuuities fur the attainment of its politi. cal coal. Bat what is of more important portent than the disillosiontuent of edncated leaders buth liberal and radical, is the feeling of diemay and diasppointment at the enormity of the rrongs and injus ice th.t can be perpetrated ander Britiab rule and condoned later, which have spread anongest the masses as a whule. The Khilafat wrong has totally alienated the Muslim subjects of His Majesty. The Paijab wrongs bave alienatel not ouly the Panjab bat the sest of Indif. The report of the majurity of the Hanter 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 posibilities are the otht r way.

And what is the resalt? While the Prince is ostensibly coming to inatgarate the reforma, a vigor tu campaign of the boyectt of the reformed cuancils ia being carried on. Further the nob-co-operation movement is to dutinitely begin on the first Augnst. No one can furetell the course the movement will take. The sitastion is desperate and the remidy that is being tried to muet it is more desperate. Whether noncooperation will succeed or nut is immateris!. Until and unless the factors which bave ditiven a deeply peace-abiding and logal peuple as the Iudians to resort to extreme steps disappear, it would be courting. anpleasantuess fur the Prince of Wales to come to Iudia when tue simosphere is sarcharged with the high tensiva of foulug as it is roday and he cannot sppily any soothing balu to the lacerated heart of the people as His Msjegty did dariug his coronation visit by annalling the paritilun of Bengal.

Fur the people, the Prince stands at the aymbol of Briti-h rale. They are not cocorried, nith gour auademic counandrame an to the constitatiunal position of the British suvereign. Aod the Britibh rale in Indis stands discredited today as is has never dune lefore siace the sesumption of Indian rale of the Cruwn. In crser to make thy visit of the Prance of Walea asaccess these mast be full cooperation bctween the Government of Iudis and the people. Batas thing stand todey ench cooperaipu in inposaibla. The pobiio demand the recall of the present Vioeroy. You hape joursell sappotil that demend. If the Viceroy is to be r.oalled it must also be a eompanied by a change in the poli'y of the Government. The Paxjab wronge mue be
selrased and the Turkish uraty suret be rovined in conson. ance with the Promier'c pledgen, Uatil both theet wote of bare joation are dowe, asy visit the Price of Wales might make ander she surpieen of the existing Imdian and Imperial admiaistration mat proves failores Ia fairneas to all eone cerved let ma exy here that, it the conditisue of today do not change for the better, then there will be and will have to be an oramied attampt to disuociste the Indian gablic lrum any welcome that may be eccestded to the l'rince of Woles. It can give no plenars to the Iudian euind to reirain from discharging ite auty to she Throne and the HeireApparent bot the Indies is a haman being made of fleth and bluud and he cannot withoat duing virlonce te bis feeling of mell-reapect and hotout join iur ctoe festivity or pretenal to join in'the estivity on the occasion of the Prinos's viait when Indian bunour bas been trampled apran in the case of the Panjab and the Khulafot. It is true wo woald be giving room fur misreprecentation of our attitude to the Bri.iah pablic" on its must anecoptible point of fervent devotion to the Crown and the Royal family." Bat the unfurtuante position is nove of our making bas that of their own offiaiala entruoted with the goverasace of Indiz whum they will hare to call ts book to enable of to gladly do our daty to the person of the Thrune. The eproven affectionate loyalty" of the Indian people on the previons cocesione of visits of Royalty to India muat suffice to essure Britain that Indians ar; no leas fervent than thesnselves in their devotion to the Orown an anch while the proved loyalty of India during the etrennoan times, of war must more than enffice to show that Indis in detply logal to the British connection at the core and woald continue to be so if ouly the powern that be woald not strangle suoh seeling as they havo managed to do of late.
Bombsy Jaly 6th 1920.
8. Sadenand
[Mr. Sadegand'g last paragraph to a large extent angwera the previous ones. The Indian people, though not acquainted with constitutional alcetice, can distinguish between a ruler and hie admiaistration, as shown is the chas of Indian States, even auch an to not possess any great reputation for good Goverament.-Ed. I. S. R.]

## A MLSLONARY VITUPERATION.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer. Sir,
"Tan-Africaniam is not very far off: the need in already cown; and then the eternal problem will assume terrible preportione, unlese the native has an edcostion whioh will buili np character and not tarn ont a kabn clam such as is cansing all the troable in India." (Q roted from the East $\Delta$ frican Chronicle, in the Inaian Eocial Reformer.)

An unoamod Misti nary makes euch an astonading .etatement aimply becuuse of ebe fast that " Pan-Alrizaniem is not very far off." It mikes one to parae and wonder why e missionary, who posa himself so the Godeent meseenger to 'preseb the religioas gonpel becomes mervoul and pmic-stricker at the iden of Pan-Africanism. Whatan momont of mirth and joy will hecherieh, aag, may he evea stend on one leg and dance if only Pan-Anglicanigm is not very far off in Africe or in India or in any other part of the world. He will be no more patting on the air of en Il-penserono bat only that of a L'allegra Good JJre: A Christian who is upholding the carse of Jesur, cannot tolerale for a moment the idea of one's own mative lanf, ind customes and mannery for one's own caks.
 They failed to conenti the Cgande Miasiounery before soning
the coed. Tme Roveread ne doubs wualt hove referred to the parable of the 8ower and the Boed and aloo to the ohapter an time and manon in the Holy Bible and given tham a Pabery adrice. $A t$ may rate it in tos late. It ouly remaing for thed world at large to watch and 600 the growh of the plat. Bet the Nispiunary with his treninteileot ani foresights perbapa due to hise epiritual gitis prophesien that en the eternal problem will asume cerrible propurtiose etc." What duee he excotly men by the eteraal problem $\boldsymbol{f}$ From the theol wioal point of view, it may msen the problem of conversion. It the prubleat of osuversioa nere to cesume terribls proportiong, it is mubithe tacit exespt that of the Miseimary. He it sowing the tad in an unsaiteplesoil, perhape apon stwny pleves and anoong thorna. It cannot ponsibly be politioal problam, for the misaionary has nothing to do with pol.tios auleat his religione goopel is all a faroe and myth and closk to cover the polition gosjel. Oue can very well ees how ineiunating the later part of him remarke ia. He aocases tho "Bavo olan"' that is oanaires all the truable in ludia. But who is easuing all the troable if Ireland and elsewheref Who oreated thy reasit wert Evidently it is not the "Babn class," bat only the tomallad high-minded civilized chriatiana of the Weatora world. Ha talke of character and cdacation. Einoagh of thea bigh. coonding norde I Tie world has anderetuod that the weenare educutiven it the ast of deatin and nestern charaoter ia the art of hyproerisy. Theas are the two ousatanding marale that the war and the socalled panoe have brougat to lughto and any amount of the rigroarole of the mianiumary will only lail to obield the above taot frum the pailia
T. O. Ryodi.

## INDIANS IN COMMERCLAL FLRMS.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer. Sir,

I am and to write to you about the actions of nome of the Indint Comuercial tirms and Banke in pot miequately regars ing the clains of ludians fur higher pouts and appointing buem un equal ternan with ihs biaropeaus. Nubudy will blame the Goverament as the machisery lies wially in the hands of the Earupeath if th'y appoint their Liasmen one bigt pusti. I'te frone duor of eecartag high punts ia the Gureruneut is, to acertain extent, bluoked iv ladians but the back door which netarally shanld heve bean op:ut to them in Banks and uthor Comme cial lirms should alo be blucked to them looks to be a muter of great dis uppriutment. What luoke to us as atrikiogly unfar is that ladians edacated in England and Anucrise and belongiag to bige families ehould have been convidered in'eri, it the o. d may. Englishmen by the direo.orkte of an Indias Banking conearmo How long will this differunce betwea an Eaglisbman a ut an ludian con'inac to exiat even in the Ciily of B,m ey, the heart of modera Ind ss eultare? Ot cuarms, sins of oari capitelists bave appuinted Inai ns to smanage thair concorner and they cry frona the ivp of the $h$ une that Indians ans compe:e with Earopans in Bagkiog and Cummeree very saecesalally while evare ahess are deplurably looking in ennf. dence in their brethies.

2 his ort of things shinld not be alloned to sontinney, Indian clerks ahall have to be auitel and teach the equality) of man and man to tho.e who do nos kuow. A restationt
 theo who had power w trant the Iudians and kucopeama equal $y$ ir.espective of cmeto, cred or coluar. If clerke of

Bombay do not unite and agitate in this respeot they deserve to be pitied by all. It mast be underatood that, no Bauk or a commercial firm conld stand a single minate without the cooperation if the clerks; and the emplete cooperation of clerks themselves cou'd al ne mecure jnetice and fall justice to them. Wonking like machines should not be their ansition. They should exert to get what is their own. The bist course for them is to join the Cle.ks Unijn at present.
Simplex Building


## ALCOHOL AND COLD.

The late Mr. Josish H.rling, M.I. C, E., the famous conatructing engineer of the railvaya in Chile and Bolivis, in an artiole in the "Jounnal of the Society of Arta" on "Alcobol tand Cold," testifies how he bas slept out at night at heights ap to $17,000 \mathrm{fr}$. with a temperature of 25 deg . C. below eero, but has never taeted alcohulio drinks in bis lif. He cefers to the roport of the Suath Polar Expedition of Captain Scott, and quotes the writer of the report, who anya they celebrated Christmas day by drinkiog some wine, and in consequence suffored 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 Nireoksha, 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. $H$ : 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 sub. scription, advertisemeat charges etc. can be bad on application to Mr. N. G. Sabnis, B. A., L. L. B., Manager, the Nireeksta, lndu Prakash Press, Bombay.

The National Missionary Council's Famine Relief Committee: Owing to the lailure of the rainsin . 19 I8 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. Tha audited statement of receipts and disbursements, a copy of which has been lorwarded to us, shows that a sum of Ks. 3,20,512, :has been collected and distributed in the affected areas.

An Exploded Ideal: Speaking at Orewe in May dast, 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 sw:pt away. In India, however, it has obtained a loothold and the English Public School, the embodiment of the discrejited idea, is still held up as a model by high English officials.

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Annual Subscription (inland) Rs. 7-8-O. (Foreign) one pound sterling.

| Vol. XXX. |  |
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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 firet 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 opposo the remarriage of Hindu widows in pursuance of the Hindu ideal of marriage. To day conditions have changed. Political moveinents 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, theretore, 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 possibla of the vestiges of the old system. This line of arguraent 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 refurmers 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 safeguardthat 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: whe are afraid of freedom in religious and sociat 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 ander the provisions of seotion 16 of the Indisn Relief Act 1914. This section is reproduced below ; The Minister may in his discretion canse to be provided, out of the moneys appropriated by Parliament for the parpose, a froe passage from any part in the Union to any part in India (with or witbout free conveyance by rail to snch first mantioned 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 sach lree pasaage who maken a written request for such free passage and (o) sigas as a condition of the grant of such request as statement that be abandons ou behalf of him: aelf sad bis all minor children (if any) all rights possegsed 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 apd (b) turnish to an officer desigated by the Minister such means of indentification of such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister hiay prencribe:

- $\Delta$ condition'so. signed shall be conolusive evidence that such Indian aud bis wife and minor children (if any) havo ahsadoned hil or their righta to enter and reaide in the Union and any rights incidental to bis or their domicile therein. It will be seea that the Union Government can provide Iree passages only to Indians who ask for them in writing and who sign an a condition of the grant of the「aseage a statement that they ahandon on behalf of themselver, their wivee and th ir minor obildren (if any) all their rights to enter and reside in the Union together with all rights inoidental 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 as 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 2oth 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. $\quad 1$ would bardly call any such repatriation as purely voluntary." The interim report says that, owing to the high price of rice and
other causes aeveral Indians at present are willing to go back to India. The Committee have gone beyond their terms of relerence to propose that the dificulties of Indians shonld 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 anxions 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 Epsphany's conduct in publishing a damnable libel on Hinda 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 Bindu 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 bim of the only possible excuse for his conduct. Why did be 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 bis 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 ot 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 righly said, is a matter of opinion and not of authenticated data. But we ask our readers to note the following facts. The Epiphany's correspond. ent sald 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 Hinda femates, 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 408x, 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 Eindu widows than married women over 40 years of age. This, to say the least, raises a strong presumption against the reckless libel so publisbed by the Epiphany. It is a sad reflection that men should take upon themselves the onerous daties of an Editor with very slight equipment, seeing that they bave it in their power to sur up great animosities by their prejudice or passion.

Indeatrics to Baroda : At a meeting of the ladustrial 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 bis State He early recognised that, without supplying means for the bailding up of a healthy body, social or educational im. provement in the conditions of the people would be of little value. To atrengthen, 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 auccess. With the revision of the conditions governing industrial advancement, the Stap 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 Bchemes 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 lew of the great industries which the State is now helping to create may be mentioned. These are spinning and weaving milla, both cottod and woollen, large cement works, glass works, large chemical works, large-scale oil pressing industry, bydro-electric works etc. To encourage some of these industries and to give them a permaneat 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 Const 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 forefront of the great industrial movements of India, and we congratulate both Hia Highness and his Goverament for the encouragement given at great expense to new industries.

A Christian Missionary Manifesto 1 The remarkable statement which we print to-day from a number of Cbristian 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 sheir 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, If conveys an asgurance that, in the working of the reforms, the Indian people will bave 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 resourced of the country for their owa benefit. We are grate. ful to the signatories for this proof. of their regard for the rights of their Indian fellow-sabjects. The document is bound to have a most beneficial effect on English public opinion distracted by the noisy clamour of party politicians.

## INUIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBA Y, JULY 18, 1920.

## THE DYER DEBATE.


#### Abstract

The Dyer debate in the House of Commons was not as satisfuctory as it looked from the summaries of the speeches of Ministers which Reater had sent in the earlior messager. Mr. Montnga spoke up for India in


 fopkaage which has earned for hin the gratitude even of Indians who do not approve of bis policy. Mr. Winston Churchill's anequivocal condemnation of General Dyor's conduct at Jullianivala, was all the mora inpressive because of the ramoars of a differenre of opini in betreen him and M1r. Monlagu. Mr. Asquith's outspoken support of Government from The Upposition bencbes was in the spirit of the highest traditions of the Liberal party. Hat these mpeeches cannot obscure the f.ct that a considerablo minority of the usual suppoiters of Government went into the Opposition lobby, and that a Government defeat was averted ouly by the support of the Iabourites and the Liberals. Party discipline, rather than ounviction, it is nct anfsir to nesume, prevented the defection from tho Government benches from teing larger than it was. That auch a consilerable loody of 1 oiitically-minded Englishmen and Scotchmen ehould, on un issue so plin as the conduct of Mieneral Dyer in ordering and directing the Jallianwala maksacro, have voted agningt Governmeot for decid. ing not to pivetim any more opportunities of displaying bis qualities, is, we may put it to fair-minded men and women of whatever lace or oreed, not colculated to convince the Indinn people that there is no danger of a repetition of the Panjab excesses. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his powerful speech at the Punjab meeting thrce weeks ago, showel that the general priciciples enunciated in the Secretary of State's despatih were no safeguard agai st a recarrence of the grcss ubisus of the Martial Law regime. The voling in the House of Conumons on - ir Elwnrd Carson's motion. does but confirm this faur. It is the imperative duty of Indinn leaders, therefore, to concentrate their \&fforts on securing statutory guarant.es agninst any future repetition of Jrastiun "frightfalness" in India. An Aet of Purliament, we know, is no absolute safeguard, but it is more than the speeches of statesmen which are Duried in the pages of Hunsard as so a is they are proter.An equally imperative duty lies on Indian leaders 't $ب$ have his responsibility bronght house to Sir Miobael a Dover and to insist on a chauge in the viceroyalty These tao measures will, perhajes, prove to be more patont safeguarls agaiust a repetition of the horrors -i last jear, even than an Aot of Parliament. No Whe who shuts his eges to the fact that the seeds of the mincle trouble were assiduonsly town by Sir Michael (DDryer, it likely to give helpful advice eithor to tiw Government or to Indian leaders regarding the right sumares to be adoptel to seiiere the prosent situation
of its intolerable strain. Sir Michael forced the hands of the Government of India in respect of the declaration of Martial law an! approvel with indecent haste of the massacre at Jalliznmala. General Dyer's was the blundor of a military megalomaniac, bat Sir Mioliael O'Dwyor's was the cold. calculated po icy of humiliating and breaking the spisit of the people of the Panjab. To panish the one, and leave the other to glory in his wickel prorv rity, is not evan-bandid jastice. The least that ought to be done is to dejrive Sir M. O' Dwger of his dignitios which are taraished by being borne by one who so infimonaly disclarged bis daties to his King and the King's subjezts. Lord Chelmsford ought to go. The Indian people find it impossible any longer to regard him as a saitible representative of His Majos'y the King whoss meuncrable declar tion uttered some gears ago that whit India needs is sympathy, His Excellency has so grossly neglected. It is our painful duty to tell His Excellency that his coninuance in hes high office is neither to the benefit if India nor of Great Britail. The most that could be said of H :s Fxcellency's part is that he has been the viotim of circumstances. India at this juactare wants a Viceroy whe can mould circumstances to bis will. If we may make a suggestion, it is that the Viceroyalty should be held in abeyan:e for the time being : that one of the Presidenty Governors should be appointed temporary Governor-Goneral : and that the Prince of Wales should come out to India as His Majesty's accredited Viceroy daring the term of his tour in the Indian empire The question of a permaneat arrangement may be left over for mature consideration for the present.

## MR. GANDHI.

Mr. Montaga's methods are more those of a clever political tactisian than those of a statesman with a grasp of first pricciples. Perhaps, like many others, he too holds that there are no principles in pulitics, only management of menters of Parliament. That is why Mr. Montagu sjeaks with $t$ no voices one passionately eloquent in vindication, the other coldly indifferent to the olaims, ot freedow. The following reply was obviously designed to p'acate the group of memters of Parlinment who, in the Dyer debate, had angrily demanded Mr. Montaga's resignation. Reuter oables under date the 14th instint:
Beplying to Mr. Rojert Givjunf, Sir H. Craik and others with regard to $\mathrm{Mr}_{\mathrm{r}}$. Gandli and the Khilarat Committee, Mr. Muntagu eapprsited Mr. Goudbi's grrat eervices to India and his high choracter, bat declorel that it Mr. Gendhi, after wbat has hapiened last ycar, persiated in the furm of ag tation he wat now conduoting, it wonld bs ateola:e'y inip.asible to take the an:e ridew of hic netion at ait your. The G, vorument of India sud the loond Governmen's were watehing the situation dorely and were taking pre. 0 or ions. He wat satirfiel that they wonld tate all ereps neoersary to maiotain order. Ho suggrated that it would be extremily dangeroas for the Elonse of Cimnone to try to -aggent, dintate or inderlire with their measarie. Mro Q. ndhi's efforta wire thororg'ly mirohieroun, bit be pre-
fercel te kave choir proper ireatmeat to thee charged with the maintanace of lew and order in Inding in whom the Q rucrament hed complete comfidence. He trat prepered to enppert any etope which the Gwerament of Iatia thonght ancestary in the ! resent difficalt conditisan

We do not a gree with Mr. Gandbi in all his mothods, but we foel bound to say that diovernment will be committing the gravest blander-graver iven than those of last year-if they contemplate forcible restric. tion of his activities. We know that there in a reviral of the initeting activities of the (riminal Investigation Departmezt. If relying on auch agen $y$, Government contemplate restrictive acticn against Mr. Gandhi, several Iodians who do not see ege 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 propagands, will be forced ioto situations which they have not contemplated and do not relish. And, if we judge rightly, there may be some Englishmen too in the same $p$ edicament. Mr. Montagn referred to what has happeued last year. That cuts both ways. Does, he think, that last year's happenings justify his declaration that he prefers ${ }^{*}$ to leave the 1 roper treatment of ths sitaation to those charged with the maintenance of lav and order in Indix, in whom the Government had complete confidence," and that "he was prepared to en: port any steps which the Government of Indis thought ne:essary in the present difficult conditions $?^{\prime \prime}$ If he does, after his own denvuciations in the dehate on the Honter Committee's rej ort we can only exclaim: ${ }^{4}$ We have never seen anch faith, no, not in Israal!' The members of the Government of India have just resigned and been immediately reapi ointed ander the Reform Act with the ad.lition of DIP. B. N. Sarma, as second Indian member. Lord Chelmaford continues to be Vi :eroy.

## PRUHIBITION FACTS AND FALLACIES.

## (By Mrs. Emia S. Phice)

We have often seen the statement that the labooring men are agaiust. Prohibition and Mr. Gompers, the leader of the Laboor party in the Uuited States, 80 proclaims bimself. Bat The Litorary Digest donbted whether be was competent to speak for the rank and file of labourers and seat ont, inquiries to a large number of Labour leaders. The replies from $\mathbf{5 2 6}$ of these men were as lollows:-

Prohibition, a benefit to the working man: 315
Prohibition, not a benefit to the working

| man: | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 143 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Donbtial | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |  | 31 |
| Prohibition has not been given a fair trial: | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |

$$
\text { Total } \ldots 526
$$

That journal farther states that in thirty per cent. of these replies the statement is made trat s poll was taken on the question at rezalar meeting of labouring men, so that many of these are not individoal votes but represent the sentiment of many more than that nomber.

In a receat namber of the Piencer wo wert inforar ed that the Probisition law was pat thrungh hy a few fanatice while the majority of the Auerican people were giring attention to other watters. But another article in the enme praper adaite that the "wote" know that the Methodisis, Baptista and wumen are against them. Now the wowen iu Awerica namber gaite as many as the wea. The Methodiste namber aboat six million, the Baptiste uot quite as racey. We woald like to add that the Preshyteriau Canreh is for Prohilition to anch an extsat that alie aproppriated $5 C, 000$ dollars for Prohibition propaganda in Iadia. Also the Cariatian Charch, the Congregetional adall other churchea in the United Stater, except poesib'y the Lutheran Charch, and the tiouma Catholic Charch. Even the last muotioned Charch bat furnished not a fow doughty waritiors agaiust the drink trafic with its atteadant eviluf The Episcopal Charch in America in polity and practice is vory much like the Charch of England. but is supported by ite adheranta aud not by the State. A few years ago one of ite able olergymen Ryv. Jawea Epringham of Syracuse, New York, resigued his parish that be might give all his time to work for Probibition. Later he wurked ni an egent of the Anti-Saloon Leagne in New Yurk Cily. Thia case is not an isolated une, for wll evaugelical ministare foel that the driuk tratic is the urubutnemy of iudividanls us well at of good Goverumeut. If the iudividasls above neutioned are funatics, they cau bardig lo terwed "few".
Then, the Pioneer aeema to bave quite furgottea that the Cunaticutioual l'rohilitivir $A$ mendwout was carried iu the Seante liy sixiy-five to twenty and it the House of Representatives by 262 to 125; that later all but three Scutes, and thuse three of the very sumalieat in she Uuion, have ratified the afid anematweut ; that wheu the Presideat of the Uuited States vetoed the weatures to contiune war-time Prohilition, it was proaptly passed uver lis bead by uure tbuta the required tro-thirda toujurity of both Houses of Congreso. Does any individual knowiug the A. B. C. of politica inagiue that those Cuogrensinen were voting agaiuat the desirea of their constitneacy? Those wen are ordinary iudividuala, and desire wo retain the good will of the preople they represeut aud probably wany of thein bope for re-alection, which they cause. ure only by the direct vote of the pooplé. Whether men opposed to Prohibition are williog $10^{\circ}$ admit the trath of its beuefi ent effecte or not, we.du not see how a sane mancan believe the loulish falaohoods concerting Probibition being foiated on the American people againat the will of the mejority.

A few months ayo people propheaied that Kow' Yort City woald nevor godry, whatever might happen in other places. The latest number of The Outlook reports aome effects of the Probibition law in New York City. Mr. Fradrick B. Greene, Secretary of the United Hoapital Faod of New York City, atatea thajf cases of alcoholism in that Cuty bareshown a decrense of frome eevonty to ninoty per ceat. in the firat two monthe of prohibition, instead of phyaicians, nurses, time, apace, and food being pre-smited by alcoholice,

7,000 beds in the hospital of that City have been released for the care of materaity, mental, taberculosis and general cases.

Dr. George O'Hanlon, General Medical Saperintendent of Bellevae hospital, which has handled more alcoholic cases than any other bospital in the city states: "We have practically closed the wards formerly ased for the care and treatment of patients anfering from alcoholism, and the few cases of this character Whith are treated with the psychopathic cases." In the City of Pbiladelphia where the Probibition law has not yet been fally enforced, the namber of indastrial accidents is now bat little more than halt those which occarred before Prohibition. The same experience as that in New York City has been repeatved in Philadelphis both as to its hospitals and to general troables which cansed court cases. The bogey that if strong drink were prohibited the consamption of narcotic drags woald greatly increase, has been proven false, An officer of the Internal Revenue department, having the charge of sach cases, says: "Dope auing is decreasing, not increasing." In Pbiladelphia, the Sanday Breakfast Association ased to teod from 900 to 1,000 indigent persons; the namber has steadily decreased natil after two months ander prohibition only two haudred (gaesta) pat in appearance for Sunday morning cofiee and doaghnats.
"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 rocords they atate that fally one halt the inmates of certain large jails in India have been sent there for crimes committed while ander the inflaence of drink or drage. We heartily wish that an impartial investigation into the circamatance and cause of crime in India might be made; bat who does not know of many many cases of men under the inflaence of arrack, ganja or other drugs ranning amack and committing crimes impossible to a sane man?
The sitantion is aptly stated by a writer in the Intercollegiato Statesman in a story of the literary nociaty he attended in his college days as follows : "I remember that sometimes we would vote and the President would say; "All in favoar say, (Aye);" and sometimes it happened most of the boys woald say "Ay.e". Than the President woald aay, "All opposed say, (No.)" and a few of the boys would yell "No;" their noise woald jast almost raise the roof and make us jamp with fright. Then they woald yell: "Diviaion" and the Preaident would say. "All in favoar please stand" "and aboat forty would stand. Then be would say "All opposed, please stand; and six or seven woald atande tiben we woald all langh and wonder how those boys could make so mach noise."
4. 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, perbaps, that in regard to the residential qualitication, though it is not clear what exactly nas been recommended.

## THE REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS II.

## (By R. V. K.)

The horrid realities which she, in these circamstances, is faced with, will evolve, we do not know what despair of the injared mind leading to serions consequences or steps on her part. Is it not better, therefore, to remarry them? We do not want our widows to become proverbial anspects in the long ran. Again in the families of old there was a great moral inflaence which was exercised. The families of recent growth scarcely exercise that moral infinence 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 morale, which no edacational career or educative propaganda can farnish. Again as it is very unwise and impradent under these circamstances, to define freedom for another and very deceptive to define it for oneself, it would be better if we are not anmind. fal of the potency and elasticity which that word freedom is pregnant with. That the moral inflaence, which there was to te 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 refated. It mast 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 as in the days of old. It will, therefore, be quite feasible to discard is when the present necessity for it has disappeared. It is to be recognised as an $\Delta p a d$-dharma. It is praiseworthy in the same sense in which an Apad-dharma is praiseworthy. An Apad-dharms is an expedient to which an individal 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 withoat injaring yoar acrapalous. ness or bigh traditions in the least. An Apad. dharma is really so if it is resorted to with a solemn and resolate resolve to discard it when the difficult sitnation in which it was embraced has disappeared.

The time is now ripe for re-approachment: Let the Nationulists and the Moderates compose their fead over which first ?-Social or the Political Reform? The question now fast recedes into the backgroand with a velocity directly varging with the growing political conscionsness which is satarating the Indian minds. As long as this intense conscions ness was not there, then there was the danger of falling into pitfalls leading to social and consequently to moral anarchy, indaced by the subtlo and stealthy action, acting irreaistibly, aided as it is, by the infuence of all that is prevalent among the governing race. The aspiration for political uplift which has become nearly elemental in Indian minde has
fornibbed a lever and a gaarantee againat the dangers of elave imitation and peychology. That being so we can now safely reconsider on attitude $t$ wards the Widow Remarriage question. Let an consalt our eredit by timely reconsidering it now, for there is now absolately no reason to make as inclined the other way-at least in respect of this question.
We are not consolting the Shastres. We are not going to see what the Smaritis prescribo. Wo are going to resort to it, as long as required, at a dire and grim necessity. We are going to submit to it for there is no ohoice for as esve to anbmit to it When we are reconsidering this, this is oar position.

A religious institation ahould be established which should decide the attitude of the society in general tovarda the many planke of the Social Reform. If our priest-hood remains anmoved 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 colation and we thall have it, We are going to gaard the fall integrity of the Religions Authority, as far as posaible and while we can. So it will be so mach the better, if the priesthood joins hands with us in respect of this touchy question.

## CACTUS AS FODDER.

Wo have received a copy of the report of the Ahmednagar District Famine Relief Fand for the period from the 20th December 1918 to the ond of September 1919. The administration of the Fand reflects credit on Rao Bahadar G. K. Chitale, the chairman, one of the increasing. number of non-official gentlemen with proved capacity for adminiatration. Cattle relief balkg largely in this report. The observations in it regarding the value of cactun as cattle food are of practical importance in fatare fodder famines. The Rao Bahadur writes :

An my attitude in thic matter has bean unfortanately misanderstood it is better to elate it at the beginaing. It cactus to the extent of 25 to 80 por cent. is given to anjmalo an anpplemeating their nataral food I amentirely in ita tavour bat if thic proportion is to be reversed to an to attompt to keep catile on 70 to 80 per cent of coctus alone, I am decidedly against it. It is better to note that I have not formed thim conolasion on a priori rewoning bat it has been besed apon actual experience of the resols of expir; ments in 1912 and 1918-19. In the firat p'ece there is come tist in inexperienced hands of the nee of thin fodder and it in very diffoalt to produot it in very large quantlities in a given time an the cuotan lodder has to be fresh in order to be unpd as lodder. Moreover enctus food is after all not wo cbesp and mourishing an its ardont and enthasieatio adrocaten wuald have an beliere. It has to be propsmed with very groat enie wo meto aroid any jink or at any rate to redaco all riake to - minimom. Carefal experimenta and accurate mesonate for a pramber of monthe show shat the ouctas foed per animal costa not lem than Ra. $7-80$ and nomotimes even mora, so $k$ depande apos the value of lebour, Kerosice oil or fael and sho prices of cottoa reejat Basar ritee, It will be that coon that having regard to the tremendoan energy, labour, cost ead nome riati invalved and the limit to which coutus ean be haod as fodder in temine timen, it does not appeart to mee to be: procticable proventiyg menars.

## INDIANS IN SOUTR AFRICA.

## Voleatatr Repafalation.

The Coverameat of Iedin have reosived a copy $\alpha$ the ioterim report dated May 121h, 1320, aubmittod by the Asiatio Enquiry Commistion to the Governor Genoral of Sonth Alrica. The report is mellown:-

Daring the coarse of our anquirife atrong evidenes has been laid bofure on which wende to show that thery in at present, owing to the shortage of rice and other ourtin, a considerable number of Indiane who, with thair femilimen, woald bo prepared to retara to Iadia if oppartanily were alforded them.

We have also had evidence from an infineotial Calcath merchanth at present on a riatit to the Uaios, who, ontil racontly weo chairman of the Centrod Employment and Latayp Board ander the Goverament of Iodie, that at the proent time, owing to indatrial devolopmoat, the labour aupply la India is inenfificieat to areat the domand, and that good wageen ars belog paid.
The eridence on these pointe in confirmed by Sir Beojamia Robertoon and Mr, G. I. Corbeth, the offloial reprementativen of the Indian Govornment.

We therofore atrougly reoommend to Yoar Excolleney that prompt steps be taken to provide the neomenry ebipping facilities and to appoint an offioial, well soqnaintod with the Indian mind and thoir methods to act ia -ajmpathotio manner, and to lay before the Indians the adrantagee of immediately retarning to Indian
Tro maia cancen have hithorto milliatod agoinat the retura of many Iadians, vis. (1) the aroesivoly long time they are kept at the Darban depot awaiting abipment, daring which they apend their arailable monay in sabsiatences and aro eonesequeuty driven to re-entering employmeat to enable thew to provide for their familiest and themmelves; and (8) the faet that thay are vot allowed to take with them to India thele earninge in the shape of gold, and thoir jowollery.
We therefore recommend that immedinto atope be taken it (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protector's Lepartment), to orgenioe the retarn of anch Indiane meare prepared to $\mathrm{go}^{\mathrm{j}}$ ( 6 ) to provide frequeat abipping Iccilition at abort intervale ; ( 9 to relax the rewtrietions on the export of gold in so far as nowesary in order to allon rotaralag Iadias. to take their logitimate envinge and jowellory with shom to India ; (d) to mate provitione where neomary lor epabling retarniag Iadinas and thoir familias to renoh thoir homen alter arrival in India.
Evidonen wis given bolure the Commiscion that at a. meeting beld at Darban-daring Larois leet of Iodian emploged by the 8outh Atricma Reilmaga, 80 par coant of abowe precent oxpremed, their wiah to rolura to Iadia if maisted thereto.
Wo consider that it motion wore takea by the Corcramond in furthoranes of this acsire on the part of thair owis omplosees, it woold bocome widoly kaiwa among the tadiasa wiabing to retura to ladia, and have good recalto.

We foel, too, thet adraatige abould be lakea of the precesces of Bir Benjmian Rybortion and Mr. Corbat, in whometulic Indisa commanity have the rutmost consdeanes and whowe influence in conseganatif grect, is obtais thoir masiateoces sod edvice, in initianing the ceheme whieh we have rcoommonded.

The repatriation will be earried oat aador tbe provinioge of Section 16 of the Iudimat' Belire Act 1914. Thio goction : ruproduced below :-
(6) The Minister may, in bie discretion, canse to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliement for the parpose a free pasage from any port in the Union to any port in Indis (with or without free oonveyange by rail to snch firat montioned port) for an Indian (other than an Indian ribo if, or may, become entitled under law No, 25 of 1891,) Natal, or any amendment thereol, to auch free passage who makes a written request for anch free paesage, and (o) aigns, at a condition of the grant of anch request, atatement that he abardona' on bebalf of himealf and hia wife and all minor children (if any) sll rights posesessed by him or them to enter or reaide in any part of the Union, together with all rights incidental to bie or their domicile therein, and (b) farnishes to an officer denigasted by the Minister ach menne of identifioation of auoh Iadian and his wife and mivor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe. A condition so signed shall her'oonclacive eridence that auch Indian and his wife and minor children (if iny) have abandoned hie or their righta to enter and reside in the Union and any rights incidental to him or thier domicile thertin."

It will be eeen that the Union Guvernment cau proride free pasange ooly to Indians who ask for them in writing and who nign as a condition of the grant of the preagea a statoment that they absadon on behalf of themselven, their wives and their minor obildren (it ang) all their rights to enter and revide in the Union, together with all rights incidental and their domicile therein. It is anderstood that the Guvernment of the Union of Sonth Africa have placed Mr. Wgnne Cole, Lieenaing Olfiver for Natal, on apecial daty to carry oac the scheme and that Iudiana leaving South Alrica will be allowed to take legitimate anving in gold, subjest to a maximum of $£ 25$ per bead or $£ 50$ per family. The Guverument of Indis are ansured that repatriation ouder this acheme will te purely voluntary aud that it will be left to Iudians in South Alrica alone to decide whether they deaire to take adrantage of the Unicn Governcient'd cffer.

## Mr. GANDHI ON THE REPATRIATION sCHEME.

## (Dy M. K. Gandhi.)

There :s somethiag uncanny about the repatriation enheme If South Alrice, I bad never drenmit that the interim report bad the olightest couneotion with the Indisns Relief Aot of 19:t. I hare now read the tall text of the Act and and a disonesion with Mr. Andrews also. Till the latter frew my attention to the facl, I had even forgotten that ;here wat a section in the Aot itself regarding the granting if free pasages againat forfeitare of dumicile. The Govern. nont communique confrima Mr. Andrewe' informalisn, Vhat poszles me ia the fict that it has been found at all regocuary to have an interim report in order to enforce the rou parsuge seotion of the Relief Aot. That gection takea he place of the eeveral seotione of different Aots of the Natal ! regisiation repealed by the Act. These aections providdd for the grant of free panago to those who were ander liability to paf the $£ 3$ tax, it the lattor wanted to encape the payment fof the tax of resindonture. The rection in question though designed to affeot theee peopio was made generally inpplicable. But the dobate in the Asombly made perfoetly clear the pooope of the section. The oontention at the time was that thowe who paid the $£ 8$ tex really did not beoonse domiciled, and if after they censed to pay the tax, they wanted to take , sinnatage of the froe paange section, they ohoald forego
the right of dowicile which was at that time considered to be an equitable mettlement of the very hotly debsted question of the remoral of a tax which had been in rogue for nenrly twenty yearg. The interim report somewhat altera the scope of the section, bat I ampersona'ly uot afrnid because the section requires a written application for a free passage which is a difficalt thing to obtain from any Indian in Natal, and it can ouly happen io the case of those indentured Indians who having become free are at the present moment unable to sapport themselves. Not many Indians are likely to take adrantage of the section and forfeit their. dowicile. At the came tire I cannot belp feeling that an: illegitimate ase is being attempted to be made of the section that was deeigned not to meet cases of poverty bat to meet. cases of donbtfal domicile i. e. oases in which it was open to the Anti-Asiatic party 80 argoe that domicile had not been acquired. To-day six jeara after the repeal of the tax every ' Indian ander liability to pay that tax has acquired statutory, domicile. It is against $m y$ idea of right that a government . shoald take adpantage of distress of men and seek to deprive them of a precious right. It would be better not to issue the wheme ander noequal conditious. However I derive estisfaction Irom the fact that, in apite of the machinery that is being set up not many Indians would take the donbtial advantage of the scheme.- Young Indua.

## gujarat stree kelavni mandal, AHMEDABAD.

Shalanta Pariegha, The first Shalant Parikbha (the Sobool leaving examination) was held by the Mandal on the 21st Jane 1920, wherein three candidates appeared and all passed in the following order of merit :-

1. Savita Vibhwanath Trivedi
2. Arvinda Girdharlal Tbakor
3. Nandganri Chhotalal Setalrad

All theee belonged to Vinita Vigbram Mahila Vidyalaya Abmedabad. Nos. 1 and 2 stand in second olasp, the former gete 5 prizge, each of Re: 10 in Gajarati; Domestic Arta and : Soience History, Sanskrit and Hindi; and the latter geta 2 : prizes iu Einglish and Mathematice.

Girla' Colfras. Now the Mandal thinke of atarting a Oollege for Girla in near future which will be affiliated to Indian Women'a University.

Ricoomitiom of Statiarta Parieba amd Mabila Vidya: raya. The Mandal hat applied to Indian Wumen's Universitg for the recognition of Shalanta Pariksha as equivalent to the Entrance Examiantion of the University. The Vanita V:ahram of Ahmedabad has also approsched the University for the recognition of ita Mabila Vidjalaya as a High Sohool. The Syndicate bas appointed the following Committee to report on the adviabiility of buth :-

## $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Prol. Kanitker } \\ \text { Prol. Apte }\end{array}\right\}$ of Poons

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Principal Mr. N. K. Dikehit } \\ \text { Mr. Sirdessi }\end{array}\right\}$ ol Baroda
The Committee is expected in Abmedabed daring the earreat month for the iaspection of Mahile Vidyalaye and for the consideration of the question of Shalania Pariksha.

Siarada Mugta.
Hen. Secretary.

## TER DNDIAN SOCIAL REFORMEB.

The Bdibur, The Indias Sociel Reformer, 8 in

The lank Mail broaght moen younc of May 28rd and with it the leaffet corataining the sketoh which denoribee the objecte and methode of the Reformer. It was a grant pleature to me to read it, and to know what it atands for. I wat eware that it wew eourageons and independont in ite championehip of moral and cocial rolorm, for I have experienoed from it meoh oymptiby and amintance ia our propegenda againat Oommercialized Viee daring the pant year ; bat I did not know that the journal had puch a wide outlook upon the development of India

1 am glad to know that the Reformer stande for the British lagguage the lingua framces for there is no doabt that this onablen Indis to enter more thoroughly into underntending of aympathy with progresive movenent in Europe and Amorica,

I feal aure that the women of the future will regerd the Indian Social Reformer at one of the grentest of their balwarke againat the inequity and iniquity which have kept them so long aubmerged in an illitarate and inartiouiate condition. Buch a journal shoald be unpported by evary educated woman in Indin.

## 50, Begeni's Park Rond, (Mrs.) Featiczs D. Hallowefa Loadon N. W. I, <br> June 16, 1920. <br> CERISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformor, Sir.

It appears to be commonly anpposed that Enropean opinion in Indis approvee of the mathods adopled by the military arthoritios during the recent disorders in the Puajabr

We deaire to express an-opinion which wh believe to be shared by many of our fellow countrymen.

We deplore and condemn the excesses of the mob sind reeognise the extreme gravity of the silastion with which the anthorities had to deal.

We are not prejared either to affirm or to deng on the ovidence that has been published that the proclamation of Martial Law was necesary. We would strongly maintaid, however, that the sole juatification lor the proclamation of Martial Law is the welfare of the people of Indie of evory race and areed. It in not anfficient to urge, an has mometimes been urged, that Martial Law wat vecemary for the retantion of India as a place fit for white men. Sach an argoment in Inodementally dialoyal to the spirit of the reoent Rojal Pmolamation and to the Britiah Empire.

But while we bbetain from expreming an opinion we to the nocesnity for Martial Law, wo have no hesitation is condoming some of the mothods by which it wen eiministered. The indisariminate firing on the orowd at Jalisanala Bagh prolonged even daring their fight in order "to create a wide impreesion"; the eravling order; the flogging of sebool boys chosen at random for puaiabment; these thinga are bejond exomen; they hare grieronaly stained the Britioh mame in Iedia.

Worat of all, in car jadgment, is the mentality of thow who adopted them mothods. By thair ovidence before the comaits nion, they bart showa how costemptross io thoir attitude towords the people of India, and bow arrogent is their
asamption of racial superiority. The eleughtar of come 100 Indiane ovokes oaly emild exprescion of regret. The impo. sition on the groand of alleged seditions madencion in their Colleges of daily roll-aalla lor a thounand atadenta iavolviag a 16 mile walk a dey fir cynically deeoribed at ${ }^{*}$ a mild form of phynical exeroise". The imprimament in the fort of Sizty-Give stadente and the stafie of the Sanatan Dhareas College when come auknown parson atore notioe on the compound wall, wea inflictod beonuse the officor is command of Lahirt "was looking for just anch an opporianity." Them metbods have bean rightly deseribed by one of the questivaers in the EunterReport an frightfalaese and anderlying the whole policy is the belief that $\omega$ loreo is the only, thing that an Asintic hat any respees tur." (Enanter Report, pp 186. 158).

We feel bound both at Englighmen and an Chriatiant to: exprese ouf indigoation that wach methode ahould heys marked Britiah rale in india. Ae Engliehmen, we regerd "Promianism," whaterer prootised as damasibe and fatile; for no empire oan be cecarely built on fluandation of terroriam and hate. Ae Christians, we bold that tho oondone ation of suoh methods would involve the repudiation of the teaching and example of Chriat and the rejeotion of thon ${ }^{-}$ Chriatian principles of co-operation and triendehip withoot which there cen be no true progreas for the peoplee of the world.

## Eiokatuass.

Eostrice Badden, Baplist Mianion, Palwal, Panjab; P. N. Buahill, Beptist Misaion, Dalbi ; E. C. Dowiok, Principal St. Panle Collegn, Oalontta ; J. J. Ellis, Wealeyan Mianion, Trichiacpoly; A. G. Fraser, Principal, Trinity College, Kandy; T. N. Gardiaer, Hialop Cullege Nagpuri R. M. Gray, United Free Charuh of Soolland, Bombay; J. 8. Hogland, Hialop Collega, Nagpur ; D. G. M. Loith, Wealagan Misaion, Triplicane, Rairal: N. G. Leather, Principal, Krishnath Oollege, Berhampore; J. H. Meolean, United Free Chareh of Scotlend, Conjeavarsm; N. Mronieol, Uninad Free Church of Scotland, Puona; R, L. Polly, Aoting Principal, Bishop's Colloge, Oalcntte; O, H. C. Sharp, Lectarar, 8t. Stephen's College, Delhi ; EL. J. Thompeon, Wealeyan Miacion Oollega, Bankura; S. H. Thomat, Ineotures, St. Etephen's Colleg a, Dolni; A.EL. Tift, Oaasbidge Miscion to Delhi ; F.J. Western, Cambridge Mission to Delhi ; O. Kingeley Williams, Principal, Wealoy College, Madres ; J. Wintarbotham, Medical Mimionary, Ohikbalepar, Myeore; O. B. Young, Baptiat Mimion, Dalhi; Edith L. Young, Baptiat Misioa, Polval, Panjob; P. N. F. Yoang Cembridge Mision to Dolh; Kath Yonag, Baptiat Mistion, Delhi ; M. Yorag, Baptist Miecion, Polval, Dsltio

## MISSIONABIES AXD ©CURBENT EVENTS*

The Editor, The Indias Social Reformer,
Bir
Hert and there loome aboat anotion thet the loreiga minoionarive are not very moch intoreatel in Iadias affelru. It is rather an ill-lonnded opinion. The minolomary comtrio butions to the jutarale about the Hunter Commitice Beprat ged the Jallianwalle Bagh atroeition deserve the pablie attonilom. Lome of them are oneonegging; swa of tham are dicoouraging. But all of then are the otteome of che Puajob offaif. The emeouraging latwre stand a moournont of recorde protecting egainat the liahaman crimet committed ander the fair mane of law and justioe. Is chim onanetion a rolerenen to a quention proper aet in "Curreat Evesty" in ome of the Jonding
theosogical colloges will not be out of place. Some of the questions are interesting from an Indian point of view. They are about the Hanter Committee Report, the Congress Reporth Jallianmalle Bagh etc. The peper apeske very bighly of the exeminer, who, though a foreigner, bas taken a keen interest in studying the topice abous Indis, which is a natural coarse for one who has to do ninoere work with a clear conscience in the place where he happens to be. To such a paper, learned answers with original ideas and independent thooghts based on sound upiritual reasono, anggeating posaible prophylactic injections to the buresacratio disease caused by aheer imaginary fear of an open robellion, woald leave an everiasting good impremion on the examiner. Oa the other hand, even a little vagary in angwers, 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 wae, perhapa a passing current of thougbt confusing such a great personality as Lord Hanter with Mr. Mark Hanter, the anthor of the recent Barma University Report, would andoabtedly produce a contrary effect.
When a signilicent section of the miseionarien are thad earnestly atudying the carrent problems of India and racking their brains to solve them by the epiritual weapons, not by aeroplanes, meobine gans and bombe, it in highly deplorable that some of the educated Indiana are merrily indifferent. How ladicrous does the state of affairs etand? "Educato the poor and the illiterste and lead the masa", is the cry everyWhere. This onnnot beachieved auless there are true leaders. Bat who is a trae lender? It is he who bas stadied bis cwn country and the people personally; it in the 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, forgete his own aelf ond lende bis services to the cause of his coantry; it is he who ebaken oft his onste prejudicer; it is he who views thinge with an unprejadieed mind; it in he who adrocates cooperation lor juatice and non-00-operation for injastice; it in be who fights out for celldedermination; it is he who followe trath; but not the no-called golden rules. India requires such leaders. Will the theological amminariea and other inatitu. $\mathrm{t}_{\text {iona }}$ rise ts the occaion and eend forth year alter gear a number of brilliant men of highly' intellectual, musal acd apiritual attainments to the different parls of India and if poserible ontaide thir conatry, to teach and gaide hamanity to attain the ultimste goal of everlating peace and happinios by apiritualism, but not by navalism and militariem and not by the amaxiog ignorance of the hamanity-ataggering atrocities porpetrated by foreigners on their fellow brethreu ?
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## CONTENTE.

Indians Overseas.
Voluntary Repatriation.
Indiane in Enot Afrloa,
Indiane in East Alrion.
Kbllafat Speeches iv Sind.
Misslomarice and Martial Law Bxcesses.
Mr. Saetri on the Declara- , tion of Righte.
The Woman's Page.
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The Lorde and General Dyer.

The Late Profescor Gajjar. The New Indie.
Chriet ino Miacionaries and the Puajal Excesses.
A Bad Example of Christian Journalism.
Scandalise India.
New Danish Marriage Law.
The Karpatic College, Dhafwar.
The Khilalat: Agltation in sind.

## HOTES.

Indians Oversens. 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 Citizensbip Association should have an executive to keep in close touch with events affecting Indıans 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 Goversment Gaxette publishes the official version of the occurrences at $\mathrm{Fiji}_{\text {. The statement has a }}$ family resemblance to the official version of the doings at Amritsar in April 1919.

Voluntary Repatriation: Indian Opinion (Durban) of the IVth fune has the lollowing 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 addantage of the Government's offer. The Governmont have not so far announced their intention of oftering any cash allowance to those returning. As we have said before, the Government ought to assist these returning emigrank and place them in a position to start life afrest in a country which, to wany, 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 Timas of India:--"Sir Benjamin Robertson interviewed at Pietermaritzburg an routs for Kenia Colony, stated that the Uaion Government's voluntarya Indian Kepatriation Scheme was based on the principle
recommended by him for the advancement ol 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 bas 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 scttlers 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 justifiabie 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 Goverment 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 interesis of white exploiters of coloured races.

Indians in East Africa : The Hon. Mr. Abdulrasul A. Visram M. B. E., of British East Airica 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, 1 should remain satistied 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 then completely. This is, 1 am afraid, one more attempt to cloud this issue. I too equally deprecate any exaggeration of facts from either sides. It the legislative council was only in the gature of an experiment, why is it so treated only against lndians alone, and why are the Europeans at once allowed elective franchise? It is, however, satisfactory so fat to know fhat he intends doing something in the way of granting elective francbise 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 bentiments 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 regardiag. Kbilafat 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 an administrative methods which wrought such bavoc 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 Oriminal 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 belween its officers and the people. In this connection, we ought to say that the Bombay Government's Burean 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 Exeesses: We have pleasure in publishing the jetter 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 Cbristian Missionaries. The following comment of the Dnyamodaya, the Anglo-Marathiorgan of six Missions working in this Presidency, is to the same purport : "We desire to associate ourselves with the misi
sionary manifesto concerning lest year's martial law. bearing the gignatures of twenty-five Eaglisk missionaries, working in various parta of India -the Punjab included-and representing various British missionary societies. We bave 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 beliel 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, wivuld 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 them' selves of the benefit of such a declaration when it comes, but they will not lift their little finger to belp to get it. And why ? Because if it were granted, the Legislature in India would be unable to take extra. ordinary steps in emergencies, In other words, Mr. Sastry and his friends when they tell us that responsible Government will automatically secure ponitical ireedom, are not serious. His speech is itself the best proof of Lord Acton's differentiation between a political party which geeks more power, and one which workn to ensure greater freedom for the people. If the Legislature is really representative of the people, emergencies requiring extraordinary powers sbould 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 bas long been a more or less secret and silent scarce of irritation to countless buman beings in Canada and elsewhere; there seems to be no parallei 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'b-mitchen. kinder, kirche, kleider, and if we muat. 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 daya, K when men were. "the people" and women were merely " the sex," it would be natural to consider that feminine interests mus be decidedly limited, and we must remember that it is only the other day we were granted the right of sell-expression as citizens, Many of us who are neifher old nor feeble can recall the trouble we bad 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,"

## INUIAN SUCIAL REFORMER.

 BOMBAY, JULY 25, 1920.
## LEADERSHIP.

Gabernatorial speeches to Indian stadents are, as a rule, of no more than conventional interest. The man behiud the Governor is seldou alluwed a chance. pir (leorge Lloyd's speeches, however, are distioguishest a challeagiay note which iwpart to them a certain freshaess. Speaking at the opeuiag of the new boildings of the Karnatak College mt Dharwar, His Excellency the Governur advised the students not to over-estimate their uwn powers. "Muny yoang men of yoar age," maid Sir George Lloyd, "an they leave theso auors thiuk that tuey are already fully qualitied to atop straight iuto the political arean, aud tuere to bear themselves with all the skill and wisdom of a Pitit or a dukbale. Bat you causut be Hitls or Gukhules auless gougo through the steru araluiag those mea weat thruagb. Fou will come
 thea velurethis couatry, but first if all jou muat deary all the leasoas luat valy expertence can teaca.' Cur expertence of our youns graduates dues nuc culactue with His fixcellency's in this respect. Amung the hatay miscollanevis duties that tall to cuad witer's lut is to receive aus culuverse almoth every day with joung gradlates and undergraduates. acerruns of entering lite. Ua some unys, therema two or taree such ith tho same day. Aud wain deg rensen uim must is chat, so tar from over-estianhang thatr uwa fuwers, muat ot theat julagy mea vory ersivuoly under-eatimate them. Uar preseac day young men, nolwibastadiag that many of atuem sid probabiy leod haudisapped in the inpurtant respact of eariy marriage aud partutal ha-- posuabinity that lueir dallera at heir age, stave tacmatice in bo mure lackanara ta the colutajo that facee idio'd prublema in a spitic of seremity. fia, so, periapos, to to acionnted fur as arialng hoas tho lacim in the presebit gelueration of tho tatio (or thantiow) whath otifiellea tho character of precedias unes. It way alou be that the wore burdens wa bear
 20 cruath us out, the wore burdeas are we able to bear su uir fater maubuod. This, wo beed bardly suy, is cul an argameat tor reviviag ula supersilitucs or meristumblag early marlage and buy pareathova. A, ouly stivens that meane atiould be butud, atu Junt butis to p.ovide the tornfying latluance of a arduvatid tallu in our lives aud au entighteued andeth.ilte tor the truintug in respousibitity which. math sta wany mud glarlug delectes the ofd laming ejstise provided.

The luck of selficonfidence in oar yonng $m-n$ is - Luwu cunst icuor sly by he in pete.ate belief which uany aithim soiul 10 cuh ria n that oniess sumebedy lackis show opthry have no clance of making therr way in the worid. kiven if a yonag man's qualtications a.e of
the best kind, he still wastes a lot of ti'ne and thoe Ifath rin viaiting persons whise recommendations are sapposed to carry wifish. Sive:al of our yon'g meu frankly avuw tuat they do not think their own merits will suffice withont iuflanence to pive them their riyht place in the schene cf ifo. Fer young men, eveu afier they take their B. A. degree, have any idea of what their special aptitade is, and fewer stiil fiel that they have a missiun in life. One yoang Maratha graduate, wheu remoustrated with for trying t) qualify binself for thrie unconnected professions at the same ima, told this writertbe otber day tbat he mast be gaided by circamstances, adding that that was the condition of mest young men in the present state of the conurry! The facility to find an excuse in the general state of the conntry for one's own defective fibire is where prestnt day joung men have the advantage of their fathers. Ttis writer's advice to all these young men gencrally taked the shape of a talk pointing to the need of a sofficient couceit (f their owa powers aud destiuies. We are afraid that this does not fit in with His Excollency's actrice. In orr opiuion, it is mach better that a joung wan or wowan should cyer-estimate rather than uder-estimute their powers. And for two reasols. The more important of the two is that the disillisicnment of later years will in that case leave a residaum of self.reliauce ina young man whobegins by oler estimating bis powere, whereas the one who atarts by ander-estiwating them will have a minus balance befure be reaches widdle age. The other and perhaps less worthy resson is tnat the world gen rally takes a man at his own valuation; at any rate, it never takes him at a bigher valuation. The young man who is afflicted with an txeess of diffidence will never be able to perbuade his fellows to overmhelm him with their confideuce. His Excellency is himself a comparstively joung man tor bis position, aud his wide experience of men and things will, no doakt, sapply him with illustratives of these statements. As for Pitt aud Goshale, enrely their traiuiug cousisted chit tly in their uwn mitikes and the lessous they leifat irsm them. We do not wish to go into a er.tical estimate of their livep, bat we doalt if sach an estimate would completely bear out His Excellency's ol strvatiou. We atree that experience is valaable, but you will never get auy experience worth having if jua do wot uake wistakes, aud your calacity fur making iustractive mistakes is proportionate to your estimanaó juarself-not too low-but rather too undy.

> Ah, buta man'e rench shocill oxceed his grasp,
> Or whatis a hearcu tur?

His Excelleary also made sone rematre sboat leaderabip. - What Iudia areds most aro lesulero," said Has Excellency, " wea pissesstuy furce of character, aud wih a saue, calm ontluok; who attan and muintain their leadership of wen not with the were clatter aid hurricaue of the liatings, bict through thetr repatation fur patiotisa and sanity. Now jour conutry . . . . aeeds great statesmen

-     - equipred with broad sease, knowledge cf the world, and above all definite aime and the moral conrage to state them whether they be in accord with the popalar seeling of the day or Bo." This is the weed all the work over, and not ouly of Indis. We are trying to extract a-fioito meaning from II is Excellency's words, something like a rule of condact which we res profit by. It is not anreannuable to iufer that Sir Gieorge Lloyd was thinking cf political leaders chiefly. Tne use cf the word astalestan** is the mase senterce, confirms this. Adjectivet $k u: h$ an 'calw' and 'sane' have no quiversal nignificance. We are, therif se, obliged to mak ourselves bow many of the rocogoised loaders of history, wonld answer to His Excellency's defioition. Some of the greatest leaders in bistory would bave been nable to obsain a certificate of charecter from the Principal of the Karnatal College. Many of them wonid have been enhject to the close atcention of the Criminal Investigation Depsitment. The eanity of eome others was serionsly donbted even in their own life time. Eew political leaders have been distingnished by defiaite aims-the only defiaite ain discernible ia their career is to keep themselves is office or power. all political leaders have one thing in common, namely, a dasin of charlatanism.

> Oh, the erowi must have emphntio warrant! Theirn, the \&inai-forebead's cloven beilliance, Ilight-arm's rad-sweep, tongneis inuperial fiat. Never dares the man put oll the prophet.

It is no use asking ladians to evolve a type of political leader rarely known even in ench politically ripe conntries ns Eagland. The value of good advice is impaired when it is such as does not confurm to the actal experience of mankind. We mast take car leaders as we find them, taking care, however, that they lead repntahle lives. It in easy to presch moral conrage bat difficnlt to practise it. Canniog, a reallo great English Viceroy, wonld not pthblish the list of atrocities against Indiana daring the Mntiny becanse he woald not expore bis conatrymen to the reprobation of maukind. Why have not responsible Englishmen in Indis denoanced the movement to collect sabreriptions for General Dyer? Mr. Frederick Harrison, sarely a eane thinker, lays down that the place of the leader, that is, of the political leader, is not in the van of a movensent, luat just ahead of the central force. The attempt to combine the role of a prophet and that of a political leader, such as Mr. Gandbi in our own tione is making, does not elerate politics; bat introdaces the political spirit in religion. Mr. Gandbi more than most other Indians of our time, comes op to His Escellency's definition of a leader, but we are sure that no Governor as Governor will be glad to have many Iadian leadera of the type. Mr. M6ntagn, whose increasing difficalties roosirais bim to onreflecting candoar, told his tormentor, Mr. Gwyno, that many people, who have high characters, are politically mischievons. It follows that many people who are politically secepteble are not of high cheracter. In othor worde, charactor is of no
aceonat in politica. Fich doe reapent to Mro Montagn, we think that. when any Government fiode that many men of character are. pilitically mism chiemons, the probabilities are that that Govarament is wanting in character oud it will do well to lake the erriest opportanity of acqniring some for itelf.

## NON-CuOPERATION.

When "oon-co-operation" wat first suggeated an" meannre of protest against and redrese of the grierances of the people some months agn, the geperal leeling was that it was an inpracticable idea and the hope was geqerally èntertained that calmer conaideration would indace those who started it to give it ope While the geaeral feeling as to ite impracticable character has growa and atrengthened, the origioatore of the ides havo been persisting in it with anintelligible obstibacy. They delivered at the begioning of this month an altimatam to the Viceroy that, if certain grievances were not redressed withia a wonth, they would laanch the campaizn of non-cooperation. The time-limit of this altimatam will expire on the 1st of Angnat. Meanwhile, Mr. Gandbi, Mr. Shanket Ali and Mr. Kitchlew have gone to the 'Puojtb with the evideut object of preparing the gronnd for noncooperation. On the other band, the Sucretary of State fur Iudia has made staternent io Parlisment which furebodes repressive action against promoters of this movenent.
.The position of the conntry at this jnoctare in aptly counoted by the familiar phrase ar between the devil and the deep rean". While noo-cooperation is honnd to be a failare, there is the possibility to be craarded against of its leading to locul eballitions on the part of the ignorant popniece involving, it may be, the lose of innocent livel. On the other band, almost all sections of the pablic have been hit eorely by eome phase or other of the recent meannres of Govornment. and the consequentiand camalative dianatisfaction in so widesprend that any measare of forcible repreasion directed against a mach-respected Iodian like Mro Gandbi miagaided as bis coarse is in this instance, is sare to lead to a confagration. We foll it incambent on every patriotic Iudian in thie diffisalt aitaation to declare plainly the dangere of nod-cooperation on the ooe hand and of forcible represaion lyg Government of ite advocates, on the other. Tnis article is intended to serve this two-fuld parpore, and, will, it is boped, commend itself to the jadgmeat of our counarymed in all parts of the conatry.

We woald point out to Government that the terme of the Tarkish Peace Trealy as poblished are in flagrant violation of the Prime Minister's nolemn declaration that tha Allies were not fistting to deprive Tarkey of ite capital, Constantidople, or of Thmee and Aain Minor. That pledge is radaced by the Peace Treaty to a whiff of breath not diatingaishable from the late German Chancellor's "acrap of paper". Ite comploto and liberal redemption is easential to restore the belief of Iadiana in Britieh good faith. The Britisk Government should refase to be a party to a pesce
which sets at nought its solemn pledge that the Tarkish Empire would be left andistarbed in its possession of Conetantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor. Then there is the queation of the Panjab martial law regime. The whole coantry teels keenly that the Secretary of State for Iodia and His Majesty's Government have not properly appreciated the wicked and malicions spirit which inspired many of its enormities. Mere pions declarations will not assaage this feeling. The prompt and pablic dismissal of offenders like Mr, Bpoworth Smith and the deprivation of Sir Micháé $U^{\prime}$ Dwyer of his dignities and a change of Viceroyalty, are essential to conviace the Indian people that His Majesty's Government have the same regard and respect for Indian lives and Indian honoar as for English lives and English honour. These things ougbt to be done at once. Withoat them, the enforcement of repressive measares against the protagonists of non-cooperation, will bat aggravate the bitterness of the pablic feeling.

It is no less our daty to warn Mr. Gandhi and his coadjators in non-conperation 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 Hindaism, that every one shoald do one's daty in life, that nothing can absolve one of this supreme ubligation. Mr. Gandhi is a great soul, but his anthority 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 oat its mistakes to Government, to strive constitationally to get its errors corrected, and, in the last resort, to bring aboat a change or reform in the personnel or ayatem of Goverament. This many leading men in India are engaged in doing. Their efforts are made nagatory by the preacting of the negative goapel of non-cooperation. The ton-cooperation movement, if it succeed, will lead to the cessation of national activitien, It is not the Government but the people that will suffer from suoh a resalt. If it fails, as we are sare it will, it will by exposing the coantry's weakness, lead to political reaction. From every point of view, we cannot think of a more inept policy than that of non-cooperation an a neans of evoking the national apirit. We, therelore, appeal to the lndian people to refase to be led into this movement, and to continue in the tried mathods of constitational agitation which have already led to fruitfal results. Patriotism divorced from pradence, is fatile. Pradence withoat patrictigm is contemptible. In any course that the nation is callod apon to adopt both these qualities should be combined and, for the reasons atatea above, we sobmit that nonvooperation is devord of both.

## THE LORDS AND GENERAL DYER.

The result of the debate on Lord Finlay's motion exonerating. Ceneral Dyer and censaring Government for their condemnation of his condact at Jalliantila, has been received with masement in
this country. The constitational position is clear The adverse vote in the Lords will not affect the decision of the Goverament as regards General Dyer nor does it eatail the resignation of Ministers. The House of Lords has come to be recognised as an obsolete institation and the need of a radical change in its constitation is admitted by all parties. The sinister significance of the proceedings in the Hoase of Lords to the people of India, however, does not arise from their immediate constitational consequences. It arises from the indabitable proof that they afford of the fact that the politically and socially important olasses in Great Britain share and approve of General Dyer's vients in regard to the Jallisnwala massacre. In fact, Lord Finlay, who is a late Lord Chancellor and a lawyer of distinction, in his speech jastified General Dyer at every point against the criticisms passed on his condact by the Haater Cominittee and the Secretary of State. The acceptance of his motion by a considerable majority by the Lords is of evil angary to the British Empire. Its practical lesson for the Indian people is obvioas. We shoald bend all onr energies to secaring ourselves against a repetition of the Pajab episode. This, not the Reforms, is the immediate concern of Indian leaders. We sapport the anggestion of the Bombay Chronicle that Indian leaders of all parties shoald 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 Hoase, Lord Carzon, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, and Lord Meston. Lord Sinha's speech contained a few sonad sentiments, bat its whole tone wai inexcasably apologetic. He failed lamentably to rise to the occasion. Even if he had faithfally paraphrased Mr. Montaga's speech in the Hoase of Com. mons he would have acquitted himself more creditably. The fall text of his speech when it is available in India may show that there were more sound sentiments in it, bat it cannot, anless 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 indalging in a fead 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 sapplies the contradiction. The Under-Secretary of State is the bear 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 opeping out to them! Watching Disraeli passionately pleading in the Honse of Commons against his own party for the emancipation of English Jewn from political disabilities, Mr. Gladstone broke into an expression of admiration at the fervoar of his great opponent's loyalty to his race. Even Lord Finlay'e perverted loyalty to his own coantrymen coald not stir Lord Sinha from his political lethargy in spenking op for his own people.

The best speech on the Government side was gertainly that of Lord Carzon. He mait haye
spokea with considerable fervour for Lord Balisbary deprecated Lord Carzon's "vicleace" of langange. And no wonder. Lord Carzon is a man with a mind and convictions, and not a bloodlese antomatoa attitadinising on the stage of Empire. On the two points involved in the Panjab tronbles, his lordship has been always sonad to the core These two points are race iarrogance in Iadia, and the right of provincial Governmenta to bo given a free hand in their adminiatration. Lord Carzon, during his Viceroyalty, gave unmistakable proof that on both those poiats his policy was the reverse of Lord Chelmaford's. In the iafamous Barma affair, Lord Carzon dealt promptly and severely with the regiment to whioh the offenders belonged, and incarred considerable anpopalarity with the clase of Englishmen who are today sabseribing to a memorial to General Dyer. As regard provincial Goveraments, il Lord Carzon and not Lord Chelmsford wan Viceroy lat year, Bir Michael $O^{\prime}$ Dwjer would not have ventared to ask for a free hand in dealing with the aitaation. The Viceroy who came down to Gajarat in the middle of the hot weather to see for himself how famine relief was administered, would not have ast down at Simle and waited tor Sir Michael's wireleases from Lahore. Lord Carson's speech does him honour and speaking for ourselves the perasal of it has helped appreciably to mitigate the keen disappointment cansed by the voting in the Honse of Lords.

## THE LATE PROFENSOR GAJJAR.

Proleseror Gajjar whose dealh was announced on Friday lant had a very remarkable career. Bora of himble parents and belonging to a community in whidh literacy is even today very litule known, he showed hia talenta at an early a ge and made his way an fer have done in this Presidency. Alter his brilliant College career he aoon won the confidence of the Gaekwar and with His Highness' liberal aill toanded the Kalabhavan or the School ot Technology at Baroda nome thirty years ago.' This was the first institation of its kind in India and noon became famous all over the conatry. The Dyeing and Printing Department attained sach fame that for nearly a quarter of a centary almost all tho dyers at the differeat textilo mille owed their training to Profeecor Gajjar. Bat he was not satisfied with the limitations placed apon his activities in Baroda State. He migrated to Bomuay and within ashort time hin was a household name nof becanse he had won his feathers in clearing the Queen's atatue bat becaase he had given the best in him daring the anxions time of the plague In the beginning of hie activities he found a aympathetic sapporter in Dr. Machickan who gave him the Professorship of Chemistry at the Wilson College Bat here agaín hio restlesi, soal foriad an many reatrictiona as he experienced in the State and the resulf was the foundation of the well-known Teehno Chemical Laboratories For over ten yeare this was the hamming centre of all chemical activitien in Bombay. No one who sartite Professor, it the height of bue activities in those laboratory would ever lorget the,
greataces of the man to whom this presidency owes so mach. He created the propor atmosphare for Chemi cal recearch in the Bombay Uaiversity and it is due to his personality and work that Bombay takes tho -place whioh sho occapies today in scieatific oirclen Gajjar's work wae not confined to Chemistry.

In literary and is Sociologioal work he did equally lesting work. Hia friends were the great wricort of the day and the greatent of them wan Govordhanram Tripathy. His monamental work will be the Vanitu Viaram which he organised, rith the help of hia sister Ben Nanigarri. He weraleo actively esseciated with the Seva Sadan, and the ! Alembio Chemical Worke The Kalabhavan and. then Retlad Dye worke are instancen of hill lead in, industrial chemistry. Though Gujiar at one time. wan one of the wealchiest and most anccesafil: ohemiat in Bombay, he died a comparatively poor,; man. He apent his fortane in cealiang many of his, great droams for the advanceenent of indautries in this Presidency and in Ireely distribating his varions remedien to the poor. Dariog. the hast inflaense epidemic, he once more ceme to the relief of the poor and apared neicher money nofr laboar to give them the necessary help. Daring the: later yeare of hia life he had pructionlly retired from, all pablic sotivitios owiag to conchated illoest. Bat though he had practically retired, ho kopt in: toach with all the activitien of the city and readered sach hejp as lay in his power. What sir, P. C. Rey was to Bengal, Gajiar was to Bombay. Though both have worked to create resemech work in Chemistry, though both were inspired with high ideale of chose caty to their icoantry, there wan a difference between thems L'he Beagalee Chemint. created an atmosphers of pure oneculcal reaenroh while Gajiar was all tur appled chemiatry. If wan the regret of hie olosing daya that, When the time came to comptete hiesife work by sukiog the lead in chemicul inanatrien during and ufter the war, hie healti did not permit him to muve oat of his room. To ench a man a ficting memorial is due and we are gled to note that his freande and admirers are taking aleps to asnociate hiename ia the anveraty with. Cnemiant Hosearoh by raining a Hesenrch Fraud in hu mama.

## THE NEW INDLA.

Wo hare often arged in these colamns that one of the greateat needs of the time is a historg of Ladia is which the conflicte, stratries and conoustiona between racos, religions and dyaastien will be"ion" corded their proper plage, that in, in the backgroandic behind tho contribation maide by ach io tae evolation of the Iadian people, that is the main carseas of her hictory: this ajathetio viem of the hutory ot the Indian people wae the basie of the Brahwo Bemaj morement toraded by Kija Hace Muhad Roy ; It ham been prominonuly developen chuetly by chiukers and writars of his soriool ; on cuis ade of Ladie, for ins tanco, the late Mr; Jastiee Banade io his wricinga

[^25]and speeches did mach to incorporate it into carrent thcaght. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's brochare "New India" is a presentation of the coarse of constitational reform ander Britioh rule from this point of view. He writes:
Study the conatitutional history of India of the last 150 yeare not with the eje of a party politielan, bat a sober cirefal jadge. That in the proper way to stedy the politionl con. atituliga of India as it bas grown from the time of the Enat Iudià Company to now: The main current of the growth hes been towards responsible Government. Oar very agitatione have been due to the forces. of that. ourrent ereated by Britioh influencen.. So now by the Reform Act the British Parlinment relaxes ite control on Iadin, and takes the first step of direct Parliamentary Government for and in this conntry iteolf.

Opinions will differ as to the pace of progress in the centary and a half that has seen the birth of the United States; the Freach Revolution, the rise and fall of the German Empire, the naification of Italy, the marvellons phenomenon of Japan, the conversion of the ancient Chinese Empire into a Republic, the disappearance of the ancient antocracles of Rassia, Anstria and Tarkey. British rale had a great anfinished programme of consolidation to complete in this conatry, but it had, at the same time, nearly two-thirds of the work of nation-bailding carried out by preceding Empires. Bat there can be no difference of opinion regarding Sir Narayan's conclasion that, through interraptione, delays aud diversions, the conutry has steadily progressed in the direction of responsible Government ; and, who knows bat that oar slower paceitself may be oar best gasantee of the fatare? He shows that the earlier British statesmen definitely set forward Indian self-government as the goal of British rale. More recent saccessors of these men, have suoght to minimise, if not to deny, this, Bat it is the past history of nations, not the sophiatries of politicians, that is the propelling force of their actions, and the history of Eagland is the history of freedom. Sir Narayan Ohandavarhar is an ardeat and active constitutional reformer, bat this book shows that he can at the same time look at the movement of progress from the high altitade of the historian. It is this capacity which, in the stress and heat of the day's work, ondows his jadgment with the balance of repose. The booklet is not intended as a contribation to party polemics, neither ia it an apology for the defocts and drawbecke of British rale. It is a sane and olear-ajed presentation of the broad movement: of politioal freedom which is ondoabtedly the great contribution of British ralo to Indian history. This is the kind of broohare from which young stadeuts should form their ideas of history and politics.

## OBRISTLAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
I read vith ioteroat in yoar inane of jemorday a dettor oignod by a nuaber of Iudian minajonarice reganding the

Pajjab sitantion, and your editorial comments on it, It is possible that mome may asoume that the rigastories are the only missionaries holding the views ant forth in the letter, and I therefore leel it hid apon me to assure you that nearly all the misaionaries with whom I am acquainted and many Earopesns who are not misaioviaries would have had no hesitation ia aigning sach. a letter it it had been submitted to them. Many of as refrained from expressing any opinion on the happenings in the Pajjab while the matter was oub. judico, and persoaslly I ahould have kept ailence altogether wore it not that others who profess to represent Earopena opinion are giving expression to dootrines which no Christian mas conld accopt $\boldsymbol{t}_{\text {. }}$

I am etco.
Wilson College,
Johm Makemzie.
Bambsy,
19th Jaly, 1920.

## A BAD EXAMPLE OP CGRISTIAN JOURNALISM.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer;

Sir,
I read your note on "A Bad Example of Christian Journaliam' and I honestly think a more charitable construction can be pat on Hamedar Hossain Joardar's pregnant view on Binda widows and hence this letter to you for favour of pablication. The firat diffioulty that I have to encounter at the atart is to find the nationality of my Hamejar Hosanin Joardar. Is be, a Hindu, or a Mubammedsn or a convert or *- mixture of these thres races ?--that is the problem before me.
For if he is a. Mahammedan or a 'Convert,' he had no justification to poke his nose where it might appeas out of joint.

And if he is a Hindu, then his viewa onght to recoive cur careful consideration. For it might be presible that Hamodar Eoasain Joardar came to the awe-ingpiring conolation by a eareful atady of the widows in his own lamily or, to go atep further, from bis near oircle. In onge this in so, my contention with him is that he ought to have ued the term proportion and not percentage. Fur statistically you mast have 100 or more observations before you can ase the term percentage. And I do not think Hamedar Hosasin Jonrdar's range of oberryationa exoeeded that limit.
Now, Sir, es to my own obserrations, I fast re myoell that, I have done eome work in thin line for more than a year and I jot down my observationa for what they are worth.
(a) The proportion of morality is greater in thse communitien which are orthodox than in those which havs imbibed the Westorn atmesphera.
(b) The religione teachinge which our girls get (I ame Hindo) and the envirunment at homs make more difficalt any violation of the moral oode.
(0) The resual indalgences among the Hindu widowt is the leation moconat of the above oasseas I moall shiver at patting it even at 5 por cent. Therefore, Sir, 'Hamedar Eoenaia Joariar very oloarly exbibits to the world his moral and mental bankroptoy. Why he rushed into print can oaly be acoountod by the payobologionl low that 'fools rath in Where angela faar to truad.'
Bat, Sir, the greater guilt in that of the Efitor of the Epiphany who wat sotanted either by a Satanic mutive or by a permonal stady of the widuwa in his owa circle.
It jet romains to be cen thetber they noconditionally tender an spology for the wrong they have done of their own fouliah mecornd.
ALnOEA:
18th July.
Cordially yours, D. Part.

## SCANDALISE INDIA.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Bir,
A sinistar feature of the Panjub controveray ham bean noticenble form the oulset. It is being made prominent now after the House of Commons debate. The rapidity with which froeh idene develop in this controverny naggest oither artificiality or desperation in the proceses of development, not to mention that fertio coil of racial prejudico from which emerge thene tangi.

I reler to the ides that Englishwomer and their bonour were in danger in the Panjab, the implipation boing that they woro a special ohject of atteck. Considerable feeling centred roand this idea at the ontret and it hes aince been exploited thoroughiy to infame racial feeling to a degree otherwise improbeble or imponible. Jant for a very brief time a mad mobexhibited anti-Earopean feolinge and mardered or agsaulted a fow Europenas of whom one chanced to be elady. (It it couveniently ignored why eeveral other Europeans who were much more exposed thon any of the masanalted were left harmlesg). 'The trantie zoel now being -worked ap to show that Gioneral Dyer was the siviour of Earopean womanhood seeme olearly on attenpt to make out to the world that the mobi everywhere made for Earopean iwomen. I wish to know it there is any report which even hinte this.

In a riot all women are in danger. There can be lithe donbt that the Iodian women were in immessarably greafer danger than European women from the beginning of the outbreak. The latter were promptly shielded and later salficient vengenace practiosd to meintain their secrosanct. It Gearad Dyer proved a ansioans, be proved the siviour of all alike, man and woman, Earopeau and Indian and English ladies need not pretend before the world that they were rescoed from vast oonoonrses of vagebonde and even yet need hourly protection in their exile in a land of none, eleo bat vagebonda.

Indian women, on the other hand, saved from the popalar riot, fell into the riot of martial low. : Some of that ngly atory has bean told in print. More cannot be told. Bat the country knowa it. Indis knowe what alarm exide ordinarily in the minde of Indian women in handreds of plaoes in the country. Whene any foreign element exista wherean, European woumen have lived, for oentarien in the country, neatiored and alone or in handfale, but alwaya in salety. It it beonace every lady wac ghroaded in machine gane and Aeroplanes or becmone of ber trant in the hospitolity and frithfalness of a mixipla people? I do not deny fur a moment that there was alarm in the mieds of the Englighwomen at the time of the riot. Bat which Indian woman, for that matter, which man was not in that atate of mind: All wortby methode to, save General Dyer have failod. But there is another methed which may sueceed ia Jingo Innd-Scandatico Indie.

## A. N. 8.

## NEW DANISH MARRIAGE LAW

The new Daninh Merriage Law is op for ita third reading in the Folketing (lower Hoase) after which it will go to the Lamdeting (Uppar Eloune) for conaideration.

The committee baving the draft is charge is ansnimous is approving the following proviaions:
(1) If the persion who wishes to contract a mayriage does
not suffier, and bas never sufierod fram venareal diesem, ba thall give a written deolaration on bis honor to that elfioct.
(2) In the opposite omes, be mast oither pat in a dootor's] cortifionte, made within the provione bortaight, that the: danger of infection or ite transmission to the children in mont, improbsble ; or
(3) It suob a deolaration ononot be mada, be mant prove that the other party to the marriage ham been informed as to: the disease, ond that both parties heve had oral instruotion? from a dootor an to the dangert consequent thereon.

## TEE KARNATIC COLLEGE, DHARWAR.

The queation of providiag adequate baildinga for the Karnatic College juot opended by Hit Exoollonay the Governor in Dharwar, proved to be far from oning of nolationa, The firat proposal was to bulld an entiroly new college on an open and breezy hill noms little distanoe from the town. Bat expence and the time that would be required to matace plana, and ereot anitable buildings formed grave objeotiona to tha propomel. Fortanately, at thit janotife the Madrus and Bonthera Mabratte Reilway Company deoided to remore' their offices and ataff from Dharwar. Thue a vory tias bailding and exteasive groanda, together with reveral bangaloway canse into the market. Haring regard to the requirementa of the Karaatio Cullege, Government lont no time la evising thin favourable opportanity, and the whole property was mecured for the college at a cost Ra. \&t Lokhn. Cortajin altorn ations were necesmary, and thens were oarried out by Goverament with promptitade, thas permilting of the opening of this important college, by His lixcellon-s the Governor, oa July 15tb. The College now fade itself hoased in bailding whioh compares lavourably with any uther colliege building in the Prasideliay, at a moderale wost, and in an erveediogly ahatt time alter ite foundation; an example of prompt and gonerous action by Gurarnment lor whioh the College athoritich are most grateful to Hia Exoullenoy, Bir George Lloyd.

## the khilafat agitation in sind.

Bonbar aoverinumitic Pazas mota.
The Government of Bombay bare reccived reports of aumer. oua meotinge held in Bind daring the pasi for tuoalts fa oonnection with the $K$ bila/st agitation.

Bis Excellency the Governot in Conacil regrote to leara that the charnoteriatic fentare of theso mostinge hay bean the ane of language calculited not only to excocerbato recial focling
 and dinorder. Diseot appoals to roligioas fanatioisan, and attoris files atasemente abjut the miscondnot of Britiah troopi in cortaia holy placen, where in lect no Britiah trojpo bave ever been, bave bsee pablicly mada

Hin Exoollency the Governor in Conacil has alwayi beap and is otill dosiroun of tatiag no utop whioh woald latten the. exprouion in fiir and truthfal fechion of the opinion of the pablio on a quention is, Wriche they are codoeply intercotad.' Holcel, bowever, that in fisirnewe to thoee wbo, in their ignoraces are lisbie to be lod to cont of violonces and orime by dishonest and unfair oriarepresentations, bies ouly courco is to fance thie cloar and dociaive warning that it the campaiga of autrutbial and inflammatory speechen which bes now comanoued is cortain districte in paroieted in, he will have no alterastive but to apply to the whole prorimoe of diad or to sach perte of it as mas be necomary the prorinions of the Seditions Meoth inge Act

His Exoelloney the Govarnor in Conscil sipeeraly bopes thas is fatary opestent on pablic pleformss will rocogrice their responabibility for otatempante aod argucento asod by them, and by thair mojerativn not compol Governmant to take the alepa lidicated.

## ADVERTISEMERTS.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.
Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Elght Per Share.
Notros is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors beld on the 15 th day of Jaly 1020 a Call of Rapees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was Aetermined that sach Call should be paid on the 1st day of Novomber 1920 at the Head Office of the Benk, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches :BOMBAY :
Slb-jbaxiths :-Shroft Bazaar (Shaik Memon Street.) $3 \quad$ Share Buzaar (Apollo Street.) CALCUTTA:-(28, Dalhousie Square). Sutb-branol :-Bara Bazaar. CAWNPORE :

Sub-manot :-Chandausi. HYDERABAD, (Decoan.) LUCKNOW.

Sub-brande :-Hathras. MADRAS, ( 9, Popham'a Broadway.) RANGOON.
and that interest at the rate of nine per centam per annnm will be charged on all amonnts not paid on the due date from sach 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 1820 and upon production of the Notice which will be sent to all suoh 8 hareholders through the post. Any shareholder bot having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1820 shoald immediately commanicate with the Tatio Indnstrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a daplicate will be issued.
All remittanoes must be made iu Government Carrency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be retarned.
The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1020 both days inclasive.

By order of the Board.
R. H. PARKER,
*10ch July, 1920.
Secretary.

[^26]

Saffron? Safiron77. Safiron 772 If you wiah to boy genninely pure and best Safiron it $i^{\circ}$ BUN


It has beea largely esed by Jain Temples, Maharaje Darbarth Eatima and Vaidyes all over the eonntry for the ast 75 jear and is well known for ite parity and gencineme
8. NARAEN \& $0_{0}$

17-2-18
21. Eummua Streot, Port Boabay.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.
Ineor porated by special Charter of the
Imperial Japances Goternment, 1899.
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Reverve Fand $\qquad$ Yend 7,750,000
Head Offlce :-Taipoh, Pormon. BRANCHES \&

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| P000H0W | semarana | AKO |
| HANEOW | makdig | Glral |
| gIDEIANE | batavia | Kagl |
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| TAEOW | TALOHU | TAYSUI |

The Bank ham also a large namber of Oorreapondeane of Aome and 4 bromd.
Current Depesit Accounts a-are opened for approved eustomen and interect in allowed at 2 por conf. per amane en-daily balances of Re. 1,000 upto Rad $1,00,000$ prosided that the amount of half-goarly intarest is not leat thise Ra. B .
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R. TAKEMURA,

Managor
2-18-17.
Sb, Esplanade Roed, Fort, BOMBAY

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Fstablished 7th September 1906. Incorporated mader the Indian Companles! Ass VI of $\mathbf{2 8 8 2}$. Head Office:
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Oapital Babearibed montooer Ra, 2,00,00,000
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The Benk grantï nocommodetion or tertat to be arranged ugaint approved scouritity
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-L.P.8TRIXGFELLOW.
10-1-11;
Mangers

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Sir Fithalden Davodar Theokercey, KA .
Ded Eatian 8hath Maganbhal P. Haribhakul Sager ghont Barode
gbeth Manilal Roveden Vedaagar.
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Recosived for long oe abort poriode on trarmen whele mag bo mocertained on appliostion.
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The Baak granta accommodation on testen to the asraged againat epproved meourition.
The Bank andertakee on behale of the conalticouts the min onatody of Sharee and Sooaritien and the collootion of dividonde and intoreat thoroon; tit aloo undertakee the mabead purobece of Gorernment Papar and all decoriptione of etorek et pacterate chargen, partionlare of whinh exay he harat ou application.

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Establlshed 1880.
Sabacribed Oapitalo.....on Yon. $48,000,000$.
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Branches and. Agencles of Bombasp Bapdoe Aires, Onloutten Changohan, Chi-Nian, Dajrese, Pongtien, Hankow, Herbin, Hongtoog, Honolola, Kajyealy,
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Current Deposit Accounts are opened lor epproved enstomers aod Intorent is allowed ot the rate of 8 per cont per anerum on daily balances of Ra, 1,000 apte Ro. 100,000, provided shat the amount of half-jewrly intorot is sot hee that Re, b.

Flxed Deposits are movived lor 000 geo and sborter poriode on torsae which may be moortaind on application.
Erery decoription of banking and ezohan $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ o bele $\omega$ rameded.
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2-18-179


## THE UNION BANK OF INDIA. LIMITED.

(RECISTEBED UNDBR THE EINDIAY COMPANIES' ACT OF 1913.)
At Bombay the 1ith November, $\mathbf{J o t 9}$. EEGIGTERED OFFICE.
y, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.


Br.
AUTHORIGED CAPITAL -. ... ... $8,00,00,000$
SUBSCRIBEDD CAPITAL ... -. - $\quad 4,00,00,000$
Called up capital ... ... '... $00,00,000$
PAID:UP ON 19-5-20. ${ }^{\text {F }}$ Re. :59,00,042 8.0.

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THE LONDON COUNTY WESTMINSTER AND. PARR'S bank Lumited.
CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Interest allowed at 2$\}$ per cent. per monum on daily balances up to Ra, $1,00,000$. From lut January to 30 th Juac fatereat at 3 per cent. per annum is allowed on sums over Rs. $\mathbf{5 0 , 0 0 0}$ provided the balance doas aot fall below that igure. No ioteret is tllowed unleate the am acopued amouta to Re. 8 half-yearly.

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A, B, OLIPHANT.
14.3-20.

Ag. Manager

## THE CENTRALBANK OF INDIA, LTd



Head Office:-Alioe Bailding, Bombay.
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Carrent Accounts m $\%$ allowed on Daily Balances fromJano mary to Juae
m. $21 \%$ allowed on Dally Balancen -from July to Docember.
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S. N. POCBKHANAWALA.
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## Lady's Best Ormá ment is a Glorious Head of Hair.



A profusion of rich, eoft
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## Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1920. No. 48.


 excues, I will not retreat a aingle incb-And I will be heard."

Williay Lloyd Garrison in the Liburcter.

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## HOTES.

Non-Oo-operation. We cordially associate ourselves with tae sentuments 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 manitesto 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 conctudes with an appeal to Government to be on their guard against counsels which exbibit more zeal than discretion. The appeal is superetogatory, perhaps, so far as the Government ot 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 fallure and may, meanwhile, lead to untoward happenings, and states that he bad written so to Mr. Gandhi. But, be asks, what is the alternative? He rightly says that the public has lost laith in constitutional agita. tion 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 humidiation on account of its unredressed wrongs in regard to the Punjab Martial Law administration and the Turkist Peace Terms. Our answer to that is that there aro some things which no man can do under any circumstances. A man, for instance, may zot commits suicide to escape suftering or to spite an enemy. And we bold that the doctrine of noncooperation is the doctrine of national suicide. $\dagger_{\text {ecause }}$ Government remains unmoved, in spite of our representations, and does not right our wrongs, theretore, we are to inthct more wrongs on ourselves, -ars women and children. With what object? The ilggar who sits on the roadside thrusting a knife into his tlesh to move the borrified pity on passers-by, is actuated by a similar object. Are there not already more than enough ol starvation and sufferiog in the country that we should seek to add to them by means ol such a movement as that of noncooperatlon? Then, is there nothing to be done but to put up with our wiongs ? Inere is much
to be done. Educate public opinion here, in Eng. land, 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 in flicted 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 known not wrath or pardon; atteretrue
> Ite measurea mete, ite faultless balance weighs;
> Times are as nought, tomorrow it will jadge
> Or after many daya.

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 Invely 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-cnoperation movement. As to this, all that we need say is that, if it is a question only ol 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-co-operation involing 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 waich our correspondent and, also, the Independent newspaper, dispute. It is no good pursuing the point.

Academic Ineptitude: The University of Bombay estadished a scnool of Sociology last year. Professor Patrick Geddes was appointed first Professor, bis terms being that he would spend only the winter months in Bombay. He was asked by the Syudicate 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 ot applicants, and strongly recommended his appointment. The Syadicate of the University accepted the recommendation with the reservation that the appointment should be probationary for one year. Wnea the nomination went to the Senate for sanction, that body appointed a Committee of its own to call for turther applications and to make a fresh recommendation, This Committee re:
commended Mr. Ananthakrishan Iyer of Cochin as the moet suitable candidate for the post. Alter this recommendation was placed on the Agenda, and before it coald be considered by the 8enate, Mr. Iyer witbdrew bis 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 agaia 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 Scbool of Sociology is now left without any one to look alter it, till Protessor Patrick Geddes returns next November. Immediately after this exhibition of administrative capacity tue Senate complacently passed a resolution approving of certain correspondence between Govesnment and the Syndicate on the question of placing the Royal College of Science uader the management of the University. If it makes a precedent of its action in the matter of the Assistant Prolessor of Sociology, the Royal College of Science may, under University control, fiad itself without a stafi on some fine day at the beginning of the academic term.

Honorary Degreea: We are sorry that the Bombay Chronicle snould allow itself to be made the vehicle of personal pique in its criticism of the proposal to conler the Honorary Deges of L. L. D. of the University of Bombay on Sir Cbimanlal Setalvad and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The Senate apprassed these criticisms at their right value when it passed the votes by the requisitemajority at its last meeting, Mr. Justice Kajiji who moved toe resolution devoted a large part of bis 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 Cbimanalal's work as Vice-Cbancelior nas been excellent and his zeal for the interests of the University is unbounded. but there is a not upintelligible leeling that the proposal to bonour him is not quite appropriate during his own Vice. Cbancellorship, especially as the Act requires the Vice-Cbancellor'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 endorse ment of the recommendation of the Syndicate and the Benate. We do not know why Mr, Kajiji feit himselt obliged to confine himseli to the bervices of the candidates for the honorary degree in relation to education. Surely, the list of past bonorary Doctors contains Dames unconnected with education, the latest recommended. being Lord Sinha's. Even in the ephere of education, Bir Narayan's many years' services in connection, Ior instance, with the Literary and Scientific Society's High School for Girls and the 8tadents' Brotherhood are of high value, His steady and unflinching support of social and religious reform and hie constructive contribations to conatitutional progress, are matters which a Unversity, true to its scope and functions, cannot but bighiy value.

The Dawson Touch : The Government of Bombay have instituted tour scholarships of Rs. 40 each tor women students in the Grant Medical College and 26 scholarships of Rs, 20 each for women students in the three Medical Bchools. This is a good move, though the amounts of the scholarships, considering the cost of living, are disunctly inadequate especially for the college students who bave to bay costiy pooks 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 Iadian world.

The Gurerament of Bumber hac, since the war eoded initived many momaram and enterprisen to atimalate and esoonrage the practical forms of stady and bigher edace. tion, the practional and profeotive appliontion of tawnloigy and whelp the propla of thy Presidency to holp thameel ree. The peat jear hec asen many notable eobieremintu in this dice:tion; and ia tro part of ladia hare groator or mome numerone lecilitios beea pleced at tha diapuand of the proplo. Nowhere bay Gorerament done more for the indiridual, nowbere have the anthoritice boen in olocer praotical game with the cit'seas, or comontrated more ojbtemationlly upin prosnoting indi riaual adranoement.
May we suggest that this is rather layiog it on too thick and that a more modest, matter-of-lact atyle will be more becuming in official announcements? We are afraid that at this rate Major Dawson may break out into poetry some day. We wonder how he would bave prefaced an announcement that thea, Madras Government have in hand the establishment of a whole Women's Medical College in their capital, if he were their Director ol Information? If this atyle 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 balls " \&c.

The Retura of the Langoti: The illustrations in some of the Englisn 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 langois geems to be coming back io the 'civilised' form ot 'shorts,' as a part of modern military uniform. We were rather shocked the other dayinured 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, disportiag themselves carelessly in a railway compartment with barely six incthes of them covered by the kbaki 'shorts' which revealed more than they concealed. We were corry to see that the skis 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 bope that, if the military authorities do not see their way to probibit tbem, the Police will take action under their powers to put dowa obscene exhibitions in public places

The Prince of Wales' Visit g In the absence of offictal contismation, we are reluctant to place much credence on Reuter's cable statiog that the Prince of Wales' visit is likely to be postponed on. the ground of ill-health due to the fatigues of the Auscralian tour. There is still some tame for His Royal Highness to return to Eogland, and a young man with robnst constitution, such an he seems ta, possess, should be able to shake off the tatigue between now and next November. If is, therelore, premature to talk of ith-health as the cause of post ponement, 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 fil at the Sardar Griba in Bombay last week and fort one or two days the case was considered to bIt very critical. We are glad to leara, howover, that sines Friday he has turned the corner and that there is every hope of bif recovery. Jhose who differ seriously from Mr. Tilak's politics Ieel mont that the country can ill spars hisservices at this momentous period of ber hustory,

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 1, 1920.

## TIIE INDIAN AUXILIARY FORCE BILL.

The Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 will expire soon after the signing of the last Peace Treaty. That A 4 ? it will be remembered, provided for the compalsory training of all Earopean British sabjects in this country and, by way of concession to Indian sentiment, for a volantary branch for a cerlain limited number of Indians. In view of the early expiry of the Act, the Government of India prepared an Aaxiliary Force Bill and sent it to the Seoretary of State for aanction for its introdaction into the Indian Legislative Coancil. In this draft Bill, they proposed to continue the compulsory principle for Earopean British sabjects and they do not seem to have made ang provision for Indians. The Secretary of State oljjected to it on the very soand principle that it was anconstitational and illegal to arm and train one seotion of the commanity only. We expressed the opinion when this was made known in this conntry that, by laying down this principle, Mr. Montaga had done more for Indian interests than by the passing of the Reform Act. For this assertion of a principle which bas for long been virtually ignored, Indiaus cannot be too deeply grateful to Mr. Montaga. We are constrained to add that the tread of Anglo-Iadian opinion in opposition to the censure passed by Government on General Djer's exploite at Amritsar, reinforced as it has been by the vote of an influential minority in the Honse of Commons and of a considerable majority in the House of Lords, is sach as to make Iudians feel that the arming aud training of a single section of His Majesty'd subjects in Ludia will Le not only illegal and constitational but that it may in time 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 Modcrate Iodians, is indicated in the opeuing paragraph of the very timely "Narrative of the Iudiau Defence Force Movement (volantary brauch) in the Madras Presidenoy "which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer K.C.S.I., C. I. E. late member of the Execative Council of the Government of Madras, President of the Jast All-India Moderate Conference, and President of the Mudras Liberal Aesciation, has jablished. He observes:
The most conepionoan defect of the Indian Auxiliary Forees Bill whioh the Governuent of Iudia receutly eought to introdace in the iuvidione ondiasion to exsign any place to Iadians in the echene of a recoud live of dufence fur their own ahpulry. 'The allitnde of the Gurernment of Iadia bes throughout toen oue of the derp:at eolisitude for the orgnniantion of ita Earopenn aud AngloIidian anhjecta into a Territurinal Furco, and of conuparative indilferonce to the juat claine of its Iudian eahjoote. Speabiag of the Indiau Delenco Firroe Aut of 1917, His Exoulloney the Viceroy appealod to the pablio not to raise questious which would have to be colved ata time when there was more leiare. When tho
war was at an end, the pablio would be free to criticise the Government in respect of ite policy. He gave the assaranoe that all the subjects of criticism and complaint with reference to tha service of Indians in the Iadian Defunce Force wera ongagiug the most sympathetic attention of the Governoment and poiuted ont that the enrolment of a parely temporary force coustitated on a volunlary basis owiog to the emergencies of a grent war would not jastify the hurriel determination. of inportant and difficult queations in reapect of which the Guverument of Iudia were nut the ultimate arbitera. The war practically conte to an end in November, 1918, and it in several months sinoe peace was conoladed; and yet we find the Government of India seeking to oarry through a defective and one-zided measare without any atte upt, so far an the. pablic are a ware, to determine the question of the position of, Iudians in a subeme of a Turritorial Foree. It is quite. possible that in the opinivn of the Government of India cousiderations of expediency justify the immediate organiastion of the European Branch of the Indian Dolence Force on a compalsory basis and do not call lor any prompt solation of the prublem as it afferta Indianes. Sloald sach be the riem of Guvernment, it coald not pugsibly commend iteel! to the Iudian pablic.

Sir Sivaswami weighs his words and chooses them, as becomes a distinguished Indian of his position and churacter. Bat the meaning of his words is plain. The Government of India have pablished a revised Auxiliary Furce Bill in which volantary enrolmeut has been sabstitated for obligatory registration in the case of Earopean British sabjects. To ward off Sir Sivaswami Iyor's cogent criticism, however, the press communique which makes this annoancement, contains a long rambling statement aboat another Bill which the Government of India are said to have ander consideration to constitate an Indian Territorial Force on the model of the old militia of England. This is most unsatisfactory. Iadians want to be put on the same footing as Englishmen in the defunce scheme of their own country, and the vagae promise of fatare legislation to frame a scheme on the lines of one discarded in Eugland as inefficient, tor the special benefit of Indiaus, is a virtual deuiul 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, wo are told, be parely experimental at the outset "as success depends on its response." Sir Sivaswami Iyer writes ia his "Narrative" that be might sufely say that the response of Iudian yoang men in Madras, and this is true of other provinces as well, to the appeal made to join the Iadian Defeace Force, woald have been mach more gratifying "bat for varions exteraal impediments and canses for which oar yoang men were not responsible and which were largely dne to the action or inaction of Governmeat thenselves." He adds that that conclasion will be forced opon the mind of any impartial reader of his "Narrative." The organisation of a separate and inferior Force for Indians, will be expesed to all the disadvantages to which the Iudian Branch of the Defence Force was exposed, as set furth in Sir Sivaswami's lucil and carefal arrative. We want no more of bach experiments Which are doomed to fril and; by their failare, to
give an additional bandle to those who do not want Indians to be trained to arma. The iden of an Indian Auxiliary Force with the Indians left out is farcical. It is an mach open to the objection arged by. Mr. Montaga aboat the anconstitational and illegal charactor of arming and training to arme only one section of the community, as the original Draft Bill. The Bill mast be made applicable to Iadians on the same terms as to Englishmen, if there is any meaning in the profase seseverstions regarding India's equal partnership in the Empire. This ahould be strongly impressed on Government here and in England by prompt representations by pablic bodies in this coantry. If this is not done, one more eerions issue will be added to the already too many that are impeding sympathetic underatanding between Government and the people.

## the law and the planter.

At a time when thooghtfol men, Indians and Englishmen, are gravely concerned at the sharp cloavage of sympathies between the two sections of the commanity cansed by the Dyer and the other episodes of the Panjab martial law regime, it is mose unfortanate that there shonld occur some cases calculated to exacerbate Indian opinion on its most sensitive side. We take the following version of sach a recent case from the Behar IIerald (Bankipar), a weekly English joarnal edited and written with care and circamspection.
In the Aisam case, it was allegtd that oue Mr'. Reed Agsiatant Manager of a letogarden, had made immoral overtur es ts complainant's danghter, Hira, while she way placking tea leaves one day. She resented, but Mr. Reod went to her house at night and asked ber parents to m ike her over to him.
 made his appenranoe at night, cellei oat Hira and wanted her to go to his bungalow. A great hae and ory was raised whereapon Mr. Reed fired bir revolver and wounded the complainant. For the defence it was sagjested that Mr. Reed went oat at aboat 10 p . m . on a deer-shootiog excartion that, while retaraing, te lost his way in the jungles and ohanoed to oome near the complainant's hoase and finding out a romd, ejaculated where rond", that the coolies misunderatood thesworde and began to throw atonet at himand that be, out of fear, fired on the ground and balle a accidentally wounded the complaioant. The European jary socepted the defenoe version, and the judge agreeing, the sccussd was acquitted. That the resalt his shocked the Indisa publio woald be giving a mild estimate of the depth of the foeling which has boen erested -Deer-honting at $100^{\circ}$ olock' at pight with a pistol, by a men who had no lioense for the pintol! This amazing story paced master with the jury, bat the poblic woald agres with the Polios Sapsinteadeat who "never heard" of sach a thing.

The anfamiliarity of the editor of our contemporary with the different kinds of firearms, is evidently reoponsible for the weapon ased 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-hanting whether it was the one or the other. The man who was shot, was a coolie in Reed's plantation. He seems to bive died sabsequently. The coolien wero alleged by
the defence to have mienaderstood Reed's relieved ejecalation " here road" for "Hira," the name of the girl whom he hed desired. The oase wat tried by the Deputy Commissioner, and a jary of five Englishmen who unanimonsily foand the accased ' not gailty'. The case has evoked angry commente in the ladian press throaght the coantry: The Searohlight, another Bankipar journal, makes the atetement that a spooial meetiog was convenend to oympathise with Y/f. Reed on the recent attacke in the "meditiona prose,' apropos his acquittal by a jars on a charge of mare: der bat that. it has been postponed.
In connection with this case, the Independent of Allahabad publiahes oertain facts which raise an interesting iasue. Onr contemporary atates that the Government employed a apecial lawjer t to condact the prosecation, as the Pablio Prosecator of Silchar was the retained pleader for the tea-garden in which the accased was emploged. Reed had engaged the services of the Hon. Mr. 'Kamini Kamar Chanda for the defence. The complainant, not baving confidence in the ability of the pleader appointed by Goverameat to condact the prosecntion agaiost so able a lawyer an Mr. Chanda, ongaged the Hon. Mr. Akhil Chandra Datte to appear for him. Bat the trying Magistrate woald not allow Mr. Datta to condact the prosecation, althongh the lawyer who bad been nominated by Government is said to have been willing to work with him. We do not wish to go iato the quention whether the Magiatrate was right or wrong. Such know ledge of law as we possess inolines as to think that he was right becanse a public prosecotion is not a private anit, and- the Pablio Prosecator's daties are distinct from those of conasel appearing for private partien. Why we mention thia mattor at all here is, that we should like to be more clear in ont own minde than we are as to Mr. Chanda'e position. Is a lavyer boand to defend an accased person even if the groande of his defence are groasly improbsble $?$ Is there no probability that the fact of an Indian lavyer of Mr. Chanda's porition and eminence taking up the defence of a case of thia kiad, might have weighed with the jary? We read the other day in m. Canadian contemporary a narrative of the straggle. whioh led to the increase of 'the age of conseot' from 12 to 16 in Elogland. Tsere is a reference in it to the prosecation of the lato Mr. Stead for a. technical offence. Mr. Şlead was convicted and bad to servg a term of imprisonment. Thero was a technical defonce which woàld hare résoltod is his sequittel if he had pleaded it. There was do proof that the woman who sold him the child was married, and the charge of kidnapping from legal gnardiansbip implied rogalar marriage. Bat when thie defence wes snggentod, Bir Charles Russell, who was dofending Mr. Stead, flarekf up and threatened to throw up his brief if it wee to be raised. And it was not raised. That seomes to show that couneel have a certain latitode for the exercise of their private notions of right and wrong in defending aceased persons, bat, of coarso, we can not say that in this particalar cese there were any featares jastifying its exercise.

## BUNOOMBE AT HUBLI.

The Presidential address of Dewan Behadar P. Theagaraya Chetty at the firet Karnatak NonBrahmin Conference, held on the 25th July 1920 at Habli, rans to 44 pages of print. Of these, 25 is pare bankam, and the remaining 19 is sound sense. The addrese would have been an admirable one withoat the first 25 pages. Bat Sir Theagaraye would not值溟 played his part as the leader of the non-Brahmin movement without these pages of sound and fary. In these preliminary pages, he rans amack against everybody and every movement except bis own. The Brahmins of the present day, of conrse, he was bonnd to abase. But he does not stop there. His lash falls as vigorously on Roma, Parasuramaand Narada as on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaiya, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and Mr. Gandhi. That Rama and Parasurama were Kehatriyas, and that Mr. Gandhi is a Vysia like Sir Theagarays, himeslf are details which do not distarb the complacency of this great non-Brahmin leader. May we say in passing that wo do not see the point of describing Mr. Srinivasa Sastry" as a awollen-headed ex-school-mastor?" 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 ia fair specimen of the taste and tenoar of the first' 25 pages of Sir Theagaraya's oration. Oar readers need not be told what our viem of the Varnashrama Dharma pro paganda is, bat when Sir Theagaraya pretends that it is themenace of the fatore, he is grosaly and deliberately exaggerating its inflaence in order to give himeelf the opportanity of indalging in bombast. That and the non-Brabmin propaganda are appropiate connterparts of each other. Sir Theagaraya is the non-Brahmin Mabaraja of Darbar.gah. Sir Theagaraya, as he admitted, is a convert to the creed of social jastice of four years' standing. His vehemence of langaage is, therefure, intelligible. By the way, it is a striking commeatary on Sir Theagaraya's conception of socio. political reform that there is not e word, thronghoat the address, regarding the position of women whom Non-Brahmins no less than Brahmina have kept in mental darkness for so long. Sir Theagaraya claims that his is the only democratio movement in the coantry, and that all others are the iaterested echeming of adventarers. The one thing which will most effectively help non-Brahmins to take their rightful place in the community, is the edacation of women. Sir Theagaraya has not a word to spare for ithis ell-important matter in his Habli addresa. Brahminical bigotry grouped together Sadras and women as beyond the pale of vedic learning, and follow-foeling, if nothing higher, ahould have led Sir Theagaraya to remember the canse of women's I advancement. Another remarkable omission is the serapaloas avoidance of anything in the natare of a anggestion that oaste should go.

The fact is that the element of trath in the non-Brahmin movement is obscured by personal projudioen and politioal passion. Many of Sir Thenge-
raya's hearers in Habli would not have been able to anderstand his diatribes against Messre. Srinivasa Sastry, Ramachanda Rao, Sir John Reea, 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 Brahmirs of Soathern India had long considered themselves a privileged class and bad atterly neglected national intereats, cannot be denied. Bat the corrective to that mistake is not auother exclasive movement but one which aims at breaking down differences and aniting the whole popalation in the parsait of great national objects. To leave the Brahmin out of your programme, is as Eoolish and short-sighted as to leave any other section of the popalation ont of it. Sir Theagaraya complains that critics call his movement sectional. It is sectional. A movement does not cease to be sectional becanse it embraces a large section of the people. Sir Theagaraya Chetty, without eaying so in words, implies throughout his address that 'Extremista' are all or mostly Brahmins. As the commanity possessing the largest proportion of English educated men anoong Hindus, the Brahmins contribute natarally a proportionately larger namber 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 nonBrahmin leaders of what its opponente calls the Extremist party. With the programme outlined in the last 20 pages of Sir Theagaraya Chetty's address, we ire 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 edacation, and Sir Theagaraya Chetty's insinuation that they are all insincere is not worth notice. Improvements in agricultare and indastries, 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-Brabmins to go to law in order to fill their own parses. If this is to ang extent trae, it is high time that non-Brahmins were warned of their folly. We are gled that Sir Theagaraya pleaded emphatically for total abstinence-mot tempe-rance-in the matter of liquor, and arged the Conference to work for the day when total prohibition will be the rale in every part of thir conntry.

## " 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 atadenta of the Karnatak College at Dharwar aboat the need of calm and esane leaders for Indic. In that article the writer recommended the example of Disracli, who held that one who aims at the leadership of his people shoold anderstand " the epirit of the age."

[^28]What does "the apirit of the ago" mona P I ask becance so aublle a mind at the well-known movelint George Eliot's felt paxsled as co. its menaing on fiading chat the historian leeky bad made frequent use of the exprescion withont defning it in his Aitery of Rationalion. The neaver to George Eliot one might eay, is that the expressiod required no defiaition for the parposes of Leeky's book becanee the Bistory itself showed what he meant by the spirit of the age Kan's reason, his right of private jadgments freedom of disenssion, the emancipation of haman intellect from the thraldom of anthority and dogma-these, said Leoky in his History, had formed the epirit, meaning the dominatiog power of every age after the Middle Ages and from the time of the Rearacence. Lecky might have pointed to George Eliot herself-a free lance as she said, she was, against the beliefs and conventions of her age-an an outstanding definition of the expression which she complained was vagno.

George Eliot's criticism affords an illustration of the story of the leader in Israel who could not anderstand what "the spirit" meant when Cbrist spoke of it in these words: "The spirit bloweth where it listoch and thou hoarest the sound theroof bat thon canst not tell whence it came and whither it goeth." The leader of Igrael in question shook his head and anked: "How can these thinge be ?" And Christ replied: "Art chou master of Iarael and knowest not these thinge ${ }^{p \prime}$ That is to say: "Yon are a leader of your poople in Israel : and jet jon do not know how the spirit leads. How then are you filied to lead your poople ? ${ }^{\text {t }}$

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 dircerned-thal power was pasiong from the classes to the masses, that the centro of gravity as to Government was moving towards the people an euch. Some peoplo denied that; others sam it bat did not anderstand it. But Gladstone (es we see from his life by Lord Morley ) and Disraeli (as we find from his life by Mr. Moneypeniny and Mr. Backle) anderctood 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 conatry's fortane and not confosion. In short, each educated his party to fall in with the tide and give it a wiso direction to make democracy afo and not a snare.

- Contrast this with the following examples of leadership: The French Revolution was a tide of the spirit of the ago- the tide of demoeracy. Napoleon led it. How ? By conning cajoling of the people, be wound himeelf ronind their bearts as an ardent democrat and became their Emperor. In the worde of Mazzini, he tarned the rights of men voiced by the spirit of the ege into the right of one manNapoleon himsell.

Take another fastazce. Bismarok as a atadent of Frankfort University was a demoerst inclined to be revolotionary, because the Univeraity atmonphere was fall of the democratic apirit of the age Bat when he came into power, be omplojed hie actute mind to atrengthen by sublle meana the Hohensollern dynany while seeming to feed the Frankfort tradition. With what rearlt to the German people we now see.

Apply the test to leaderahip in Britinh History. I bave no time to dwell on that. Find it for joursen'ey I will only aupply two lights as gaides in your finding. Crommell rose to be Protector on the wave of the democratio tide sach as it wat of his age He wielded power at a despot and doified Parliament. Parliament offered him the Crown. He would not take it. Did Parliament offer it becanse Parliament. and the people had been stapified by Cromwell as the leader of his country and deeired to make King of him? No. The leadere of the people in Parliament, anderstanding the spirit of the age, and anxious to direct it aright and ase it from the fate incideutal to democracien which anccamb to individaal power, offered the Crown at the only effective way to restrain Crommell's deapotic role The British Crown as a limited monarchy was sobjected by the conatitution to checke on the exorcise of arbitrary power. Cromwell as Protector was aubject to no ahocke of the Constitation. That is the wise discerament of a leader, Then ank yoaralves-why did Cromwoll roface? Was it becanes he saw through the intentione of Parliament? To anawer that, have thia fact befure gon. When the Dake of Wellington won at Waterloo and becmme the idol of his people, Napolion predicbed that the Dake woald ase the spirit of the age to his own advantage and become King of England. The prediction proved false. Why? Because the Dake was a leader who neither fisthered nor allowed himeell to be flattered by the people. So wan Crommell. They loved the peoplo, not themselves ; they sought the people's glory, not their own; bat they knew the people's frailsies too.
From these illatrations emerges this lescon, visajmpachy for the people, genaine love for tnem, inspiring them with confidence in themeolves by wiep gaidanco, that is anderatanding the apisit of the ago. Wise. gaidance, I say, because athe spiric of the age" is a consaming fire when it is domocracy. Power in the people is apt to prove the zyrans more than other power. It in anggestive of the story of the Giant who ${ }_{\text {A }}$ When endowed by Shiva, with the power of caraing the death of others' by placing the palm of bis haod oa their heads, noaght io imake the experiment on the head of Shiva himsole.

Now how can you' caldivate that epirit of wise gaidance and leaderahip of the people? Action in asid, and said rightly, to be the echocl of afteotion. The apleadid acconnts which many stadeate gure of themeelves by their devoted acts of service to the poor aind helplend daring the inflaenzs épidemic is a leseon lut that action: The real school it the deily rooud of tite when opportanities of service to the people; however trifliog, come and are oper lor the habitanl caltivation of the democrati e
apirit of the age. What splendid opportanities of practice in the art of denocratic government a school or college affords even more than life outside! When Fome 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 regalar and careful to framea badget of his income and expenditare at Collego. What did that alvice signifs? I think Gladstone weant as mach ss to sas: "My dear woy don't think you are in College to study and pass exaninaticns merely. You are there to fit yonrself to be a leader and a wise leader of yonr conntry. One day yon may become a finonce winister, perbaps a Irisue Minister or other public capacity. Learn to keep a badget of yonr income and txponditare mud g.on will learn to frame yoar conntry's badget." ${ }^{3}$ Here within the walls of your C.llege there is abnodant acope for learning tho art of responsible government, the democratic sifit, of the sge and trae leadership. Yon do not utilise that scope because yon do not auderstand the spirit of the 'age of Whe Cullege world. For that yon mast have faith in yoorselves. Iudian stadents are said to bave a lot of coaceit themselver. My opinion is the other waythey are more diflilent than conveited and Lord Morley who ought to know, tells ns that in pablic life diffidence is more tronblesome than conceit. Disraeli ae a youth was full of conceit. Read his maiden pyeech in the Honse of Cummons aud learn. I wonld mot mind conceit in a stadent-I wonld conrt it ralher, provided-and the proviso is the pith of the whole watter-the conceit is the boon of hard and steady work, of candour, wot cnoning and intrigne, and the daring which seeks to serve all in love and which does not regard any kind of survice to others, bowever dittle, as dradgery. Concoit is bad and contemptible and rnios only when the stadent wastes time and himself and does not leara to realise his responsibility. Be apirited, cultivate ycur own self-confidence, of kind servico to others, of aelf.respect and resp ect for others and yon will be alile to anderataod aud gaide win ly ahe ajirit of your age.

## NON-CO-OPERATION. I.

The following appoal addresaed to their conntrymen has Brea itaved liy Sir Narayan Chandavarker, the Hon. Mr. Corenbae K. Porekh, the Hol. Mr. Phirese Eethna, the ELua. Mr O. V. Mehia, Mr. Jamanadas Dwarkadar, Mr. K. Zintenjan, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. Uttamhal K. Trivedi, Mr. 3. G. Dalvi, Mr, Mlowji Guriudji, Mr. N. M. Jushi, $\mathbf{K r}_{r_{-}} \mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{n}}$ nji Dwarkadas and othare.

Couvinced that the freent airuntion in Indie is one which demanda angaciun ineight iutu ludin's fature and brad eathouk, risiug ahove tho irritating and aarrow expedicuciee of the prout, we beg to adiress this appeal to our conutry. Than, printing ons the donger of the prinorple and the prectice
 mivima to prewh as a so'vent of ladis' political wrong".
 tinn will mot be that ajront. Far firum ity ine feel atrongly ama in will kike al oreb extrinue meesuree of popular agitaliom memaly coumer or boter, in a rosotion and reterd the progrem of
the conntry on sonnd, etable lines of cunstifational development.
3. In the firat piace allow ni to place betore you the cardinal lact the canon.co-operation" is deprecated by the seligians tenets and traditions of onr Motberiand, nas of all religions which hava anved and elevated the trman race, Whether it be the gospel of the Bhagwad Gita, the Koran, the Bible or the Zenda Vasta, all enjoin the performance of duty in a spirit of co-operation as ths ooly lasting solvent of the problems of life, both individual and national.
4. That bsing the religions aspest of the question, it bee. hoves us now to point ont ite secalar aspret, that is to soy, the inherent weskness and fatility of "non.no-operation,' as a. political weapon tur the redress of political injastice and wrongs. The history of nations affords no instance to show that it has, when employed, sncceoded and done grod, And the ressons are obving, if we have dne regard to the facts of haman nature and do not allow ourselves to be carriod away by sentimeutal coneiderations, inapplicable to the bard facts of politics and society. "Non-coooperation" can be effective, only if all or mest or many of the vast mass of population, in the country adopt it. That is inpos:ible; and supposing a few do alopt it, there are sure to be vaster numbers of. others to take their places. The resalt will only be that, whereas at present the whole cuantry is practically of ane mind ss to its politival wrongs and can and does stand nnited in point of constitutional agitation, its keen sense of those wrongs will be thrown into the backgrount, its voices now nnanimous will become divided and the sense of mitchicf: of "non-co operation" will take the place of the national sense of politich grievances. In short, the country will ba rent into division an 1 will become a house divided ngaiust itself.
5. Already unmisiakeable eigns are manifesting themselves to prove that the onlid, sober eanse of the enuntry regards nor-o0.0peration as a visionary idea. When this idea was first puplicily arted, the general feeling in the conntry declined to regard it seriously. Mr. Gandbi has, however, gone on presohing hie doctrine and there is the serious danger that it may breed mischief before it eads in failure as it is bound to be.
6. The danger is that while "non-ec-nperation" is sare to prove a failure, enme persons influenced by the great personal. ity of Mr. Gandbi, for a time, and for a tiou only, may be carried away by the doctrine. It requires no grest inagina-. tion to foresee that epan the limited and temporary operation of this prisciple will lead to tronble involving arriuas conargnences. What a calanity that will be fur the comntry. so soon uftor the ahooking experience and innoceat sacrifites of the last jear!
7. In enying an, we are by no ceans, anmindful of ths gravity of the politicel wrongs which have led dir. Gandhi to preach and attempt the practive of "non-comparation." So far from being umindful of them we feel them keenls, all the nore now becanse of the very dieheartening featuris of the deliates apon the Puijub Pragedy in the Huuse of Comusous and in the Huese of Lords--in the latter Honse ia particnlar and tho attompts atill being made in some quartere buth is Iadis and in Eagland to hold forth Sir Michael O' Dwger and General Dyer and others palpably iavolved in Intia's buniliation ar gaviourt of the honoar of Eng'and and if the an'ety if lodin Tois has shaken Indin's faith in British jusice. Parliament and the Oabinet have not risea equat to the imperative demanda of that Tragedic in conson ance with the Elitisu tradicione of fair pley, justion and hamanity:

The officers reaponoille fut the Panjab Nimmeres. avd the hanailiation and degradation of the Indian people bave not bere dealt with as they deaerve is spite of the feot that the nonaimoos voict of India bea demanded, with due matioual earpheaip, eftective and adrgrate and atringeat punish:neate effective and adequate m the only remedies that will aud can perevent in futore, the anhjection of the people of Indis to inhensen and bumilisting trestment in the name of Martiel Law and ender the pretext of rabelion. So lang as these ineaspree, demanded by the practically unanimors roice of the country, have not been adopted, India cannct feel safe nor ine enre of pregrese as an egoal partner of the Brilish Csmmonweathth. Then there is the Tarkieh Treaty involving the K'ilafat queation, which han deeply monaded not only the hearte of our Minhomedon brechren bat aleo of others shar ing with them the ame national deatiny, ohildren of the alme soil, bound together ky the same ties of country ant politica and nocial lortune ant, therefore, demanding the modification of che Treaty in contonsnce with the Prime Miuister's solemn declaration that the Allien were oot fighting to deprive Turkey of ite capitsl, Constentinopl's or of Thrace and Asia Minor.
8. For these political wrongs, octive, atesdy and constitati.nal eff ris are the only effective and lasting mans of redresb, It is not by impatience or by passive and thay.fors fatile neeasurea of "non-co-operalion" that aations havo helped themselves to redresa wrongs and sesare juatice. "Nod. co-operat on " is a gosfel of impatience in politice, because Mr. Gondhi han h:ueell publicly deslard that by it he can bring about redress and reform for the country more rapidly thas any other methoi of politicsl sjita in and movement can. We all wi.h and s'rive fur a rapid progrese bry measuris lize those of ${ }^{4}$ non-:o-operation " are sure to defca! th.ir orn purpoes.
9. Befne conclading we feel that we sball be wanting in our duty j! we refrasued fr,m roaking an spreat beec to the Goveratrent aleo. Keplying to a question in the House of Cummons, aboat Mr. Ganditi and the non-co opration p Mr. Jontaga has declared that "if Mr. Gandhi prsied in 4 non-co-operation' it wonld bs absolately impossible to late thes me view of action as was taken last year." I his de laraticu natnrally gave rise to misgivings among jeople an to the claracter of the measorse of reprersion which $G$,veranuent hat dosided to sdept against Mr Gan thi and bit movement. Bat aituce that declaration Lord Sinlia bay made a statement in the Hoase of Lorde. Ho has maid that "he would not interfere sos bestily or vio'ently in on agitation of this natare but would let it kill italf in idieneses. It canld not last end was againat the itutereits of the reople themselven. Irathlese repressiot and coercion woald risult in disorder equally with passive resisteuce and direst a stiun." We hops and pray thece wis ; worde will form thy kejnote of Government polcy in desling with the muvenent of "non-co. operation."

## II

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
Your lender an Non-cooperntime in the Reformer of the 25th July if of conoidersble mondemic value an an admirable homily both to the Nea-copperationiste and the Government. It ahief and only merit lien in that it wonld prove jou in the right, whawer tura eventa.may take Oiberwine, I must conlese, it faile to give a lead to the pablic and your readore, on the quention, in the light of exiatiog factore of the preseus situation, ivetead of what joa moald amate them oppear to be Firstly, it is acoevenry to remesober that a partise to a mariet of sydomatic sote of imaledminigitration and brewoh of laith oulminaing in tho

Panjoh and Khilafat wronge, the Goverament of Idia and His Mejeety's G.fermmeat have deatroyed the faith of the meople of India in their buna.fidos and rendered myaliy to the British connection iacompatinle with mational selforeopent and honnar, if the banis of the Prinjib and Khilafat wroage in contiuned to be the buis of Britiab rale in India. As matiers stand, let un have the courage and honety to admis that, horever much the better minds of Britain may mo graine the iniquity and injostice involved ia the attitade of the Imperial and Indian Giveraruents tuwarda Iadia, panioularly in regard to the Puajab and Khitalat quatione, thet oairagesas polieg utande $t$ day us the offisial polios, of Dritain in ladia and any anbiaread atadent of himity woalt be able to tell yon that .the aduption of moch a policey whish is aplly colled "pracosan" in Indin la bound to ondormine the good relationship between Indiare and the Briti-h people, govner or later. II, dopting junt advime. Mr. Gendbi was to drop the programine of non-ocoper ations, I vautore to ascert and predict that it woold be oourting ouly more violent form of disraption than any degres of ancoerem ur failure of nonecoperation ana frudace today. All joes condemnation of the Panjab and Khilafat wrunge ia the course of jour leader on "Non-coopers'ion "and all advion ta the Goverument to arvid ropresaion are totalig lost on bargue asil, for no miministrator atisoribing to the offivial poliey of the Imperial Gorernment wuw ds Iadia can do obherwion than what you advise him aut to do.
Tuis briugn me to your reforsnos to the attemple same leadere are making to get the Panjeb and Khilafat wromge rodreased by constitntiunal mathode. I cannot oharacterima wach a atstement an angthing bat sophistry, aspovially in viow of the ecauty regard suoli representations have reocivert at thi haods of thu powerbibmi-be. Farther I Cuntead ithat Nod-ceoperation in posilive in ite character and cunatitational sleo. Since gon are not anbsoriber w the th.ary of rala of the aubjec: rooen by force, and as the insce in quention the basin of Briii:h coanection, whether it should be besed ee the cuatent of the people or in furce, I nabuit thit withores djing viulence to fandamental priaciphte of conduat, you cantiot condemn Nowco-operstion. I egree with goa that Non-c-operation, in the prasent conditions of sto coantry iuay not prove asocuese, in ine imuediste obj cet. Bat better t) have fuagta aud lonk, than nevar to bave attompted. Nio
 through deaulate daye of failare, atagnation ani reestiva with their quota of anfferiuge. Aad ludie, if abe wishes bu rotaia mer natio:all sel'-respect aud bunoup, mate expeo. to gis ebrough her quote of autieriag and bope to reach ti.utory on'y thrunge failares.

I am deeply eorry jou ahould hare draggei In the aid of religions to add woight $w$ jour cundennation of Nup cooperastion when all greas teschare of Heligiun have almaye monght so vige mautiod to rise to a slate of orperasabo.d but mever to stu, mauhood aud to tamely anbmis to bs boluts is ondia uwn conntry. As a Hinda, pernit tue to dispate goar centiontion that the authority of the Gits in agoines the principlese of Num.cooperation. On she emtrery the fact that the anthor of the Gita called Arjnus a comard becauce out of bis logaley to. the dasy be owed whiaship be pofused to lake arme againet the contoading fiotion stowe that, if out of a faleo moome ofl lojalty aud duty, we raface to withdraw our cooperation from a Guvernment which has lout all i:g mord ancbority may.' govera, and eontinue to be partice to glariog wronge and tro justice perpetrated by iuch Governmeat we mutet indoed expect to be called cowarde mevon Kriohn: chose ts oharen, teriva Arjana Kight and Stalion ass above Goyornmpane and the monent the performance of any duty canflicia wite Kight an 1 Juasice sees dicobe lience or sun-parformaces of duly becomes an imperative as obedience sad parformasee of duty ars ordinerily obligutory. Apart from tue Gita, to pata my case cloarly, lot me my is a bluat magesp, that is lio op privilege sad a right to robol and serolt aganger an mamoral aatbority. If I man mot miotakes, whom jou frend the rigidity of the enatome and cmave of Hinavima iseonpaticle With che prisciptes of right and jartien acoording s? gem light, gos lont mo tian in furolting efoin then inctand of tamely eabocitting and trging to refote thom, from withing Brabay July 954
8. Sapagaza.

## ADVERTIEBMENTS.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.
Second Call of Rupees Seven, Anass Elght Per Share.
Notice is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of Jaly 1920 a Call of Rapees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was determined that sach Cull should be paid on the Ist 4ay of November 1920 at the Head Office of the Cank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches:-

BOMBAY :
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CALCUTTA:-( 28 , Dulhoosie Square).
Sub-branch :-Bara Bazaar.

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Sub-branot :-Chandaasi.
HYDERABAD, ( Deccan.) LUCENOW.

> Sub-branof :-Hathras. MADRAS, ( 0, Popbam's Broadway.) RANGOON.
and that interest at the rate of nine per centam per annam will be charged on all amoants not paid on the due date from sach date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will ouly be accepted if the amount oovers 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 whioh will be sent to all such shareholders through the post. Any shareJolder not baving received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 should immediately commanicate with the Tata Indnstrial Bank, Limited, Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, When a duplicate will be issaed.

All remiliances must be made in Government Carrency Noter, or by cheques or Bankers' drafta prayable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by - Money Order cannot be accepted and will be retarned.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1920 toth days inclasive.

By order of the Board.
R. H. PARKER,

Juth July, 1920.
Secretary.

[^29]

Saffron 7 Safiron 77 Saffiron 72
If got wiak to bay genainely pure and best Saffrom it ie


It ba beom largoly oned by Inin Templen, Mahery Dorbarts Eiakimen Vaidyes all over the coantry fersing ats 73 jeer mad is well known for ite grority end genciomes
$17-5-18$
S. NARAEM \& Con
81. Mamen Sureh liut Beabion

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Fixed Deposits are rocoived tor oue ysar and sherter periode os cerial which may be ascorthined 03 epplimenion.
Every dewcriphoa of Baaking and Exchaogo basineen eramariod.

## K. TAEEMURA.

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~! P.P.ETRUEGFLLOW.
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Sir $\nabla$ ithelden Demodar Theokerony, Kt.
Raj Retan Sboth Maganbbai P. Haribhakt! Nagar Shoth Beroden
8halt Manial Revedag, Vedaogar.
Reo Bahedar Ganajirao R. Nimbalker, Bat Sabta, Barode Stits.
Bhatkerreo Vithalden Mehta, Ergo, Adroonte, Eigh Comet Bown bey.
M. E. Kentevalle, Eegn Agent, Maharajo Mill Ca, La. Baroda.
R. R. Shirgeotar, Naib Suhba, Barode Btate.
A. N. Detar, 4 econancant General, Barodia Btatr. CURRENT DEPOSIT ACOUUNTS.
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Tbe Boak anderiakee on behair of its consilituente the mefo enatody of 8 harem and Seouritien and thy oolleotion of dirldende and interout thereon; it alco anderthken the gale anat parebroe of Goverament Paper and all deecriptione of 8look ote
 applieation.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOBITS.
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Fixed Deposits. are meeived lor 000 en med ehorker pervide eot rorme whieb may be cocortais of on ep pivecion

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Pea lear Me 207, RIornby Roed, Bembay.

1. YisHMAKI.

Manager, Criotia.


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(kegistered under othb indian companibs' ACT OF 1913.)
At Bombay the 11 th November, 1919. EEGISTERED OPFICE.
9, murzban road, Fort, Bombay.

## B.

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Shara Capital (full paid) .......Re. 7,00,000
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## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBA Y, 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 illasory. It was the fiual flicker of the candle in the socket. Mr. Tilak breathed his last an hour after midright on Satarday, the 31st Jaly. The largest taneral procession wiunessed in Bombay in recent years was that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Tilak's totally eclipeed 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 clanges of the popalation contribated as many as the English-edacated. olass. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. Thest, however, made no diference to the resident 4Snropean popalation which was as conspicaons by its absence in Mr. Dadabhai's as in Mr. Tilak's faneral procession. Government Hoase than as completely ignored the one as the other. One lost opportanity more 1 . . . Mr. Dadabhai in his presidential address to the National Congresn of 1906 said of hinself : r"In 1853 when I made my fitst little speech at . Whe inangaration of the Bombay Aesociation, in perfect innocence of heart, inflaenced by my English edocation into great admiration for the character, instincts and atraggles for liberty of the British people, I expressed my faith and confidence in the British rulers in a short speech. Sach was my faith . . and now, owing
to the non-fulfilment of solemo pledges, what a change has taken place in the mind of the educated !' Since my early efforts, I mast say I bave felt ao many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair." Bat Dadabhai woald not despair, first, becanse he believed that his canse was jast and must win, and, secordly, becanse be had faith in British character. "I base my hope apon the revival of the old British love of liberty and selfgovernment, of honour for pledges, of our rights of oar fellow British citizenship?"

Mr: Tilak, as a political figare, was the embodiment of the bitterness of the disillasionment which Dadabhai lamented. Indians bad been encouraged to take to English edacation by the hope that, in coarse of time, they would be made co-sharers in the admiaistration of India. Bat when the number of Eaglish-edacated men increased and they began serionsly 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-falfilment of solemn pledges and the denial of the represeatative character of edacated Indians, introdactd the germs of what is now called the-" extremist " view in Indian politics which had for many years proceeded on the ideas that actaated Mr. Dadabhai when he made his first apeech in 18553. 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 Execitive to itself of the power of the Jadiciary in respect of the rights and liberties of the people, Mr. Tilak by his bold, persistent and anwavering opposition, extended and consolidnted his influence far beyond the limits of Maharashtra. It has been said against him that he leaves behind bim no constractive work to his credit. In the history of a nation it is extromely difficalt to draw a line between what is destractive and what is constractive. The extinction of slavery was a merely destractive measare, but withont it the groand could not be cleared for the brotherhood of man. Moch social reform work daring the last centary has been condemned by the orthodox as merely destractive.

We have been often asked an regards the abolition of caste, as we are asked today abont nom-con operation, what is your alterantive? Oar reply in the one case as in the other, is that there is no need for an alternative. Caste mast go in ordor that the nation may grow. Mr. Tilak atarted in his pablic career with the conviction that there can be no politioal salvation anless the bureancracy was destroyed. The conviction was forced apon him at first as it has been forced upon many others aince by slow degrees, solidifying, owing to the O'DrjerDyer doings in the Panjab, into an article of faith that will last as long as the last vestige of barenucracy. As the bureancracy marched from repression to repression, the old gaard of Indian politics fell back diecredited in the eyes of the pablic and finally left the field to be fought entirely between the aggressive baresucracy and an infla med nation. alism. Mr. Tilak was easily the most gifted, the most conrageons, the most skilfal, and latterly, the most experienced general loading nat ionaliem to the attack.
"A man does not become celebrated," observes Lord Morley, " in proportion to his general capacity, but becanse he does or says some. thing which happened to need doing or saying at the moment." The distrast of the bareaucracy is the one great sentiment which anites today all castes and creeds, the rich and the poor, the merchant, the manofactarer, ithe professional man, the toiler in the field. And Mr. Tilak felt it throaghall his being and became the most determined and ancomprom ising exponent of it. Others equally convinced of the evila inberent in the system, cannot bat recognise that ita record in India, especially in ite earher stages, was illuminated by not a few great names of men who laboured sincerely tor the coantry'd good. Mr. Tilak was too well-read in Indian history nut to appreciate this fuct. Bat he was possessed by the_rense of a mission to do battle with the bureancracy and woald admit to his judgment no consideration that did not add to its imperaliveness. In this respect, be was merely the connterpart of many Englishmen who are resolved to see no blemishes in their rale in $k$ ludia. Unlike many, if not most, others who bave climbed to leaderuhip by denunciation of the bareancracy, in point cf general capacity Mr. Tilak atood in the front rank of contemporary minds. His researches into the chronology of what is called prehistoric Indis, show consummate qualities of patient inveatigation, accurato schclarsbip, and illuminating insight. Hia commentary on the Gita is evidently the ex. positicn of bis own philesophic creed. In bis last dajs, it is said, he eeldcm spoke of politice, but Irtquently recited his favourite verses from the Bhagarad Gita. His last words before he loet couscioanctse are reported to bave been the
memornble verse which declares that the Cosmic Soul grecionaly condenoende to our world whenever the moral order in in danger of dealraction. Another great book pata the same ides in a different form when it asye that God bae not loft Himeelf withoat a witness in any age or conatry. This ancient intaition is orystallised in the common exporience that, in commanitioe not devitalised by their own spiritaal derelictions, 4 . hour alwags brings forth the man it most neode. For a patriot, painfally conscions of the wide divergence between endeavoar 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 thoughte are the trae index of their preocoupetion Politics were not Mr. Tilak's pre-oceapation The dim depthe of the past and the effalgent unfolding of eternity in Time, wero the high themes most congenial to his spirit, Wo remember to have read that he often eajd no. It was his country's need that conatrained him to a aphere which, under the circumstances, is singalarly barren of creative opportanitiea for childron of the soil. He stack to bis tank grimly against tremendoas odds. He acorned delighte and lived laborioas days. Here, again, his Gita philosophy, no doabt, atood him in good atead. He lived what may traly be called a dedicated life. All through the thirty yeare of its existence, there have been fow points of agreement between the policy of the Reformer and that of Mr. Tilak. Bat alwaye it has admired the greatness of the man behind the politician who treated social reforms an a matter of expediency. And now that he has passed behind the veil, wo think not of our differences tat of the abiding contribation which ho has made to the nation's heritage. Mr. Tilak could have hardly failed to realice that the caase for which be fonght in now assared of final triamph. The battle has gone decidedly against the bareancracy and it has been declared by high authority thas it is now ooly a quention of time when tbe bareacracy will be no more. The promises on which Mr. Tilak foanded bis policy are thas protoandly altered. Wo are no longer called apon to fight an aggreasive bareancracy claiming permanency of tenare, bat a concilistory one asking merely for time to wiod up its affairs, Mr. Tilak's eacrifices and anfferings have largely condribated to thil result. Morothan that, ho bad left as the example of a selfess patriot, working sioglo-heartedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people.

## AN APPRECIATION*

(DY EIR MARAYAS CHANDATARKAR).
It was tho Yoona season of $1 \varepsilon 72$; the Iegislative Council of the Government of Bombay was bolding its seesion in that city then. II e late Mr. Minrarji Gokulclas who treated me almost as a son and who was then a member of the Legislutive Council bad taken me with bim to spend some time there. One eveling I accomFiffod the late Mr. Sbanhar Pandurang Pandit for a walk and there met the late Dir. Agarkar, Mr. Tilak und Mr. Apte. Ot these threo 1 knew Mr. IJak onlys II had boun at Elphiostone College for six months in the same class with me and we bad passed t.e B. A. examination the game ytar. At Collego be was one Athe quictest of studeuts in the claes und was never obstansive or anxious to display his alilities although we knew thut in Ma,hemitics und in Sinskrit he excelled all in the class except one who was regarded as the brightest-Dhoudo Hari Agashe whose premature *ath soon ulter he had taiken his D. A. degreo was regrotted by ull bis class lellows. When daring the walk I have relerred, to Mr. Shankar Pandurang l'undit met Mr. Agarkar and Dir. Jilak and Mr. Apto, Mr. Agerkar euid. Ley weso going to see him ald take his auvice about them intention to form a body consist $\mathrm{D}_{\mathrm{g}}$ of thenkelves und olhers as dile members for the purf ose of sturtiog a bigh echool phion was later on to be developod into $u$ College uld also pablishing two weehby nen fpapt is one in linglish and the other in Mirathi tu be callod the Maralla ald the Kesarb sespectively io advocato Lite fepalar cause. 'I hey intormed Mr. Pandit shat they Lud coneulted Mr. Khamee ad that he had accorded to them bis sy mpathy and support and that wey bad come for Mr. L'unuil's advice. 'Their spokesmun ou the ocourion wus dur. Agarkas; Mr. Tilak was si.gut. Alr. P'undit vuad by nupulictic. Then we parted

Next morairg ar. Yaudic aud I weut to tee Mr. Runa to. Mr. Yuudit had a tsik with Mr. Kanude about zhe interview hu had with Mr. Agarkar and with Mr. 'Iak. Thero was s.mo alk ulout the Leccan Stur n:wypupir, which lud been writing what wero wasidered ralher violent urti les agais st Guverument aud social roformors, just $t$ ofore that. 'I he editor ot as was tho luto ar. Anmj shi aud Mr. 'Tilak was among the editors of the paper. some doabt was expressed is tu whether tho Lew suisety with suou elements in it might not prave totully antagouisitu to Goverument whe to nocial zet rm utid to soial reformers. Ar. 1hande wath his broud s. i if of toloration suil. "Hero yp su now our puolio workers have been men earning Wheir bread liy seavico unaur Government ans sparing such timu usciog cun $t^{\text {ct }}$ for public nork. but nuw in re are these juung uen, wiutever tieir opinions $1 \theta$, seady to sicilice themetres eutirely tor the servico of fho country The socond stage of our publio lity CS come and it is our cuty to encourage thein iustead at micrcecopiafly colsivering their inn ti and short. comings:" there the couversition stopped. The 1 istory of the 1 eccan Educution society fuunded by Ar. Aga,kur, IIfuk, aud ohars with the presonk

[^30]Fergasson Cullege as i-g visible monam+it and, the bistory of the Maratha and the Kesari have beccme part of the bistory of India. Every school boy knows that. My own differences with Mr. Tilak and his papers are well knows. But now that he has gone, mourned deeply by In.ia, by friend at foe, at an 9 ge the same as wine, b.y thonghts turn back to the year when be started his public life in 2879. It wes the time that brought forth its nan. It was the yeur when Lord Lytton's reactionary policy to govern India by clippling her liberties and going back npon the Qneen's Prochmalion of 1358 'sowed the seeds of discontent, The Indian Arms Act, the mesures taken to shut Indians ont from the Indian CiviL Service, the Indian Vernacular Pre-s Act, gagging the vernacular press, the Indian Forest Act, initiating the policy to arm the Execut.ve with judicial powers, the famine policy which declared that the Government was not bound to save each and every single famiue-stricken pergon from starvation, and which created a storm of indignation, first in India, and then in England and had to be recanted by Lord Lottou's Goverom nt in deftrence to English public opivion-all this had prepared the soil fur a man to prove a thorn in the side of Go pernmeat, and Tiluk besame t!. 6 man.

The ilea of opposing goverment, of creating in the people a spirit of strength, amonnting to revolt agaiust. it, posseseed him completely and in that he never wavered. He parsued it as his oxe ruling passion of life and ideal. Ho had the defects of his character and serious defects they were, Eut they were the defects of his virtues He was a politician and a politician of an age which forced Indians to be destructire critics rather than conetructive statesmen. It is said and, I tbink, said rightly, that there was very little of the constractive statesman in him. If he had carod to develop the constructive side of his genius I dare sty he would have developed it considerubly to the country's advantage. I think be deliberately discouraged that development of his great talents. There was a plblic meeting held at Bombay in the early nineties to oppose some measure planced by Giovernment, I do not remember now exactly what measure it was. Kir Pherozeshah Mehta presidud at the meeting held in the Framji Cowesjee Hall. Sir Pherozerhah lad invited Mr. Tilitis specially to attead the meeting and join the deliberatious. Before the meeting was heid there was a private deliberation at which Mr. TTil.k hoppened to be preselit and some oce at that in.formal deliveration anil." ${ }^{\text {Wh }} \mathrm{t}$ is the use of holding a pablic meeting and merely criticising and opposing the measare of-Goverument unless you are ready wilh a coustructive messure of your own." Mr. Tilak, wio till then was sitting silent, at occe burst out and repliod, 1 do not think it is our daty to formula. $\theta$ oonstructive masures and help the Government which does not talie us into its confid, nee by e. abiing us to share its highest offices, executive anl adminstrative, and lear thy resporsibilities of (ioverumeut. Constructive. meagares ure the duty of tho:e who a:e responsible for the Goverument of the conatry and ne ace not responsible.'

It would ecem that that iden grew stronger and strotger as be advanced in politics and age and be became alsolately dominated by that principle. Ilis fearleseness, $h$ s fore of the commonalty, living among the people as one of the people, accessible to all, his torcefol and jet simple Marathi and above all his pare private character, gave lim a hold on popular imagination amonnting almost to the divines. Even these would have fallen sbort of what they have been if he had not the heroism of sufferiog. That has led many to deify him. With miny or most of his admirers he has been a bero for the protection of the Hindu religion. While the first of hi, trinls in the High Court of Bomlay for sedition was procteding, o:e evening I drove over in * carriuge to the Alesandra institation to fetch my daughter home from the schuol. While I was waiting ontside the carriage a Mahar, who afterwards 1 found on enquiry was one of the servants of the Bombay G) mkhala Clab, 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 jor interested in it." He said, "Tilak Maharaj is the Saviour of our Hiadu religion." And then I asked who and what be was. He scid he was in the service of the Bombay Gymbhans Club and that be was a Nahar. 1 bave teen in the villages in the Kanarese districts, and in the Iamil districts of the Madras Presidency and there found some who adored Iilak on the same ground and in the same light. Now tiast te is gone our personal and political hostilities such as they nere of this mortal life, are laid to rest. Whatever our differences and personal conflicts and vilifications, the mau's fearlessness, doggedness, love of his country, his desire to arm it with self respect and the singleners of purpose with which he parsaed his aims in his own way without abating his ardoor a bit to the last of his life, and the courage of doggedness with which he carried on bis campaign against death and disease in his last bours jost as he had carried on his political campsign throughont his life, all these will be remembered for ever. Ho has made his mark in bistory, and as oue who differed from bim seripusly and held some of his methods to be detrimental to the abiding interests of the fatare of the conntry, I join in the deepest mourning over his death and in mourning and paying any respectful memory to him-all the more respectfal becanse I bave all along been opposed to him in $\mu$ olitics and social reform. Let we add that his purity of private character and his genius of scholarship have given him that strong hold on the admirstion and the adoration of the 1 eople which he has altained and which he would not have perhape attained but for them. His Ggure bas be:ome tistery-and it has its lights and shades but the shades should fall back and the lights becọme our beacons.

## THE NEW CBILDREA.*

This is the title of a very readable little volame by Mre. A. Hatton Radice (Shiela Radice) giviog a popalar expoaition of the theory and practice of the

[^31]Muntessori asstem. Mheh of the material io the book is derived from talke with the most ontstandiag figne: in edncation lo-Jay, as the Right Hon. II.A.I. Fisher styled Dr. Montessori, daring her vinit tut Equgland. Mrs. Radice is at enthnsiastio an admirer of Dr. Montessori as of ${ }^{\text {ther ayntent. Tu }}$ meny readers of her books, Dr. Mootessori has remained a mystery. Mre. Redice life nome part of the veil. Even when a lithe giil of ten, Drij Montessori had a will of ber owo. She decided hy child that ele woald learn Engineering. There wat then in Italy only one profossion for which women conld prepare themalives namoly, that of achoolmiatreas It is a cniions fact that this lady whose contribation to the science of edacation has been the most noteworthy in our tioue, had made up her mind even as $r^{m}$ child that she woald not be a schooluiatress. Another carions fact is that Dr. Montessori, the keyoote of whose aystem is the sympathetic onderstandiag of children, is antoarried and bas no children berself, "Althoagh she has never been married, never had children of ber ovn, 1 know", writes Mrs. Radice, "that she knows far more about new-born calidren than do most bnman mothers-about their reaction to light, to o sloar, to sound, to the noex pressed emotinns of the people abont theon, sboat their powert of communisation with their mothera at a distance, things which, if nothers know, they do not asy fur fear of being langhed at-at least in this roagh Anglo-Saxin world where baby and mother are always to some extent a joke." Maria Montessori had to attend a boyn' pablia achool in order to acquire safficient mathematics to fit ber for the coarce of oogineering. Tae position of women's edacation in Italy daring her childhood recalle many featares of it ia Indis not many years ago.

Ose of ber parante ecoompanied her to sebbol every moraing, and the other bsek Iruru achool orery night, In olenes she sat alone ; daring the dinuer bour sad the recroation hour obe wea shat away in a room by bertell, with e gaard set apom the duor.

Iater ahe changed her miud and atadied for medicine. No woman had ever before atadied madicioe in Italy, and she was, in fact, the firat woman to take an Italian medical degree. Jatas ahe had ant alone. to atudy mathematics, so now she had to work alone" for hoars at vight in the apatomical laboratory, place of horror to many atadeats evea by day. Alter sho had taken her medical degree, she felt the noed. of stadying the problems of haman existeace from 'a. standpcint other than medicine, and ohe went back to the Univeraity and took a forr years' conres ift philosophy. Dr. Montessuri's colleagae, Signorios Anna Muceberoni, in a letter to the Times, remarked that achool-soasters cannot be expected to initiate edacational reforms. She wrote:

It will be in:bor a bolj of research workera; anivaristy ${ }^{\prime}$ ( stadents, unfetiered by preent educational conditions sod the lamitations of a definite calling, who will esrry on chis seionev, calciva'e i', pomess it ead $m$ ake of it a prition of the general eultare of their time. The min! of the datens in required lor thie work, fres from profacizoal bise and empation oa that eceount of eapingiag the ses.

Pasteur who revolationised medicine was not a doctor. The professional man is mach too wedded to the settled principles of his profession, to strike oat for himself. Dr. Montessori's equipment for her great work was positively and negatively ideal.

Dr. Montessori's attitade towards earlier edacational scientists as also the pith of her own system, if it may be called so, is well indicated by Mrs. Radice in a fow sentences.
Nerbart and others are to Dr. Montessori, "all falk": raxdelozzi ani Froabel are also mostly islt, though of a plcassuter kind. All edacators bave always asid that the ohildron must be good, mast be industrious. Bat if the obildren preferred not to be induetrionp, bat to throw paper pollets at one another or carve their names apon their desks, the teaobera had no meane but panishment to make the ekiddren ait atill and listen. Dr. Monteseori took op the position that it was best, belore leading the horse to the water, to find ous what it was that the borse would be willing to drink. For with her sound practical sense she could not bear a sohool where erery one was getting on overy once else's nerves and wasting every one tlse's time.

Is there then no "discipline" in the Montessori classes? Nowhere in the world has that word been more grossly abased than in India within the last thirty years by "educationists" at a loss to find an easy sabstitute for a symputhetic anderstanding of pupils, which they did not possess and;were mach too basy about other things to acquire. Dr. Montessori, however, hay found the true secret of disciplive. The diecipline of ber achool is foonded on the materials and on the interest which the child takes in it.

When the attention becomes to fix itself, new phases of oharacter appear, and it it this that makes free work posibib. T'ue childrou who before would have distarbed the othere now atiuk to their job. All those phenomenn that we are nosantomed to uall aillinoss and naughtivest diaappear. I'he ohild puils itsall togetber and begins to organize itsell. If teacheri bring about thia same solforganization on the part of the obild by meaus of ural lessous and set tafke, they will not sucuoed. 2'bere are ouly two alteruativens either the provisiva of suffioiens conorote intereste lor the child, Which will bring about eelf-diesipline threugh attention, ar siee a lurmal impused diseipliue by word of command.
Wherever und in whatever form the formal imposed discipline is the keynote of achool discipline, whether the word of command is given by the master or by a senior fullow-stadeat, the syatem ia in its easence the Prussian system which is the antithesis of the Montessori sjetem. It is profoandly aignificant of the exnity of thought in the epochal periods of the world's history that Dr. Montessori's protest against Inpuianimm in edacation and her plea of 'self.determination'for children, should have preceded by a few years the polition movement towards the same ends in nationalafluirs, which fonad violent expres: nion in war. We were reading the other day an 1 arptule by Yrofessor W. Meston in the Harvest Field i in which he remarked on the coinoidence of the I recommendations of the Nadler Commission report , and the constitational reforme. It is a "ooincidence' $t$ only when we fail to perceive the organio unity of - ileas governing haman thoaght at a given time

The last place where one looks for organic movement is Anglo- Indian historg-nothing is allowed to take root-bat -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 edacation to Indian ministers concarrently with the introdaction of the elements of responsible government, are not accidents. The Englishman does not theorise, he likes to think that be is inventing everything as he goes along. Especially, he likes to think that the Indian Empire represents some thing which never existed belore and will never repeat itself again, and that its problems, therefore, are not helped towards a solation by history or philosophy, bat by the " man on the spot" with the aid of his immediate sensory impreasions, in other words, the animated camera planted in different parts of the country, with prejadices for ideas and Kipling in place of Christ. Bat we are digressing. Oar excase 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 aystem can only achieved by engaging the interest of the scholar and that can only be done by stadying his activities with sympathy and insight. And the resalt of sach a study in a very large namber of cases, is crystallised in these pregnant sentences :
At the end of a year of school-work in Rome some of the recognized fatigue-teste were applied by a namber of outside apecialista who asked to be ollowed to do so. Dr. Montessori has no very great laith in pyschologicol teste, bat she was glad to hear what was alrealy obvions to her, that there was no eridence of fatigue. She dedaces from this and auch other evidence a fact which she cousidera to be of incalculable social importance, as indicating the eventual solution of the problems of labour-that work, spontaneously chosen and rightly undew taken, does not tire. Rest, both niental 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 paychological work is establishing the same trath as that contained in the sentences italicised. At the bottom of most nervoas breakdownsattribated to overwork, is generally to be found an emotional complex arising from imperfedt enlistment of the interest of the worker.in his worke 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 trae of children as of older persons. The fundamental objection to a foreiga systom is that this is inhibited in it.

THE DUTY OF LEADERS.

## (By Mr. S. Sadakanda)

A leader of public opinion is a faithful Trustse. 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 Trustes as
loader of thought, that our country and especielly our young people have a right to look for gridance during che days of storm and stress that lies ahoad. The faithtul Trustes as leader has a grave responsibility, for on his faithfulness depends the future of the State. Had che leaders of Germany not failed in their trust, we should have had a happier Ewrope to-day. In like measure, our oun happiness as nation will be enormously adsanced when soe succeed in securing a larger number of faithful and enlightened leaders 10 guide the nation's ectivities into right channels:Bibby's Annaal.

The eventa which have colminabed in the proposal of Non-cooperation as a programme of practical pelitica have given rise to a grave sitastion in the country. The condact of the Dyer debate in both the houses of Parliament, the attitade of the vociferons aection of the Earopean commanity in. Iodin and the policy of the Allies towards Tarkey have only helped to render an already difficalt sitaation more acute. As matters stand today, it is no exaggeration to say that there is a complete benkraptey of British statesmanship. Added to these factors, there is intense discontent as elsewhere on account of high prices and post-war conditions and also considerablo labour unrest. $\Delta t$ anch a critical junctare in tbe history of this conntry, the oonsequences of any gaidance that a leader may give to the masses are so franght with far-reaching consequences, that it is the dats of every leader not to merge his individaal responsibility into the shades of collective responsibility of an inslitation as the Congress or the Leagne, bat to have the honeaty and conrage to bear his fall 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 appreoiate the candour and courage of conviction which characterise all his activities. Mr. Gandhi does not leave his followers in doabt 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 pablic life evolved moro leaders like him.

I have been led to make these remarks because of the variety of subterfages to which a number of Indian leaders have resorted in order to avoid giving a definite lead to the conntry, for or against Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation. $A$ few anch glaring instancen were seen, firatly at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, when instend of giving ite considered opininn on Non-cooperation, subject to the confirmation of the Special Congres, the whole matter was shelved for many months Gill the Congress met; eeoondly in the typical attitude of Mr. Tilak and, thirdly bat not lastly at the Madras Provincial Conference, When Mr. B. Srinivasa Iyengar enanciated the dangeroas doctrine that a leader mant not only lead bat should also be prepared to be led, when otherwise he cannot retain bis position an leader. To lead or to be led, ar circumptances dictato, may be a soand policy in the
game of retaining power bat it would be a degradation of the sacred office of leader as a faithful Trastee.

While the Liberale have done their daty, even though negative only, that of warning the conntry of the dangere of Non-co-operation, other Indian leaders have get to justify themelves in the poblic eya. It is useless as the Hoa'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyja did the other daj, to ask Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjatore in Non-cooperation to postpone action till the Congress and the Leagno: have given their rerdict and to ast the jeoph if possess their sonls in patience till then. As far me Mr. Gandbi and the Central Khilafat Committee are conceraed, Padit Malaviyja's diplomatic edvice han gone anheeded. 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 Leagae in September nest can only bear testimony to the depth and intensity of feeling in the conntry for or against Non-cooperation; bat in no way oan it affect the character of the Non-cooperation movement. If the Congreas rejeoted Non-en operation, it will in no way make it wrong, if it is intrinsically right, and equally, if the Congreas accepted it, it will in no way make it right, it it be ia* trinsically otherwise.

Whether the conntry followe them in bandfule or myriads, Mr. Gandhi and his co-workera have lanached the Non-cooperation movement on the first of Augast. It. speaks volumes to the high character of Mr. Gandhi that rightly or wrongly, conviaced of the righteonaness of bis policy, he bas atack to it, while the Incian nationalint lenders do not seem to know thoir owe mind. The realt is they have no lead to give to the conntry and Mr. Gandhi alone has a definite lead to give, excepting for the Liberale, who have thrown the weight of their moral inflaence againat Non-cooperation. It is nataral one abould prefer even a wrong lead from Mr. Gandhi, to having no lemd from otherl.

It is time, that the Indian leaders ahake off their lethargy and make ap their mind deflaitely on Noncooperation and go to the Congress with nome poritive ideac about it and not with blank minds, willi ng to be tossed to and fro in the atorm of pasnion incie dental to all large gatherings.

The Return of the Langoti : A valued molussil correspondent writes: "I was mach amused on reading your note on the return of the Langoti. The 'shorts' have really become a fasbionable onte ance. European officers in the molussil now seo all Indian visitors, of whatever rank, in "ahorts" and a shirt, dress which before the war was meant only for the inner apartments of the house. Follow ing the example of their Earopean brother officers, I am told even Indian civilians do the same. You have graphically described the aigbt in your note. It mast own the fair skin does not atrike the eye so much as the black or brown." That white thighs in 'shorts' do not outrage Indian eycs 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 Earopeans. We are sure that there are many Englishmen who feel as we do about the indecency of the exiguous garments known at 'shorth',

# THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE OPIUM TRAFFIC. 

The Editor, The Indian Sosial Reformer, Sir,

May I call pablic attention to the great danger of the Government of India renewing the opinm traffic for revenue Fipurposes by back-door mathods into China? The opinm revenue returne show a steadily increasing sale in Indo-China and I believe also in Java and the Straits Settlements. In these conntries, and eapecially in Indo-China, the alle of opium from India in several bundreds of times (I believe I might have written 'thousauds' instead of 'handreds') in excess of the maximum medical requirements. Could there Fnot be an absolutely fixed ra'e that the sale, not only to Chios but to every olher conntry, ehall be limited to the maximam amount sequired for medical purposes? Perhaps, Sir, you could be able to quote the actual figurcs which, I believa, will fully bear out my statementa. If they do, and
ك. if in this mutter, I am not mistaken, conld not some searching question be asked at the coning Imperial Legislative Connoil at Sinila and could not the requess be made that our opiam policy shall te defined ? The whole question of the opium traffic is quite certain to come ap at the assembly of the League of Nstions in November next. It will be a mest hamiliating position fur India if it can do uothirg more than plead guilty to bask-duor methode of asle after the front door bas been clored iuto Chins.

> Yoarg failhfully,
> O. F. Andrewb.

Bolpar.

## THE LATE BADHU SUNDER SINGE.

St oaking ct Sadha Sunder Singh, we are reminded of the great work, he, in Gud's providence, has been oblled apon to do in wettern countrien. From all accounts, his miuiatry in England bas veen of immense value in lifing many from the suffooating atmosphere of the feverish activities and anxiunt atraggles for existence, of the modern world, to a region of pencelal trast and confidonee where God and Jcane OLrist are realities. Thatan Indian Cbristian Sadhu should be ueed of God lor delivering the message of the East to the Cbriotian West is prophetic of the great apiritual 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 LLe Laymeu's Miseiouary Movement of Grent Briton lant March eaid: "Doring the last few daya I havo met two men who bave bad a vision of Christ Bim.
"Molf. One wae a member of Parliament next to whom I was atting and whotold we that whilat walking down a sireet 7. he noddeuly naw viaion of Chriat. He was tweuty-one yeara of age at the time, and it has obanged his whole life. The other ia Sadhu Sunder Siugh, the Indian Sikh, who at a Ianoheon yeaterday told us that he changed hie religion outirely on account of the faot that he bat seon a vision of
y our Saviour, and from that moment hat given up everything in the world to the eervive of Clariat." At the eame conference another apeaker said: "In men like Sadha Sunder Singh, the East is showing na examples of derotion which if we follow them will pinch os very hard.* That well-known weekly, the Indian Social Reformer recautly anggested that, in view of disorganieation of religious thought in Enrope, wo should look formurd with much hope to an Asiatio pro Faganda ia Enmpe compriniug the great trath of roligion.

The presence of a man like Sadha Sander Siogh in the Weat emphasises in a remarkable manner the vital iden for which Asis stands-the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. When this mesesge which, after all, is the message of Christ is understood and applied by the modern world that muchneeded work of christianising Christian nations and commapities will begin and we will see the Kingdum of Cod coming with power into our midet.-The National Missionary Intelligencer.

## THE NIRGUDE CHARITABLE GIRLS' SCHOOL, BOMBAY.

## (Froir a Coresspondert.)

The Namdeo Shimpi commanity, which is comparatively very backward in point of education and, eapecially that of girla, must feel prond to have to record the earaest and sincere attempts of a widow, not much educaited, from that commanity to establish a girls' free primary achool in memory of her late beloved husband Mr. Hari Bhau Kaloji Ni:gade. Mrs. Bhagirthibai Nirgude sought co-operation in her early attempts from persons, who favoured the cause of female edacation, 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 Sireet, Bombay.

Soon after, Mis. Nirgade and her co-workers approsohed for advice Mr. Gupal Krishna Deodhar, M, A., Senior Member of the Servants of India Scciety, Bombay, who impressed upon them the neceasity of having a good committes to look after the management and sapervision of the school. This suggestion was unanimously accepted by all the workera, and a managing commitiee was formed on 8 8d November 1917, Mr. Deodhar accepting, at the earnest desire of the workers ita Presidentship and Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhalay, Mrs. Sushilabai Jaykar and Mrs, Chandrabai Yande ita vicePresidentshipe. To meet the monthly expenses of the School, tho Committee raised subscriptions among themselves and resolved not to approseh rich persons natil a good namber of donations were rectived from the middie class feople.
There werd ouly six girls when the achool was etarted. The number of girls rose gradually, as the sohool became popular in the lccolity and satisfied a want which was felt by the neighbourhood. There were olisees op to 3rd atandard (Marathi) for the first two years and the 4th ataudard was added in April 1919. Besides the grant of rent-iree quasters, Mra. Nirgade has been working as.an honorary teacher and has been also epending a considerable amount every month for parchesing furuiture for the school and carrying on repairs to the bailding. It is worthy to note that the number of girls on the roll at present is above 90, most of whom are from those cla.ses, whersin very litule liking was shown for edreation, enpecially education of girls. This lact mast bs attributed to the indefatigabld and earnest efforts made by Mre. Nirgude, the proprietor of the school to peranale the guardiens of the girls and also to the discipline and efficiency that is maintaiced in the school and to which testimony has been borne by the officiala of the Educational department.

The cobool is at present receiving an annual grant of Rs. 266 from the Bombay Manicipal Schoole Committeo. The Manicipal grant for the jear ending 81st March 1920 has been lound quite insufficieat to defray the echool expensen and the Managing Committes of the School will mon have to appeal to the pablic for help.

In thie conneotion special mention mast be made of a very $j$ nteresting furction viz the prize diatribation ceremony that
took plece in the Merwadi Vidyolays oe the Eth July 1920 nader she Chairmanaip of Mru. Manjulabai Land. There wan a large attendance of isdies and gentiomen. After the reading of the Boport, Mrm, Arantikabai Gokhalay, Mewre. Kalaker and Khandre and Mr. K. P. Khandze-the pros -minent lender of the Namdeo 8 himpi community-mande -apeechen in anpport of Ires and compalaory education of girla, eapecially trom the backward commanitiey. In her preniden. sial eddreen, Mre. Kand explained the need for pushing on the cause of femalo education even at great ealf-maritioe as Mr. Bhagirthibai Nirgode ham done for this inatitution, Mr. Deodhar while thanking Mru. Land for her genarous donation of Ro. 100 and the Eind Mahila Bamaj, the Pathere Prabhu Mahila Samaj and the Ledien Booial Clab lor the contribution of Re 150 for the prise distribation cepemony, appealed to the andience tor financial help. With the singing of the National Anthem the prooeedings ooncladed.

## HOSPITALS IN BOMBAY.

The Government of Bombsy has given the most earneat attention to all queation connected with the health and physionl well-boing of the peaple and much has been accomplishod for the bospitale of all parte of the Mofussil, as well as for thowe of the capital. Among the more important might be mentioned echomen tor the remaval of the Byrumji Jjiibhoy Medical Bchool in Poona to ane gite to facilitste maoh needed extonsions to the Sammon Hospitals; the remoral of the Huttering and Premabhai Oivil Hospital in Ahmedabad to a larger and mort salubrions site which will make its expansion practioable; the bailding of ane Oivil Honpital in Godhra to replece the existing ore; the anquisition of land adjoining the Civil Hospltal, Sarat; and the enlerge ment of the Oivil Hespital in Hyderabad, Sind. In addition to the above a large and up-fo-date houpital has been oom. pleted in Sholapurs s Maternity Ward has been added to the Civil Eospital, Dharwar, and 12 new Government aided diapensariea have bsen eitsbliehed at various eentres. Now Oat-patients' departmenta have bsea sinetioned for the Civil Hospitals at A hmednagar and Napik, ani Maternity Wards for those at Ahmednagar, Dhalia and Gudhre, and a clinionl Laboratory lor that at Brikot. Grantu have been esnotioned towards the building ad maintaning of Female Hospitels in Jacobabad, Hala and Dadn, and applisetions for granis lor other similar purposes are under consideration. Taberculotis wards have been sanctioned lor Dharwar and $\Delta$ hmedabad, and the quention of a tubercalocis dispeneary at Karachi is nuder enasideration. An X-ray oulfis has been sanctioned for Hyderabad $\operatorname{Sin} \mathrm{d}_{5}$ and onc in ander concideration for Belganm. An Eje Hoapital craated by private benelaction has been edded to the Civil Hospital in Karachi, sad is maintained by Government. A eimilar institution is noder considerstion for Hyderabad, Sind. The eatablishment of 10 Dem Government aided diapeasaries is ander consideration, sad in order to encourage the formation of anch inctitations, - Goverament has offered, beoidet bearing moiety of the -initial and reanrring expenditaro, to adrance ea ency terma to poor Monicipelitien and local bodiet, the other half of the initial expenditare

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## THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.

## Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Elght Per Share.

Norion is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of Jaly 1080 a Call of Rapees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was determined that such Call should be paid on the ln day of Novamber 1020 at the Head Office of fhy Bank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or al any of the following Branchea:-

BOMBAY:
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Subebranob :-Bara Bazarf.
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HYDERABAD, (Decoan.) LUCENOW.

Sue-branot:-Hathras.
MADRAS, ( 9, Popham'a Broadway.) RANGOON.
and that intereat at the rate of nine per centam per annnm will be charged on all amonnta not paid on the due date from auch date to dato of paymento The payments in respect of this Call will ouly be accepted if the amount oovers the Call due on all the Shares of whioh members apo registered as holders on the 18th day of September 1920 and upon produotion of the Notice which will be sent to all suoh shareholders through the post. Ayy ahareo holder not having received this Notice by the 15th day of October 1920 shoald immediately commanicate with the Tata Indastrial Baok, Limited, Share Tranafer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a daplicate will be isened.
All remittances mast be mado iu Goverament Carrency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be ron tarned.
The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 3uth day of September 102a. yoth days inclasive.

By order of the Board. . I
I. II. PARKER,

16th July, 1920.
Secretary:-
Batilvala" Genuine Qainino Tablete gr. 1 eest bottje of 100.

Batifvala's Agwo Mixtare of Dover, Malaria, Iop
ksetifwa'an's Age Pille for Malaris, Yover, Is
 breats dowi.
gatliwala" Tooth Powdee of Procerving Tceth Batif wala'm Ringworm oiatment lot ungworm Dhobi ltel ets.
May bo had from stl doelers in medicince or from Dr. H. LL Betitwala soan © Con LSL.

Fo, 18, Worli, 18, Bombes.



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| gidkiana | batavia | KAGI |
| SWATOW | PINAN | Rabenko |
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| TAKOW | TAIOHU | TAYSUI |

The Bant has afeo a large namier of Oorrespondentu at flome and $\Delta$ broad.

Current Deposit Accounts i-are opened for approved onstomera and interest in allowed at a per cent. per annam on daily balancer of Re. 1,000 upto Rs, $1,00,000$ provided that the amount of half-yenrly Intereat in not lesa thac Re. $\delta$.

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K. TAKEMURA, Manager
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 incorporated under the Indian Companies' act Vi of 1882.
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Reserve Fand nocoocosoon $n \quad 66,00,000$ OURRENT DEPOSIT ACOOUNTS.
Interest is allowed on daily balanoes from Rn. 800 to Ra. $1,00,000$ at the rate of $2 \frac{1}{3} \%$ p. in througbout the jesin $\mathrm{On}_{\mathrm{n}}$ sames axoeeding Re. 1,00,000 intereat is allowed by appoinal amngement. No interest will be allowed which dose not amonat ts Ra. 8 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.
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Raj Ratan 8 hath Maganbhai $P_{\text {. }}$ Haribhatul Sager Shoth Barodan
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# PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING. <br> Ömce:EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT. Editor:-KK. NATARAJAN <br> Annual Subscription (inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling. 

## Nol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, AUGUST 18, 1820. No. 80.

 anowe, I will not retreat a single inch-And I will bo heard."

Willian Lloyp Garrison in the Liberfter.

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## HOTES. <br> —:0:-

The Auxiliary Force Bill: The draft of the auxilary force bill, which is published in the official Gaxettes, defines as follows the classes who may be earolled:- Every person who is a European British subject as defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, or was on the 3ist 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 Britush aubject of European idescent in the male line; or not being a Briush subject; satisfies the conditions prescribed for enrolment: of persons of that class. In plain language, this means inat Europears, Eurabians, and Goanese alone are eligible Jor admission under this Bill. The care with which Indians enrolled in the Indian Defence Force are specially excluded trom the Bill, is remarkuble. This Bill makes an invidious racial distincuon and is a violation of the equal citizeoshap of Indian and English subjects ol His Majesty in this county.. It will meet with opposition Irom Indian non-official members if it is sought to push it through in the present form. The Government will either have to modity the Bill so as to eliminate race discrimination or, at least, produce along with the present Bill its scheme lor organizing an Indian Auxiliary Force We note that two members have given notice of triotions for the next session of the Indian Legislative Council that the invidious race distinctions La the Criminal Procedure Code ought to be oflitted.

The Next.Viceropi Rabindra Nath Tagore is reported to have told an interviewer that tho appoint. mont of Mr. Montagu as Lord Chelmsford's successor in the Viceroyalty of lndia, 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. Tbis is rather going out of the way for the poet, and we are not sure that it will serve ita purpose. On the merits of the ruggestion, too, we are not convinced that it is the right one. While: we recognise that Mr. Nontaga bas laboured hard for India in a spurit of
real enthusiasm, we do not think that be would be the best successor to Lord Chelmsford. Apart froma the lact that he would have to waste muck of his time and energy in overcoming blind prejudice, it is fairly certain that he rwild 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 retorms and the Punjab troubles, Even the Moderates feel that his attitude in the Punjab matter bas 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 Chelmstord; 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 be 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, ì ej Bhauur Sapru should give general sausfaction To begin with, it is the first instance that the Law-membersnip has been conferted on a Vakil, under the provisions of the new Reform Act. This was urged for years by the National Congress. Dr. Sapru joined the Allahabad Bar. in 1898 after three years' practice at Moradabad. He bad 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 tor his forensic ability and integrity. He refused a few months back a High Court judgshipi 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 Chaitman of the Board of Directors of the Leader. He is in bis forty sixth year and has represented the U. $P_{6}$ Council since 1926.

The Bombay Government and the late Ms B. G: Tilat: The Dnyanodaya, the well-knowa Catistian Missionary jouroal, 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. Oar con. temporary observes:-"It is matter tor profound thanklulaess that the Non-co-operation movep ment bas so tar. proved unsuccessful and that the powers that be bave ácted so wisely in keeping
hands off Mr. Gandhi, thas letting the movement 'kill itself in idseness: 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 peopleone report says two buadred thousand-te 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 -afor we have a consuming desire that Goveroment shall stand well with the people-wes His Exaellency's refosal of the-earaest request of seventeen nonofficial 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 ordor for want of notice." We beve differed as fundamentally is either our-contemporary or the Government from the late Mr. Tilak bat 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 supees a month in order to belp. his people, when we remember that his 'purity of private life made him a model husband and father -so tan a reteolution 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 ia Iadis. The Royal College of Bcience in Bombay was iatended to rectity the mistake committed in placing the Tata Inatitute of science in Baggalore which has nothing bot a beautiful climate to recommend it for such a purpose. We are sorry to bay that the Government of Bombay's choice of a Principal of the Royal Uollege has dot filled the public with high hopes regarding their intentions as to ita future. The special quatio ficatione of Professor Fox for the post uro ant evident. The public certainly expected that Govern. ment would secure the services of some distingaished cientist from Europe or America for the place. As for the Tata Institute of Science, the excellence of the elimate of Bangalore seems likety to prove a zerious disadvantage to it. We cannot think of any other reason why Gir Alezander Cardew who was recently a member of the Goverament of Madras thrould be proposed for the Frincipatship of the premier scientific institation in this coantry. We ire glad to associate burseives with the observationg of the Citiken of Madras on this contemplated eppointment; as our contemporary is not hkety to De ignotant of Sir 'Alexander's qualifications, if any, for the place. The Citiren which, by the way, is the Brgar of the Madras Moderàte. party writes :
On the 19fh Jane the Conceil of the Indina Iartitain of Boiesce at Baogelory met to dincuse she eppointmenj of a ase oomer to . Sir Alfred Bourne, ite : presant :Diseolece. Who in to nitu in Ootober meat. The two Indian meniente of the Dollwell proponed that the mew ireambent ahould be a distingalabed tolentiat able to arporvina the work of the English
 capeoity, They anggetiod Sir J. F. Tborpe.D. Sqe. P. H. D. F. R. 8. Who wes. President of the Cbomiond
 bett who are in a melority put forward Bir A. O. Ondow


 minago meema is be his European decicont coonpled whb hin willingrome to meopt the job:lot Ra tho 800 prymb
 Mralog, A Disector of the Indina Iostituis of 8cience, it


 Sir A. Oardowie atthiamonti ors (if any) bathis bramh of haman knowlodge

The Indian members who proposed Prolessor Thorpe had suggested Rs. Gve thousand a month as his salary. But the majority was overcome by an unusul passion for economy and voted for the ex-civilian od Rs fifteen bundred a month. We trust that Hie Excellency the Viceroy, with whom that final decision rests, w. ll prevent the perpetration of this flagrant jobbery.

Indians in Africa. Our feire id regard to the "obcalled "voluntary repatriation" of ladizes from South Africa are confirmed. Mr. A adrewa has roh ceived serious news concerning the application of the scherne indicating exteasions beyoad what it yitw fessed to have for its object, namely, the helping of destitute Indians to go back to Iadia. We priat his letter in. another columa. Tho .ection of the Asiatic Commission in Iravelling beyosd the limits of its reference to make this interim recornmenjation, and the eager haste with which. tio Union Government accepted it and pul into.force showed that there was more bebind the devico, thap what appeared on the surface. It must be now clear to all that 'voluntary repatriation' was, as wo have all along been maintaining, e nubterfuge mod that the real aim of the scheme is to drive Indians out of South Airica. By a melancholy coincidence, the news from East Alrica received on the same day is even worse." The East Altican.Governorianaomaced his Indian Policy as follows: " Franehine only two Indian members, racial segregation atriotly enforced Land purchase in low-lands only; education to the improvod; Railway policy July upheld ymmigra. tion onchangeds Indians'not allorved pupthave Nab robi business plot." This is a.fagrmas bruach'iof equal ptatus sepeatedly affirmed by the Viceroy.

The Vicesoy wad Ladiany in Eact Afries I It hat been oftea ous mpleasant duty to crincose adrereely the. meacures and policy iof Loord Chalmalond's Goverament. It is with special eatialaction, theres tore, shat wo pote that His Excellency's recoptios of che depatation of Indians ta : Eaet. Africa was very sympathetic. Lord Chelmaford bas celoat op from the flrat a etrong attitudot on this aubloct, and we earnestly cruat that. His Excolloncyte soproo sentations to His Majosty' ${ }^{\prime}$ Government on behulf of the fodians in that cowatry, will seflect olearty the atroag eeatiments of the Indian people is regard to the wrong that is contemplated by 'seme of ishe sueasures jant minnounced.

Bafirid'ta Hyderatad $:$ Wo bave received the following press coarmenique for pubtication thathis Exalted Highness has been'gracioushy' pleased X' order that altiongh the sacrifice of cows end camots is allowed in Islam 'yet in wiew of the uafarourable economic conditions prevailing at present she sacriv fice of these animale is utrictly prothibited to the Hyderabad State during-Fedursiba and that goats and sheep oaly : abould be maded for tha parpose in future.". By thio order, tha. premies Indian tufer has put the ctavep of his spproval vo cro Hindar Mabomadan , rapprochement which is the : mow
hopeful featucs of the situation :
Shdhu-Suade slaghs We much engret iathe through flagrant poyeraght the eatrect reprivted fil the last inaue from the National Himionary Intalth
 instead of Sadhu sinder fiegh. The Sadhu's leteut movements ate indicated in $=$ lotter whiche wo print
todays

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY: AUGUST 15, 1920,

## THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN BOMBAY.

- Hia Excellency the Governor ontlined in a speech at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Coancil the Government acheme for solving the hoasing problem in Bombay city. A broad idea of the magnitade pithe problem is sapplied by the following figares! In Jaly 1919, the Manicipal Commissioner reported that ont of \& popalation then estimated roughly at. $1,200,000$ nearly 822,000 resided in oneróom tenemente; that taking. 4 persons per tenement the number of tenements required was 223,000 , whreas the pamter existing was only 174,000 : that there were further 15,000 tenements which, either becaase they were anfit for haman habitation or were utructures of a parely temporary natare, onght to be replaced; and that the total sbortage, therefore, was
 14,000 tenements can be adipplied by the conversion and improvement of tenemente now conridered nufit 'or haman babitation, and. also by vacancies lue to the migration of members of the middle classes ta the new boasee which are being bnilt in the northern part of the wland. The balance of 50,000 rooms represente minimam. for which arrangement will. heva to be made. A roagh eatimate of the cost of these 80,000 teuements is soms $6 \frac{1}{2}$ crores of rapees, and it is expected, that the scheme. will entail an manual lose of aboat 181 lakhe of rapess. The land for 86,000 tenements is expected: to be provided by the lmprovement Trast ont of the large areas which they will acquire undes their achemes in the north of the island That for the remoining 14,000 oan, it is believed, be provided by reciamation in certain parta of the island. We assame that the estimate of $z_{\frac{1}{2}}$ crores of rapees incladen the cost of land.

His Excelloney gave nome reasone fur thinking that this wark oan be execated, neither by the Improvement Truat or by the Manicipal Corperation. We do not dispate these reasons, though wo cannot wholly accept the statement that the provision of hoasing aocommodation for the working classes on a large sonle was never intendod to be the daty of the Trust. It in now over 20 jears since the Trust was entablished. The popalation as the last. Consus of Bripbay Citf wat 979,445 . Twenty yeara ago it wat only 776,007. The hoasing question was certainly part of the problom wilh which the Improvemugat lizuit wat inatitutedita deal and ift inatead of wating lit energy and resonrces on loss argent sohames, is had conoentrated on the relief of congention the problem to.day would not have attained the dimensions that it has attained. We agree that weithor that body nor the Manioipal Corporation an at presont conatitated can deal effectively with the problem at is confropta tia forday, bat it doos eot follow that direat Government action in likely to be more effective Oar chief reason fay: ograing vith the viev that, milher the

Improvement Trast nor the Manicips! Corpore, ation is equal to this task, is that the methods of these: two bodies so nearly resomble. the method. of Gove epament. We are not prepared at the moment to saggeat off-hand what other alternatives are possible. We can ouly indicate in a general way that nome: soheme which leaves the initiatiye in the hande of a nonoofflial body with the Government in the back a groand, will probably be foand to be the mpai efficacions. The atility of haying non-official. advisera on the agency which deals with such vast qaestions, fonad striking illastration recently when, it was proposed to lease a large area of excellent bnilding land For a, sectional parpose at a rent mach below what it would have. fetched in the open market. Uuder the new scheme, the whole : matter would be disposed of by one man before any ane: heard of it. The idea of a new Devalopment Departm, ment with a high-paid expert (Sir Lawless Heppen ia to be paid Fs. 6,0 CO a month which is one thonsand rapeen more than the Chief Justice and Membarg; af Government are paid) with. vast discretionary: powers, baildiag, and eventally: owning and letting. 64,000 one-room tenements, does not seem ta ne to he. quite the best means of solving the problem.- At any rate, it is likely to create new problems which Government itsolf may not find it easy' to deal with, with a Dictator at the head of the Departuent. In passing, it is not clear what the position of this, Department will be in the new. scheme of thing six. months hence. The question is essentially one pertaining to Lacal self-government and shoald come. nader " transferred heads." If, $80_{\mathrm{a}}$ we are not naye that the Minister in charge of the portfolio will be glad to ba tied hand and foot to. thia white elephanto. If not, it looks like a device to defeat in detail what, the reforms concede in general.

How a Government Department coald elaborate an extensive scheme with atter indifference to its effect on the people is well illastrated by the proposal to acquire the thickly popalated hoases roand aboat Grant Road Station in order to provide a terminal atation for the Bombay, Barods \& Central India Railway. The whole scheme was hatched in eecrecy and the first intimation of it to the pablic wes the notification in the Government Gazette for the aequisition of the locality ander the Land Acquisition Act. The soheme has been ander elaboration for months, and has been discassed between the Goverament of Incia and the Local Government, withont saybody noticing the absardity of readering homeleas some 10,000 peranal at the very time when Government are' slarting a Development Dapartment to cope with the honsing problem. The Maricipal Corporation, we are sare, woald never have perpetrated this abants. dity. It has, in fact, passed a strong resolation. proteatling against what Mr, N. M. Damasia culled. this aot of contemplated randalism. In another matter, that of bailding a Coancí Hall on a small part of the O ral, Government hastily abandoned its. plan which, in anr opinion, ras not thoosandth part ea objectionable as thie fatuoas acheme for:
debousing a largo number of families That is the coollese method of departmental developmont. Another wild-ate echeme for which Goverament sought the sanction of the Leginlatire and carried their motion by the casting rote of the Presidentif in stated that this has since been abandoned at the instance of the Government of Indis-is to bnild a mammoth hotel at pablic cost to house the passenger arriving and departing by the occan-going steamern. This was defended on the gronnd that it wes on the same principle as that on which aheds were provided for prassengers by coasting boats! What gnarantee is there that the Development Department will be exempt from the inveterate proclivities of other departments? When the idea of the Improvement Trast was originated twenty jears ago, and it was decided to have some nonofficial representatives on the Board, it was not becanse the Government of the day wain not addicted te the ides of a Development Department. Sir Pherozesheh Mehte was in the Conncil and he knew well the ways of Departments. It is sarprising to find the enocessor of Sir Pberozeshah in the representation of the Corporation in the Conncil, appland a proposal to constitute a Development Department on the lines oatlined by His Excellency. We fully realise that the honsing problem has to be solved and solved promptly. Bat we have serions donbts aboat the agency which it is proposed to set op to deal with the problem. If the Improvement Trast, in spite of ita having bad the adrantage of the advice of redoubtable non-efficiala like Sir Dirishah Wache and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtolla, bas been remiss in carrying out the most important part of ite work, we can searcely hope that a Department acting on ita own motion will solve a problens so intimately conrected 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 acnte 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 daty of one Rapes on every bale of cotton which comes to Bombay. The only reasons that bave been adduced to jastify this are that it woald bring in the requisite amonnt and its incidence woald be inappreciable. A tax on railway tickets isened to Bombay may also bring in a large enongh anm of money and, from at least one point of view, it will be more equitable way of raising the funds needed than the proposed daty on cotton. It will probably be dieregarded as academic if we arge the well-known principle that raim materiala ohould not be taied except ander exceptional circamstances. That principle is come mon groand between Free Tradera and National Economists-we quoted some weeke ago List's opinion on the point-and, therefore, His Excellency's somewhat airy disquisitios on exploded esonomic dootrines learef it nntoached. Becsase ope part of
the old Esonomics is foand to meod modificatlot, it does oot follow that the only thing to do is to diecard the gaidance of any priaciple. We can not appreciate the jastice of mulcting the ryot whe growe cotion for the benefit of a wealthy Imperial city. Eisewhere, they give bonases to colcivators to grow his raw material which, next to foodgraine, is a bare necossity ol lifo. The condiciona in which mach of the caltivacion of export crope are carried on in this coantry, are each thes the middlemen whoare in a position of saprenting In relation to the caltivator, will, exact from the latter a toll in excess of that whioh it is proposed to lery. It is eigaificant of the trend of the nem angle of vision, that the voicelese ryot no longer fads in high officiale the champions he ased to have in daye gone by. He is to bo made to pay for hoasing the opter. tives in industries from which fortanes ari being made by Indian and English capituliata. In our opinion, the arrangemeat for finsacing the scheme is not the least objectionable part of it.

## - NON-COOPERATION.

We pablish today two latters from oorrespondonta on Non-Cooperation. As regards the possibility of a atrain on Hindn-Mahomedan rolations if Hindus do not join the movement, we do not think thore la any such probability. Many Mahomedana of light and leading do not believe in Non-Cooperation. The question is not one of religion. It should be discassed and decided apon on its merits apart from any asota rian considerations. One of the moal hopofal aigne of the times is the atrong foeling entertained by Indians of all commanities that it io not oaly their pablic daty bat aleo a permanal daty to promote by every meano in their power close and cordial relations among all of them. This does not mean, bowover, that we should abdicate our right of jadgment" and blindls follow whaterer the most rociferocis section of a commanity insiat apon. Oar Mahomedan countrymen are far too patriotia and broad-minded to mistake honest diffrrence of opinion in regard to Non-cooperation for want of aympathy with them ia all that concerno their promperity and progress. As for our other oarreapoadent, wo confeas wo havi. no aympalhy with men in his position. He seeme to be againat Non-cooperation-. he cagt he is not for it-bat in viem of the irresporsin sive altitade of Government, he is unable to make if his mind as to whether he is right or not. In our correspondent's atate of mind, ve are bound to ary. that hus daty is to throw is his lot with Non-cooperae tioniste. Siating on the fence is the eardian sia of: pablic life. It misleade the pablic as to the, real merits of meanares and movementa. Whep. the arguments on opposite sides in any pablie mativith soen to one to balance each other evealy, the salt: course, from the point of viow of character, is 10, cboose that which promites to involve the leatt personal comfort, convenience or gain to ose. Dlow, between Coroperation and Non-cooperation, it is the
latter which is immedistely fraght with most yersonal inconvenience, and, thertfure, if ang one is auable to make ap his mind one way or the other, he whould anderstand that fur hin the argaments againat Non-cooperation ure andaly weighted by coneideratious of parely persozal validity.

Let us state our pcsition as plainly as we can. Non-Cooperation is no yew idea. Many years ago, Seeley, in one of his lectares on the expapsion of England observed: "If the feeling of a (ufigmon nationality began to esist there (iu Iudia, ) ouly feebly-if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a motion that it was shameful to assist him in maincaining his dominion, from that day alwost our Empire would cease to exist.... The moment Iadia legan to show herself what we oo idly imagine ber to be, a couquesed uation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her." It is unly oue of many instances of the scaut regard paid by Angl-Iudiaus to the warnings of history that, with Seeley's solemn words tetore their eyes, they have favoared a policy of making Indians feel that they are a conquered race to be Leld duwn by repressive laws adoinistered by the Execntive Government. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Geueral Dyer and their sapporters ia ludia und in Eagland, have carried this poltcy to ita lugical climax. That, in our opinion, has fostered the idea of Nca-cooperation, has inade the Non-cooperationists feel, iu the Irophetic words of Seeley, that it is shamefal to assist ahe Britivh in mainbainiog their dominion in India. Seeley delivered his lectures forty years ago. Since then the ach:evemente of science apphed to meohnwical arts bus greatly augmented the strength of orgauised Guvaramente. The British Indian Lupire in, as a cousequeuce, wheh strotyer now thau when I'rufessur Seetey uuda his observations in ite power to put down any organised rising. Nevertheless tifere can be no donbt that his culclusion is as true soday as it was then. The complete success of the Nolduoperation moveurent would make British rule impobrible. For, as Seeley said, "we ure not really cunquerors of ludia and we cannot rule her us couquerors; il we nudertock to do so, it is not necessury to iuquirs whether we could sacceed, for we should asouredly the rained financially by the mere attempt." The question, therelore, if, dues any considerable section of imtelligent Iudiana wish British zule to be made
trimpossible? Nut bu far as we bnow. Every political furis un ludia is pledged to nork tor the goal of eeti gorerau eut within the Britibh Empire. Fur auy
'hat them to adopt Nou-Cooperation without detiuitely changing its gual, wald la incon sietent not say dioingenuune. No houest mau will enroll hiwelf in a mavement uuless he iutends that it shall sticceed. Aud, in this care, as we have seen, the success of
T. Aou Cuoperation means necessarily the uisappearance of the gual which all cur political movementa bave placed before thewselves.

Wie are not concerned to argae at present whetber the goul of self-yurerawent whthin the British Eu-
pire was or was not wisely adopted by the Nutional Congress and other political bodies. We were oarselves not convinced of the wiadom or the need of fixing a limit to India's national destinies, as oar columns at the time bear witness. Bat the goal was solemuly adopted after much consideration by all our leaders. If tiris is to be changed, it should be done equally solemaly. It shonld be done openly and in view of many more considerations than the one or two on which NonCooperation is advocated. It is not right by a backdoor to adopt a method which, if it succeed, will make the goal impossible. We are not sare that Mr. Gandhi qnite onderstands what the snccess of NonCuoperation must inévitably mean. We are sure that he woold not have started it anless he meaat that it shoald succeed completely. If be had fully reulised its consequeuces, we are sure that before he started this movement he woald have invited the conatry to revise its goal as adopted by all political parties. That he has not done so, is, in our opiuion, to te explained ouly by assawing that be does not intend to push the Non-Cooperation principle to its logical limits. A movement like this, however, is not easy to start, bat when once started it is not easy to stop either. Oar notion that Mr. Gandhi's Non-cooperation does not exclude cooperation is confirmed by the last paragraph of his letter to the Viceroy resiguing bis medule. He writes :

Whilst I shall pureue the pulicy of non-00-operation in eo lar as I can carry the people with me, I hall not l.ss hope that you will yet eea gour way to dojastice. I trevefore reapectfully uek Ycur Excellency to samumou a couference of the recoguised leaders of the reople and in cunsultation with them fiud a way that would placate the Masalmaics and do reparatiou to de unaappy Pariaio. -
Mr. Gundhi's suggestion that His Excellency shoald convene a confedence of Indian leaders implies, of coarse, that he, as one of the leaders, is willing to cooperate in it while parsaing his policy of Nou-Cooperation. It may aeem a paradox to many people but it shows that Mr. Gandhi'd idea of cooperatiou is not what it is understood to be by some of his more $z=a l o u s s_{1} \cdot$ porters.

## 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 "M.Jderate" did not do lull justice to the aims of the party to which it was applied, being nearly almost synonymous with "half-heated", the term "Exiremist", originally designed for advocates of physical force in politics, was positively unjust as applied to the adierents 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 inthis archaism, is well illustrated by Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's lapse of phrase, for which be has hand.
somely apologised. The incident is sufficiently explained in Mr. Sastry's letter to the Hiadu. He wistes:

What I arid aboat Nationaliste in ay T.ail apoesh at Twijore on the 31 H Joly leot wee that come of them went the length of delendiug the ase of burabe as aeceseary for our politionl ealvation ia present conditions, This corriee a grieroos impata:ion an 1 I an corry I ane leirajol iuta matiog it I expresired regret the moment it wis pointed oat to me, which wat after the meeting dispersod. It is a pity 1 was not interrapted when $I$ made the arjast critisiam, an I was interrapted at several other poiuts. Esj I ehould have nubeaitatiagly apo'ogised there and then,

If some Liberal leaders had not stuck to the habit of thinking and speaking of Iadian 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 "psycbiatrist" 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 "betrajed" into it, the chances of the average politician doing so are far more. And that is not the worst. Sometimes, without say. ing so-in words, some leading Liberals by their manner-the twink'e 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 eense 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 cpponents 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 bonourable 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 bave discarded the term "Extienists" as denotiog an Iodian political party in these columns, and an eminent kinglish editor assured us two jears ago that he does not like to see, the word so applied in his paper.

## VOLONTARY REPATRIATIOX FROY NATAL.

## (By Me. C. F. Andriws).

In receiving, by the last eteamer, information from Natal about recent speechea and events, 1 wish at oncs to confast to you thet joar. fears concerning

- Volantary Rapatriation " were more well.groanded than, at the time of my correaponderce with yon, I imagined them to La 1 see the need (whiuh Mr. Gandhi hee expressed) of the greatest cartion, leat this priaciple be carried atill further by the anthoritiea in Natal, without Iadian consent.

I wish first, however, to state emphati.allf, that I do not at all withdraw from my position, that, for hamanitarian reasons, the oxtrewely poor and depressed laboarers in Natal should be brought home as eoon as possible. It does not seem to me to ing to any material difference, in the case of these, whether they forfeit their right of domicilo, or not : for noos of those, who are row taking the free pissage, would ever wish to retura to Nutal ulter sact bitter experiences at they have had; nor are they likely to have the pocket-money to do no, at their onn expense, withe the passage rates so extravagantly bigh. It would cost a family of foar to-day nearly $£ 50$ to make the retara deck passage! Therefore, vith regard to these poor ex-indentared Indian laboarers, who imo plored me to take then back, 1 made a promise that I would try to do so, and I wish to falifl it. My owa daty is a clear oue ; it is to arge for abipping to take them back.

Bat I wish to confess my mialake in minimiaing the danger of the political sitastion, and not clearly foreseeing, as you did, Mr. Editor, that the Soath Atrican Union Government woald be likely to drive in the wedge of repatriation still further. The iuformation, which 1 have had from Natal, is in the form of a speect by Mr. Wyann Cule, who is the special officer appointod by Government to fucilitate volantary repatriation. I wish, first of all, to point ont, in his speech, one of the most significant admissione ever made aboat the indenture aystem by responaible Goverament officia'. The Natal W'itnesa reporta his statemeat as follows:-
"Qnestioned an to whether the Indian newspapera had not asid that the Jodians is Natal wero badly treated, Mr. Wyane Cole replied, that, ameler the indenture system, he had himself seen Indians in Natal, whose condition was that of aliject slavery."

It mast not be forgotten, that there are 4000 of our Indian fellow countrymen (chiefly Tamile from the Sonth) who have actually reindentared themselven inta' this còndition of abject slavery, simply becanse they have not been able to get home. Sarely this single phrece of Mr. Wyane Cole proves all that I have triod to major aboat these poorer Iudian labourera ia Natal.
Bat Mr. Wyane Cole make other utatemeate, which have ceriousls alarmed me. The newspaper report goee on as follows:-
"Mr. Wgnne Cole advised the Indises not to come to any decision, antil they knew what proposals the Government had to put before thew. There wes naf;
question of tarning them oat ; bue the indweemente that would be offered to them to return to India would, he coild assure them, be very good indeed."
${ }^{4}$ The white people of Natal could, if they wished, get rid of the Arab (ioen, Indian Mahmmmaden)
trader in 12 months, bat they would not do so, becanse it tonched their pockets; and so long as Earnpeans were prepared to go on selling and letting land to Asiatics, so long they (the Asiatics) would go on baying and selling."
"The Government of the Soath Afican Union had committed themselves to a non-sarrender policy of doing evorything they could, to induce the Indians residegt in Natal to return to their country, where the India "Government were ready to welcome them."

These phrases were merely nsed in a pablic discngsion, they are not an official statement : so that it is not possible to come to any conolasion as yet concerning them ; bat they are of such a suggestive character astio give me considerable alarm, and to make me anxions lest the Union Government should sappose that it could bribe Indians, who were not of the depressed class to take the free passage with forfeiture of domicile. To any anch bribery or pressare I should triyself atrongly object.

The Report of the Commission will be published in Natal in the present month of Augat, and it shonld reach as in September. It would appear to be of the atmost, importance that the sabstance of the Commissions proposale should be cabled to India, The Soath African Union Government, in this matter, is acting with great rapidity ; becanse it is afraid of organised oppoeition on the part of the Sögar planters. Bat we cannot allow oar rights to be jeopardised ; and I know from my own personal experionoe that the Natal Indian leaders will need council and gaidance from our leaders in India. I am seading a cable advising the Indian Absociatiou to cuble back immediste news; bat it wonld be well for the Govornment of India to issue a commanique, giving the official statement of the findings of the Commissior at the same time.
P. S.--I have been intensely thankfal to see that the iniquitone 'gold' regulation has been altered. I I had the greateat difficolty in avoiding a very serions collision, 1 was vory pearly assaalted by the Costom's officer, while standing op for fairplay towards Indians, on embarkation. In the Sonth African House of Assembly, I ama glad to see that M. Buydell stated, that he "regarded, it as quite diagracefnl and almost diabolical, that Indians shonald be relieved of their gold ornaments and .jeivallery, which they had worn from time immemoriul." Other members of the Honse spoke equally strougly, and the Minister of Finance had to ruake 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 fj0 in gold.

1) To show the scandal in its true light, I saw with my own eyes one Indian deck-passenger stripped of an old gold watch chaid, which was evideatly a family heir-loom. It was forcibly taken from him. Meanwhile Earopean passengers were allowed to carry their gold watch obains withoat any confiscation at all.

## SADHU SUNDER SINGE.

## The Editur, Tine Indias Social Roformer,

Sir,
While thankfal to you for publishing an extrast from the National Missionary Intelligencer aboat Sadha Sunder Singh in your journal of the 8th, instant, I am sarprised to find you have printed it ander the title, "The Late Sadha Sunder Singh." I amsure this title came to be inserted by some mistake. I hasten to inforns your resders that Sadha Sonder Singh is alive and is carrying on his noble work as before. From a letter 1 had from him, only two weeks ago, I understand he has gone to Australis after a very successfal ministry among the Churches in the United States of America. He expects to retarn to India in Septembar.

I shall thank you to pablish this note in your next issue and thus remove aoy misapprehension that may have been crented in the minds of your readers by the wrong title given for the extract.

Youra faithlally,
Veptry, 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.

## 1.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,
With great respect to the eminent men whu have issued the eppeal againat non-cooperation, I beg to eay their appeal is like the blind leadiug the blind, It leads to nowhere, affurds no satisfaction or no eolation or, shall I nay, it is a case of blind alley. When I write this, it dues not mean that I am for non-cooperation. I an one of those whose minds are not yet made up, who are atill wavering, studying the pros aud cons, aud, what is more, honestly trying to get convinced that non-cooperation is impractionble. Naturally enoogh, you have condemned non-sooperation and it may be true the weight of argumente is, perhaps, on your side. But I ehould asy that Mr. Sadanand has quite. udequately explained the pusition of non-cooperationists and, if 1 and still hesitatingpardon the eguiem-it is in epite of such olosely reasoned artioles as Mr. Gaudhi's in Young Indìa and Mr. Sadsuand'a letter in your yaper.

The only solutiou jou heve given is the reliance on the time-honoured-I mean in no carping spirit-constitatioual agitation ; bat with not the slightest glimmer of hope attached to it, I wish to emphasise. Bat, pray, bow has jour constitutional axitation succeeded? When the moderates and the Natiunalists paseed their rospective resolutions on the Hunter Report and the Goverament's Deepatch, you bsasted that the Muderates were etrong and firm in their dewande by aaying that the Governmant of Iadia too mast bo held responsible and you tanted the Congress Committee's Resolationa at emotional. Now what has become of that? 1 ehould say, you have lost in the Grst round. Not on'y bas thy Govjrament of India been exonerased but it has been given a carts blascha, knowing full well how "incompetent" the present Government is to briog aboat pescolulnere and contentment. Not marely that; officisis like Sir W. Vineant
and Sir G. Lowndee ace floaribing like the grow boydree and are mever more firm in the codrle.
But what is more Indierces-mad. Which showe the atter inoptitede or mpotemen of coneritational agitation-ib, the appeel is bardeaed with a pachetic recitul of the wronge and majatioces, ia a cort of throstoning manner, the cignatorion thomolice, hail doebtal wbether constitational agitation oan rootify or oad them. Daring the lent two moathe, ise every incee of your paper, there in a patbatie riteration of the demaed to take " prompt asd effootive ntope to ouce their minde of oppremive lond of hamiliation, cones of wrong and injuation and anxioty which weighe of them owing to the fillore of the Government of Iddis sad the Scoretary of State to edive the gravity of the Pajeb excossing the mosidulifiment of the Prime Ministort coleme pledge to the retention of Congtantisople, Tbrace, Acis Minor by Tarkey." This appenl hat again and agnia beea pat forward by your in jou lesders on the Pricoe of Wellen' visit, os Non-Cooperation, oton, and hat bean repented, an I have enid, in the manifosto againat noncooparntion. Now, are we progreaning ór are wo ivotrogre ding 'or moving forwerde the tail asir N. Chandararkar would en i As for the firut request, the Dyor debete has uhown that hall the Britich Nation and throc-foarthe it not more of the Auglo-Indians-are not oar friends and well-wieher bat they mean to bold as and grind us down,
Agein, I mant ny it is exoeedingly galling to the proud Indian to meo the manifesto affirm the stacement mande the in Hoase of Lorde by Lord Sinha-whom you have yourself ohidod_*ithat he would not interiere too hestily or violently in an agitation of this natare " and make an abjeot appool-if I may eny 10 to the Government * and pray thene wiee words will form the keynote of Government policy in dealing with the movement of non-co-pperation." Al jou esid, the Ethioping cannot change biy ekin end while the worst fenturee of Ixparialisom. are on, is there going to be any change in the keynote? We shall "wait and see" the reealt of the Moderate appeal and influence.

Here, I mast denur to yoar proposition that non-oo-oparation will lead to politioal exicide. If you do mot suggeat moy otber better and mare effective metbod and if the constieational agitation doen not stop these " political wrongn" and "eries of aytematicy acts of maledminintration"; shen what ahall we do? Non-somperation is certainly not uoconatitational provided it in within limita and non-riolent nomeco-peration sseme to be sbe only method. I woald eyen asy, it is a safety valve. Failing and deapairing of eode etitational agitetion, non-co-operation is an effostive altornative or subatitute to anarehy. You do not peeno to consider the lorce of Mr. Gandhi's phrave, "thin emascalation of the rece," If jour methode do not atop athe emacalation of the race, your preaching that noseoo-operation in politioal acieide, will only emphesise and accolerate the emmooulation of the rece and thus lead to politional anicide. To pat it logieally, cosstitational agitations if it pilifally faile of its parposes, would certainly lead to politieal incicide and sorvitude and perpetanto the emmenalation of the raca.
Mr, Gandbi would *riak even violence thooenad timee to the emnocolation of the rase." Still, nos-cooperation in not unconetitationa!, is posaible witboot violenct. If I agreo with jou it in imprneticable, what is your alternative, There is nothing lor me to hold ap my bead man Indian with pride and entisfinction. Will jor plome ensare an the proper way 9 or shall we toke to the Bojectit of Britich Goode man alternative to noweo-operationt An al'-Indis movement aith as all-pervediag will and dieciplive to bring home to
 might be crivetires If in erraialy eot asmentitational at dialogal. Shall we adopt thin ?

"Eoang Indis.<br>II.<br>The Editors The Indign Sociad Reformer. SIn,

The apecial momion of the Iadian National Congrme meatiost abortly at Caloutta will be the moat momentone, apeat in the hictory of Modern India Its historioel valus will fle. in its giving a lad to the conatry with rogard to the groaleat and the wont abeorbing quention of the day, Noweor; operation. The anomen or defeat of the remolation of Norcooperntion will meoordiagly ehape the fature adeatiay of the people of thin country. One need not eay that the iconer in eo grave, that failare to exeroing pradenoen antion - 4 foresight, will bring in a train of consequencen dimatroun to the wellare of the coentry. Jading from the viewn and opinions deolared by a nember of persons of high eminune and porition in pablic lifo, one is inolined to think that the movement of Noneo-operation will altimataly dia Uga. certainly not before it hae paned through its inoipient aiage, for the renowned anthor hav inveoted it with a visality whiob will mot eatily decag. The sapreme interente of the enuniry demand that avery individaal should think deaply on this extremaly grave and delicate quention, coanider is well im all ite bearinga belore he helpe the country to doolere, io the ensuing tesnion of the Congresty its final vardict, whaterer that vardiot might be. Bat at it is, one leols sorry to be compolled to eay that Mabetms Gandhit does aineerity probity and bigh integrity of obaractor bave blinded the peopla into believiag in the effiesoy of the movements with. which his name is 00 largely asacisted. It almoet appenrs thas the magic of bie name hee robbed people of their inder. pendence of jadgment. The leaders of the Modernte Parts have throughous aloquently and vigoroully opponed None. oomperatiod. The Nationaliat leedere of the country bave been noneanlly reticent on this matter. It is, hnmerer, whispered that Measrs. C. R. Dat, Chaokerbrity aod other extremist loedern of Bengel iare in no mood to socept the polioy of Non-00 coperation, The late Mr. B, G. Tilak etrongly difiered from Manan Gandhi cn the quention of Non-eo-pperation in moch as be atrenvonaly opposed boyeott of the Conneile, Mr. 8. Eridivan Ayadgar, late Adrocate General of Madrus, mpeaking on the sabjoct at a moeting of the genoral-body of she Medran Provincial Congrems Committee, while asaitting the inevitability of Non-e0n operstion, it Governceent persisted is their preeont polioy, end that it Fan impomibli.to taks it up m the conntry wassot ripe for it. The morement enanut soconed beosane the country at large in not propesed and willing for sach bage alh morifice. Ies intioreat defeet lies in itu fmmeturity. It may. indireolly earve ane parpose, and l, f. Politieal Pdacation ${ }^{\text {a }}$ of the poopla, bat with what coet and consequencen oas font to asy. That there in ingmonce riak in parsuing this valinoly policy will be admitted by thow who are adroceting it with high religiots forrour. Bnt there is one anpreme danger which ean ooly be ignored grave peril to the conatry, which is beaving with great politioal asd cocity apren, and that in the fiilare of the movament stroagh the inadequate ead foeble reeponce of the Hinda commavity. If the soovement file on that eccount, the Eisdo-Monlam Entente might coom oove to be a rulity. Tbe fate of the costrity hangs in the balacee. Will not the verarsted lesder pronim and eowsider well bofore fiadly arowsing the Rabieoat
P. 日. D.

## ADVERTISFMEMTS.

## THE TATA INDUSTRIIAL BANK, LIMITED.

## Second Call of Rupees Seven, Annas Eight

 Per Share.Notion is hereby given that at a Meeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of Jaly 1020 a Call of Rapees 7 annas 8 per Share was made and it was fidetermined that anch Call shoald be paid on the 1st "Oay of Novamber 1020 at the Head Office of the Bank, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branches :-

BOMBAY :
Sub-brasoras :-Shroff Bazaar (Shaik Memon Street.)
Share Bazaar (Apollo Street.)
CALCUTTA:-(28, Dalhonsie Square). Subb-branol :-Bara Bazaar.
CAWNPORE :
Sub-branot :-Chandaasi.
HYDERABAD, (Decoan.) LUCENOW.

Sub-branoi :-Hathras. madras, ( 0 , Popham'a Broadway.) RANGOON.
and that interest at the rate of nine per centam per annnm will be charged on all amount. not paid on the dae date from sach date to date of payment. The payments in respect of this Call will only be accepted if the amount oovers the Call due on all the Shares of which members are registered as holders on the 12th day of September 1020 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 19?0 shonld immediately commanicate with the Tata Indnatrial Bank, Limited, Sbare Tradefer Departwent, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay, when a daplicate will be issned.

All remittances mast be made iu Government Carrency Notes, or by cheques or Bankers' drafts payable in Bombay free of charge. Payments by Mouey Order cannot be accepted and will be retarned.
The Tranafer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th day of September to the 30th day of September 1920 both daya inclasive.

By order of the Board.
1
R. H. PARKER,

16th July, 1920.
Secretary.

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*Saringa Baak mosounto opesed on fivorrable terma, Ralen nepplication ".

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> C. P. STRINGFELLQW,

16-1-11.
Mangen.

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## THE

INDIAN*SOCIAL*REFORMER.


Mr. Gandbi on Non-Coopera.
tion.
The Development of Bombay. Coorg and the Coorge.
Causen of the Prcsent Discontents. I.
The Christian Missionarie and Puojab Tragedy.
The Uaion Bank of India, Ld.

## HUTES.

## 10:

The Viceroy on Non Cooperation: Renan, bimself an unbeliever, deciased that lew men are entitled to disbelieve Coristranity. His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the Legislative Cuuncil introduced some observations on tae Nun-Coopera. tion movement. We do not belleve in the move. ment, but we do not think that any member ot the Government of India connected with the passing of the Kowlatt Act, nas a night ta torow btones at it. That Act, it will be remembered, was a glaring example ot Non-Cooperation on tat part of Goveroment with Iodian leaders, Liberal and Radical. and the inaugurator of oue form of Non-Cooperation is Harusy the right man to sit in judgment on the originator of anutuer lorm of it. The Rowlatt Act, Hke Nou-Cooperation, "was repudiated by all tuinkiug people" in the country, but Lord Oheimstord aud uis colleagues had then no laith in "india's communsease." It you suw the wind, you have to reap the wariwind, and we are sure that history to whose verdict His Excellency was content to leave the issues raised by the Yunjau Martial Law controversy, will fied no ditticulty in adJudging that Lord Chelmslord, and not Mr. Gandbi, was responsible for originating by the manner of the passing of the Rowlatt act the "most toolish of all polish schemes"-Non-co-operation between Govgrnment and the governed.
A
Lord Sinha's New Appointment; it is only by temioding ourselves that indians have, notwithHitading the cxplicit promise of the Queen's Protlandation, been held ineligible for proviactal Sovernorships that we can regard Lord Sinna's appointment as Governor of Binar and Orissa as ta event of any poltical sigaticance. Wbatever nay be the case with responsibie Goveroment, it bal hot be contended that Indians bave not neld with distinction tho highest offices in the adminisrration of the country lor bundreds of years. tiven in this appointment, the iuvidious disunc: ion between Indian and Englishman is evidenk. $A_{n}$ soglishman who is a Pecr und a Privy Councillor, ius hald offict hs Under Secretary ot staid in dis Majesty's Government and putued a great requre in Pajhament, wopuld and could aspire so
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 bis 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 Repatuiation. 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 af 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 Kobertson's benevolent idea that "tor their own good, the Indians must be got out of this country (South Airica), as they will never advance here:"

It will be renembered that the anggestion of Mr. Aud ene that all those porludians who had become worn ont by workiag for starration wayes and whe desired bat were unabie to seuure free passages to India, shoald be offerd facilito tien aud possioly a semall grant of money to be paid to them on their arrival in India. We are afraid that the Governmen 5 are not iuspired with any of the feelinge that prompted Mr. Andrewn. During the last Jew moashe we have heard a great deal aboat Indians advanciug too mach-that they are . 00 proeperous-that they are menace to the Earopean population. It has even been a matter of complaint that they reside in the best reaidential areas of the tonna and endenvour to live on terms of equality with Laropanns. It is also argued that they ohould not be allowed to own land at all. Sir Benjamin telle ne that it is entirely for our own nood that we are invited to loave this oountry. On the othor hand, the politiciang, egged on by certain intorsated parties, args the repatriation of Indians, " look, scook, and barrel,' lor tho geod of tromselve B. Try as we will, it in imposible for us to regard tie. Givorament's sobeme as being demonatration of how much toey lovs Indianc.

In this connection, attention should be called to the Viceroy's statement in his speech on the opening of the Legislative Oouncil on Firiday. His Exceltency sald that the Government of India was not coosulted and that there was no reason way it should have been consulted, On the otber band, we bave

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 Setaluad: The Bombay Chroniclo 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 oniy a few week; ago, had made up his mind to seek election to the Indian Legislative Assembly as a representive 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 Chimantal is being pressed by his friends to re-enter public life in a non-official capacity, but it is not true that be 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 prefering Dr. Sapru the principal consideration was that it was not desirable that one Bombay lawyer should succeed another. A scction 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 Chimanial 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 Muslin Universidy Bint, It is certanty 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 ibill to establish and incorporate a Musim University at Aligarb. 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 Musim 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 Maslim University Bill is, wo believe, intend. ed to be introduced in the fadian Legislative council and passed in the forthooming 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 communica tion announcigg the institution of a certain rumber of echolarshaps for lady medical students. We bave fecerved this week two commumications contaimen uselul iaformation regarding measures adoped by the administration to promote its well-beibe. Such measures are to be found reterred to in adminsetration reports which few people read, and that too, a yoar or eighteen months atter their introduction. Officers of Government are human boings like the rest of us, and arc encouraged by apprectation when they do really good work. The measures adopted by the Guvernment of Bombay in its respective Departments to relieve Local Boards and to mprove communtcations by provincializing tuank roads, and to combat malaria by the free distributhon of quinine, are wisely conceived. The Director of Intormation need not have gone out of his way :o scek to coerce the judgment of the public by assert. ing that those who criticise Government are residents of cities incapable of appreciating the value of good roads in the districts. Many of these critics havo seen more district roads than the Director could have possibly done. Apart from that, facts ate their own best propagandists, and may salely be left to convey their own lesson. We mention this because it is not the first effort of the IJepartment in the direction of the "oficnsive. defensive " on behalt of Government; and if the object of the Department is still what we understood it to be, a sort of bridge between Govern. ment and the Press, it is obviously bad tactics, to to say the least, 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 re garding the abuse of 'shorts' in public places, brings us a complaint regarding gencral slackness in the dress and department of a judicial othicer in a district. He, the judge, we are told rately comes to courl wearing proper dress. " Ihe trousers are of some brown colour and the coat is a white coat of the sort used at home along with pyjarnas. Only at the time of the Sessions, he seems to wear a coat matching the trousers. But never a black coat as etiquette would requite 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 peychology, and it would certainly be interestire to know what the bull dog thinks of the humans in the court. Perhaps-but we should not speculate, The presence of the bull-dogr does not seem to be necessary to dispense justice, and it may frighter nervous parties and pheaders.

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##  <br> INJIAN SOCIAL REFORYER. <br> bоMBAY, AUGUST 22, 1920.

## Mr. GANDHI ON NON-COOPERATION.

In the leading article on Non-Co-operation in last idea whis not a new one. It had been anticipated forty years ago by Professor Seeley in one of his lectares on the expansion of England, where he said: "If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there (in India) only feebly-if, whont inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shamefal to assist him in maintaining his dominionfrom that day almost our Empire wonld cease to ryist. . . 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 accaracy of Sir John Seeley's forecast. That the British Fimpire in India exists, and that only five short years ago, the Indian people as onc man rejoiced in every measare to share the bardens of the war, show that in the interval between when Seeley wrote these sentences and the present time, India and her people have not begon scrionsly to think of themselves as a conquered country and people. In other words, they have not begnn to think of the Government of India as a foreign Clovernment in the ordinary, offensive sense of the phrase. We palblish to-day from the pen of u diligont contribator a melanoholy conspectas of the multifarious gronnds of grievaned against Guvernment, whioh the Indian people have in many dircotions. Several of these are supported from eitntions from these columns, showing that wo have not been oblivious to them or wanting in the spirit of protest. The camulative effect of all these grievanoes in promoting disoontent is, of course, very great. But when it is olearly understood that the complete snocess of Non-Cooperation is the cessation of, the British Indian Empire, there will be very few persons in Indla, we think, to wish it complete success. It is a fact which cannot be serionsly disarpted that, while all these grievances pat together constitnte a formidable indiotment of British rulo, in any impartial estimate of that rule, they cannot ontweigh the benefite which it has conferred $\hat{R}^{\prime \prime}$ the people of India. The list of wrongs is Prounting up and. anless meanwhile rapid progress is made along the road to fall responsible Goveroment, some day the advantages of Hritish rale may cease to balanoe them. Bat that time is not jet.
Mr, Gandhi himself does not desire fall success to bis movemeat. Ile 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 desirs that it should. I am simply practising Non-Co-operation to the extent that is necessary to make the Government realise the depth of pablic feeling in the matter and the dissatisfaction with the Government of India or by the Imperial Gevernment, 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 redaced to a minimam. It is clear from these words that Mr. Gandhi has not taken up Non-Co-operation as a substantive movement bat 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 absolately 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 und all deductions regarding its operation from the analogy of the workings of the individual mindand 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 striotly defined to himelf, but many others who speak of Non-Co-operation do not do so and do not profess to do so. In any oase, 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 faiuons lengths to which stapid 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 oan be arrived at regarding the question. The country, in fact, has already answered the reference to the Speoial Congress, so that that body can have no difficulty in pronoancing its verdict. Mr. Gandhi himself no longer feels aure that that verdict will support his action, which is the only meaning we can altach to his deolaration that a Congressman need not await the decision of the

Congresa before launching a new political propagands whioh, at we showed last week, in diametrically opposed to the goal whioh Congress hat nolemnly set for iteelf. The first of August has come and gone, and with the exoeption of - few Khan Bahadarn, Sab-Inspectort and Honorary Magistrates, no one han resigned anything. The growth of the Fijrat morement in spite of $M_{r}$. Gandul'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 ion of theory. This writer has been pondering within himself as to what partioipation in Non-Co-operation on his part would entail. He has no titles to renign and is never likely to bave any. He was made a Justice of the Penoe last year and the facta that his name was wrongly apelt and an additional initial letter wat anwarrantably foisted on to it in the official annoanoement, sufficiently show how little be had sought this distinction. It will be - mockery to resign a thing to which he attaches so little importanoe, under the high-sounding name of Non-Co-operation,especially as he has not been asked to co-operate with any body in any matter in virtue of that office, title or distinction. Then he in a member of the Munioipality in winich he has made his home for the last twenty years and more, and is epecially interested in the educational work of the Munioipality whioh is the first to introduce compulsary edacation for both boys and girla in the eountry. This is honorary work, bat he is anable to satisty himself that be woald help the conatry's canse by refusing the time that he now devotes to the civic interests of the commanity of which he is a hamble member. Then he is a fellow of theUniversity, 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 absolately nothing in the duties attaching to the position, which can be constraed into co-operation with Government as apart from such modest service as is within the capacity of the writer in the caute of University edncation. Then, as an Editor, he has to oo-operate every week with Government by farnishing them along with the rest of his readers with what, he hopes, is a fairly jast and impartial estimate of men and moanares. Should he cease doing so and take io handloom weaving? Is it any advantage to the country - to have a hopelessly, inefficient weaver instead of, he trusta, a not intolerably incompetent joarnalist? Vague generalities do not help in the least. It hat 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 continaing to discharge the daties of those offices in a spirit of relf-respecting patriotism. Eren al regarde paid
offoces, it is our opinion that thit is quite poselble exoept where men are paid to apy apon their fellowsonantrymen the latohetes of whose shoes they are anworthy to anloose. As for withdrawiog obildren from sobools, we oan only any that Mr. Gandhi does not spenk with his acosstomed rosponsibllity when be advises it. If it the part of hia programme that finally oonvinood hererers that Mr. Gandhi in his Non-Co-operation is par. suing some will o' the whap of his Imagination. While many perroonare not ladisposed to expertment with themselves in life, fow are inolined io otake their children's fatare on the chancipiol what, after all, it a politioo-religiona apeoulation. How would the couatry benelit by handreda of thoasands of tits joath loatling abosi in the atreeta in the anmo of Non-Co-operation ?

## the development of boybay.

Mr. Cartia ${ }^{\text {B }}$ lantern lectnre lent Wedneeday at the Empire Theatre on the development of Bombay is a sign of the times. One seldom sees at publio meotings anch a large namber of Earopeant, men and women, as that which flocked to hear the Hon. Member. The occasion was anizue. The bareancracy-wo use the term here in no ankind sense-Works in secret and in silence. Articalateness, it in trained to look apon as a weakness characteristic of agitatora. The Earopean commanity in Iudia cannot be aaid to be intensely poblic-spirited. But it has an oye for dramatic sitaations, and the debut, so to speak, of the highly-starched Iudian Civil Servico, in the person of a seasoned veteran like Mr. Cartie, in the new role of solicitor of pablic sapport for its plans, uo doabt, appealed to its dramatic interest. Aoy tendency to nerves on the part of the Llon. Mensber in hit uaaccustomed part wa, wo are mare, alliged by the sight aroand him of so mapy officials abandaatly prepared to take the will for the deed in respect of what he said or loft anasid. A high tribate in dae to Mr. Cartis for the plack, pablic spirit aud logalty with which, white nearing the eod of bie official career, he emerged from " the dice, religions light" of the sanctary of Red Tapo and SealingWax, to face the flare of the foot-lighta The lectare, it trimy be said at ouce, wat not a success, bat the lectares was. Evory one present admired the high sense of pablic daty impelling such a fioe, crasted typrof bareancrat, ia obedience to the new dispencation, to do bis best to explain to the pablic the pleas and intentions of Government in respect of the development of Bombay Ci'y. That Mr. Cartis was by no meanight home on the atage, was paiofally evideat. In one thiog; bowever, the stage seemed to have inspired him to high bistrionic achievement. Whea the Old Womat! Island, after the lectorer had more than oace dilated on her charma, $p$ ppped up for the chird or the foarth time on the ecreen, Mp. Curtio' impersonation of Hamiet at the aight of the ghost, wee ioteosoly realistic. Only inatead of exclaimiog "Angols and
ministers of Grace defend ns, he turned distressedly to his perspiring Secretary with the sharp cry, What"।

For the rest, the lectare, and especially the lantera alides, gave one for the first tiwe a general thongh buzy view of what has been done, what is being done, and what may be done, to develop Bombay into a healthy and beantifal city. It is a good beginning. Bat ifis a very mach belated beginning. The patlic will entbasiustically support a eonod scheme of Bombay development. It is convinced that it is an argeat necessity and that existing agencies have lamentably failed to rise to the height of their opportanities. It has confidence in His ExcelHelay the Governor's earnestness and zeal in this matter. Bat it resents the springing apon it piecemeal, and withoat a word of explanation as to why and wherefore, of the different parts of a great scheme which mast be viewod 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 apecalation. The practice, however, while it effectually preventa the general pablic from forming a connected idea of official projects, does not seem to be very effective in its object of keeping specalators, against whom it is aimed, off the scent. Pablication would at least localise speculation, while vagne rnwoar lead to its being general all over the city. The bulance of advantage lies in full and timely pablicution, adopting, if necessary, fresh meusares to eliminute the apeculative factor from the eatimates of compenation to be paid for lands acquired for poblic purpuses. We urge, therefore, that a fall and con. nected uarrative of the problems of Bonnbyy development, written not in the manuer of an offise note bat for popular exposition, illantrated with mapsand pio. tnree, shoald be iasaed to the pablio in Euglish and the vernucalars in a bandy form and at a nowiaul price. Iutelligeat pablic sopport, based on kuowledge, cun alone assure of permanence any schemr originating in the shiftrag sauds of officialdum. Sir George Lloyd will be here for two years and a half longer. Hia succeasor may or may not be interested in this question, or be may have a different view if it from LIis Excellency. Sach things have happrened belores, the wost recent iustance being the fatare of fice Improvement Trnet. The Bombay pablic, on the . Whole, is a suber-minded pablio not inchued to extend political differences to civic problems, bat it expects - to be treated as such.

Sovernment have made a serious mistake in not calling representative pablio men in oonsulation in Gruming their soheme. Another serious mistake is that "pven the offioially-worked.up soheme has not been published as a whole, Land is notified for acquisition in a orowded locality, and only when there is an uproar from those affeoted, 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 bas lived in Tardeo for years, may not te satisfied that an excellent building site at, say, Borivli, is a reasonable provision in its case. it is quite realised that these hage schemes cannot but involve inconvenience to some people, bat 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 bardship. It is in respect of these vital points that the assistance and advice of reprerentative 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 Manicipal Corporation and the Improvement Trust, have been tried and found wanting. The appointment of a single man as vitual dictator, however, runs counter to a very strong corrent of public opinion. He is to be responsible to the Governor, no doubt, bat the Governor is-and in the new order of things, he will be-a very busy man with numerous other pre-occapations. Virtually Sir Lawless Hepper will be sole autocratWe are glad to find that the ohoie 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 soheme, requiring intimate knowledge of and sym athy wioh the people for whose benefit it is intended, in the hands of one man and that a nonIndian. 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 In lia. Bat it is certain that not a few of them ceste to acquire any knowledge beyond what they get in the first few years of their sojourn here. Sir Lawless's may be an expection illy receptive miod, but a large scheme of this maguitude osnnot be made to depeod apon the exceptional qualities of any one man. We canot 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 dorbt, to have such a Board attached to any Department of the Secretari it, but this is not an ordinary Department, and Sir La wless' appointment is itself very unasual. 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 artiole last week the question whether the new Department will be, as it should be as ooming under the head of Local Solf Government which is a transferred subject, under a Minister which, it cannot be, if it were placed directly ander the Governor. An assurance that it is not intended to "reserve" this part of Looll Solf Government, will appreciably affect the attitude of the publio to the creation of the new Department.

## COORG AND THE COORGS. (By Mim O. B. Pootrin, B.A.)

The popalation of Coorg is very mized, Eaglish, Musalmana, Parseen, Liggayote and many other races are to be foand bere, bat the history of a quite diatinct race of people who go by the name of Coorge and who form aboat onethird of the popalation, is the history of Coorg iteclf. The rest ere foreiguers who have come and settled in the place and who have not any pecaliar characteristice of a monotain mee. The Coorge are distinctly monntain poople in their build, in their manners and castome. Their descent in traced to the Kadambes of the epio age, who fled from North India to this monntain retreat to escape from invaders, and they are diatinctly of Aryan type. Cat off by monntains and separated from the reat of India, these people bave preserved anbroken to thim day the cantoms that exiated in the epic age. They are the ouly Hindus among whora many glariag social evila of Hindu society are not to be found. Marriage takes place at a reasonable age in the case of both men and women; child-marriague are not allowed, and widows are allowed to remarry. Men and women lead more or less free, oat-door, healchy lives. The ancient joint-finmily ayatera still holds its sway among them. Different elans bave different names and the members of one clan canut marry within the clam. $A$ clan or joint-family might iaclade more than a hundred meubers or less than ten. All the memlers of each cian trace their descent from one anceator.
$\Delta$ stady of fashionable Coorg Society in Mercarn the capital, where the Government officials and rich land-ownere mostly reside with their families, will not give us an adequate idea of the true characteristics of this people, auless we betake oarselves to the countryside aud watch Courg men and women in tho villages, basily engaged in their field work. There everything is, mure or less, as it was ons buadred years ago. There the jount families live in one bonee and work on one big plot of land. All socalled "family houses" are brilt io one regalar anvarying type, with an open court-yard in the middle, and ruous, all aroond. Each family withn this big joint family has some of these rooms alloted to it, and the whole family cook-their tood in one kitched, each auit eeparately or togother. Aboat fifty joart ago all used to cook together and eat the same food, bat now the circamatancea are a litule ehanged. Avery familyhouse has a small temple aituated on the eastern sido, dedecated to anceator worship, and every village has ite owa temple with the jemply featival of the goda, Every well-to-do clan has a olan of servanta, chieffy pariahs, atached to it and these servanta livo in hats round aboat the family honse, are mach attached to their masters and miauressea, and are prond to call themselves hereditary servants of such and such a clan. They are vell cared for and are given fixed costomary wages, montly in kind. Mesters and servants work side by aide in the fielde.

A Coorg village wromas in a buay bee. She manages vell her hoaeohold affairs and wort in the fielda. She eeldom aite or reate, bat will be alwaye on her feet working from morning to night. It is a pleasare to watch her going aboat bet work is the fielda; the traditional castom of bearing heary londs on her head has given her a gracefal aud very apright gaik. The women as a role are busier thau the mea, for the latter will do ooly the heavier kind of wort like ploaghing or ehopping the wood, and leave af the conntlear lighter daties to be done by the women, and of conrse at the eame time shey expect their food to be ready, and their obildren well cared for at home. Mont of the ehildren of these joint families, both boys and girla, are sent to the village school. Thong ! there are only two bigh achools and no colleges in Coorg, a good anmber of elementary achoola are spread all over the conntry aud almost every Coorg child, boy or girl, is tanghe to read and write. It is a plemare to watch a groap of children trotting along't carrying thoir book! and tiffin-baskete and chatters ing smong themselves. Sometimes they have to walk five or six miles from their homes in different monatain recenses, before they reach the achool generally built on a flat part of the village. In many cases the girlo' school and the boya' soliool are close together, or nometimes both boje and girls go to the mand achool. The long walke along the monntain passes make the children as hardy as their eldera, and they too lead a free out door life ontaide clase hours.

The Coorgy have ooly thres fertivalo io the jear. The most important one is the "Pathari" or the harvest featival which ia eagerig anticipated by the villagers. Men, women and childrea wear dewly made holiday clothee, and at aight before the feast, they all go with munic and borsing torches to the facily field close by, and roap the first handfal of the corn. Each holds ap a bandfal of reaped corn-atalks and together they call opon God to bleas them, thank Him for the boantifal harvest, and then retarn home with great rejoicing to feast. The bendfala of cornatalke broaglitare hang in emall clastore over the arch of every door. This festival is kept up for ceven or eight daysand oin the laat day, men aod womea gather on the village green. The men dance to masic perfuraing all sorts of grecefal fouts with the sticks in their banda and the. women sit by and watch them: Both men and women aro in fall national costape the men wearing long conts reaching to below ithes knees, gainy colonred torbans and gorgeons red bands tied roond their waista to carry the ohort knives which. bang sheasthed from them; the women with their sariee tied in a peculiar may and handkerchiefa gracefally flowing behind.
The second festival is the 'Kail Mahurtha.' On that day the men go ous haoting and soldom retara empty-handed, to be mocked by their women tolk af bome. After taking their food they gather on thof village green for a whooting mateb. They tie coconnuts on the branches of trees and tesf the accarnoy' of their aim.

The abind feutival is the "Koveri Shaokramana" the day dedieated to the wormip of the goddeas Kavori, the patron river goddese of the Coorgo. Os thin day, men and women went their way to 'Bhager mandala' the hill where the river Raveri ber ts-
moarce. This is one cf the prettiest parts of Cuorg, tamoas for its nataral beanty, and from this particalar hilltop one can catch a glimpse of the sea far, fur away-the only place in Ccorg whence the sea is visible. Pious pilgrims from all parts of lodia come every year on this day to worship the goddess io the temple on the 'Bhagamandala' hill and to bathe ia the sacred river. The Coorgs consider themselves specisl favonrites of this goddess and it is said that the pordess bade the Coorg women have the gatberings of nueir saries behind and not at the front as all other Indian women wear it, and to wear that pecoliar handserchief, so that she might distingaish her favonrites from other Indian women. Many a Coorg girl is named alter this goddess. The particalar revereuce paid to this river can be explained by the fact that it in the chief river in Coorg, has its nource in the heart cf its bills, flows throngoat the length of the conutry and is associated with many teuder memories, A long and beantifal legend relating the atory and virtues of this goddess is well-known to all the Coorg women and is repeated frum mother to child. Tuis is the must important traditiolal story of the people, pecaliarly their own.

The Coorg wedding ceremony is very interesting. Unlise the wedding festivities among the other Hiudus which last many dajs altogether, the Courg wedding lats ouly one whole das. The bride and bridegroum have separate ceremonies in their respective homes. All the relations of the bride gather in ber family house, she is dressed in a red spotted sari, decked with jowels and flowera, and covered with a fiud red wril, is made to sit on a snall, ronad three-legged atool. On one side of her is placed another stool bearing a brass dish with rice and a tiuy barning 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 attitade. first the mutier of the girl stepe before her, throws rice on ber child's, head, blesses her and presents ber with some valuaHe wedding present, which tha bride acknowledges by revereatly tonching the feet of her mother three times; then the ladies and gentlemen present folluw one by one, giving their blessing aud preseuts. Young people shake hands with the bride while the elders expect her to touch thair feet. It is rather tedions lor the poor bride to sit there two hoars receiving blessings and presents and retarving - Namaskarams.' A similar ceremony takes place in the bridegroon's house. Early neat moruing the bridegroom with some of bis mule and female relations cotues to. fetch the bride home. At the entrance of the bride'd hotise, seven or eight thick phatain stalks are well planted on the groand and the bestman of the bridegroom is expected to fell each ol these with oue stagie dlow of the sword. If lie fails, the bride's peopie tanghat them ue unworthy suiturs. The oride uad Zuridegroom, together, are made to sit on stools side ly side and the sume ceremouy of blessing and govil wishes is gone through araiu; in the eud, thy bridegroom risef, blesses the bride and preseots her with a valuable weddiug gift, geurrally \& ring, tuk:s h.r haud and raises her uf. Sume of the brade's people and on me of the Iridegrove's people stand vil etther nide nud while the former commit the bride to the Intive's cure aud assert her equal rights to her hashanua's property, the latter prumise to calae guod care af her and assure her all rightr; then the bride is makeft to her hunbaud's howe. Yunag wen will geherully choose their brides fur themselves and a maniu"a cunsent is necessary be:ore the weddiag. Dioth me of an age to judge fur themselves.

## CAUSES OF THE PRESENT DISCONTENTS. I.

## (By Young India.)

If the wrongs and injastices inflicted on us were confined to the Khilafat question and to Ponjab affuirs alone, there wonld still be some bope of salvation for oar conntry and some contentment for the people, as in both the cases, some palliatives or compromises, though nosatisfactory, have been affected by the retention of Constautinople in the bauds of the T'arks and by the verdict of the House of Commons. Bat these two do not stand alone; the same m:schievoas and perverse spirit has eutered iuto the vitals of the whole system of administration. This evil spirit of both bareaucratic inoompetence and oppression has spread into all the parts of the administration even like the contagion of a plagae or influenza. If Dyer did a Jallianwulla massacre and if, as you suid, Sir M. O'IJwer perpetrated an additioual and reckless literary Jallianwala, the Government of India have been a paty to a grievons fianciul Jullianwala massacre. It does not mutter if they were ooly the instraments of the higher a athorities in this financial Jullianwala of reckless and wasteful expenditare, in Military matters, in and oatside Iadia, in anduly increasing the already bloated salaries, and in the loss on acconat of the thoruaghly indefensible aud disustroas Reverse Coancil Sales, -for which last financial outrage, there has been no parallel. But they seem to have been more willing than anwilling iustraments. 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 iufluence and prestige; for, jadged by his test alonn, the Guvernment falls to the groand and he should never have joined it. Where the recall of Lord Chelonsford was passed is the Auritsar Congress, Mr. Sariaa opposed it boldly but gave a fairly understanduble reuson, that though the Viceroy had bluudered or had been led into b!audering by his advisers, in the Paujab attair, he had a great solicitade for Indian fiuancial interests and he was a great financial Iriend of India. Eien that pretension too has beea lost, the hope of a friend of Iudia iu financial und economic matters, has bean dashed to the ground and the babble of fiumacial solicitade has barst. It is an increasiug wonder how be came to associate with a Government which has caased a loss of aboat more than 30 crores of Rupees of bard cash to the Iudian Exchtquer, which Las incurred other wastefal expenditure-which 1 mention later on and which may not solve the Railway problem as he dosireswhich last is the groaud ou which be supported Lord Chetmsturd. Une is tempted to question tis sincerity when he opposed the recall resulution on grounds which have been given the go-bye LON. Oиe woaders whether Lurd Chelusfiord's administration bas done ang good or is going to do any good. What a pity his is and ahould be one of sach unmixed disserpiceit evil te a atronger woid-to Ladia like that of Lord Lytton's or Lord Dalhoasie'a!
Agalu, whut is more disconcerting and disillasion ing lo, we cannot depend on the L.C.S. to eufeguard var fiuancial merests and the iaterests of Ladiaus uverseas. Fill now, it was quite rightly and geuuiuely Leitited by all-by even tue must ardeat extremist - that the I. C. S. is a sort of bulwark or butici: agaiust the inruads of greedy, commercial Londua and that, without this firmuess of tho I.C.S. the tiuaucial exploitation of ludia nould have bees greater, would bave been on a widespread gcale. 'l'his belite was to a certain exteut well-foauded and we luast thauk the I.C.S. fur this attitude in the past. Thry are believed to hare displayod the easine
onrelenting firmbers in the question of the treatment of Indisng abroad. Even that elaim too to onr gratitude has vaoiebed. For one thing, the I.C.S. has become extroordiaarily greedy of late and, in other matters, like Railways and Corrency, it looks to be more a branch of commercial Jondon ora branch of the Iondon Chamber of Commerce and London Mones Market than a rigid, impartial and high-principled administration. As for Indians overseas, even the Reformer bad to declare that in the voluotary repatriation as recommended by Sir B. Robertson, ${ }^{n}$ nothing more bamiliatiog to Indis and to the Empire can be imayived."

## ter Caristian missionaries and PCNJAB TRAGEDII.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer, Sir,

I ehoald lite to be allowei to ald my name to thote of the' 'twenty five or more Minaionarien who have associated themselves with the letter on the Punjab disordere pablished in your columas abont three weeke ago. I shonld havo done so earlier, bat that I found that the sentence uthe sole juatification for the proclamation of martial law is the welfare of the people of India ol every roce and creed ${ }^{\prime}$, had been mianderstood hy some to imply exclasion of Earopenas and othera not necessarily born in India. Having now the assarance of one of the original agnatoriee that the phrase wes inclasive and not exclusive, I nign this in earoest desire to see more, not less, of coopperation and of the tellowship of reconcilistion in India.

Yonre faithfully, J. Gurdo: Bewnett,

Theological Inatitution, Medak, Decoan. 8th Aogast, 1920.

## II.

Profetsor H. R. Bam'ey of the Wilson College writes : aI do not know if you want to make any mote noms poblio in connection with the letter pablished by the Reforser from Miesionaries reg urding the l'anjab disturbanoes. If you are, you may add my nam3. I find that ailence is aomotimet miainterpreted."

## THE UNION BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

The Statutory meeting of the above Bank was hoid at the regiatered office on the 5 th instapt under the chairmsnehip of Mr. Hormusji Cowarji Dinuhaw, N. V. O., O. B. Es, when the report which ciroulsted among the share-holders wat adopted unanimously.

The authorised an aubscribed capital is five and four croren of rupees respectively of which Bupees sixty leca is called ap.

The Manager in his short speech said that, in opite of the sbnormal stringency of the Money Market the Bank has keea able to show a very good progriss. A Branch of the Bank was opened at Zaveri Bazar 2 monthe ago and the Bank intende opening more Branches in the vear fatare.

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## THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK, LIMITED.

## Second Call of Rupees Seven, Anaas Eight: Per Share.

Norice is hereby given that at a Neeting of the Directors held on the 15th day of Jaly 1020 a Call of Rapees 7 annas 8 per Share wes made and it was determined that sach Call shoald be paid on the lat day of November 1820 at the Head Office of Pe Bank, Wullnce Street, Fort, Bombay, or at any of the following Branchea:-

## DOMBAY :

Sub-brancts:-Shrofi Basear (Shaik Memon Street.) Share Bazalar (Apollo Street.)
CALCUTTA :-(28, Dalhonsie Sqnare).
Sub-beance :-Bara Bayarf.
CATNPORE :
Sub-branch :-Chandausi.
HYDERABAD, (Decoan.)
LUCENOW.

> Scb-brance :-Hathral.

MADRAS, ( 0, Popham's Broadway.) RANGOON.
and that interest at the rate of nine per centam per annmm will be charged on all amounts not paid on the doe date from such date to date of paymeat. The payments in respect of this Call will ouly be accepted if the amount oovers the Call due on all the Shares of which membera are registered as holders on the 18 th day of September 1920 and upon produotion of the Notice whioh will be sent to all suoh shareholders through the post. Any shareholder not having received this Notice by the 15 th day of October 1920 shoald immediately commanicate with the Tata Indastrial Bank, Limited. Share Transfer Department, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay. when a daplicate will be lesued.
All. remittances mast be mado in Covernment Carrency Notes, or by cheques or Bankera' drafle payable in Bombay free of charge. Paymente by Money Order cannot be accepted and will be retarned.
The Trangfer Books of the Company will be closed from the 13th dey of September to the 30th day of September 1920 both days inclasire.

By order of the Board. IR. H. PAREER,
16ık July, 1920.

- Sacretary.

Batilwala'e Gendiae Quinine Tabletegr. 1 end bottjo of 100.
EatIIWala"e Geoulne Qainine Trebletater. 8 each
Batilivala'm Agoe Mixtare of Fover, Melaria, In-
Batifwaiale Aguo plum ion Malaris, Yoves, Io ficense ote.

gactilwala' Tootin Powder of Proerviag Toelt
 Dhobi Itah eta.
May be bad freat all coalers in medieines or from Dr. H. L- Batifwale Sons is Con Let.

Tho. 12, Woril, 18, Bombay.



853-488․ $\times 4$
21-6-20


## THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

## Eeoor repaled by Epeolal Charter of the

 Itperial Japanesa Corernment, 1899.Babecribed Capital $\qquad$ Tea. $60.000,000$
Paidap Capital
 Tee. $87,800,000$
Pemerve Fuad $\qquad$ Yen. 7,730,000:

## Head Offlce :-Taipeh, Formose.

 BRANCHES [-10XDOX
HEW YORK
A POT
CAETON
POOCHOW
RANKOW
citiciana
EWATOW EAINAN LSEOW

| GHANGRAI | TOKIO |
| :--- | :--- |
| HONGKONG | OSAKA |
| SINGAPORE | ROBE |
| SOERABAIA | YOKOHAMA |
| BEMARANG | ARO |
| MAKUNG | GIRAN |
| BATAVIA | RAGI |
| PINAN | RARENKO |
| SHINOBIKU | REELUNG |
| TAIOHU | TAYSUI |

Tha Beak has almo a lorge numider of Oorrespondenim at Aleas and Abruad.

Current Deposit, Accounts :-ars opened Eer approved customera and interest in allowed at 8 per cone. per ananm on daily balances of Re. 1,000 mpto En. $1,00,000$ provided that the amoant of hall-jearly insteren in not leos than Rs. 5.

Fixed, Deposits are received for one year and elserter poriods on terme which may be aecortained 01 eppliantion.

Every deacription of Banking and Exchange basineme stanmotod:
$\because=12-17$
J. IEARA, Mansger

## THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.

Established 7th September 1906. ineorporated under the Indian Companies' Aet V1 of 1882.

Head Officr:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.
Capital Sabecribed .oes.acoco Ras 2,00,00,000 Oapinl Callod IT $\quad 0.0 .0$ oos in $1,00,00,000$ Reverve Fand monomoc. : 66,00,000. OURRENT DEPOSIT $\triangle$ CCOUNTS.
Intencet is allowed on daily baleroen from Rs, 200 to Red

 nomgeremb. No interest will be allowed. Which dow not - mouert to Res 8 per hall yoar.

FLXED DEPOOSTS.
Depocite are receivod fixed for one your or for abort rperiode © rater of interent whith oan be mocertained en appliention.
 - eprlization".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTE, \& OA8D CREDITS.
The Bank granta eceommodation on termet to to arranged ugemime approved ceceriny.

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E.P.8TRUGGLLLOW.

188-2-31:

## THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Uador the Patronage of and largoly oapported by the Goverament of H. B. ibh Maharajo Geokwar.
Begintarod ander the Baroda Companies' A et LII of $18 t$ qEAD OFFIOK BARODA.
 Bombey, and Dabhoi.


DIRECTORS:
The Eor"Jo Mr. Lallabbai Samaldae, O.L. E, Ohalrman Sir Yithalden Damorlar Thaokercoy, Kt.
Raj Retaa 8 heth Maganbbai P. Haribhak! Yagar gheth. Barode.

8beth Manilal Revadee, Vedanger.
Reo Bahadur Ganajireo R. Nimbelkor, Sar Babha, Barific State.

Bheokerreo Vithaiden Mebta, Eaq., Adroones, Eigat Ooart. Bombay.
M. E. Kantavalle, Eeq, Agent, Mebaraja Mill Oan, LaBaroda.
R. R. Shirgeokar, Naib Sabba, Barode 8 late.
A. N. Detar, Accountent General, Barode 8taks. CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Intarcest allowed on daily belance from Be. 800 to As, $1,00,000$ at the rate of 2 per conth por annam and on. anme over Re. $1,00,000$ by apooial artangoment $\$ \mathrm{Fo}$ interont whioh doet not oome to Re. 8 per balf year will be allowed
FIXED DEPOSITS.

Reocived for long or abort periode ou tarme whiob may besecortained on appliontion.

TOANS, OVERDRAFTS, AND CA8E ORRDITS.
The Benk grante mocommodetion on torma to be arraaged againat approved seonritioe.

The Bank endertates on behals of its concitiaente the male. onetody of Sharoe and Secaritien and the oolloction of dirt. doade and interot theroon; it aloo andertakes the ande and. purobaee of Governmant Paper and all dencriptione of Stook at moderate oharges, partionlars of whioh aiay be harat os applioation.

## SATINGS BANE DEPOSITS.

Doposite reoived and Interrot allowed at it per conch per annamo Rales on application. C. E. BANDLE,-Goporat. 15-4-12.

צcasker.

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## (Registered in Japan.)

 Established 1880.Sobscribed Uspital......... Yen. $18,000,000$.
Paid ap Oapite $\qquad$ Yen. 48,00
Yen. 42,00
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Current Deposit Accounts are oposed for approved eublomers and Interest in allowed at the rate of \& per cent per anuom os daily balances of Rr. $\mathbf{3 , 0 0 0}$ apto \& 100,000 , provided that the emonnt of ball-jemily intorent in not kew that Re. 5 .
Fixed Depostts are raceived fur one gar? and eborter periode on torma whicb may be meertaised on applieation.

Every deceription of baniking and exobange bueincie rarseend.

Poat Box No. 207, Eloraby Ruad, Bowboy.

1. XISHIMAKI. Mnager, Calente
3-12-17.

## THE UNION BANK OF INDIA.

## LIMITED.

(REGISTELED UNDER THE IINDIAN COMPANIBS' ACT OF 1913.)
At Bombay the 1 lth November, 1919. BEGIGTERED ORFICE.
7, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay.
B.

AUTHORIBED CAPITAL ... ... ... B,00,00,000 SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ... - .. 4,00,00,000 Calle d up capital ... ... ... $\mathbf{6 0 , 0 0 , 0 0 0}$ PAID-UP ON 19-5-20. 'Rs. $59,00,042$-8-0.

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CURRENT ACCOONTS: Interest allowed at 21 per cent. per anoum on DAILY BALANCES up to Re, 1,00,000. From Iat January to 30 ta Juac foterest at 3 per cent, per annum is allowed on suma over Re. 50,000 provided the balance does not fall below that figure. No iaterest is allowed unless the am accrued amounte to Rg. 8 balf-yearly.

FLXED DEPOSITS : Received for one Jear aod for shortep perioda at rates to be ascertained on application.

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A, B. OLIPHANT.
14.8-20.

Ag. Manager

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THE BOMBAY CENTRAL COLOPERA TIVE BANK.
BEAD OFFICE : A pollo Street, Bombay.
BlRANCHES: Baramati (Dist. Poona) Islampar (Dist. Satara.)

LIKKCTOHS:-The Kon. Sir Fazalbhoy Corrimbhoy (Chairman), Madhowji D. Thackereeg, Eeq, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, the Hon. Mr. U.'v. Mehta, G. K. Dovadbar, Eeq., the Raja Saheb of Malegaon, Sir H. Stainley Reed Nanabhai Tullackchand Esq.

Share Capital (fnll paid) ....... Re. 7,00,000
1 Deposite fixed for one jear and shorter or lenger feriods are acoepted. Rates and other partionlare may be ancortained Irom the nudersigned.

2 Cairent Accounta are opened for Co-operative Societies and institatione working for their benefit. Interest is allowad at $2 \frac{1}{2} \%$ on daily bulences not exceeding $R a, 25,000$ and $2 \mathrm{~d}^{\circ} 0 \mathrm{n}$ balinnoes over Res 25,000.
8 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Sosietien in the Bombay Preaidency oa the recommendation of thi Regibter, Oo-operative Societioa, Bombay Presidency.
$\&$ Asocounte are adited by apecial Goriternmen Aaditor, and quarterly etetements of finandial porition are publiched in the "Bombay Government Gacette.
20-6-17. VAIKUNTH Lo MEHTA, Manegers

## READ THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONE.

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## CON TENTE.

The Special Congresa.
A Brontic's Crime.
Iadian Woman and the Educational Service.
The Indian Auxiliary Force Bill.
Paral Charity Organiantion 8oolety.
Ohmiale and the Prest.
The Hiod Mabila.
The late Mra. Mackichan.
Indians in East Africn.

Sir Chimanal Setalvad'e Convocution Addreme.
Causes of the Preseat Diacontente 11. Coorg and the Coorge.
Coorg and the Coorgg.
Chrintian Misaionaries and Punjab Exceatera.
Punjab Excester:
1odians io Eant Atr ica,
Mr. B. P. Hiwale.
Death of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamea's Widow: Dera Ismail Khao's Citizens' Meeting.

## NOTES.

The Special Congsess: A number of persons who have declared their dissent from the Non-Cooperation movement have received invitations from the Uhairman of the Reception Committee, and the Presidentelect, Lala Lajpat Rai, to attend the Special Congress to bo held at Calcutta. We have conveyed our view to Mr. Lajpat Rai. It is that those of us who have declared definitely against Nom-Cooperation are obviously out of place in a meeting specially called to consider the question. The effect ol 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 bave 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 lifo and conduct over whicht there can be no compromise beftween those who accept it and those who reject it.

A Fanatic's Crime: We are shocked to read the bews published on Friday evening of the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Khera (in Oudh) Mr. R. 3. D. Willoughby, by a local Mussulman fanatic. Mr. Willoughly, who was a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, was assassinated in bis house dduring the absence of his servants at Id prayers, tax $10.30 \mathrm{~g} . \mathrm{m}$. The murder is said to have been assisted by two others. He bas been arrested and is stated to give as reasons lor his crime "the oppression of the Mussalmans and the imprisonment of a Mahomedan fakir". The fact that Mr. Willoughby's servants were Mahomedans, whose absence at Id prefers provided the assassin with his opportunity, iseems to show that the deceased officer bad no reason to think that he had done anything to arouse the antagonism of the Mahomedan masses. We seeply deplore the outrage.

Indian Women and the Educational Service: The Liducational Reorve (Madras) voices a widely-
felt opinion in its comments on the new rules relating to the Women's Educational Service. Our contemporary writes:
The injastice to Indian interests is in the conelading refection that thers is "a paroity of qualified Indian women" and, therefore, no proportion has been fixed as to the namber of Indians to be appointed to the Service. We know that the olaims of 'qualified' Indians have not been considered impartially and we can eagily mention several Indisn ladies with bigh Indian and foreign degrees who have not found a place in the Women'a Indian Edicational Service. Some have had to seek seope for their talente in Native States while others have had to content themselves in subordinate positions onder Earopenn ladiea of tar inferior qualifications. What makes the poition more provoking is the cirenmstance that this is a feature pervading the women's educational service in all grades in the country. The apectanle of on Indian lady with University degrees being sabordinate to a Europena lady with inferior snd sometimes no University qualifications is a very common one and is by no meane complimentary to the sense of jastice possessed by the sdministrative anthorities responsible for it. This is a matter oalliog for more immediate redress thad injnatice in other departmenta.
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 saperiors 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 Auriliary Force Bill. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K. C. s. 1., C.I. E. writes to the Citixen of Madras. "I have just bad 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 . Uader this clause the persons eligible tor 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 bardly complain if the public believe that the Bill bears on its face marks of racial discrimination. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

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 ita inangural year. It has compiled a Register of the names, of Parsis in the city, who receive periodic belp from the difterent 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 Fands in its investigation. As the result of its examination into. abouk 100 cases referted to the Society by the several Fuads, the Executive Committee observe in their report that there appears to be no reason to doube that the motives to self-help and the sense of self-respect have beea 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 sezes, offering reasonable opportunities for employment to the able-bodied and even the defectives.

Officials and the Prest. We have received a copy of the fourth edition of "A Collection of Roles 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 aseful 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 $\mathbf{E}$. $I$ is interesting to note that the rales 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 mast confine bimself 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 Womenh an English monthly devoted to the canse of women in India and edited by Miss Reuben, a distinguished gra duate 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 womer is seen from Mrs. Hallowes' "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 squccess worthy of the cause it, advocates The annual subscription is Ks .5 and a single copy costs 8 annas, All communications should be ad. dressed 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 hasbaid, Mrs. Mackichan was his true help-mate greatly respected by all who came in contact with themo-The sympathy of a very large circle of friends will go forth to the Rer. Dr. Mackichan in his bereavement.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY, $\angle C G U S T$ 89, 1920.

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The decisione of the Secretary of State for the Olloaies on the grievances of Indiana in Eat Africm were annoanced early this month by Sir Edward Northoy, the Corernor of the Colony, to the Standing Committee of the East Africa Indian National Congresta These deciaion on the nobjeot of Indian policy in Eat Africa were arrived at by Lord Milear after frequeat discaseion with the Governor of Uganda and Sir Edward, and after hie lordship had received a depatation introdaced to bim by Lord Ielingion which inoladed Indian represeatativee sent from East Aírica. The Indian demanda were formulated as undor in the representation presented to Lord Milner by the London delegation :

1. Frmechico. The axtention to Indians of the elecotitit frapebice and equal reprecontation on tho Legislative and Krectuive Dondeith.

The extemion to Indisme of the Manicipal tranohise and equal reprementation on the Municlpality with Europease
2. Land Bighta. The removel of the power of voto on the tranofer of lando to Iordians and all other differcatianiag probibitione regarding the sequisition or cetantor of laods by orito Iodisas. There mast be sbeolave equality of cratmens in the ownershipip of landi.
8. Begregation. The roponl of the Segragation of Recest Aat 1919.
4. Immigration. Tho anermmer of fredem from nascosa. eary or andue reatrictions on Indine inamignotion ind of equality of trentmeat in this rapeot.
5. Recial Dienbilities. The removal of remial disebilities. The indmieaion on equal hrme ol Indiane to the higher ranks of the Civil Serriop, and to all other Pablie Officem witbons distinction, the recognition of Indian degren in the profec. siona for parpone of proctiong the cume ; grat of thi right of trial by jary $;$ removal of dimabilitien regarding the grant of prospecting licancon.
6. Edacation. Propar protision lor the edication of Indian ebildron on the linee conformable to the acode of a modorn civilined commanity.
7 Exchinge and Carrency. 4 nveral of the policy of exohange recently inotituted and an mevurasce that their will be notamparing with the currency.
Lord Milaer concedes the principle of eloction instead of nomination both as regards the Legials ${ }^{4 n}$ no and Manicipal Coancils. Bat the Indians are. to elect only $t w 0^{\circ}$ members, and that by aomo apecial, flancy". franchise to. be devipnt by the Kenia Government. In anpport of this arbitrary decision, Lord Lolington is quoted es having said, in introdaeing the That Africpn Depotetion; that a bolation of the prement difficalties could not be foand in granting the franchice to Indiants a the Colony genorally on the mame bacie we to the Earopeans. The East African Chronicle, the Irdian weekly pablished at Nairobi, reflecting no doabt the bitter dizappointment of Eant African Iodians, in inclined to acoff at Lord Leliogton as an authority on Kenia conditiona His lordebip was choser to head
the Indian depatation to Lord Miluer, and he hae comiateatly taken a friendly view of Itdisn matters Molb in and ont of office. Wo do not know why he expressed that opinion, bat we bave no doabt be did mo in perfect gocd faith. Wbile opholding the Iudian claim that there shuald be no invidions distinctions Letreen the Iodian and Earopean East African subjects of Hie Majesty, we woald lize to have before ms the detailed proposals of the Kenia Government de§ finitely lormalated, in order to see how far and in what respects they fall short of the European franchise. If there is no sobstantial difference, the mere fact that Whe tro achemes diffor in some onimportant details, choold not come in the way of a settlement for the zime being of this question. The namber of members anaigned to the Indian commonity, namely, two, is ridiculonsly inadequate and should be increased. If a his is done, the issue of an identical franchise may, we think, be waived for the present. This remark - pplits with even greater force to the manicipal Sranchise. Indians. in the Nuirobi Manicipal area fay in taxation more then 50 per cent. of the Manicipal revenue and they uamber 60,000 as agaiost 20,000 Earopeans in the town. Yet the Indian commanity have only two soute as againat 15 of the Earopeane. This is palpably nufwir.

Lord Milner's decisions on freedom of immigration, the practice of the ligal and medicul prifessions, and edacation beem to le fairly satisfactory. Trial My jury ia to be tried experimentally. This is now well eatablishod in India and we do not see why it ahonld be an experimant in East Africp. The Secretary of Stato's silence as to the admiasic.n of Indians to the pablic Services and to the issue to them of rrospecting licenses, is regrettable. But it is his unleading attitude in regard to laud rights and the - egregation priaciple, which arnases the most serivas apprehension in Eust Africa and in India. Mr. Labbori Ram, President of the Iodian Association at Auirobi, pals the matter in a nutahell when be says abat the "Segregation of Races and the Land Ordinance was at the root of fatare troubles und the Guvernmeut iustead of eradicating it had, on the otber hand, puarished such an ices and made it permanent." The Land question is thas atated in the memorial to 3.nd Miluer :

The reatriotiona imponed on Indians in ragard to acquasicion and trabiform il and ir ole if the griv.at conute in the in. dittment againot the Adwiniatretios an regands thair treat-
 land the c mient of Hia Exixelie. cy the Gurernor in easential Ant bin velo has beo exeriind willours exoeption againas Iodiane only. Iu hia manler fodiane h verven total'g de. enerred trum aoqniring laud in the ay. icalcaral sres in th. Bighlonds (partajuf Eiust Al.ise cr.r 50.0 leet atove the ene lovel, $n$ hice clie cliamte is lemperate?, wa the groand of conilh " "admiuietrative convenic. $\mathrm{c} \mathrm{s}^{\prime \prime}$ "and they are al.o barred in the wunchip a.en on the frimipal uf the eegreg.ai p of racs echeace, $b$ seod on the apour Piulissur $S m_{i}$ wn,
 Ugode in 1913. From 1 10us until 1918 this pomer of vo.o
 weuienee" was oundiod to the agr.allerel davis if ti.e

Eighlande, but by thy parsing of the Growa Lauds Ordiaance in the latur jear.thid dieceevionary yower to veto trantere of lands batween menabera of different commanities has been extended to the aciquaition of lands in the townabip arees oloc. Mure than thin, bowever, a pulicy of recial diecriwination in the nole of Crown Lade is openly carriad on by the innertion in the "conditions of sale," in anch case, of the clouse that no one " other than - British eabject of European origin is entithd to bid." Only receatily, though it is known that the whole matier is nader appral to His Majeatr'0 G,veroment, a large anle of Crown Landa has b:en cuntemplated ander this prohibitive c, aditisa. Tha reser ration of townohip lands for Earopeena ouly, although ostensibly b sed on Professor Simpeou's scheme, is in reality due to commercial riviry botwcen the Indian and Earopean com. mundities. The obj, ct of the Earopesn settlerp, - as in Suat.! Africe, appeara to be entirely to ouct the Indian from that c)mmercial area, and this objest is assi-tel by the policy of the administration in refusing sanction to the alienation of or tranefer of landa to Iadimng. It is impossible to an ieratand r. n what ground of "adminiatrative colvenience" bia policy of exclusion can be defended. It seems to have no exease or motive behind it but thot of racial preference.

Lord Milatr in apholding this iaiquitons invidioncness argues that he is merely following the policy of his predecessors and he does aot feel jastified in reversing it. This may be so, bat it does not jostily the continnance of an arrangment in itselt onjast. By way of farther jastificution, it is arged that " If the limited area on which aloue European setulers can live were thrown open to the competition of Asiatics who are physically fitted to settle in other areas from which suropeans are by nature excloded, there would be, taking the Culony as a whole, a virtual discriminathon in favonr of Asiatic as against Earopean settlemeut." In other worde, this measare is invented as a Landicap on the Asiatic settler for his capacity, by nuture, to thrive in all lande. Iodia may well aak whetherit is the purt of the British Empire to restrick the opportanities for which natare has fitted her. Tbis decision aud even more the reasoning on which ic is bused, involve a serions menace to India's position in the British Enpire, and mast be promptly and peremptorily challeaged by the Government of lauis on behulf of the Iudian people. The next questiol, the segregation of residential areas, is clusely counected with this. Lord Miloer declares tuat " he is convinced that as luag us the Indians are fuirly dealt with in the selection (f sites, the principle that in the layigg out of tuwnships in tropical Africa separate areas ahonld be allotted to ditierent races is nut ouly trom the sanitary ponat of view bat also un the gronada of social conyenience, the right priuciple, best fur all races, European, Iadinn or uative." The brat comment on this argament is that even the Germans did not act apon acta - pricciple. Mr. Aadrews has pablished some notes given hia hy an Ludiau friend on his experignces uarug the War ia Gieruan East Africa. We take the fullowing from tacm :
Thungh Indialt or re lut treaied in the eame way as Europosis 1 y the Gerimaus, they wire trented in a civiliked mamace. There wat no aryrebation of inces of any kiud Whatasever. I au apa. King of my exjeriences at Manaza,
the chiel Germee port on Lake Victoria Nyanza. Gemente Giviky, Arabs, Ladimer, Somalif; and other resided side by side in the fand etreet on quite friendy forms and without any eegregaion Patrietivan. The romat of une netion ufiea ganed their sfarmooge wilh their cistera of anstier nation infriendly telks Chldret il all racet plaged together in the etrete enl open maser, their median of talk being をwihli. The barefooted German children tif my neighboar win!d enter my hiuse and take food with miy ehildren, EI jus ing our Indian roli.

Mang of ts had thonght, and some still persist in thinking, of the British Empire is arst big step towards the brotherhood of man. If Lord Miloer represents its poltcy, this is a mistake. It simply is sn agency to institate and maintain on toastly larger scale the Indian caste astom; with the Finropeans as a caste of money-making Brahmins and the coloored races as dighters and coolies to defend their lives and property and to toil in order to make them rich and powerfak. Lord Miloer's policy crosses the path of Justice, and it will be 80 mach the worse for it. The people and the Goverament of Iadia are of one view on this East African queation. They wili fight this pulicy every iuch and ty every constitational mesas till the just and equal righte of Indinos as British subjecte are \{ally secared to them.

## SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD's CONFOGATION ADDRESS.

The Hon. Jastice Sir Cinimanlal Setaivad, in bis capacity of Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay Uaiversity, delivered the Convocation uddress this year. Alter paying a graceful tribate to the late Messrs. (iajjar and Tilak, Sir Chimanlal planged into his "modest task of drawing attention to the refort of the Calcaita University Commission," which, lre th inght, was destiued to have fur-reachiog effects on the future development and organisation of education iu Iudia, He said of it: "The prodaction displags sach exceptional knowledge of the theory and practice of education, such thoroagh acquaintance with the history of edacation in this conatry eud deep insight into the preseut conditions surrounding it and, above all, sach a mastery of English style, that it is boand to be assigned a bigh place as a atandard work, on educational problems alierting this conatry, which will continge to sapply gaidance for a long time." The Saller Commission's report is a meritorions piece of work bat it is not without defects-and serions ones at thatspringing chiefly, as we remarked once before, from its railare or iuability to appreciate the fact that the Government in India is not the same at the Government in England. Jadging from S'r Cbimanlal's ëncom an, edncationists in Calcotia, who are more inmediately concerned than we in Bombay, shoald have welcomed the decision of the Giovernment to give immediate effect to the recommendations of the Commission. Bat this is not the case. The Uaiversicy of Calculta as well as nob-official edacationists, are thoroaghly alarmed at the probable effects which the partial introduction of the recommendakisus of the

Cuermistion may prodace. Tl.e ernx of the whie edncational problem is mones. No Commission wat reqnired to tell na that, and the sadlor Conmiasion bad laid atrese on that requireinent. Nuw, we seriouslis ask, why, if the monas is forthcoming, shonld we not first try the effect of better palaries to onr teachers and better buildings and égaipment to our echools and colleges? Edacation has been starred, aod let as first eee how mach good natritions feeding wilh accomplinh. In our epiniou, without eerioualy diatarbing the present eystern which has grown nip im response to iss eavironment, it is porsible by inproving the pay of teachers. by insisting on suitalle baildings and playing fields, and by such other ameliorative means, to improve our standards very, sohstantially. We are sometimes told that higher pay will not make better teachern. This dnctrine is bever applied to the case of the Sarvines recraited ia Enrope, bat is reserved only for Iudians and especially for achool-masters. We hold the contrary view. However that may be, it is a notorious fact that many Indian teashers have to give two or three boars a day to private taitions in order to make both ends meet. The teachers' work requires the atmont phyeical fitnesp. It involves a constant draia on their vitality. Much of the aimless discontent that we see aronad as is clearly the outeme of comperaments infected by contact at an early age with masters to whom life was a growing burden.

We say that, if the necessary funds are forthroming. let as at once apply then to iuprove the condition of achools and teachers, without making any ront-and branch changes in the system. It the money is not available, there is no nae talking abont the S.dler Commission's rroommendations because they canoot be carried out withont a very large addition to the present edncational expenditore. Sir Chimanal is not altogether oblivions of this fact. Bat his refereoce to it is perfanctors. : No sacrifice can be too great and no expenditare can be too beavs", he suid, "for fu'ting national edocation at the requisite level. We should not be deterred by the barden of the cost that may be involved; we most realize what will be the cost of doing nothing." It is all very well to speat in that airy fashion, bat who is going to give the money? ' And let as tell Sir Chimalul, a ad others of hisiview, this: Edacation is to be a transforred salijecs managed by an Iadian Ministor in the new achemad of constitational reform. The tirst daty of the Minister should be to get the pnllic splitit and the socinl momentam of the commanity behind the edacational aystem and, by that mesnd, yedject to a minimom the parely mercenary basia of the prufotaine and prectice of edacation at preaent ; and to fiod the conaideralie ano of money which, even athen that in done, will atill be required fur maintainius our edacational agatem at alse highest posaible standard. And let as add here that that atandard is not absolute for all coantrien and commanition. It varies, and mast vary, according to the peede and capacity and opportanities of exch commatity. Ia our opinion, therefore, diecussions aboat radically
changing the present edacational system withont giving it a fair trial is altogether prematare. Oar edocational system is the only side of the administration that has grown op in some sympal hy with the sociul life of the people. That is why the Englishman in the Educational Service is, generally speaking, rather more sympathelio to and appreciative of Indian aspitations than other Euglishmen, To introdace revofotionary changes in it, especially at sach a constitational janctare, is to render impossible any comparison with the working of edacation ander the Minister and in the preseut closed regime. We are sare that an Indian Minister, if he approaches the problem with an independent mind, will be able to imWhove in many respects on the saggestions of theSadler Commission, some of which-and these not the least important-he may even find it neceseary to discard. Sir Obimanlal approaches the Report mach as the orthodox Hinda or Mahomedan approaches the Vedas or the Koran. We are sure that some of the members, who are seenly conecious of the tentative character of their main conclasious, will blash 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 Edacational Commissions -the Hunter, Raloigh and Sadler. The first was not allowed to deal with Dniversity Edncation. The second was entitled to deal only with University education. The third, Sir Chimanlal thinks, was given the whole field of eduantion to cover, and that is why, he thinks, ite recommendations are more valuable than those of previous Commissions. As a matter of fact, however, the Sadler Commission's terms of reference were al restrictive as those of the Raleigh Counmission. It was only by greatly stretching and straining them-the palpable device being that part of University education was really secondary education -that the Sac'lor Commission managed to bring secondary education within the soope of their recommendations. The result is visible in the partial and iuvonclusive character of its recommendutions under this hend. The Commission was nuable to find any dovice which would enable them to get at primary education, and they admit that they have to leave it untouchod. Then, Sir Chimanlal institutod a comparison betreern tho educational features of Bengal and Bolubuy. He compared the number of undergraduates in Boogul with that in Bombay, withoat tuking into account the populations of the two Presidouvies. Now, Bombay has mach less than one-half of the population of Bongul, and if this fact lo taben into account the difference in the numbera of undergraduates is much less than it seems fryy. a compurison of tho latter alone. We have repeatedly said that the carlinal mistake of the Sadlor Commission was to start with the nowber of scholare, as if that was the most important oonsideration in an oducativanal problom. The fallacy of this idea was utrikingly illustrated in the reasoning which led Sir Climunlal to the conolusion that the bulk of educated Bungall enurgy apont itwolf in clerical work. If we
get over the obsession of numbers and look at the question from a less saperficial point of view, we shall see that this conclasion cannot possibly be right. Not to speak of the past, at the present moment, nearly all the outstanding figures in Indian pablic life are Bengalis. Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Rabindra Nath Tagore are Bengalees, products, directly or indirectly, of the much-ridicoled Calcutta University. In Sir Chimanlal's own profession of Law, where is our Bombay Kash Behari Ghose, scholar, jurist, philanthropist? Taking even the doubtfal 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 diffased in the community in which if 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. Lond Morley approaching the same topic from a larger stand-point, tells as that "in all cases the possession of a new idea, whether practical or speculative, on'y raises into definite speech what others have needel 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 eduaated men may earn their livelihood by it. The eduoational 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 Youna India.)

It woald be interesting to take stock of onr gaine and losses. Not to speak of the pameroas grievances which the Resolations 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 Jaly 25 , which, for a paper uacally of an optimistio natare, is a dolefal issae.
(1) Fiji Troables. Nothing has been done except the pallication of the official version which bears "a family resemblance to the official version of the doings at Amritsar in April 1619."
(2) Soath Africa. No bettlement of grievancess. Bat the question has been side-tracked to Volantary Repatriation, with the possible forfeitare of jewellery, which means an exile or deportation to many to whom Sonth Africa was a home. After giving all their best to make that conutry rich, they are to be turaed out anlike even old horses and dogs: This is our pride of Imperial connection and no
wonder Mr. Gandhi mays what "affection" can be have for sach a rulo:
(3) British East Africa. Manifold troubles and curtailment of existing rights,
(4) German East $\Delta$ frica. One wonders what has beoome of .Mr. Gokhale's pet scheme that India should be given German East Africa. The colonien which helped Britain in the War, have all been given mandates over German Territories. The only roward of India is the cortailment of her existing rights and the pasaing of Rowlatt Act. What does the Aga Khan atay to whom also this ownership of G. E. Africs by India was a pet scheme? Menawhile, German East Africa haa been quietly gobbled up and grabbed by the Earopeane. Poor Mr. Gokhale ! his soal must be barning in his grave on seeing such anlooked-for injustices. B. E. Africa, G. E. Africa and Uganda will become more or less like S. Atriom to the Indian. The Reformer has said "we think we can guess what Sir Benjamin Robertsop's recommendation will be."
(0) While such is the case, Indiau blood is still bled and Indian money poared in Mesopotamia and Persia. The Colonies are not spending a pie bat are basy exploiting the Gorman Territories, For example, Australia is busy prospecting for oil in German New Gainea or Biamark Archipelngo and buas and happy with the Prince of Wules. For us, no new lands, even existing rights qurtailed, Rowlatt Act and still money and mén spent in the Middle East for Imperial parpoges. Why. India bhould locar military expenditure in Mesopotamis or $£ 500,000$ in Persia, our Government does not tell us and seemis to be only too willing. These are the watchdoge of oar parse. And, yet, how apologetic in protesting and taking action agaiust the treatment of Indians overseas. Lord Chelmaford's feeble protests and apologies cannot make headway against "Lord Milner's sophistries" and all the same, they would send men and money oatside India.
(6) Onr Military Exspenditare has been raised to the atmost. In addition to it; there have been hage increases of salaries. The Leader, in ite issae if-Aagast 5 , under the heading "Blood thicker than Watet" rays the increases come to $£ 2,540,000$ or $\mathbf{3 . 8}$ crores of Rapees. It adds, "the increments actually given were excessivy beyond all reason ". "Generosity at other people's expense has been light-heartedly practised by the possessors of anthority and the difpensors of patronage" and "the meauness of the whole transaction and the attitade of mind it betrays becomes the more flagrant." The I. O. S. has succambed to the temptation and Mr. Montaga is in shivers whenever Colo Yate and Sir J. Hicks get ap and he is too willing to gield on this point. The I.C. S. imast erect a statue for Mr. Montagr, not Mr. Boimanji.
(7) Then there is the most recent aotion, the sale of Reverso Coancil Bille. Experts have thoroughly discassed it. I need not enter into details. Unly Indis has losi about 30 or 35 crores of Rapees, To England and Englishmen, it is ill-gotten weallh

The constitutional agitation age has failod but only broke into impotent fary and left some words like "orgonised loot," "legalised plander" and "Haylight 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, 1 on theso pointa. To the idealist in Panjab affars and Khilafat it lookid great wrongs have been done To the practififly minded, in addition to these two greator wronge have been done in other matters. How doss constitational agitation seek or. propose to remedy all these? Oar mind reels with despair and seems inclined to clatch at anything, Non- Cooperation Boycott ete., The onue lies on those who adrockity constitational agitation to show the way. Thomo Who oppose Non-Cooperation and such like methods mast visalise all our troubles and grievances aud wast show some sctive programme. It is no ase repeating the performance of last year when the Moderatos simply issued an appeal against Satyagrabs and then kept quiet. They mast be op and doing with thair own methods. Utherwise, the conatry will bliady or openly, fall into Non-Cooperation, etc. Wren Mr. Cbintamani was forced to admit, be aympathived with Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai in bis Non-Cooperation, if be were to sit with Mr. Thompson in the Conncil. $\Delta$ lso Mr. Chintamani adopted a form of Non-Ouoperation by resigning his membership of the Advisory Com. mittee for Reforms Rales. He even wrote "that almost no siogle proponal of any conseqnence that had been made by the Non-Uficial members was accepted by the Government of India" It is a melanoboly and thoroaghly belated confeosion.

To the constitutional agitator, the whole country now taran round and adjares, show ns the way to get rid of these injastices or ahall we fall into Non-C0operation, Boy cott, ete.? This crisis is great and acntes the tension is in the breaking point. What is the constructive reply of the conatitational agitator? Pray don't pariey too long.

Before concInding, I desire to make an appeal on belalf of 'Young lodia' to eminent leadery fike Bir Narayan Chandavarkar and you to attend the Special Congress. We have a right to expect some gaidance other than mere mapifertoes. Mr. S. Sadanand if wrong in saying loadere must havo already made ap their minds and not leare themselves to be carried array by the democracy of the Congress. Wo mman abide by the decision of the demooracy $;$ bat there the Sabjecte Committee, the elect of the Lemocracy, deciden our Niation's deating. Here, the best braise great intellects and powertal leaders moet add exchange notes. Each leadet cannot decide his owa way bat mast copealt bis compeers in Sabjects Committee If conatitational sgiration is to be adopted, the leaders mast decide on some active atopa If noo-co-operalion, they must discase the varioas Fayf 3 good and bad. Or it may bo Boycott ol British goodl? Nop co-operation in taxes io ingdvisable, becarse the elemenis which even now seek to ovade taxer, will be emboldened. Non-co-operation is citlet, is and offective form of protest, is nuivermaly adoptod. Nopeone operation in Conncils is not approved is it woald mean, presenting the seate to reactionaries. Wo look for gaidance from stl the leaders and we reyace leadern like yon to ettend the Special Congrems and mould the decision in tho Sabjecte Committee,

## COORG AND TEE COORGS.

## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

S12.
In the very interesting article on "Coorg and the Coorgs " published in the ourrent istane of the Reformer, I notiee many inuliarition between the habita and castoms of the Coorgs and those of the Syrian Christians of Travancore and Coohin, These simalaritien are:-Joint family ayatem and reatrictions an!"difarda marriage ; erection and architectare of juint family bonmes; keeping of hereditary servanta; duties of women; edncation of childien and the cbservance of "Pnthari" which we call "Puthari Perannal" or featival of the new oorn. On this featival day bandles of newly-ant corn are taken to tho church where they are blessel by the whivas who gives an ear of corn to each man, woman and child. The corn so given by the prisst is hang in the most prominent part of the Syrian Obriatian home. The lestivities which follow the thankngiving service in Oharch, are exactly like those of the Coorge, except dancing.
, Guardian Prest,
Bombay, Angust 26.
M. G. JuвEPח.
cIIRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND [UNTAB rexeesses.

## I'se Editor, Tine Indian Social Reformer,

 Sia,If, befuro its publication in gonr columus, I had the opportunity of aigning the letter from Missiunarias regarding the Panjal tronble, I would willingly have done oo, being in full aympathy with the attitnde of wind expressed in that lotter. 1f, tharefore, you are publishing more aignatories, I would be glad to have my name added to the list.

Wilson College,
Bombag, 25th August 1920.

Yours faithfulls,
Janes Kethice.

## INDIANS IN EAST AIRICA.

## Iho Eiditor, The Indian Sociul Roformer,

 Sin,Renter's ammary of Colonel Amerg's reply to Sir Onen Thomas with regord to thd town planning in Kenia Culony in the Houso a Commone is in fact the practical confirmation of what Lord Milnar told a few days back to Lord Ialington. The decision of the Imperial Goverament in favour of the engregation of recen on the prinoiple of sanitation is dooidedly the mont wicked wrong infliuted on His Majoetg's aolfereapcoting Iudian subjects in that Culony. The defence Why 'the enitary experte' had adpised that the different races should be kept epart an far as posible in planning the tuwne and that the Iadiana would be given ample accummoja. Whin in their part of their town (Italice are uine) is simply micoking aud the most iusulting ples brougtt furth to avoid the Indiane from the areas which should otherwise in all justice, il justice at all existe, be meant for common habitation fur all the races of the Empire; and a further indioation of if isatematic ellurts to bolvol Iudia and an utter callorinese to her aelforespest. Sanitation is aud munts. be preserved at all ooste but no differentiating parliamentery defence in the form of an ordianoe is necessary. It can wall be secared by mnaiuipal lawt and bse lawe. It is plain that raoial trade jaclousy is at the bottom of all thic. How fellacious and buwiliating thie ples in has rell beea made clear to- His Exoollency the Viceroy by onr deputation. His Excillency
the Viceroy has promised every sapport of the Government of India on this point. I now venture to warn all the public bodies in India that the decleration made by Cole Amery mast awaken all pl as to defeat this wicked ettempt against ns. I, therefore, trast that all these bodies, shall do their bzet to strengthen the hands of the Government of India by bringing upon the Colonial Office effective preasure by all neceassry eacrifices even of the philosophical goodwill of the Crown Colonies towards India, as the Common Constituente of the Empiry.
Bombay 7th, Augast 1920.
Yours etc.

## B. N. Anantani, (Zanzibar.)

The Reater's telegram which Mr. Anantani refers wal dated August 4, and ran as follows: "In the Commong replying to Sir Owen Thomas, Colonel Amery confirmed that the scheme for a Government deep-water whar! at Kilindini had been approved and that epecificationg were being prepared. Colonel Amery added that the close consideration was being given to town planniag in the Kinia Colony. Sanitary experts had advised that the different races should be Eept apart as far as posaible 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 Edilor, The Indian Social Reformer,

## Sie,

All patriotic Indiand of every religions comminity will be glad to read of the snccess of a fellow-countryman Mr, B. P. Hiwale, a B. A. of Wilson Colloge, Bombay, who bas for three gears been studying theology in the Andover Theologi. cal Semiuary, one of a group of professional colleges connected with Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachasetta, in America. Mr. Hiwale has proved himeglf a man of deoided intellectual capasity, and has maje excellent nee of his oppurtanity for study in one of the chiel educational centren of America. From that inatitution he bas now seeured the degree of B. S. T. (Bachelor of Sacred Theology). He has also made mark as a forceful and tactfal spesker in many churches, conventions and associations of varions kinds. Also he hat commended himeell by his mudeat; kindly, winsome spirit. This combination of qualities has made him ceceptable to very many, and has enabled him to secure exceptional oprortanities fur financing bimself.

Long ago he definitoly dedicated himself to become a prea. oher and religiuns woater. In parsuance of this purpose he was ordained ant coneecrated to the Chriatian minis'ry by a Conncil of Congregational Cherehes in Cambridge on June 15 1920. The main address of the occasion was made by bis missionary brother, Dr, R. A. Hume, who was then on furlough in Americe. The Right Hend of Fellowship from Cangregstional Cburcbes was exteaded by the Rev, W. L. Speary, ite pastor of a large churoh in which Mr. Hip. ale is an asscciate raember. Welcome to service in connec. ticn with the Marathi Mission of the American Board was expreseed by the Rev. Bramer Elly. Scoratary of thes Sooiety.

It is gratifying that on hia return to India Mr. Eiwale in to have equal voice and vote with Amrrionn miasionaries in the Marathi Mirsionin conducting the plic and manage. ment of that Misaion's work.

In connection with an enterprising leetare orgenizatisn, Mr. Hiwale is to go about through some parta of America lurabout six moaths. He expects to retura to Indie early in $1321^{\circ}$ Broton Ameriea, Jane 16-1920.
B. A. Hume.

## DRATH OF SRI RAYAKRISANA Paramalamsa's widow.

Under the heading "Mobosamadici" the Probuddha Bherata (Yayarati) recorde the death of the widow of the Smami Sri Remakrishas Paramahamen Oar contemporny writent

We are oxtremely griered to anmoance that the Holy Mother, the divies consort of Sri Rematrishna, after her lifelong good eervicen to the world, loft she mortal regions in Mohasamadhi after a protrectod illneme of ceveral moathe at the age of cirty-ever and pramed into the life etoraal in Caleutts, on the 21 st July leat, at 1-30 A. M., learing the whole world of devotoee to moura her irraparable loms. Afior the pasging away of the Bbagaran, the boly Mother lived, somotimes in her village home and s)metimes in Caloatto, mas tir representative and an a perennial lount of inspiration and atreagth, to all throagb cload and uhine. The profound goll oreated by har disappearanee at anch a time when the garland of Sannyaine loft by Sri Ramakrisbanare bidding farewell to the world one by oae, will never be bridjed by any thing elae ou earth. It is neediese to remath that in ber, one conld eoe reasised that wia lom aud areetaess to which the simpleet of women may attain, and yet the atetelinees of ber courteay and opinnese of mind werd almost an wonderfal as her Sointhood Hor lifo was oae long atillnese of prajer and sioglenese of devotion. With her eeraphic love and overflowing affection, the Huly Mother wea an nufailing solmos to all tha troubled hearte that ronght refuge at hor feet for eternal pesoe and liberation from the worries and anxieties of worldly life. Sajh was the kindliness and opennens of her dispasition that anoe ever tarned beok disappoined trom har ever.open doors. Mor and women who approsched her in meston and out of menson to be retieved of the extremg teation of their afficted' ac ula, became the recipisats of her immortal bleasings, and aweet worde of love and wisdom which ntilled ths throbling pai se of their hearts for ever. Her life was a ayothetic oubodiment of the perfect ideale of Jann, Bhakti and Karmp, which are rarely $t_{s}$ be met with in unch o harnonions blsading any where olee in the norld, She was indeed Sri Ram krishusia final wo:d as to the ideal of Indian womanhood.

The lact ceremonies were uanterably aleman and the sablime patbere of the occaciun has left a deep: mpression on the minda of all present Next day at about if A.N. the hallowed persoo of the Holy Mother buleoked with garlands ${ }^{\text {and }}$ sacred fragrance, was borne ly the Bhaktas am:dat sunge in praise of the Lord to the Belar Math. After Aratriks har holy persion was bathed in the Ganges and adorned with new clothen by the femate derotees. Thon amidst teeming leare the mortal frame wes consigned to the fime and in a couple of hoara the lat vestige of her phenomenal existence melted away into tho five elemonts. But thozgh the morial body wise redaced to oshes the Soul of the Holy Mother enabrined in the hearts of her Bhaktas will ever enjog their cteringe of love and prajerg gaide them through all circametances, asle and soand to the haven of eternal blise and abower everimeting blessinge on their dicroted hande through all time to come. Om Shanti! Shanti! Shanti!

## dera ismail khan's citizens meeting.

A crowded mans nieating of Zamindart and citizyne of Dera Iemail Khan Datrict was beld on Tharaday sho. 8ib Joly 1919 at 6-30 p. m. in 8ario Giasin ander the preaidency of Manivi Almad, the learoed In ant of Joamanceque when the following rosolutions were passed samaimoasly:--

1. Resolved that the $Z_{\text {smindars anj }}$ citiszns of Ders Ismail Khan District condemanment atrongly the Huater

Majurity Repret and deapatoben of thy Curerameat of India and Seometary of Statio at being ant ouly exceediagly pertial and baed on ex-party urideace sad racial preja lioe with dol liberabe attempet to whitewach the ctrocilice and ernatien of Martial Law Ofioort, Earopesa ased Iadias, who have dith. graced not only Eaghod'a foir same bat bramsaity as woll, and also tbay be prosecated as ourly me passible.
9. This mosting affirms its conviotion that then bed mover : boen anything bat jangiaary Rebollion in the beatod braime of Sir Michnal O'Dwjer and Goneral. Dyer, a ad hia griity a abordioatea.
3. Revolved that Ein Escolleney the Vicorus sbonis bi requented to tiadly reloens Mospra, Bavalkar Brothen Chowdhri Bugge and Matacibe Retton Chand and other Pulitical prisoners of Puajab and Frontier Provinos ac ordered by Hin Majonty'a graions Procilmation of 2tith Dscomber 1919 as othorwive the Frontiar Pruvinoe will he compsilied to adroonte the poliog of " N su-asoperailoa" "with the Gorernment.
4. This prablic mooting aympathisen with Dr. Mani Ram of Amrisar whom innocent young son was eraedly murdered at Jallianwala Bagb and will be glad to bolp hive in every possiblo way it be proceeds to proscoute yir Miahel O'Dajer and General Dyar.
3. Resolved tha: the eerions attention of ths Iodidy Governgent shonld be drawn towards the dingracoful cor dition of Ladians in Sonth Atrice and it the South Africen Govarnment do not Irem Indiana there jantly, the pe iple of Soath Afrca trading with Iadia oboald be timilarly ireated in India.
6. This meeting recolvees to prosent as addres and OJld Modal to all thooe patriote like kir Vithaldan Thaterneg is conaideration of their valasble servicoes sundered in promuting Socinl, ednaational and Politioal alvancemeas of Ludia, lur generoue chraity in edowing W.,mas's University, Prois Karve sod Mr. K. Natarojan, Editor of ths Indian Sociul Roformer.

> Tati Ray Gayoa Ray.

Hum. 8ecy. P.blic Meoting D. 1. Khan.

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The Pioneer of Bombay's 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 Cham ber 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 Dethi was in his capacity of Constitutional Adviser to the Chamber of Princes. He avers that his visits were in a putely 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-

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 atile 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 monkind. 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 starvathon, while in other parts of the wortd huge quantities of food were world huge quantities of food were dellberately destroyed, or farmer Were called upon to reduce produclion, in order that prices might be maintained.
Today in the wake of the devasta tion 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 sponsor ship of the late President Roosevelt the United Nations accepted the obHgation 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 mankind
To many of its supporters, this freedom had little personal mean-ing-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
tionalist Muslim in the Congress quota in the Interim Cabinet and the interpretation of the proposals regarding the grouping of provinces in the Consti-tution-making Assembly. Sir Sultan Ahmed's second point is superrogatory 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 propusals also. As for the inclusion of a nationalist or nonLeague 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

## TO END STARVATION

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 "Utopianisin" 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 shortterm problems were dealt with by temporary organisations like UNRRA, Combined Food Board, and the International Emergency Food Council, all of which will dissolve Council, ar are already in process of dissolution. But human hunger is a persistent factor, and therefore a persistent factor, and therefore
only a permanent body like the 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 wore 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 worl: market fluctuated by $70 \%$ ) which rei sulted in wholesale destruction of
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 组 the estimation of the non-partio san public by acepting 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 tot 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.
foodstuffs while milions starved. When a good year's marvest brovght When a good the maket supplies even on to the market suppres derke slighty in exchis ond food was mands prices collapsed and food wa
destroyed, or production rostriced.
Thus. when inere are bumper har-
Thus. when there are bumper harvasts, the Board will buy unmarketable surpluses which will be stocked in all countries and be released in periods of scarcity or harvest fature"Defielt" countries like China and India which never produce enougn o under this scheme.
The Board will establish an International agency with power to bay and hold stocks, amounting from six to twelve months trading of the staple foods. It will also wrovide funds for financting the disposal of surplus agricultural prodicts on spectal terms to counfles in most urgent need of them. In this way prices of agricultural goods whald be stabilised, and agricultural slumps avoided.
The Board will also directly, of through some other organsation such as the International Bann, supricultural davelonment schemes in the more backward countries. At the mo ment F.A.O. mission is advising Greere on a 25 -year scheme for agGreere on a $25-\mathrm{year}$ scheme for as ricultural developmen:- In a large part of the underdeveloped ureas it through lack of sufficient capital and through lack or sulhe capilal and agricutural techinge, have been unable to produce enough to teed themselves. Nor have they had the "surplus" pounchase
"surplus" countries.
These then are the main fealures of Sir John'sp proposal to bring plenty to the world. As it stands, the scheme is eminently practicable,

# THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER <br> BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1946 

## THE NEW ERA

Ninety years ago Lord Dalhousie left the Indian shores. With him closed the acquisitive chapter in Britan'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 witt 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 intransigance 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 In dia on Monday, September 2 On the whole it is a strong Gov ernment 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 it self. If the irumpet 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 national. ist Muslims from the Goverriment. Whether or not the Pan dit sticks to this formula of his own free will or out of defer ence 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 Vicerow'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 under stands 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 func tion 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 Govm ernment. 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. Faz lul Huq has now done that. A Sind Muslim would be a source of strength to the Interim Govermment. 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 infallable. It has shown itself capable of being moved by considerations other than merit in making the other selections.

## A BANDRA DIARY

Bombay has been ir the grip of mob frenzy from last Sunday evening: mob Monday, the Inierim Government On Monday, the Interim GovernmenWas to be inaugurated. Muslim Lea-
oue leaders hat enjoined their pecple然ue leaders hat enjoined their pecple fo mark their disapproval of the event by hoisting black flags on their homes and insfiptions but not on any account to indulge in violent demonstrations. The Muslim day is from sunse to sunset. Monday, there fore, began for Muslims on Sunday evening black flags werg run up in several localities. The feeling of disapproval which they were intended to symbolise intensified into one of resentment, sulien 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 hours in areas less affecied. They vere enle extiended to ather areas but troable extended to other parts of he cry. on wednesday evening the sfuation was officially acknowledged o have deteriorated, and the greater under atrict curfew restrictions.

The country has not recovered rom the shock of the Calcutta calas rophe. Bombay, unilike Calcutia, is not the capital of Muslim majority province, A Congress Governmen rules in Bombay while a Muslim League Government rules in Calcutta: The Muslims of Bombay are a peaceful and prosperous commu nity. They are not a backward community judged by the test of educafon or economic status. As traders and businessmen, their interests are nextricably intermingled with thos of ather communties. Until a few of other comport sections a few years ago imporiant sections of them were subject to he hindu law a regards farmily and property. Even way many of them are in practes governed by the thefore, not and do not, therefore, think of themselves as a separate nation with a: different way of life from their Hindu neighbours. They are cocharers in every sense of the term in the prosperity of Bombay. The troublesome element is cosmopolitam. It is composed of the overflow from bther provinces and states, mostly the latter, attracted by the opportunities of loot afforded by Bombay's prospertty, This group is always ready to swell the rank of legilmate discontent and to turn lawful demonstrations into unlawful outbursts of plunder and burning. They silout pay slogan and wave any flag that may be in vogue for the time boling Congress, Musim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Communist, are all the
same to them, opporitunities of loot and violence. It is unjust to blame any one pariy for such outhreaks. What is expected of them all is that they should sternly dissociate themselves from rowdyism and not use them, tacitly or expressly, as mean of advancing of expressly, as meane They are a source of weakness to every movemoure of weaknes.s as a movememt which they espouse Mr. Jinnah for heir nefarrous enin than when never said a truer cong outbreat as plaving into the hand of the enemies of the Muslim League

The view that shese troubles are primarily due to the presence of large hooligan element and not to any polifical or communal ideology, is suggested by my own recent experience. I have lived in Bandra for well nigh half-a century, for the greate 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 hew. were but even hey were very this Diary five years parag a 1 a tribut 4 the calm and perceful atmospbere to the cam and peaceru aumospher of Bandra in Bo bay outbreaks in Bombay city, with only a shallow creek between them, This, 1 cannot repeat today, There are more
thefts. Violence is also increas. thefts. Violence is also increas-
ing. A month back, at about one ing. A month back, at about one
oclock in the morning some one or oclock in the morning some one on more, while 1 was asleep, wilh a on my head and shoulders wint a piece of wood several the man or down the stairs. I was qui'e dazed, could not understand what it was all about. I am told thar beating generally is for the purpose of stenning people in order to prevent them from raising a hue-atd-cry. This seems likely, as a few days previously thieves had entered and taken away thinge from the house. My own feeling was that the assaiant was someone whom t had assented wough 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 mira man verging on eighty, it is a mirapast. i believe in miracles. They past. I believe in miracles. obsery ant, we can no e 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 Suburben district was includ ed in the jurisdichon of the Bombay cty for Police purposes about a year ago. Those who are opposed to the Greater Bombay scheme, smaintain

## A WARPED OUTLOOK"

the same time, he has crushed and completely evaporated all the char ges brought against his dear $s t$ Mary's College of Kurseong I shall Mary's College of Kurseong, I shat weigh it carefully and declare its weigh

First of all. how does Mr. Roy proceed in his task of answering my letter?-in the 48 lines of his epistle Mr. Rov does not clarify a single question of those I suggested in my letter by adducing concrete facts. He does not explain why $\mathrm{St}^{2}$. Mary's College treat India as infidel, uncouth and uncivilised. He does not answer why there is not a
that the deterioration in Bandra, is a forteste of what will come from amalgamation wth 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 troubile. The Suburban District is in a sate of transition and all transitional pe riods are liable to be attended by a measure of unsettement. The completion of the whole scheme will remove this cause of complaint. And i, is not the major cause. That is, the general unse tlement 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 jegal sanctions, glorified as Communism, anctions, glorne on cow the core of many ofticial programmes in and ut of India The war and is and out of Inda. The war and iss afternath of famine, and the whoiesale xequany on war criminals in rean ap Japa, hirtually ffaced from the moral code the injunction against murder. It is a topsyurvy world we are living in. It will not last long. Sanity will reassert itself. Neanwhile, the thing to do is to cultivate patience. Padience 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. Le means incessant and strenuous effort, in face of discomfiture and defea!, In the presen case, the main difficulty, is the utter helpessness of the civil population and its fiability to moral collapse at the slightest disturbances of torture. Ow ing to its total ignorance of the use of arms, it fias an absurdly exaggerated fear of the man with a weapon The Policeman is, after all, a chip of the same block and we shares to a large extent the weakness of the civil population. If the civil poputation 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 own a house in my neighbourhood, and is returning afer many years, to reside in it, saw me the other day. I toid him of the troubled state of things He replied without a moment' thought "I am descended from Pindaris. The dacuifs will have to be afraid of me and not I of the dacoils."

RECLUSE
single indian professor on the staff. Why the only Indian priest actual. ly teaching in the College is not monsidered 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 Ne. cro Clergyman from Southern States was to travel with them. His fellow white clergymen refused to allow him to travel with them. The passaese was refunded and compensation paid, and thus they got rid of the coloured man."

# NIIIAN Sultain hirnunitil 

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.
Editot: S. Natarajan

VOL. No. LVII
BOMBAY - SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1947
"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest-I will not equivo. cate-I will not excuse-I will not retreat a single inch-And I will be heard."

Wicliam Lloyd Garrison in the Liberator.

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## NOTES

Lop-soded Provincial Auto. nomy:-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 simultane. ously 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 expect. ed 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 Chima 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 Fouen Tsang took when he came to India three centuries ago, and he was able casily 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 affice will assuredly see the cementing of closer relations between the two countries. A thousand million people, industrious, pacific and inheriting the two liost ancient civilisations in the world will be a surer guarantee of world peace than inte national organisations though these too have their use. Mr. Menon is a near relative of the latersir 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 commu. nique 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 con_ certed 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
"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in eartest-I will not equivoI will not excuse-I will not retreat a single meh-And I will be heafd. Whlum Lloyd Gargson in the Liberatorst

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The future of British colonies.

## NOTES

New Delhi:-We are glad that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his first meeting with Press representatyes on assuming office as Parst Member of the Interim.

- Government of India, mentioned prominently the need for getting rid of the physically and morally deadening atmosphere Cot 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 Yaise New Delhi dashed such thopes. New Delhi has no life 5pary from officialdom. Archifecturally it is a meretricious creation whose artificiality is asgravated by the vestiges of several ancient eapitals. We do not think it possible to change the atmosphere of New Delhi. It nust be fbandoned as Fatehpur sikfly whandoned by Akbar.
 bedtef India. There is neither hesd 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 añ 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 indirectiy 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 langquage,

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 spoten by excessively large num bers should be divided into two or three administrative units No State or province with more than fiye or six million peoptes can be regarded as compatible with national integrity. On this; basis there may be some twenty provinces or States. We 100 K forward to the time not too distant when the whole country will be taken as a single entity without distinction of the sys. tem 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 efficency even though linguistically they were a single block. The inexorable logic of events is. knocking the bottom out of thes, idea of a restricted centre with large powers for provinces. Federation can be only a hatf 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 witt a great repratation for intels. lectual acumen and politieal wisdom, which he failed fult to sustain. A city set on a h H cannot be hid. In high posittot faults which may pass umnotig ed in lower altitudes show ho with exaggerated emphasis on relitituishing the portiblio information he became fat tionad ${ }^{\text {andiser }}$ to the
[^0]:    
    

[^1]:    "1 will bs sa harib at truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest - 1 will not equivocate-m will not e zouse, I will not retreat a single inch-And I will be hearis" William Lloyd Garrison in the Libivator.

[^2]:    

[^3]:    * From a Lecture delivered by Mr. Brinivags Reo B. A. District Judge Gunter, at the Myeore Civie and Bocisl Progress, Aesocintion, hagalore.

[^4]:    It requines for ite consummetion" soneiedea the Chathnge "an unflincbing courage and a soond wiedome bat it is not imputaible of attsinment. The theatre muat be robbed of its commercialism, ite imparity and its frivalous brsinlesposs Tha-charch mants drup ite ecorn, ito censorionsaens, ite didectic claims Every individan can belp out the achioveurent of these ende. The Actori' Charel Union, the British Drome Leagag, and thy Leagua of Arte lor Natioual aud Ciric Ceremony, ame ouly a lew of the ageucien wiome effort aborid be exvergationlly fartbered. Lile cannot be divided into axclosive departments-recreation, basineest soligion. Withont beanty hifo is inoomplete, and with incompleit lifo thers can axist ao Chrixtianity. Foe the Macter of ell arta carns that we might have life and that we might have it more aboandingly."

[^5]:    * Hemers Macmillas a Co.s price 18 milling aet

[^6]:    * Published by Mr. Kumbhare, Secretary, Shiken Vichara Modala, Poons. $\rightarrow$ Price ooe rupee.

[^7]:    N. IGARASEI.

    Poet Box No. 207, Hornby Rued, Bombey. 1. NisHIMAK1. Manager, Ca'cotia
    Poot Box Na 106, Clive atreet, Ca'entia

[^8]:    Cearal advertimemente of As, a per lion for the ma

[^9]:     emouse, I will not retreat a aingle ibche-And I will bo heafa" Willial Llotd Garpison in the Libstatof.

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[^11]:    - Previous articles on the report appeared in the feese of 17th August, Slat Auguat, 7 th Soptember, 14k September, and 21 September, 1919.

[^12]:    "Wanted :-Employment, ss teacher or governess, by an edacated Brahman widow with midwifery training and, medical practice, well-versed in masic and the Vina; proficient in English, Sanskrit, Telago and Canarese, and spesking Tamil and Hindnstani nols Please apply to K. R. C/o. The Indian Social Reformer, Bombay."
    21.9-19.

[^13]:    "EVERYTHING FOR EVERYBODY" National Stundard Portable Typewriter No. 3 (10 Iba) Re, 190 Oliver No. 5 (Amoriona Rebuilt)B,8.\& Tab. Re. 175, No. 7 , 200
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    Do. (Made io U.S.A.) with I copere Hindes, Bot
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[^14]:    Cason adpertisemente at As 4 per line for the int insertion and As. \& per line fo encoeeding incertion Advertivement chargee are etrictly. payble balf-yeari or jearly in sdraves.

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[^16]:    Canal advertisement tot As. 4 per line for the let

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    21-9.19.

[^18]:    

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    BOMBAY.


    # NDIAN:SOCIAL:REFORMER. 

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    Imce:-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT. Editor:-K. NATARAJAN
    Vol, XXX, BOMBAY-SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1919. No. 17.


    ## DONTENTM.

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    'be Moder ate? Reply to the Congrest Leaders' Appenl.
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    rdfoyal Proclamation.
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    Peace and Plenty.
    The Borstal System in the Punjab.
    The Problem of Chritianity In ladia.
    The Bombay Presidency Assqciation.

    Towarde Religious Reconstruction.

    ## NOTES.

    Jesus the Man. The current number of the $P$ to wdidha Bharata, the monthly jou:nal of the Rama risbna Mission, published at Mayavati, prints a emarkable paper on "Jesus the Man" read at the belur Math, the headquarters of the Mission rear ialcutta, by Brahmachari Gurudasa. The paper eging as follows: "This being the day on which IIChristians celebrate the greatest of their religious :stivalis, the day of the birth of Jesus the Christ, is but' fit that we Hindus who pride ourselves on ho fact that we revere all Incarnations and that we an worship in all temples, should pay special omage to Him who, for nearly twenty centuries, as been a solace to millions of human hearts." :he Brabmachari conclides a sipgularly sympathetic nd reverent. appreciation of the incidents a the life of the great Teacher, with these vords: "And now let us remember that esus' voice was the voice of the Spirit that spoke hrough all the Avatars, the voice of the great Phyicians that came to save us from the world-disease, he disease of birth and death. "Seek and you shall ind, knock and it sball be opened unto you," that $s$ the gecret of religion. 'And ye shall know the rruth and the Truth shall make ye free." We print oday the concluding passages from the Brahma. :hari's paper and commend bis loving appreciation of lesus' life to Cbristians and non-Christians alike, for is deep insight into and sympathy with the Christdeal. That a llindu revival movement so nationalistic in aim as the RamakrishDa movement, made lamous 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 spivit 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 Mode. rote leaders, to the nppeal of Swami Shraddanand and the Hon. Fandit Motilal Nehru Jor their cooperation in the Amritsar Congress. We advisedly
    say "over the names" and not "over the signatures," for we 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 Hindu of Madras takes it to mean that the rupture between the two parties is now complete. We interpret it in quite a contrary sense. The Allahabad epistle is evidently conceived in a spirit of irritation and alarm at the unforesen moderation displayed by the Punjab Congress leaders. There is a section of the Congress party which is also dissatisfied with the Pudjab overtures. The extreme Moderates and the extreme extremists would like to keep the experience and ripe wisdom of the country apart from its ardour and enthusiasm. But the wisest among. the Moderates and the wisest among the Congress leaders are uncomlortable at the thought of a needless prolongation of the separation, and we confidentily expect an early and final end to the split. Meanwhile, may we say a word of counsel to the extremists on both sides? We may or may not all be able to leave the country better than we found it, but, at any rate, let us not leave it-without very strong reason-more divided than we found it. We. have ourselves come to the conclusion that the only reason which justified the division last year no longer exists and that, on the other hand, the tragic happenings in the Punjab have emphasised more than ever the crowning duty of unity which, of course, does not mean uniformity. For the rest we bave too much faith in the strength of our political principles to fear that they may suffer in collision with those of men who do not realise the truth of the adage, "more haste, less speed."

    The Iodemnity Bill and the Hunter Committee's Enquiry: In the course of the debate on the Indemnity Bill in the Indian Legislative Council in Septeraber last, the Hon, Sir Dinshaw Wacha wished to know from the: Hon. the Law Member or the Hon. the Home Member "whether the enquiry that is now going to be made will clash with the Bill, that is to say, wbat will be the effect if the Commission think that certain officers had committed such excesses that they could not be tolerated and therefore of course that they must not be indemnified." The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes replied: "I have not the least hesitation in answering that question. The only thing that we by the Bill seek to validate arc acts done bona fide for the maintenance of law and order, and the Council may take it from me that the Bill will not in any way prejudice the Commission of Inquiry." The Hon'ble Sir Dinsbaw Wacha thereupon said that "I am satisfed, my Lord, and I hope other members of Council are satisfied too. I suppoit the Bill." It will be interesting to know how far the assurance given by the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes apply to some of the revelations made before the Hunter Committee, especially as regards the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.

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    ## INDIAN SOCIAE REFORMER. BOMBAY, DECEMBER 28, 1919.

    ## THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

    His Majeaty the King'e proclamation whick heralds the Royal assent to the Beforms Bill conveys a message of conciliation and hope and slludes to the Prince of Wale's projected visit to India next winter. "Another epoch has been reached in the annala of India," begins the proclamation, "I have given my Royal assent to an Aot which will fake ite place among the great historio mensures passed by the Parliament of this realm for the better Government of India and for the greater contentment of the people." The growth of popalar 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, bat the present measure does give "hopes of the fatare," 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 exeroise clemency to politioal offenders in the fallest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the publio safety. The details of the announcement to be made in pursuance of these instructiona are no doubt already definitely settled and may be pablished any moment. Whether they are arranged genainely in the spirit of His Majenty's desire and in the measmre to anit the occasion remains to be seen. These may be expected to inclade, among others, the politioal leaders and others of the Punjab. All will appreciate His Majenty's olemency in these oases; bat it must be obvious that the one subject over which the whole of Indis has been more sore than over any other is the Martial law administration in that Province. Amnesty in thia case goen only half the way. For the other half we mast wait for the reaulls of the inquiries-both official and non-official-now in progress. These are developments which need not have remained nnforeseen; and the declining even of temporary relief, becomes all the more regrettable in the light of events. An the British people are now amare of the need for their attention to the queation, it may be hoped that on the completion of theinquiries, the claims of jastice will receive the fullest consideration without lose 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 "mainal goodwill and confideuce prevailing among those on whom will rest the
    fatare service of the country." It is somerbat of an trony that the Reforma hozid have to but ushored in in the existing state of the country's mind; but as the peoplo's represeniativen are in semsion in more than one body the moment bat been well ohosen, and the balm of His Majesty's words mant prove valuable and soothing.

    ## Thin Foll TEx.

    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, Fmperar of India, to my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Prinoes of Indian States and to all My subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed, Greeting:

    1. Another epooh has been reached to-day in. the annals of India. I have given My Royal. assent to an Act which will take its place amoog the great historio measurea patsed by the Parlinment of this Realm for the better Government of India and tor the greater contenment of ber peor The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establisha regalar syatem of administration and jatice under the Honourable East India Company. Itb Act of 1883 opened the door for Indians to pablie office and employment. The Aot of 1858 trans ferred the Administration from the Company to the Crawn snd laid the foundation of pablio lifé which exista in India to-day. The Act of 1889 sowed the seed of representative inditations and the seed wae-quiokemed - into 4 iffeo by the "Act of 1909. The Aet which has now become law entrast the elected representatives of the people with definite share in the Government and pointa this way to full responsible Government hereafter. If as I confidently hope the policy which this Ad inangaratea shonld achieve ivs purpose, the resulte will be momentoue in the atory of haman progress; and it is timely and fitting that I shonld invite you to-day to consider the past and to join Me in My hopes of the fature.
    2. Erer since the welfare of India was confided to as it has been held as a sacred trast by onr Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory colemnly declered bertelf bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of daty as to all her other sobjecta; and she asured to them religions freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his merage to the Indian people in 1903 My dear father King Edward VII announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of hamane and equitable administration. Agaia in His Proclsmation of 1908 He renewed the assurances which had been given fifty yeart before ind surveyed the progrest which they had inepired. On $\mathbf{M y}$ aocension to the Throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promiting that the prosperity and happiness of India should alvays be to

    - of the highest interest and concern. In the llowing year I visited India with the Queen mpross and tentified My sympathy for her people id My desire for their well being.
    .3. While, these are the sentiments of affection dd devotion by which I and My Predecessors nve been animated, the Parliament and the People ! this Realm and My Officera in India have been qually zealons for the moral and matorial advanement of India. We have endeavorred to give - her people the many blessings which Providence is bestowed apon ourselves. Bat there is one Ift which yet remaing and withont which the rogress of a country cannot be consummated; the Ight of her people to direct her affairs and safeaurd her intersts. The defence of India against loreign aggression is a duby of common imperial atereat and pride. The control of her domestic onceras is a burden which India may legitimately mpire to take upon her own shoulders. The parden is too heavy to be borne in fall antil time hid experience have brought the necessary strength fat opportanity will now be given for experience o grow and for responsibility to increase with he capaoity for its finlfilment.

    4. I have watehed with anderstanding and symbathy the growing desire of My Indian people for popresentative institations. Starting from small peginninge this ambition has steadily strengtbened its hold apon the intelligence of the country. It ade parbued ita course along conatitutional channels. with sincerity and oourage. It has aurvived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the gaise of patriotism. It has been atirred 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, anziely and victories. In trath the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprang inevitaily from the deeper and wider atudles of haman 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 instilations were laid many years ago. Their scope hat been extended stage by atage antil there-now lies before us a definite step on the road to responaible Government.
    5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watoh 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 matual forbearance between all seotions and races of. My people in India. I am confident that these high qualities will be forihcoming. I rely on the now popular assumblies 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 roly on the leaders of people, the Ministers of the fature, to face responsibility and endare misrepresentation, to sacrifice mach 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 generons Government. Equally do I rely tpon My Officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony ${ }^{\prime}$ and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institations; and to find in these new tabks a freshopportunity to falil 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 peacefal and orderly Government to forget the extravagances which they have had to carb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among My people and My Officers to work together for a eommon parpose. I therefore direct My Viceroy to exercise in My name and on My behalf My Royal clemency to political offenders in the fallest measare which in his jadgment 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 trast that this leniency will be justified by the fatare conduct of those whom it benefits and that all My subjects will so demean themselves as to render it upnecessary to force the lawi for such offences hereafter.
    7. Simultaneonsly with the new constitations in British India; I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trast that its counsel may be fruitfal of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves may advance the interests whioh 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 assare 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 inangurate on My behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May He find matual good-will and confidence prevailing among
    those on whom will rest the futare service of the country, so that success maycrown 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 gaidance Indis may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fallness of politionl freedom.

    ## JESUS THE MAN.

    ## A. Hindt Apprechation.

    W. reprint belon from the fall text of the paper read by Brahmacharf Gurudasa th the BeluF Math, which If published in the current namber of the Prabuddia Bharata, the following ooncluding panaages:

    The Bible contains many tonching incidenta in the life of Jesas. Unce a thoughtfal yonng man of great wealth and high position, saddenly seized with the conviction that Jesus would be able to explain to him the trae meaning of life, came running, breathleas and eager; and prostrating himself at the feet of Jeane, exclaimed: "Gcod Master, what ahall I do that I may inherit life?" "Keep the commandments," was Jesna" 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 bim one short, cracial test of his real condition. "One thing," Jeana said, "thon lackeat. Go, well all thou hast and give it to the poor and come and follow me." It was too mach: The young man went away sorrowfol, for be had great possessions. He did not realise that Jesue, the Lord of all, is beyond both good and evil, that he did not care for his good deeds. Jesas wanted him not an a virtaons youth, bat stripped of possessions and atripped of self,-naked and poor and hamble,to make him his own, his child, that he would carry to the bosom of his Father.

    The yoath preferred the comforts of life to the treas. ares of the Spirit; be woald not parchase the things eternal by abandoning those of time. Andinstead of making the great renanciation of the sainte, he made the refuas of the worldly. And so be vanishes from the Gospel history. Bat re way bope that light dawned afterwards on that aincere bat weak sonl, for Jesus as he looked on him, loved him.
    The failure of the yonth 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 eavier for a camel to go throagh the eye of a needle than for a rich man to eater iato the kingdom of God." Few are they who can possess their wealth and remain anattached to it. "Not by wealth, bat by renanciation aloue the goal is reached," sags the Binda 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 daye of travel and preaching and satisfying large crowds, to
    tute rest in the quiet village bomes of bis frieode. For haps the honse of Lazaros was to bim what the litil! conveat of Saint Clart was to SL. Francia of Aesion Nowhere perhape did Jesas pane more happy reelfy hoars than with that little family at Bethay. Ib family consieted of Martha, Mary and thair brothe Lagarae. Their holy and happy bome wes alwaye al hie disposal for they loved and revared Jonas.

    A tonching iacidont once took place at thit houne. Martha ban invited Jesas, and tho boay hoatess harriou : to end tro to prepare for hir proper entertainment: Her sister Mary koowing that Marthe we only to bappy to do all thet conld be dove for Jesas' mater. ial comfort and eleo anxions to receive him fittingly set at his feot in deop hamility, listening to bis worde Perhapm Martha was in need of help, perhapa aha wed alightly jealoas of her sister, anhow sho showed vex: ation at Mary's attitnde and she asked Jesas, 'roold he not tell Mary to asaiat her in her work: Bul Jesus soeing her over-auxions in her hospitality said to her: 4 Martha, Martha, thon art carelal and ttont bled aboat many thinga. Bat one thing in needfot And Mary has chosen that good part which iball not be taken a way from her," Are wo not reminde here of another saying of Jssus, "Man shall poitive by bread alone, but by the Spirit which is of God.4
    Jeana' love for the siestert and their brother mant bave been deep, for we rosd that Jesue wopt whelf he received the tidinge of Lasaras' deatb. Aad hoy conld it be otherwise, considering the absolnte trand and faith they had in him. They knew that Josup was all-poweriol and that be coald have prevented Lazaras' death evea bad he chosen to do mo. And When Jesua before raisíng Lezarne from dead asked Martha whether she believed in him, Martha withon the least hesitation answern, "Yes Lord, I believe thal thoa art the Obrist the son of God, which should come into the world."
    How aweet these words of faith mnst heve conade in Jesns' ears ?

    Bat now the acene changes. Dark, threatedio cloads are gatbered on the horizon of Jemas' life o earth. The prieate offended with him, conepire againat him that they might take bir life.
    Jesos had spoken mary harsh words and theon words fell on evil yoil. And then, -bore wise a traitof in the camp.-Jadas, one of the twelve diaciples What indaced this anfortanate man to betray hip master we cannot iaj. We do not know whethe Jadast final set of solling bis Lord was a anden inu palse or a long pre-meditated act. it is better to ref. main silent or the anbject. We do not know whaf was his hidden motive. Jodas repented and thres. down the silver piecen. Bat bis repentance only led him to self-deatruction.

    Jesns knew the plan that was brooding againa him. What thon art doing, do more quickly," h. said to Jadas at the last feast. And Jadan left th room and it was night. And Jesas opened bin hear to the little bind that loved him. And then be make, to bis lituld children (as he affectionately calla bif disciples) the bleased promise. "Whither I gu thot
    canat not follow the now, bat thou shait fullow me aftermurds."

    And then be told them that in spite of all the angnish which the coming separation would bring, it was better for them that this personal premence shonld be withdrawn in order that bis spiritanal presence might be felt yet nearer to them than it had been before. For be who was now with them, was even part of them in his spiritaal form. And he bad told them on another occasion that the kingdom of God is not 'Lo bere and lo there,' but within them.
    $\Delta$ few daya more and Jesus, God incarnate, was nailed to the Cross. There was one cry of agony "My God, my God, why hast thon forsaken me!" And then peace descended on Jesua' soal. He realised again that he was God himeelf, one with the Father. "Father," be said, "anto thy hands I recommead my Spirit."

    This final act of submission was the end. "It is finished;" were his last words.

    Faithfally he bad carried bis message; his task was done. And Jesas entered into the soarce from which be bad proceeded. For all eternity be is anited with the fountainbead of all Existence.

    Jeans' messuge was not a new measage; it was bat an echo of that eterna! Trath that first fonad expression in the forest recesses of the Himalayas, in this oar beloved India. Jesas revealed once more to forgetial hamanity that One Eternal Trath. Many a time that message has come to man. But we forget. And then the Lord takes haman birth again to save his own, to rescae drowning hamauity. For thongh heaven and earth will paas away, God's trath remaine for ever.

    Long, long ago on the battlefield of Karakshetra, Arjona, beard the aweet message from the lips of Lord Krishns: "Give thy heart to me, be to me devoted, worahip me, and anto me thou shalt attain, troly du I promise this to thee" And that prowise vibrates through all the ages. And now and then a son of God is born to catch the soond of that ancient promise, to embody it and to give it new strength and volnme. And wondering hamanity lialts and listens.

    Aud so that promise vibratod over the bills of Galifes and Jesns caught the sonnd and anderstood. And the echo came back from his ballowed lipe: "I bave come to anve that which wal lost. He that cometh onto me I aball no wise cast out."

    And then, not long ago, came one who gathered up within himesif all that had gone before. In the Temple garden of Dakshineswar a voice was heard, aweet and gentle, a voice that caught up the dying cord. And once more the world listened to that ancient bat evar new refrain: "Come onto me, 1 bave prepared the food, come all ge that hanger and eat of the bread of life."

    And there was rejoicing in the highest spheres, And they that had been the Savionre of mun came to do him bomage. And there was one who had given his life to save the world. One glance of
    recogaition, oue intinate embrace and the form of Jesos the Christ melted away anto the very being of him who spoke

    And then came the Swami Vivekananda who gathered ap his Master's message, and in trampet voice proclaimed it before the world. And East and Weat rejoiced at the glad tidings.

    And now let na remember that Jesns voice was the voice of the Spirit that apoke throagh all the Avataras, the voice of the great Physicians that come to suve us from the, world-disease, the disease of birth and death. "Seek and ye sbull find, knock and it shall be opead anto yon," that is the secret of religion.
    "And ye shall know the Truth and the Trnth shall make yon free."

    PEACE AND PLENTY.
    (By Mr. M. C. Benbon)
    Nearly five years ago the national sing of the world had reached a climax. It needed parification; 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 apheaval and confusion that He caused throughont the length and breadth of the world. The Arts and Soiences of modern civilization were considered to be 'Towers of Babylon' whereby the people could save themselves from the Divine wrath. National crimes arealways panished withnational calamities. German 'militarism' and German 'kaltar' were two great national crimes which redaced Germany to her present low and degenerate state. God punished her and took from her His gifts of Peace and Plenty whichshe had enjoyed for many decades past.

    The Allied nations of England, France, Belgiam; America and others are not withont the terrible effects of this sinister War. They have suffered economically and sastained heavy losses in men and materinl which it will take at least a century to make good. How many millions of the best youthe have run their course of lifel 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 aeen by their mortal eyes; sisters are shedding their tears for their brothers who have passed through the shadow of the valley of desth. Friends are mourning over their friende 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 heroio 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 ailver lining to be seen. The eyes that once shed tears of grief are now bringing forth teart 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 precions blood of millions of men. It it easier to secure Peace than to maintain it; for, in the word of one of England's greatient statesmen, "the real war will begin when the Peace Tresty fe signed'. It has taken nearly five jears to seoure Peace bat it might take fifty long yeara of patience and perseverance to maintain it. It means the sappression of man's greatest onemySelf, both from a permonal and national point of view. Peace is Struggle, therefore. When the firing of gans and the clashing of arms have finished, a great inward moral struggle begins. The physical conflict is over and now beging the spiritaal confliet. It is the conflict between friendship and enmity, humility and pride. If we show trae generosity to our onemies and are sincerely humble in our ways, we shall be a great help to wards the maintenance of Peace. Love te man if love to God, and anlest we love God we cannot be traly bumble and God exalte those who are humble.

    How long the Peace will last, no one can foretell; but it is certain that it will lart juat so long at we honour it, value it, and love it. If we dd not do so, it will last just so long an the plece of paper on which the Treaty has been signed. Unlest there is peace in our own personal lives, in out families, in our societies and in onr conntry, there is no possibility of a permanent Peaee and Plenty. If there is no such thing, the present World-Pence is but a delusion. Let $\mathrm{us}_{3}$, therefore, as peaceloving members of a peacefal Empire aink all our differences of caste and creed, race and religion, and strive on towards the eatablishment of real and perfect 'peace that passeth all underatanding.'

    ## THE BORSTAL SYSTEM IN THE PUNJAB.

    (By Mr. Edyund Candler.)

    ## II.

    The Borstal system for juvenile adults was adopted in India within a few month of its adoption in England, but the underlying principle of it had been recognised in the Panjab some jears 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 Pagiab offere a finer fold for Borsial work than any other Province. Indeed, it is doubtial if there is anch good material for reclamation to be found elsewhere. The Borstal Jail at Lahorv has the moulding of many young men who, thougb eligible for transportation or the gallows, are not really criminals at sll. Homieides and catte thieves, there is nothing inherently violous in them. They are true to their primitive code. And after all it is nut so much by the neture of the code that they should be judged, as by their fidelity to it and their readiness to make sacrlioes for their ideal, such se it is. It is often the dofy of a young Pathan to kill or loot. Honour demanda it. A departare from the tradition, to neglect for inalance to proseorte a blood fend to a fininh, would bring as muoh shame to a jeang Pathan among his own people as the refacal to accept a challenge would have brought to a British ensign when duelling was in vogue. The regimental officer know this, and it he has any particularly sad story to tell aboat the men in hif battalion, it will generally be of tome high apirited lad arraigned by our code for a crime aanctioned by his own. The great distinction between the Borstal in Lahore and that in Kent, from whioh It derives ite name, lies in the material that is bronght to the mould. In the Lahore jall more than ${ }^{\text {. }}$ half the lady imprisoned are of the agricaltural olass, the stock from which our sepoys are drawn, the real baokbone of the couniry, many of them with Iand to inherit and an honest livelihood to look torward to on their relesse. The utanted thieving class, that fill the jails in England, the seam. of the cities, constitute very amall minority.
    One marky the difference of the material, and the turn the Borstal treatment has given it directly one enters the jail yard. One oan spend an evening there, and, except in the penal cells, never feel the depression that hangs over the inmaten of ordinary jails like a blanket. Noihing, of conrse, can obliterate the adobe drabness, the caked mud and dast of a jail compound in the Panjab; but in the haman atmosphere there is no taint of prison.* One missen the alouching gait and sullen' hangdog look of the babitual jail bird. From the note and laughter you would think you were on a college play ground. There is cricket in one corner, footballin another, and a young Pathan on a ten years' sentence is drilling bis company in a third. The company is formed in squads. It is physical drill, army aystem, to the accompaniment of the fall band. Thetime is quite up to regimental form, and the pipere march in front with something of the pride, in the eye and the step, of the Highland dram 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 badding decoit oaptered
    in the rounding up of a frontier gang out Tochi waysix yeare ego. He has still four years to put in. Bat 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 privilcge and conditional release that gives the moral atimulas to the Borstal.

    There is a long stair to climb, with Tartarus at the bottom for the impenitent and something remotely approaching elysiam at the top-a atate, indeed, which must carry the young deteng 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 gmart belt, and is very well set ap. 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 antil he can drill a battalion. Drill is an cesential test for promotion. There are three classes of companies, and failare to pass from $A$ to $B$, or from $B$ to $C$, within a presoribed time means the forfeitare 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 Findlayon, I.M.S.), ander whom the institution has grown, is attempting to create something of the House feeling of onr Public Schools, a spirit of emalation between companies and barracks, and thasinsensibly to evolve espirit de corpe. The graded system lends itself admirably to this.

    There are four gradeb. The Penal, the Ordinary, the Special and the Star Special. The balk 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 wa tohed the Punjabi games, the Jailer. Sardar Sahib Hakm Singh, who after the Saperintendent, is the "ma-bap" among the young offenders took me to the Penal cells. Here I was shown the impenitenta at the bottom of the scale. Theirs was hard work, the plainest diet, solitary confinement. They wear aack-cloth, press oil, pound fibre and grind corn. Ontside each oell lay the inmate's upper millstone, like a symbol or a badge. These are detached from the nether 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, aulky, slow to work, defiant of anthority. Bat none are defiant pfter a day or two. Many of them made gestares of remorse and supflication to as as we passed, standing rigid and raising their closed palms to their eara. The Jailer
    spoke kindly to them. "We have to break them in," he explained, "like young horses." The dificulty, of course, in the Borstal is to strike the happy mean between the life of the college stadent and the convict. This is not ensy in spite of grades. There must be no softaess, or easing off of discipline, and there must be areat deal of hard work. In the early phasea particulary the punitiva 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 cone: ditionally released inmate who has failed to make good his probation. From this it would appeas 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 estiog meat and oven drinking wine. Your correspondent has anintentionally done the Cbristian commonity a service by giving wide publicity to the fact that becoming Cbristian has no neceseary conneotion with either of these.
    Still, you think that there ia force in Mr. Manilal's complaint that "on the etrength of this single etatement, his competency to deal with the anbject shonld be questioned." I bow to your raling, bat 1 anggest that a writer who makes - atatement which castis a olar on the good name of thonsands of devoted men, both Indian and Europenn, sud who whan called apon to sabatantiate, bas not a thread of evidence to prodaces, pute bimelt out of cont an a controvertialist. There was notbing in the letter referred to- I mised the firat aud no cannot spesk of that -- to indicate that the writer wan a Christian. That fact, of course, increases his compotenoy in the matter.
    He aske a reply to bis main contentions. Unfortanately I bave not kept the paper and cannot truet my nemory saffioiently to do so in detail, bat bie recent letter taken, I preenme, the main pointe.

    As regarde the question of meat eating, given at an exsmple of the deuationalising effect of missionary traching, apart from the charge of compultion which is withdrawn, it seeme to me that your correspondent is mixing different thing. Is there angthing essentially on-ludian in meat eating? If no, the Mobammedana are not indiana, and the great nass of the larming popalation (I apeak of the Sonth India which only I dalan to know) all the outcestea are all non-Indian. This is, of course, absard. I dare any be may be right in anjing that out of one haudred vegetarian converte not five por cent remain nolumeat eaters altimately. Bat what of that Are they thereby denationalised? Not in the Jeast. The while matier becomes oue of personal preference. The refigions conception that it at the root of Indian regetarianism-the uneness of all life, no lopger holde. The right or wrong moat be decided by the convert on other groands and Chriep tian lreedom on ell rach matters is sbsolate. However, this in giving prominence to what in after alla wery econdary mattor.
    The brant of the ether charges is on two connte : Firse that the Christian commanity is "entirely proletariatised
    denationaliend, anglisiend asd materialinod" and that mit ajosariee are raponabla I' think mare quotation is rofats-
     "entiraly" $!$ Can't he reenll many among his mequaistences abont whom the atalament sounds aboolately anjuat 1 I know vej many.
    Liod what doen it indicate 1 "Prolotarist" menne, emoordiag to my dictionary, abelonging to the laboaring elam". It your correspondent meetna that mienionarion have "proletaristied" their converts, redosed them to the ctatus of bboorem that in poles asunder Prom fect. Every miasion in embarramed with jast the opponite tendency. If be meone that converts are drawn mainly from the proletarist, I admit. Bat in defence I remind him of a little word that meena much "The common people hoard Him gladly". It alwaje hat been oo.

    The obarga of materialina is more dificuls to neet, becann it is so indefinite. I suppose the Christian community can be blamed with it, bat who onn not? To eas that Christians are more so thas others moald be exceediagly hard to prove and conld at best be only an opinion. My opinion woald be on the other side.

    The charge of being anglicined hae obvionaly no meaning es regarde the great bulk of Christiane who are simple village folt, bat it has relevancy in regard to edneated town-Cbristinns. Persunally I regret this and very many, prohebly most, miesionariea do so, bat it has to be bsid that this tendency has been by no mesns confined to Cbriatiane and it if among then as elsewhere, 1 believe decressing, with the growth of pational sell-respect.

    But prubably Mr. Manilal has mainly in mind the political fature of Christione as a body and bie fenr leet they becone What he calle an "enti- Einda counter state"- gurely not - happy or an accurate phrase. I know that there in among the yoanger edanoted Christians a atrong feeling that Cbristiana havenut taken the place in political matters as they should have done. So fer as this ie trne it is a pity, buti do nut think it amounte to moch more than asying that they bave been on the Moderate wing in politios. The resson in patent. It is exactly that whioh cancee the non-Brahman movement. They know that, in the Sooth at lemat, that extremistig sotivity is largely of Brahmia originand they know fromexperience, all too keen, the attenanted connectivn that exista between platlorn perorations and daily practice. They fear Brahman domination and believe the British Government is the only protector aganet that Mr. K. T. Panl hat publicly repadiated this fear and every weight mant be given to his opinion, bat it is not the geheral opision amonget the Caristians. Of that I am sure. The only way to solve thin problem is Social Reform-democracy in the true sene-not the tinselly stuff that is of promivent at present 4 my. ing lingers in my memory, by whom I cannot recollect, bet it is tull of meaning. "True democracy does not and 'I am at good s man an jou.' It angs, 'You are as guxd a man en I' ${ }^{\prime \prime}$, and therein lien a world of differeace.
    I Tear I bare not takea sll your corrospondentin pointe. Bat your space han limita. An regarde the quotation from St. PaOh, I do not agree with Mr. Manilaly interprotetion, bat that cannot be disenseed hera. It be carces to correspood with uen, I sball be glad.

    Your sincorely
    J. T. M.

    ## TEE BONBAY PREBIDENCI A8SOClation.

    The Editer, The Indian Sacial Ryformor.
    In the Reformer of the 14tt instarit writing ander the handing "the Reforom and the-Redicala" you my "on the otber bead it it only faie to mole that ith Bombey Prewideney Acocintion and the Bomber brach of the National Eame Rain Leagan both Redioel orgeninatione, the cae by esptartathe other by original conatitation have welcomed the Relorm Bill as revised by the Joint Coromition." As the abore statement conkint some reighty lasocarecies so far at the Borebay Preaidency Amociation in concerned, It thill be much obliged if you would kindly allow me-one who eas apent with anthority on the poial-t to explaia then throogt the columne of your Reformer.

    Firaty, the Bombey Presidency Amonoistion, atitit, it not a Redical orgeniention if yon ecoopt the current meaning of the term 'Redied' an applied to Indian politice. If it wert en, it would never bave welcomed the Relorm Bill. Fron the componition of ite membera, it will be fonnd that the Association is far from being Redical. It hat out ite roll membere belonging to varions absdes of political thoughtranging from altromoderate io altreextromich It will not be an exaggertion to eng that the Bombey Preetdency Amociation is the only political inatitation in India whioh is non-rectarian ond whicb has a representative charcoter and it is no amall eredit to Bombny that, in apite of permonal and party differencee, it hat a representative institation whioh providen acommon pintlorm for political discrasions.

    Secondly, the implioation that Kadicala have captured the Bomhay Presidency Aswocistiou can be sacoesefalty challenged to lio incorroct by frote and figares. The mamagernent of the Associstion is in the hande of a Conncil consinting of - President, Vico-Presidenta, Membera and Scorstaries. A glance throngt the anmen of persone forming the Cunacil will show that Rediools are in a minority. Ay a tuster of bet, working at the preeent conatitation of the Councih, it will not be far from tratib to onll the Awuciation a Moderste orga niention. Being eo, it in very nofair to the prentigo and pati record of the Absooistion to say that it hem become : Redical orgonisetion and that Rodicale have oaptared it when the tucte are quite the reveres. I may also mention that, it no stage of the evelution of the Retorm Bill, the Awwiation hee expressed any radical attitude towarde the anme. In oonola. aion I requeat that you will be good anoagb woblish this letter leet the Indisn publie ahould be onder a mistiken item no to the political riow of the Aswoistion.
    Triprayar, Velapad,
    19th Decenber 1919.

    ## vi. V. sama,

    ## TOWARDS RELIGIOUS RE-OONSTRUCTION.

    ## (From a Cobsuapondzers.)

    In connection witi the Pence Celebrotions in Banditai three religions eervices wert held ander the anspiess of the Local Arrangementu Committoe. Oa Sanday morting. the 14th December, there was a parade of the I. D. F. in eborch, and in the evening two anited meetiage took pleoe. More thas onee doring the war the Hiadan, Mobanmedene and Cbristians of Bandikai bad mat and offered prajers together, On thil ocenaion an endeavoor wae made, sot to eay reparcle priyors in one plase, bat to jois in common worsbip.

    One of thene anited services was beld in the Earopesa Intitate, whieb wat benatifully decorated with palmas and ehryanthemame. There an a harge and representaive attedasea. The hymo exocos were of a traly eetbolic
    nature. These incladed the 100 th pealm (c All people thet on arth do dwoll ${ }^{2 \prime}$ ) and the ehildrento bymn-m All thing brighe and beantifal. The prayert likewise wore ach that all conld take part is them sincorely from beginning to end. One wha of compotite nature, conainting chiefly of sentences from the Hindn ecripturet, the Coren and the New Teate ment.

    An interesting featare of the eervice was the reading of pasages from or representing varions saored books. A Bindu gentiemen read something from ons of the Dpanishads and a fuv yoreel from one of the Bhakti whool of religions posts. An Englishana, member of the Cburch of England, rend from Bir Edain Arnold's Light of 4 aic an incident illutrating the teaching of Baddhitm. A Mohammedan gentleman read part of one of the chapters of the Coran. A Presbyterina Scotamen read the passage from the Jewish ecriptures which oums ip the estence of religion in the memorablo words-ac Do jastly, love mercy and walk bambly with thy God." Lastly, young Iudian Cbristian read from the Gospel of Lake the parable of the good Samaritan. All theno readinge were, like the rest of thie mervice, in English, bat it was pointed oat that all were translations, as every one of the great zeligious books of the world bad its origin in Asin.

    In a short address some hopefal fostures of the present aniveral nurest were touched upoo. The emphasis, however, Tes laid on the urgent duty of re-building our shattered civiliEation on a more nuesligh basic, with special reference to the need of raligions reconstruction on leas exolusive and more catholie lines, At the close of the addrese the whole cougregation was asked to join, in spirit if not audibly, in the beautiful hymn koown to meny as the 30th paraphraee.
    "Come, let us to the Lord our God
    with coatrite hearte retara,
    One God is gracions, nor will leave the desolate to moarn," ete.
    Alter the benediction the organiat tizack up the National Anthem, iwo verses of which were heartily sung. Later in the evening, the other gathering selerred to was held in the Indian Inftisate, where $\mathrm{Mr}_{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{O} . \mathrm{S}$. M. Jecob, the well-known baker of the place, who is devont and broadminded Mnesalman, read what he called "a religions and noriptural tharzegiving drama." This was partly in the veromoular and partly in English, and was, with religione songa interspersed, an earnest thankegiving for rictory and panceon the une hand, and on the other a call to men of all religions to abundon eeoterianism and with charity towards une nother worship and serpe the one God who is the Crestor and Protector of us all. Here also variona faiths and Charches were re-presented, and an effort made in the right epirit wo warde the re-ooustruction of religion.

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    amationalised, cogliained and matarialimedt and that misciogarioe are raposabla. I' think mare quotation is rofats Liom. Dow Mr, Manila refiect before be meen ench a word ese "ontirely"? Cas"f he recell many amoog hie sequaiatarioes sboat whoas the stacment moands aboolatily anjut $i$ I know vay many.

    And what doen it iadicate? "Proletariat" menant encordiag to mj dictivarry, abelonging to the Iaboaring olane". If your correapondeat mekns that mineionarice bave "proletariatised" their convertc, redosed thera to the atatas of ibbourore that in poles eaunder frow tect. Every mineioa is embatramed with just the opposite teodency. If he meang that converta are drawa mainly from tbe proletariat, I admit But if delence I remind him of olitte word that meana muck "The common people hoard lim gladly". It alwaja hat been so.

    The obargs of naterislism is more diffealt to neret, beonues it is so indefinite. I suppose the Christina community ann be blemed with it, but who onn not 9 To any that Cbristinas are wore so than othere would be exceediogly hard to prove and could at beat be only an opinion. My opinion moold be on the other aide.

    The charge of being anglicised hae obvionsly no meaning as regarde the great bult of Cbristiane who are simple villago tolk, but it bas relevancy in regard to edacated town-Christians. Perevanally I regret this and very many, prohably most, miesionaries do eo, bat it hee to be enid that this tendeticy bas been by no meams confined to Chriatinis and it it among then as elsewhere, 1 believe decressing, with the growth of pational sell-respect.

    Bat probably Mr. Manial hea maioly in mind the political fature al Christiene as a body and bis fear lent they becoure What he calle en "enoti-Eiadu counter state"- sarely not - huppy or an accurate pbrase. I know that there in among the younger educated Cbristians astrong feeling that Chriatians have nut taken the plece in politionl matters as they thould have done. So far at thin ic true it is a pity, buti do nut think it amoante to mach more than sajing that tbey bave been on the Moderale wing in politics. The reason in patent. It in exactly that which canaes the non-Brabman movement. They know that, in the Sonth at least, thas oxiremiats' activity is largely of Brahmin origia and they know fromezperienee, all $t 00$ keen, the attenaated connection that exista between phatlorn perorations and dajly practice. They lear Brahman domination and believe the Britioh Government is the only protector againet that. Mr. K. T. Paol tas pabdicly repudiated this tear and evary weight mast be given to bis opinion, bat it is not the geheral opiniou amonget the Cbristians. Ol that I ameare. The only way to solve thit problem is Social Reform-democracy in the true sanse-not the tinselly ataff that is eo promiuent at present 4 wy. ing liagere in my memory, by whom I onnnot recullect, bat is is tall of masning. "True demooracy does nof sey 'I am an
     and therein lien a world of difference.

    1 toar I have not takez all jour corruspondent's points, Bat your space has limita. An regarde the quotation from St. Pagh, I do not agree with Mr. Manilaly interpretation, bat that cannot be discumed hera. It he earces to eorrespond with me, I aboll be glad.

    Your sincerely
    J. T. M.

    ## TEE BONBAY PRESIDENCY ABSOCLATIOY.

    ## The Rditor, The Indian Seciel Ryformer.

    Is the Reformer of the 14th inctenit writing ander the theading "the Reforman and the Rediona"" jou any "con the other bund it it only fair to note thet the Bombey Presideacy A coociation end the Bonbey branch of the National Bome Rale Leagas, both Redical organisatioot, the oue by captures the other by original conetitation hare waloomed the Reform Bill se revined by the Joins Committea." As the abovestatemant contains come weighty janocerscion so for me the Borabay Providency Asmociation is soncorsed, I thall be mureb obliged if you would kindly allow memone who ana apeak with sathority on the poial-t to explaia there throogh the colamas of jour Reformer.

    Firstly, the Bombay Presidency Amociation, to it in, is not a Redical orgeniestion it yon acocept the ourrent meaning of the term - Redienl' an appliod to Indian politice. If it were so, it would never bave welcomed the Roform Bill. Fron the composition of ite members, it will be lound thas the Ausociation is far from being Redioal. It has on ite roll members belonging to rarious ahades of politionl thonghtranging from altra-moderate to altrseztromist. It will not bo an exaggeration to any that the Bombay Pres'denoy Ancocition is the only politionl inatitation in Iodia whioh is non-ucctarian and which hatia representative ohoreoter and it is no amall oredit to Bonibay that, in apite of personal and party differenceen, it hat - repiesentative institution which providen a common piatorm for politicel discuasions.

    Secondly, the implication that Radicsle have captured the Bombay Presidency Asnociation can be zucerenfully ohalienged to he incorrect by fate and figares. The management of the Association is in the hands of a Council consiating of - Prosident, Vico-Presidenta, Mermberi and Secretaries. A glanse throngt the names of permone forming the Conacil will show that Redicsila are in a minority. Ara unater of foch, working at she preeent conatitation of the Conacil, it will not be far from troth to call the Amucintion a Muderate orga nisation. Being eo, it is very quifir to the prestige and pati record of the Atsoointion to say that it has becoms a Redical orgonitation and that Radionla have captared it when the facte are quite the reverte. I may also mention that, of no atage of the erelation of the Relorm Bill, the Awsoiation has expressed any radion atitude towarde the anme. In coneln. sion I request that you will be good enoagh w pablich this letter leat the Indisa publio abould be onder a mintaken ifea mat the political view of the Astociation.
    Triprayar, Volapad, 19th Decenber 1919.
    NI. V. BABma.

    ## TOWARDS RELIGIOCS REGONSTRLCTION.

    ## (From a Comazipondrify.)

    In sonnection witt the Pomce Colebrations in Bandikul three religiuns eervices wore held under the anapiose of the Local Arrangementa Committee. Oa Sanday morning, the 14tb December, there was a parade of the I. D. F. in sharch, and is the evening two anited meetinga cook place. Hore thae onee daring the wer the Hindag, Molammedan end Cbriatiana of Bandikai bad met and offered prajers ingetber. On thia ocevion an endeavour was made, sot to any reparate prayers in one plaes, bat to join in common worebip.

    One of thene anited cervicer wes bold in the Earopesa Inatitate, which wae besatifully decoraled with palma and chryoanthexama. There wan arge asd represontacive asienderes. Tha hyman enowen wert of etraly entholic
    natiare. Thece incladed the 100th poaion (" All people that on earth do dwell") and the ebildren's bymi-mall thing: bright and beentilal.' The prajere likewise were anch that all conld take part is them sinserely from begianing to end. Ons was of s composite nature, cossisting chiefly of sentences from the Einda coripturen, the Corsi and the New Tester ment.
    An interesting fentare of the service with the readiag of passages from of representing varions ancred books. A Elindu gentlemso remd something from one of the Opanishads and a fen verses from one of the Bhakti sohool of religioge poets. An Englishman, samber of the Cburch of England, read from Sir Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia an incident illnstrating the temching of Buddhism. A Mohammedan gentlemen read part of one of the chapters of the Coran. A Pres. byterian Scotoman read the passage from the Jewish ecriptures which sume up the ensence of religion in the memorable worde-s Do justly, love nerey and wall hambly with thy God." Lastly, : young Indian Christian read from the Gonjel of Late the pirable of the good Samaritan. All these readinge were, like the rest of this eervice, in English, bat it was pointed oat that all were tranalations, as every one of the great religions books of the world bad its origin in Agia.
    In a short address nome hopsful festares of the present univerenl nureat wers touched apon. The emphasis, however, was laid on the argent dnty of re-building our shat tered civilisation on a more unselfish basie, with apeoial reference to the need of religinas recconatruction ou leas exalugive and more catholic lines, At the closs of the address the whole congragation was asked to join, in spirit if not audibly, in the beantiful hymn known to many as the 30 h paraphrase.

    > "Come, let us to the Lord our God With contrite henrta return;
    > Oar God is gracioun, nor will lesve tho desolate to moara," eto.

    Alter the benediation the organist struok op the National Anthem, iwo vertes of which were heartily sung. Later in the evening, the other gathering referred to was held in the Indisn Institnte, where Mr. O. 8. M. Jncob, the well-known baker of the place, who is deroat and broadminded Muasalman, resd what be called "a religions and toriptaral thenkegiving drama." Thie wat partly in the vernacular and partly in English, and was, with religious songs intersperaed, an earnest thankggiving for rietory and peaceon the une hend, and on the other a coll to men of all religions to abasidon seotarianism and with oharity towards one another worship and aerve the one God who is the Crentor and Protetor of af all. Here aloo varioas faithe and Charchea were re-presented, and an effort nude in the right spirit too warde the re-anatraction of religion.

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    Dadar the Patronage of end Iaredy sapportal by ike Governate of B. B. oh Yaherajo Gootwer.
    Begithorel andor thal Bareda Companion Aot III of 189t TEAD OFFIOR BABODA.
    Brashoenhmodabad, Natrent Mohoacond Unrat Cepital 8sberibal.at wow $80,00,000$

    | Oppital Paid up | $\cdots$ | $80,00,000$ |
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    Rej Rate Shoth Maganbhai P. Hariobak! Ifager Sboth Baroda.

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    Intereat allowed on daily balaaen frow $8 \mathrm{Be}_{4} 800$ to Be $1,00,000$ at the rate of 2 per ount. per annam and on anmi over Res $1,00,000$ by ipeoinl arraggemenk. No intorent whiok doen not oome to Re. 8 per hell your will be allowed.

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    Interest is allowed on daily balanoes from Rs, 800 to Ru, $1,00,000$ at the rate of $21 \%$ p. an throagiont the genr. On ciwe oxoeving R. $1,00,000$ interest is allowed by apeoina armagement. No interest will be allowed which dose not amonat to Ru. 8 per hall jear.

    ## FIXED DEPOSIT8.

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    Invaluable iot ledies, and jutias mach for BralinWorkers and Students.

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    Shate Capital（inll paid）$\ldots, 00 \mathrm{Hic}, 7,00,000$
    1 Deposite fixed for one year and ahorter or longer foriod are scopted．Retet sud of ber particulare mey be accortained Irom the 00 ter signed．

    2 The Benk finemees only regintered Co－operative Boeieties in the Bombey Presideacy on the recommendetion of the－ Beginter，Co－operative Soojetice，Bombay Promidesey．

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    ## Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 1920. No. 18.


    ## OONTEENT䋾。

    Non+Brahming in Confercace.
    Th Scope of Sacial Reiorm. Fhe Karnatals Education Society.
    Sir Eankeran Nair in the India Council.
    The Amritant Congrest.
    Tbe Modergic Conferenge.
    The National Social Conference.
    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 deed for social reform if politi- ${ }^{*}$ cal 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 lacing 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 ta religious authority, our immemorial social _usages, make the task a tremendously up-hill or The whole outlook, the entire spirit, must bat transformed in order to bring social life i. con. formity 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 Karnatalk Education Society. A correspondent writes:-"The Karnatak Education Society bas 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 bigher 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 pro. vision 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 otber arrangements and that therr health is exposed to great risk. Dharwar is the central city of the Karnatak and is known lor its bracing climate. Under these circumstances, we feel no justification possible in compelling even a lew Karnatak students to go to these mofussil cities when a recognised local body has voluntarily come forward to make the necessary provision."

    Sir Sankaran Nais 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 pew Act.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY, JAAUARY 4, 1990.

    ## THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

    For sudden the worat turns the beat to the brave, The black minutice et end,
    Aod the element's rage, the fiend-voicas that rave, -Shall dwisde, thall blend,
    Shall change, ahall become firt * peece oat of prib, Then a light, than thy brest,
    Othor gool of my moal ! I shall clesp thee again, And with God be the rest l-Proepice, Bxownise.
    The outstanding impression left by Amritser on one's mind is of a great, a vast popular upheaval. The Reception Committee of the National Congress, under the able gaidanoe of Swami Shraddhanand, had done its best in circumstances of unprecedented diffieulty. Bat the people of Amritsar had taken the matter in their own hands, and the most marked featare of Amritsar's welcome to her guests was its gracions spontaneity. When the downpour of rain had laid the Congress grounds ander water, and made the tent provided for the delegates uninhabitable, scores of hoaseholders moved into the honses of friends and relatives, and placed their own homes at the dispossl of the men who came in their handreds by every train. The streets, the epproanes to the railway station, the railway station itself, frere a mass of hamanity. Heapa of bright yellow flowers are everywhere: girls and women wait on the wayside with garlande of them in their hande to weloome the leaders. The stranger finds himself courteously stopped in the street with kind enquiries as to his name and province, and weloomed with a glad namakiar from graybearded, great-tarbaned men. Amritsar, it is clear, is delighted to have her guesta from far and near within her gates. They have come to mourn with her-the badge of the Congress delegate is - plain black rosetto-bat the Punjab will not let her hospitality be clonded by her sorrows. It woald be rash to geveralise about whole province. But the people who orowded the streets of Amritsar during Congress week, were not $a$ calculating lot: they were a generous, impulaive, emotional people who took you to thair 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 gaest. The Panjab has won the hearts of all those who were at Amritaar. Alwaye the martyr province of India, receiving the first shock of invasions and invaders, she is now in a special sense endeared and sanctifed in the heart of India. One figure stands prominent In one's impression of the Amritar weekSwami Shraddhanend who, like Savonarola, took apon himeelf secular duties at the dire hour of his people's need. The tall Egure, clad in the

    Immemorial Kachaya of Indis': world-renonnoers, with atriking fenture beaming with power and benignity, was here, there and overywhere, attending to the hambleat vinitor and to the minutest detail of a tremendous organisation. One railway anthority estimated that twenty-thousand persone had arrived at Amritear.

    Jalelarwaga.

    - One of the first thinge or arrival at Amritear is a visit to Jallianwaln Bagh. The plece han been dencribed eo often that it is needlesa to do it again. A narrow bottle-neck between brick-tructares leads to a large open epace overlooked on all sides by houses. At the farend to the right is a cort of narrow doorway-the only exit. Towards the middle, also elightly to the right, stande emall temple, also of brick. Half-way in the middic to the left is a well withoat any protecting wally At the end and at the aidea towards it, are walle, mostly of mud, in ettempting to clamber over which many men appear to have been chol down. Half the space at present is now dag ap for foundetions, for a market, it was aid. 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 marke on the walls, securing souvenirs of blood-sodden earth which reems to be especially frequent round about the amall temple. Another much visited loanlity is anlled, as far as one can make ont, Kaurianwals's Kba. This in a narrow pared lane between high buildingt, and it was bere that the orawling order was enforoed indiscriminately on all, beomuse a few rafians committed the bratal and cowardly aseault on the missionary lady, Miss Sherwood. Jallianwela Bagb and Kaurianwala's Khu form the back-groand againat which one piotares Amritase during Congresa week. The Town Hall, the National Bank, and the Prayer Hall stand, in their diemantled ciate, hamiliating reminders of the deatractive fary of the mob. It is the Indien view-notonly politicians, bnt retired Government servants and properous merchants who never took part in politics, say the sume thing-that the mob was exasparated by being fred. apon while peacefally on ite way to make. representation to the chief civil authorlity regerding the audden deporiation of two looal leadera.


    ## Tay Pgeaidintial Adpgise.

    In crder to do justice to the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehra's presidential addreas to the Congress, it is necesoary to remember that he hae been in the Punjab for weeks, foregoing his lucrative legal practice in Allahabad, investigating theoccurrences of April lasti. He knows'a good deal more of the inner trath of these thinge than any one else, with the exception only of the Hon. Pandit Madas Mohan, Malaviya and Mr. Gendhi. From what we have
    heard independently from absolutely reliable courcer, we areable to say that the presidential address, so iar as the Prajab trouble is concerned, errs, if at sll, on the side of moderation. We do not know what the report of the Congress SubCommittee of Enquiry, of which Mr. Motilal was till recently chairman, will contain. Bat 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 thoronghly sound. These matters, it is said, sre 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 sexié time in June or July. The enquiry actually beigan in November. Meanwhile, in September, Government had introdaced and carried through the Legislative Council a measure relieving of legal consequences every officer whose actions are certified by the Secretary to Government as baving 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 notion that were to be covered by the Inderanity Act. They were, for instance, not aware of the extent of the execntion done under General Dyer's orders at Jallinnwala Bagh. We are not inclined to exempt the Secretary of State from responaibility for the untimeliness of the Indemnity Act. After baving promised an enquiry, he should have insisted on auch a measare being postponed antil after the complation of the enquiry, protecting the officers concerned from any aotion at law in the interval by means, if necessary, of a suspensory Act. We ought to say, in passing, that Sir Dinshah Wacha's basty and ill-jadged support of the Indemnity Act in the Legirlative Conncil, 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 Nberu on the Reform Aot.
    While we approoiate the restraint und moderation of the presidential address in so far us it relates to the Punjab tronble, we think, that Mn Motilal fell far short of jastice, both to himself and to his subject, in his comments on the Reform Act. The soheme of the Act is admittedly a compromise, and any one can point out weak zints in a compromise. Buta pablioist of Mr. DUtilal's standing and experience, was expected to take the soheme an a whole and to judge of its parts, not as isolated pieces, bat in relation to the patire soheme. It is olear that be has not atudied the subject with an muoh oare as he has devoted to tho Punjab troubles. His criticisms are aca-
    demic and even his information is incorrect. He erre much in the same way-though in the contrary direction-as the Government of India's final deapatich on the scheme. If we wish to be trasted. we do not do well to begin by intensely distrasting those whom we want to trust us. It it wise to be generous even in politics. The President's oriticisms are conceived in a carping; petalant spirit. He has not in this matter risen to the oceasion. 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 resourcefalleader would have flang the printedaddress 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 mast aim at an India where all are fres and have the fullest opportunities of developmenf; where wowen have cenged to be in boadoge, ond the rigoure of the caste system have disappeared; where there are no privileged classen or commanities; where ednestion is fres and open 10 all ; where the capitaliat and the landlord do not opprese the labonrer and the ryot; where labour is reapected and wellpaid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is athing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this conntry; it will be inspired by joy and hope, and the terrible misery we see around as will become a bad dram which has faded sway from onr memory, on onr swakening to welcome the morning san. Bat that day is yet dietant. We have still a diffecalt path, full ol obstacles and pitfalis, before as. Let os march shead with truth for ont gaide and onarage one watobword and before long we shall resoh the promised land.

    Congresa Rebolutiona.
    The National Congress conveyed its loyal aoknowledgments to His Majesty for his gracions Proclamation and recorded a resolation welcoming the announcement of the intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Of the other resolutions, interest, natarally centres on those relating to Panjab affairs and the Reform Act. It was $n^{\circ}$ foregone conclusion that the Congress resolations on the Panjab accorrences 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 resolntion of emphatic condemation of the excesses and violence of the mob, moved by Mr. Gandhi and supported by Swami Shraddhanand, 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 saccess in the fnture lies in your hearty acceptance of this resolation-the hearty recognition of the trath underlying this resolution and acting up to it to the extent that we feel in recognising the eternal
    trath that enderlies thli resolation." Swami Shraddhanand said that in condenging their own people for their misdeeds, they were merely cutting off a disessed limb for the good of the body. Opimions may differ as to the expediency at the present atage of passing the resolations arging the relieving of General Dyer of his command, the removing of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from the Army Commiosion, and the recall of the Viceroy. The Congress, in our view, would have done better to have conlented itself with condemning measures leaving the men ooncerned to be dealt with by the proper anthorities. Bat looal fooling regarding the first two officer demanded recognition, and the fact that the reeolations were moved by Mra. Besant and Profescor Machi Ram-an edacationist and acial and religious reformer for the firt time appearing on a politioal platform-convegs its own significance. The resolation arging the recall of Lord Chelmsford is withent precedent in the annals of the Congress. The Bombay Presidency Association, we think, once passed a resolation demanding the recall of Lord Curzon. But the Congreas had not followed the Association. We ourselves anggested on a recent occasion that a change of Viceroyalty would appreciably assiat the restoration of pablic 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 ahows in regard to personal topios the more weight is it likely to carry with the pablic here and in England. The Viceroy, when all is said, has been confronted by unprecedented diffionlties, and this fact shonld not be omitted in any responsible jadgment of his career in this country.

    ## The Congrags and the heform Aot.

    But it is in regard to ite resolation on the " Reform Act that the Congress, we are sorry to say, utterly disoredited itself as the monthpiece of responsible opinion in the conntry. And it did this at the instigation of Mr. Tilak end against the earneat appeals of Mr. Gandhi and the Hon. Pandit Madan Moban Malaviya. The carious part of the matter is that Mr. Tilak had not many days ago expressed himself in regard to the reforms in a eense 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 ased very atrong language in denonncing the tergiversation of Mr. Tilak. Bat Mr. Tilak has ever been, for all his greai personal talenta, aivery slippery politician, and be cannot afford , st this atage of his career to lot Mr. C. R. Dass - Or Mr. Satyamarti outdo him as exponnders of the crè̀d of irreconcilable extremism. He is one of the men who are interested in widening and perpetanting the breach between Moderates and

    Radioale, ea Pandit Madan Mohan Malarija la to beal the differencee and to olose the diviaion. Wo are grieved that the Congress sllowed itaelf to follow the geidance of Mr. Tilak and to tarn a deaf ear to the pleadinge of men rastly his sareriors in wisdom and political insight. The resolation which it has passed does not reflect the opinion of any informed person in this coantry, and, at we said, Mr. Tilak himself had aooepted the reforms. No honest thinker onn deny that the Reform Act is vaitly auperior to the Reform Bill as it was introduced in Parliement. The King's Preclamation has emphanised and, in the opinion of competent judges, enlarged the hopen held ont by the Aot. A grest opportanity has been lost of bringing the Congress once more into line with the considered judgment of the connty We had hoped that, after hie niterances in England. Mr. Tilak wonld!tarn orer a new leaf and athice the new opportunities to build ap insicad of pulling down. That hope hat beon destroyed, Bot it is a mistake to assume that the Tilak polley is in the ascendant. On the contrary, there are anmistakable signs that the country is getting tired of his barren tactics, and the Congreas resolution marks really the climax of the egotistio and anprincipled opportanism.

    ## THE MODERATE CONFEEENCR.

    The all-India Moderate Conference met at Calcatta on Tuesday with Sir P. S. Sivanwami Iyer, Iate member of the Madras Exentipe Conacil; for Preo sideot. The preaidential address wan, as might have been expeoted, an able, impartial and thooghtial prononncements and it tonched on almost all the important questions of the hoar. As a contribation to our political literatnre, it is sbove the level of the Congress presidential mddress. Sir Sirasmami Iyer's estimate of the merits and potontialities of the Reform Act, in mach nearer the right one than Paudit Motilal's. Oa one point, however, we do cot agree with Sir Sivaswami. He was evidently referring to the demand for a deciaration of rights whey he said " while stontly.opposing all inproper peasares. of repressive legisjation, we shall not seek to fetter the powers of the Indisn Legislatare." Thin demand wan preferred long. before the Panjub ocenrrencen. It was, if we rememher, first put forward shortiy. after Mrs, Besant's internment. There is, therefore, zo point in the criticiam that $a$ declaration of righte will not prevent the declaration of martiad inw. Nobody maid that it would. Bat it will prevent the sappression of public meetings and of the freernom of the press, and it will prevers the pessing of Bowlatt Aeta The exemple of the Uoited Staten in probably a merone for na to follow tha that of Great Eritain in matters of his kind, ss onr maditionn more approsimate to those of the United Stater than that of the latter conntry. There is still leen priat in the objection
    that there will be more Indian members in the Government. We all know that an Indian member can be as mach an obstinate bareancrat as an English member of Conncil, and three sach Indians-not by any means an impossibity-would not add to the secarity of the sabject. It will be oven worse if the Ipdians differ among themselves.

    Sir Sivaswami's anslysis of the Panjab sitaution was acate, penetrating and, in some respects, more damning, becanas of its very detachment, than Pandit Motilal's. Take, for instance, the following comment on the happenings at Amritsar ander Martial law:

    It is a etrange feature of the mental constitution of those military officers that they hould have :imagined thathesteps they toot were - remedy fot the allenthese of the people and a means for pronioting the popularity of the Goverament, We are naively told by General Sir William Benjoe that instead of being undaly wovers, the administration erred on the side of leniency and that be ad Bir Miobsel O'Dwfer approved of Geners Dyer's exploit. It is incouceivable that such thinga can ever bappen under the asme of martial law in Eagland of even in Ireland. That they conld have bappened in India shows the Ineptitade of the present syetem of goverament. It is obvions that the Gopernment of India must have regarded the oppo nition to the Bowlatt Bill as a direct challeoge of their anthority and as trial of strength between the people aad the governmont and that, having given their promise of apport to the local sathorities, they wera prevented by panic and love of prastige from listening to the representations of Indian leadert, or making any attempt to eoe thinge for themselves. If is no wonder that the hearts of our people have been stirred by these doinge to their jomost depths. The indecent baste with which the Indemnity Bill was rashed through the Imperinl Conncil is now intelligible, It will also be olear how well-founded the objection of the people wat to the provision of the Rowlath Bill which entrust the liberty of the anbject to the meroy of the Exeentive.
    The main defect of Sir Sivaswami'a address is that it gives nd evidence, contains no hint, that its anthor hes a perception that there are aspecte of the nationsl pro blem whioh are neither administrative nor, in the narrow sense of the term, political. Pandit Motilal in his peroration showed that he conld look beyond politics. Sir Sivaswami has no word aboat the position of women in the national life, or, of caste though he comes from a province where gaste is now the prominent feotor in politics.

    On the whole, while we are inolined to agree that thers is room for a Moderate Conference (by whatover name it may be called), we do not think that it is an a diatinct party, bat as a second chamber, a revising; delaying device, of ont nofficial Parliament. The Congress has become imposeible for parposes of Thaliberation. It is more and more becoming an institution for imparting knowledge of and interest in politics to the masses. The increasing nee of the vernacalars has broken the partition between the Englishedncated olasses sad the masees, and the resalt is anse of streugth and power in both which was hitherte inappreciable. The Congrese is thas anna mic force which needs a guiding and restraining in-

    Huence. 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 inatitation with cooperation as its distinctive foature and method, is as a rale 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 Calcutts for the Moderates, is too cantions and calculating to evoke enthosiasm. We want a combination of intellect and enthasiasm to pash forward national progress-cthe former to take charge of the steering gear, the latter to sapply the driving power. The Moderate Confereace may sapply the steering skill bat the Congress must provide the drivingpower.

    THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONEERENCE.

    The National Social Oonference was held in the Congress pandal on Sunday evening, the 28th Deoem* ber, sud was attended by abont 8,000 persons, of whom over 1,000 were women. Rai Bahadar Ganga Ram, a stannch and munificent sapporter of the widow remarriage movement, welcomed the delegates ines forcefal Urda speech in which he emphasised the need of widow re-marriage reform in Hinda society. Lala Hansraj, retired Principal and Fonnder of the D. A. V. School and leader of the Arya Samaj movement, was elected President and he delivered a comprohensive and eloquent speech on the social reform movement. Then Mr. Devdbar read the following message from Sir Narayan Ohandavarkar the General Secretary :
    "It is a matler to me of the deopest regret and dis* appointment that owing to illneas in my family $I \mathrm{am}$ unable to attend the session of the Indian Nationsl Social Conference at Amritaar, whioh, in kind re* sponse to 80 many, you and other ardent social reformers of the Panjab, have at sach short notice and in the midst of Panjab's sufferings, organized. For that prompt and patriotic action you all deserve the warmest acknowledgements of all earnest lovers and servants ol the Motherland. You deserve them all the more becanse the Social Conference at Amritsar this year will be held at an epoch-making period in the history of this ancient und living land of ours. $A$ new era, throbbing with the aspirations of a higher life of anion and achievement, is dawaing apon as or has already dswoed. Of the mang aigns of that new life none is more marked than the opirit of patriotism and nationality, and of service to the Motherland and sacrifice in ber cause which have more or leas diffased themselves among all classes and comma= nities. If it is essy to exaggerate the extent and character of that diffasion, it in juat as easy to ignore and anderestimate them. Whatever the extent or character, there is an awakened conscience and there is an afakened conscionaness of higher life
    in the conntry. It is trae that that consoience and that conacionsuess have daring the last few yeara, when they have made their voice heard bofore the world more forcibly than ever before, been almost wholly political in their oatlook and activity 0 much so as to give one the impression that we bave in India thrast back sooial reform and deified inatead the political. Bat the nocial reform movements and agitations daring the last 100 years in Indis will show that with the growth of yeari and ander the strosa of a variety of circurastances both kinds of reform, have been thinning the partition wall which divided them, and seeking to coalesos and absorb each other. Not to go farther back than the last five years, witness how Indian politics of these gears have canght the social reformers' views and pleaded for women's emancipation and the untouchablo's elevation. The fact is after nearly a centary of political and social work, began by orr first political and social reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, after ,varied experiences, diverse straggles, painfol controversies and soms sofferingn, we have arrived at that stage in the line of onr progress when we are able to perceive most clearly than ever that social roform is the whole of which the political, the indastrial, the edacational eto, are but parts and that these parts are interactive and inderdependent. In Earope and America when they apeak of social reconstraction now, they mean all the categories of national life. The time has come for an, social reformers and workars to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and oatlook to sach questiont as the education of the manses, the sanitation of the conntry, the housing of the poor, the care of the sick and the feeble, the employment of laborr on rational linen, the provision of healthy. recreation and amasements for the masses, village sanitation and raral edacetion, instead of confining eocial reform as we have hitherto confined it to female edacation, widow" remarriage removal of caste restriction and such other itoms,

    By so enlarging this Conference and the scope of tocial reforms. We ahall not be trenching opon the sphere of political bodies or purely indontrial and economic organisation or esaitary institationa, provided we adbere faithfolly to and keep prominently before our mindse eye the distingaishing aim of this Conference, which is to toach, parify, elevate, and invigorate the political, indastrial and manicipal life of the conntry by developing it domestic and eocial forcei, which are the feedere and makers of that life. It is said we live in timen of democract, when the age calle for equality of opportanity for all, high and low, rich and poore. Democracy is more a social, than a political force and must find, to bo healthy, its life, first in oar home life sud nocial lite to make our political and indastrial life wholesome. That is the call of the times to us from the spirit of the Age and may the Docial Conference meeting ander jour bleased auspices help the spirit by a hearty response for the lnaggaration of the New Era.

    ## THR BORSTAL SYSTEM IN THE PUNJAB, (By Ma. Edmotid Caydhr.) <br> III.

    To perfoot the Boratal aystem and to ceoure ite similegislation io nocesary. In the firtit place, the ohort period of detention mant be abolinhed: the fall period is necestary for an adequate ixaime ing. The nexi importent point in the prevision for conditional release for all clames confined in the jall, not merely for the limited clasees dealt with In the English aystem. Mr. Cowan is very atrong on these pointa. In conclasion be canvacees the aympathetio intereat athd abintanoe of the ednoated olassen. Unoffiolal anpport in essential. One way in which the public can show their interent in the work, is by torming cooleties for the care of conditionally released inmates daring their period of conditional release, and if necescary, after thate release.
    "The direot responsibillites of Governmen" Mr. Cowan pointa out, "end whth providing a really sound braining for the lads in the inatitation and the neoesoary machinery, also perhaps of a Central Commitice, itself partly anoftial, to keep in touch vith local philanthropio societien and individushand supply them with ritable lade. After that Government oan help in, bat oannot and should not andertake, the after care of all thy lads. The altimate success of the movement dependa on anofficial literent of practional kind, comblned with ympatiy. For, ai Sir Rogglece Brise has so well said-"Of all the haman faciort making for reformation (of the javenile offender) the greatert is the presonal interenil of good and manly men."

    Mr. Cowan concludes with some practical angertions which we quote In full. "l Large landlords oan take some lads trained in agriarlitare; fndas trisl concerne can take those trained to trades; philanthropis societies oonnected with partioular religions can take boys of that religion and arrunge for their employment while themselves aupervining their conduct. There is alio no reason why $\mathbf{C o}$ operative Sooieties whioh alrendy take an Interest In education should not also tale at intereat in the reformation of local young oriminale. The doors of the services may sven be opened an thoy have been is many: cases for membern of criminal triber. One or two have sotually been enllited as jail warders and have done well. The Enivation Army has for some years had a cettlement at Danón pur, Lahore, fot conditionally released lads, and indeed it wha General Booth Tucker who initinted the movement for conditional relence. An enterprising Earopean landlord in the Lower Barl Doab colony has made a very good offer lor agrionte turials atd the management of the New Egertot Milis at Dhariwal is taking a great Intereat to the movement. Lahore Municipality has alno taket one or two lads at carpentert on conditional rof lease ; these lads live just outside the jail under the sapervinion of the Jailor."
    "In short, the pomibilities sere very great in deed, if real public intereat and aympathy can bo created. Bopresentative societied of all the great religions of the province have come fortrard to help in the reclamation of the criminal triben and this in a hopefal nign for the fatare of the Borstal syatem, once Indian interent is it is creatod.".

    ## TEE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCLAL CONBERENCE.

    ## RESOLUTIONS.

    Widemine Muning of "Soonaz Rgpoby."
    That thin Social Conforence recognixing the fresh life opened out to the country by the nerf era apon which it is endejng ond the argent call that fresh life makes for the cocial reconstraction of Indin's national life, is of opinion that the torm Socinl Reform ahonld be widened so as to comprehend besides the itemp of reform hitherto adrossted by the Conference those additional mousures which are necossary lor the development of the industrial, oconomic, sanitary, and edneational interests of the Indian people in rural and arban sreas, and towerds that end the Conference resolven that an All-India Conneil of the Social Conference, consisting of abons 100 willing workers all over the coantry, be formed and the Ggrowil Seorotary in Bombay and other Searetaries of the National Social Conference with the help of Provineial Secretariee newly appointed be empowered to move in that mattar to concert mentares for the propagandiat and practieal work all over the country and in that behalt to colleat the necousary fands and take auch steptas may be deemed nesful in farthersnoe of the apecifice objeot.
    
    That in the opinion of this Conferenoe the position of the deprened alusell in the Eindo Commanity is vary distresaing and the majn diffioulty in the way of their elevation and social improvement is antonchability. This conference there fore While appreciating the messures taken so fay by Governmont and a number of Roligiona Bodien sod Social Reform Anociations for their aplift is atill of opinion that the aotion taken is quite inadequate to mest the serions. neede of the problem affeoting a large portion of the Hindu popuilation. This Conferenee therefore urgea apon Government, Social Reform Anociations, Religions Reform Associations and Pbilanthropio bodies, the need for providing. grester teoilitied for their eduontion, eoonomic and sanitery improvement and buns mate it enay for tha guestion of antouchability to be colved and to onfores equality of treatment in all pubhe jnatitutione so se to remore the prejudioen and disabilitien of antouobablenese atteching to them.
    
    That in the opinion of this Conference the ayatem of baste, su it provaila in the Hinda Socitys, coustitater a seriona obatacle to the grewth of a socin], indastrial and national lite on woand lines. The Confereace therefore arges apon Social Reform $A$ afociatione all over the ocuntry at well an other pablio bodien and workent the necensity of suatained ondenvours for the abolition of onate by mensuree anoh an intordiniug interoarringey, oto., atc.

    ## Tax Edochtion of Wourn.

    That While exprening satisfaction the progrest of edo oatipn anoug wowen in this ooautry tbough alow and amall, this Conference atrongly arges apon the attention of Governmeat and the people the grant and argent need for mach brger and apeedior expansion of the olementary and bigber eduction among nowen and epceially calle apon Government Dyake more liboral grante of tude aod provide ample oait.
     Sobowle in arban aroas and Arta, Triluing aud Medical Collogee for monen. Copiee ul this resolation be seat to the Iouperime atd all Provinoind Governmenta in the conatry.

    That this Conterence acoorde ita heatty eapport withe don mand for the onfranchisement of Iodian women. While ox-
    pressing ite regret and disappointment at the faot that this olaim hes not been conceded in the new Government of India Aot, it truste that no time will be lost in affording the necessery - hailities to Indian womahood in exeroising the ordinary righte of oitizenship for which the Conference notices with great antidfation a genaine desire on the part of momert themeolives. This resolation uhould be arbmitted to the propar athorities.

    Tre Edvoatioy and Trazaiza on Widows.
    That in order to ameliorate the condition of widows and to enable them to atilise their taleats and services for the benofit of the societs on the basis of a self-reliant and seif-respecting life thia Conference recommends vary atrongly the eatablishment of institationg for their education and training to whisve that purpose and exprenses ite high appreciation of the exieting ingtitation like the widowe' home at Poons; Medras, Mygore, Indore and Cawnpore and oomniende the efforts that are being made in this direction by Poons Seva Sadan, Bombay Sapa Sadan, and the Vanita Viohrim of Bombay and Surat and Ahmedabad: It fartber highly appreciatee the recent andowment of Rai Babadur Ganga Ram O.I. E. M. V. O. to promote the widows' cause as ansonnoed by Sir Edward E. Maolaglan in his reoent convooation address,

    The R'encriage or Widowe.
    That this Conference weloonies the growing eupport to the widow zemarriage movement in the conatry and appreciater the work of the Punjab Vidhvah Vivaha Sabaik Sabba, and farther arges upon the other social relorm aseociations throughout the conotry to follow ite example sod to oo-operate with it in cxtending its sphere of activities in other Provinces ao as to casry on more active propaganda on the subject of widow re: marriage and to inlist the practical aympathies of the peopla to the oncise of improring the lot of poor widows by the ad. vceacy of rematriage.

    Tempfeatiok whtr 1 Vibw to Total Pbobibition.
    In the opinion of this Conference the evil of drink inereas:ing in the country needs to be attecked vigoroanly with a view to senaring ite total probibition, aid therefore arges upoa the Gozernment and pablic bodies to coarry on a vigorons propagande to cheok the evil and to atrive lor seouring ita total abolition by logialative meesares at an early date.

    ## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

    SWLmi Sygadobakaida's Addrisg,
    The following is a cummary of the addross delivered by Swami Sbraddhansnd in Hindi as Chnirman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congresa at Amritear on the afternoon of the 27th of Decermber.

    Swomi Sbradhanand at Chairman of the Congreas Reception Committeo delivered un addrase of welcome in Bindi begianing with a short prajer. In the cuarae of hit address hedwelt ohiefy on the ocoarrences in the Panjab and Delbi and on the Eiodu Monlem onity and national awatening that heve followed io their wake and deolnred that the incidents of April last had acoelerated the politioal advanoe of the Panjab by fity yeare.
    On the Reform quastion Swami Shraddbanarid said he would aft the Congrees to cocept the reforma, recognise their liberal features and Mr. Montaga's sertices and coustitutionelly agitate for wort. Swami Sbrabhanand wooorded the delogatee a cordial reloome. The lendere who bad invitod the Congreas to their oity bad eommenced the edaestive work of making the people of the ponjab realise the eigaifensoe and importance of bolding the Congrese coon alter retarning
    trow Dowhi and had selieved the fint important stap in bringing about Eindo-Moalon trity on the lent Remanvmi doy. Srami Shradbasend thea dwalt on the inoidente of the 10th April at length and mid that poople who weat to neo the Daputy Commimionor as their rulet wert meediosely fired upon and is thin consection otroogly condemaed in scathing termas the exoevese committed by the mob whick the Swami charnoteried mo the black doeds of oril elemente ie the mob which eonstitated an indelible etrein on the hir name of Iodia. Contianing the Brami maid that while Martial Law oost the livee of many men, women, and ohildron, oid and joang, it aleo anded in a triamph for the peoplo by oementing ill the commanitien, oreods and enter into one bomogenoce whola The Bramai then puid a tribute to the merticen rendered to the Purjab by Pandita Melaria and Motilal Mohra who had infured the people of Amriterrivith onergy and determination to bold the Congrene is Amritiar. That day enw the realisestion of theair resolve and they were able to waloonen the cont and deughtars- of Indin from all parte of the conntry. The Swami thea dwelt on the need for anity and said be bimsolf, would not hare scospted the Chairmanship of the Reoeption Committee bat for the naited roioes of the lenders in jal and of the Amritear Publio.

    He appealed to all politioal partien to make eacrifices to that they might be united and in anity sohieve atreagth. In addition the way to a common platiorm wen anooth and did not present insurmountable diffloultiee. All parties were eltriving towards the commongoel of freeing the Mutherinnd from politieal subordination and securing for India an equal and real partnership within the Empire and an bonoured pleoe amungat the nationa of the world. Wr. Montagr'a Reform Aot wen said to be the applo of discord bat in reality there did not appear to be great divergence of viewn botweon the Moderatee or the Liberale and the Redicala. The Moderates were for eccepting the socheme bat so were the Radicale. Yor inatanee, had not Mr. Tilak declared the country shoold nocept and work the roforms and continne conntitational agintion for more 1 He would way that the Congrese wai the greatar body, being a representative notional asembly though some of the liberale might have a maoopoly of visdom.

    Continuing the Swami aid the country should resognise Mr. Moatagn's services to India and ought to teal thankfal to Mr. Montaga. He acid ha had made biztory. Tbere were cone who said that Mr. Moataga had done nothing more than bin daty. Ea akked how many had done their daty by the six and a hall orores of their onlortunate bretionen, the eas oulled antonchablee $?$ They must not lowe count of what they had grined while agitating for woren. The Swami then dwell. ing on the ineidenta in Dolbi in Merch end April leot esid that while they reminded them of the despotic dayt of oid they also domonatrated that thoir beroiem was not deed but ouly lay dormant. The blood of the citizans epilt in Delbi had comented hoarte which had boen oleft for long. The Swami thee paid a tribate to Mr. Gandhi and the paenive resiatanoe movement atrongly orituoining the probibition order on Mr. Gandhi's entering Delhi or the Panjab and reoonnting at length the erocseen inflicted on the people daring the Martial Law regime. He mid it wat matioial reign of howmonseses in which no ralne wan atteched to haman life and all mon, women and obildrear lived in jeopirdy of lite, limb and honour, every moment Eie then ralerred to the Jallisamala Bugh incident and to General Dyer's evidencs belore the Hanter Commistion and mid that though the crowd might haro been dieperied withoat fring he fired tet the crowd woald hare come brok and haghei et hies,

    Procoeding the Chairmase endz My parpone io reminding jou agin of all them ervitu it not to raing batred in gous bearte agaimetitbe Britilh antion which bue givan ne a Ripon, - Bright, a Brodlang b, Woddertara, a Buma, aod a Cotion and a Eardiages a Moataga, a Beant and an $A$ adrome and they abouid remember that $O^{\prime}$ Dwjer, Dyer, Jobneon and $\mathrm{O}^{\circ}$ Brime belong to the name rece. Tbey mast ocest ofl root and branch anger and in -will towarde the anthon of the ineideste of Aprillent aod lenta to conquer anger with peoces evilinith grod, and antruth with trath. Eamming ap the affeot of the troable through which the Panjab had pamed the Swami anid they wore Hindu-Moslem asity whioh it was the loremont doty of the nation to martaia. The moond realt wat the power of endarance and latily they had leserned the rinine of ugitation. Proceding be wid be wet not a politioing at all and be woald not interlere with a political programme bat be would bowever, net befort them Alew propomel. The firet need of the nation was the formation of cbaractar, which was the eclid foundation on whioh mations etoonld otand and whioh wa an allambrecing term. In zecuring loz every ohild, boy and gitl national cducation parenta oughte to lead in this fiold. Sell-ancrifico iag patriota like Sabramanis lyer, Rabindranath Tagore and Sankaran Nair were a haodful sed their opirit had to be imbued if the conntry wes to advanoe Tha Oongrom had so long been doing palition work and it wee colely polition in obarneter but the time had come for it to moept for ite arotio that Polition is Ealigion and a rino to the anmmit of religion. The time for the policy of expedienoy ead compromise in principles had gone and it was time they forlesoly and anfinchingly adbered to the trath. Hia eccond propoenl wes thas they should rewolve to reciaim the ontonehablee and reoogative that thay were aleo their brethren sod resolve thes aud there that they woild allow them to enter their beartbe end botmen. Thin tormed the recond dreans of bie which be wanted to be falifled, Eindu-Moakm nnity baring already breen aehiored The Swami efter appealing to the generone felinge of the dejogates to overlook iny inadiquate arrangemente wound up with a prajer invoking benediotions on the moombly.

    ## SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'g. BIRTHDAY.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Raformer.

    Sit,
    The Gitjeeighth Birthdey Auniverary of the Bwami Vivekanande will be oolobrated by bia disciples, frieode and admirern at the abore addrew on the 18th Jenuery, 1920.

    The Seve of the poor will be an important itom in the programme of the colebration.
    We shall look forward to the plemure of the company wod eooppration of yoursell sod of your friends on the accasions. .
    . With our blensings and beat wishen,

    > We bave the bononr to be Dasr Sif.

    The Meth, Belar, Howrab.
    Always Yoars in the Lord. . BeatMamaida.

    ## EXPORT OP CATTLE.

    The Goverament of Bombuy have inconed the following prom comanique: Gorerameat anderatend that a receat quat tion in Coupcil has given rise to exaggerated rumoare ibont the export of eomit from Gajurat and Kethismar in perticalyf. Frome eaquiries made it appeors that the total exporte of \& coube during she lex aulesdar yest froe Bombay heve beos litslo over 1,500. The exet ligarem reported are gires below :-

    > To Brazil
    > To Belgiam
    > To Fracee

    To Zenaiber

    ## THE BOMBAY PRESIDENOY SOCLAL REFORM association.

    ## A Hindy Widom Rymargiage.

    Under the anupices of the Hindu Widowe' Home, Bombay, the romarringe of Shrimati Ansenyabai of the Gowd Saragwat commanity with Mr. Manilel Maljibhai Modi belonging to Khaidate Banis commonity was celebrated on 20th Decomber 1913 at the premites of the Hinda Widowe' Home. The seremony wat pexformed by Mr. A. S. Wagh, the Saperintendent of the Home. A large number of ladies and gentiemon was present to witness the marriage. Among those preent were the Hon'ble Mr, G. K. Parekb, Mr, Balkriabna Sharma, Mi. A. V. Chitre, Mz, and Mrs. S. G. Derrudibar, Mra. Ramabai Gothoakar and Mrs. Adibai Vallabhdas. The marriage is regitered onder the Oivil Marriage Act.

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    'rl XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 1920 No 19.

    | CONTEANM. |  |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | A,New Xear's Measage. hond Sinha. | The Congress Declaration of Righte. |
    | The South African Com. miasion. | The Amritsar Session of the Moslem League. |
    | Europeany and the Reform sopeme. | The Great Strike. |
    | Tbu. : Moderate Reply to Swami Shraddhananda's 1 Appeal. | The Problem of Christianity in India 1 . |
    | Nefarioua Journalism. | The Annual Mahotash of the |
    | Sir Rash Behari Ghose's Gife to the Calcutta University. | Rac Bahadur K. vircealingam Pantula Garu. |
    | A Prea for Uoity. | The Bank of India Limited. |

    ## HOTES.

    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 Newloundiand. 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, Cbristianity will be discovered the ultimate foundation for the reconstruction of ordered, harmonious life lor all men. As that recognition could only come as an act of Iree 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 perma. nent foundation of world peace. On the 6ib 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 messape is important. The oripinal message was virtually an invitation to the whole Empire to accept Chistianity as the ultimate foundation for the reconstruction of ordered, barmonious life for all nien. The amended message lass the stress on the recognition of Fatherhood of God and the Divine Putpose. 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 Grime Ministers of the Rritish Communwealth, fie vast mujurity of whose subjects are Hindus and Mahomelans, Even so, the message, we think, was uncalled for. Nobody expects six gentlemen because they have climbed the tortuous stairs of politics, to be comperent to give the lead to the woild 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 tespective territortes. With what consistency does Generul Botha (should it not be General

    Smuts?), to take the most glaring instance, praclaim 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 probibiting their holding of land and taking ourt 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 prokessed 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 unprceedented as it is, we think, unconstitutional. The British Empire stands on the firm foundation of eligious freedom and never was it more incppolitune for the Prime Ministers to appear as missionaries of one particliar 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 himsell 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 Goveinment of India. as India's representative at the Colonial and War Conlerences, as Under-Secretaiy of State for India, and as the official resp noible fir piloting the Indian Reform bill in the fastidicusly criticat almosphere of the House of Lords, he has borne himsell with an ability and dignity, which has earned the high praise of such English statesmen as Lord Selborne. IIIhealth and ciuel domestic affliction notwithstand. ing, Loid Sinha has unflinchingly stood at his post ot immense and, lor an Indian, unprecedented responsibility, and the successlul emergence of the Keform Act, wh its piovisions g reatly liberalised, is largely due, next to Mr. Montagu's statesmanship, to the ligh ralents and derp devolion 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 woris of Buike that he has not betn recked and dandled into a legisiator. He has had to produce his credentials at every parp and martni, hat wo. ive anct
    was uu admission for him. He has had to overcome, besides, a deep-rooted race-prijudice, and he has dune so in a way which lew Indians have yet been abie to do.

    The South African Commission. The sameday as the curiected New Yeai's mersage from the Prime Ministers was published, was also published the following official announctment from Delhi. "latimation has been received that the South Aliran Commission will comircance tis sittings by the end
    of next month or early in March and it is understood that Sir Benjamin Robertson will leave lodia 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 bis duties in South Africa, will return to India alter visiting East Africa, where the Indian question bas taken an acute turn and, also Uganda, where economic questions may arise. Sir Eenjamin will be accompanied by Mr. Corbett, Deputy Secretary of the Government of India, Commerce and Industiy Department." The silence of the cummunication regarding an Indian representative who was to bave been included in the depatation, demands attention. Has the Government of South Arrica refused to receive an Indian or bas it proposed terms on which nu self-respecting Indian would care to go to South Arrica ? The public are entitled to an explanation of this sudden omission. We trust that the Government of ladia 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 Eurupean Association at Calcutta last week there was some interesting talk as to the need of the Europeans to ally themielves with an Indian political party. Mr. Arden Wood observed: "Naturaliy, they woutd wish to act with the party which called itsell the Moderate party, but they had some doubts as to what the real policy of that party was. Atter reterring to the opposite opinions of a Calculta 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 ine 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 platiorm oi co-opeiation with the European comirinity. Il that was so, it was of the greatet impuitance to this Association and to Europeans generaliy that they should at least meet the Miverates halt way." With all re-pect, we would say that this is not the way to appioach 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 Irankly and ireety willing to accept this postion? We do not seter to social intercuurse which, in our opinion, will fullow, and cadnot be forced to precede, the growth of mutual appreciation through co-operation in public work. The Europeans shuuld trankly regard themselves as His Majesty's subjects in Inaia muo way superior to or to ue distinguisbed from their findian fellow-sub jects. 11 inis psychological iea-lur to most it witl he no qasy leai-is accomplisted, then the rest is easy. Auty will join tue fuluicas pary, jure as in England, to which they are atcracted by temperameus, personal sympathy, and umty of aim and ideal. 1 lite, it will cume naturaliy to them-more natually than to Indians because of therf lunger political traning-to have toremost before thear minds net what they can get out ot, but what they can give uf $t$ remselves, to ladid. Tuis is but a parti. culai applicauon of tue great universial rate: "Seek ye tue kingdom of Heaven aud ais things will bo added unto you."

    The Moderate Repiy to Swami Shraddhaoandain Appeal: The Leader of Allatiabad writes: "The Indian Social Reformer referring to the reply sent by a number of Moderate leaders to the sppeal of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President-elect of the Congress urging the Moderates to join the Amritsar session, expresses a donbt ${ }^{\text {il }}$ 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 hat 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 overanxious to prove to the world that gome 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 wedo, wa may inform it that there is a considerable body of infle: ential and prominent Moderates which is not yol prepared 10 merge itself with the Extremists." W4 do not wish to prolong this controversy, but we art bound in justice to ourselves to say that we bac 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: contubutiun headed "Fiom the Indian stand point, by $\mathrm{N}^{\prime \prime}$, in the Advoceste of India of the 3rd instant. more contemptible and bate-faced attempt to creatt illwill between Hindus aad Mahomedanis, it it hardly possible to imagine. Taking Pandit Motilal Nehru's address to the Amritsar Oungress as hil pretext, the writer "is tempted to say nomething concerning the caste to which the prosperous Pandil belongs experialiy in connection with the historic relations of that caste with Islam." Bat before proceeding further he stops to make a proliminary observation. Then he proceeds to remind the Pandit and "his two accomplished daughters "what on earth bave they to do with the question ?of two episodes. He, bowever, mentions only ont though and that relates to Malabar of which! Kasilmiri is not litely to have memories. The wri ter quotes a proclamation attributed to Tippu Sul, san "wnicn" he adds, "possibly is an infamous fi thoo but which, I fear, I must believe untill persuaded to the contraly". He concludes by bidding this fellow Indans to rememb;r that whatever the authors and agents of martial law inflicted on the Yunjab they held the hon our of. their women sacred, is a curtues state of mind which asks Indians tc condurie J.llianwala in consideration ol theil woinen not having been vi slated! We believe thert is a law which makes it sn offence to foment ill ieeling betw-en communities of His Majesty's Indiat subjects. That, however, is a question for Govern ment. We have thought it our duty to call pyblit attention to this cowardiy and contemptible effusip. in the uterests of juurnanstic decency.
    Sir Rash Behari Ghose's Gift to the Calcutta Uni versity: oir Kasil Behari Gisuse has made a furthe ghut Kup es eleven lakhs and forty-tiree thousant in Guverninent securities to the Calculta University Ire pruceeds are to be employed in deveroping to departinents of applied Cnemisiry and Botany it connection mith the berence College which ti previous benefaction of ten lakns, conjointly, with Si raraknatn's gift, brought inio existence. Hov wistiuliy, says une Indian Messenger, did Ratnmonu look torward to the day wnen mis countrymen woul be instiacted in the knowledge of modern -ctenct lis dream is coming to be reatised and fir Kas Beoart is one of the very tew who are help ar 1 that ealisation No small measure of the endles grattiode of the unborn generations will be his due.

    ## INIIAN SOCIAL REFORHER.

    BOMBAY, JANIIARY 11, 1920.

    ## 1 I an welther a Moderate nor an Extremist : <br> ADAPTED PROY GURU NANAK: <br> A PLEA FOR UNITY.

    That the people of Indis are divided and subdivided into numerons cestes and sects, is a fact. Eqnally is it the faot 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 diviaions avother fonnded on political considerations, has the ouns on him to show that the new division is eapential and cannot be dispensed with withont great fojnary to the condiry's lasting intereats. We have more than once recently expressed in these colamos the opinion that there is no longer good reason for the division fletween Moderates and Radicala or rather, Immoderates, in Indian politics. The Hon. Mr: Srinivasa Sastry seems to have expresaed a similar opinion to a representative of STow India. The present Moderates and Extremists did not in him opinion represent genaine divisions in ideuls or programmes with reference to fatare work. The basig of the present differentiation, he added, has lost whatever meaning it had. The present differeatiation has come to centre rond persons. Referring to the hope he had expressed at Calcatta that the Congress at Amritsar would pass a resolation aboat the reforms on sabstantially the same lines as the Moderato Conference, Mr. Sastry confegsed that he was disappointed. Nevertheless, he added, he adhered to his opiniou that, if the Ponjab occar* reaces had not eomplicated the sitaation, the Congress, as a whole, would have abandoned the impossiule position adoptex at the Delhi Congress, We eutirely agree. Even with the complication of the Puujab occurrences, we believe that the Amritsar Cungrese woud have resiled from the Delhi position, lisd members of the Moderate party gone there in furger anmbera and atreugthened the hands of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviye, Swani Sbraddhananda, Dir. Gundhi, aud other local leaders. Mrs. Annie Besant writing in New India says that if Mr. Gaudhi und Pandit Madan Mohno Malaviga had bluod firmly by their first ameudment, they would have carried it, for, sbe says, Mr. Cilak had told his followers to yield at the last noment. We do not kuow what the source of Mrs. Besant's informa. tion is, an regands Mr. Tilak's instraction to his tullowers. Whether ber inforivation is right or nof, we bave no donlt that the Pandit and Mr. Gandhi would bave carried the Cungress with them had they gitood firm, and we mro alwost sare that they woald thave stoul firm had there beena large force of Moderatee to luck them np. We yet think that if the Moderate Seuders ronse themstives ap und resolve not to maken preseut of the untioual movement to at urraut opportauist hike Mr. Tilak, they will succeed. But the ounniry whet koow that they are determined to succeed sud are at merciy willing to accept saccess if somebody mund pluce it ou their lups. Their present attitade
    strikes us as being that of a man who haviug by hia laboars created a vast storehoase of power, hands it over to antrained, inexperienced buads, merely hecaure: be does not care to stand the noise and dast of the effurt which is needed to resist their clamonr.

    Let as examine whether there are sach fandamental differences between the pribciples and the policy of the Congress even as they appear from the Amritear resolatione and those of the M, derates, as to make re-uaion out of the qnestion. 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 thoir last seasion. He is also, what fur our present parpose is aaradvantage, a determined advocate of the continaance 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 coutemporary begins by pointing ont that when in the yeur 1918 it was decided by a majority of the Cungress leaders that they sbonld abstain from the special session held at Bombay, the main differance between the two parties in Indian pelitics related to the Montaga-Chelmsiord scheme. That difurence, it affirms, still exists. This statement is in diametric opposition to that of Mr. Srinivare Sastry which we have quoted above. Mr. Sustry is intereated in the success of the reforms as mach as ang other Iudian pnblicist, and he tells as that the basis of the present differentiation has lost whatever meaning it has. Bat Mr. Sastry attended the Amritear Congress and might have been naconacionsly biassed by that fact againet 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 aympathy for the Moderate point of view, say aboat the Congrese resolution on the reforms? "The main and important fucs is," it suil, "that the Cungress pledged itself openly to do, numels, to co-sperate in the $k e f o r m s$ so that this work will be the avenue to the establishment of fall respousible iustitatious. Halting as the fiasl resolution was in many respects, in compurison with the resslate motion which Mrs. Besant and her triends pat belore the Congrens, nevertheless it was in the right direction." Turs, we think, is the statermaulike view to take of the resolutions of a hage and unmanageable pablic gatharing like the Cuugress as it has cotne to be at present. The attitude of the Congress adad the Moderates to the MyutagnChelasfurd schome is one thing and their attitude to the Act of Parlinment is quite aunther. Lird Choluadord himself changed his attitude towards many parts of the Juint Report which he, with Mr. Montagn, bad drawa up of the main fratares of the reforin scheme. The scheme of the Act is neither that of the J sint $R$ tpurt, nor of Mr. Moutaga, nor of Lord Cholensfird. It is the scheme of the Joint Committee of Parlisment, differeut in many esseutisly from that of the Joiut report and that of the Government of Indix, sauctioned by. Parliament and biading apon all aubjects in India.

    Bot, contende the Leader, since the decivion to sbstain was taken in Augast, 1918, the divergence between the tro parties has widened. It mentions as fresh canses of offence on the part of the Rudiculs the mendacions and discreditable campaign of calamny sgainst the Moderate members of the Viceroy's Conncil in connection with the Rowlatt Act', the Satyagraba demonstrationa, the Congress sub-Committea's bogcolt of the Hanter Cummitter, the Congress resolation to baild a memorial in Jullianwala Bagh, the resolation demanding the reoull of Lird Cuelmsford. Oar contemporary says that it can point to several other resolations, bat these ara sufficiently testing. Of these, the first, namely, the relerence to the campaiga against the Moderate menbers of the Viceros's Council, cannot be a valid gronud for a eeparate purty. It it were, there should be en many parties as there are newspapere which prefer adjectives to facts. The Sutyagraha demonstrations were not organised by the Congress bat by Mr. Gandhi. So far at we know, several Congressmen were against it, thongh their reasona might not have coincided with those of oar contemporary. Certainly, the movement did not take root in the Panjab. It is relevant in this connection to note that the original point of differentiation being the attitnde towards the reform acheme, the jostice of imputing to the anti-schemers movement started by a supporter of the scheme, Mr. Gandhi, is not quite apparent. Then, as regards the boycott of the Hanter Comwittee, what are the facts.? Poblic oninion in this conntry demanded
     ble and whs profonadly dissatisfied with the constitntion of the Hanter Committee. Mr. Gandbi, almost alone among Indian pnblicists, advocated the acceptanoe of the Hnater Committee as a sufficiently competent tribonal. He went to the Panjab to collect evidence which was intended, we are sare, to be placed hefore the Committee. The Leader is wrong in thinking that the Moderates as a whole and everg where disapproved of the boyoott of the Hanter Committee. The released leaders have proved their bona fides by offericg to appear and give evidence before the Committee now that they are free. Bat the Committee bas refused their offer. We shall await with intereat our contemporay's comments on the gronads of the refasal. For the rest, the use of the word boycott is by no meaus altogether onfamiliar to Congress. eare. There was no Moderate split at Bonares in 1906, thoogh the idea and the thing 'boycott' was very mach in evidence and though the then Viceroy was cornpared to Aarangazebe in the presidential address.

    The reference to the resolation about the memorial at Jhallisnwale only shows the eageraess of the writer to establish hir case. So far as we know, the Cawnpore memorial has not ceased to be maintained out of deference to our contemporary's very creditable ansceptibilities, and thoee who know and naderatand Mr. Gandhi,may rest assored that nothing in the least calcolatod to affront the feelings of any commanity or sect will be conatenanced by him or those whom he accepts as
    fellow-workers. The last poiat on one contemporaryth indictuent is the resolation of the Amritaar Congrest for the recull of the Viceroy. It is imposoible to jastify-indoed, we are frankly ashamed of some of the speeches made on the resolntion and we think that the Presideat wonld have beta well-advised if ho had enjoined on the spoakers selfrestraint and digaits. But, sarely, there is nothing wrong is passing a resolation of the kind. As we suid last week, the Bowbay Presidency Association. nader the inspiration of Sir Pherosesha Mehtm arged the recall of Lord Carzor who was certainly a far leas ansnocessfal Viceroy than Lird Chelmaford. Lord Chelmaford bas openly avowed bia reaponsiblity for giving the Panjab Government a free hand, but that does not, as the Leader makes ont, stand aloges In the teeth of the solid opposition of the non-officient members of his Conncil and of the conutry, he forced the Rowlatt Act throagh by asing his uficial majority. He left the Indian member of his trovernment no alteroative bat to throw op bis office by his attitade towards bim. Does the Leador believe Sir Bankaran Nair wonld have reaigoed ont of pique on some particular issue? And what of the Indemnity Aot P We have repeatedly recog nised in these columps Lord Chelmsford's high personal qualities, but the Viceroyalty of Indis in thene times bas been too biga barden for him.

    We bave dealt at some length with onr contemporary's reasons for continuing the sohism, and we think we have shown that there is not mach snbstance in them. Imwediately following tha atict-4row rhich we havo drawn 80 largely, is another enlarging in the laminons style of Leader on Mr. Lloyd George's appeal for national unity at the Manchester Reform Clab. We ventare to saggest to oar contemporary that the need of bational anity is not less in this conotry today than in Grest Britajo. Ia that country, the ides of nationality, of national unity, is wellestablished by ceatories of political development In oar coantry, on the other band, it is only now beginning to be anderatood and appresiated as the reault of Eaglish education and British ralo The existence of political partien in Eagland does not affect national unity, bat in India where nations: noity is a tender shoot, sarroanded by namerons deas trnctive growths in the shape of caste and sectarian diviaion, the prematare institation of political paties masy work irreparable rain. Young Iodis may, tde impatient, hasty, easily exciteble, bat it is sound. at the core. It has a higher aense of selk respect, a quicker feeling for the thinge which really coant, a keener conacience for trath and parity than many of os who are its eldera sad oaght, to bo ite betters. Wo have the fallent laith in young India and wecan bat regard it as a grose dorelictiont of their daty on the part of elderly experienced leaders to withhold from it for any reason whateoever their seasoned guidence. We beg the Leader to spare some of its charity for the Congress leaderth In a moviog elegy dedicated to his father, Methew Apnold heo described two types of leaders. The firat, 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 geant and tacitnen hoit
    Stands on the threshold, the wiod
    Shaking hie thin white bairs,
    Holde bis lantern to sean
    Onr storm-bent figaren, and acke:
    Whom in our party me bring ?
    Whom we have lett in the snow?
    Sadly we mogwer : we bring
    Only ourseivel.
    Bat the poet's father was of not of that type. He would not alone be asved, alone conquer and come to his goal, leaving the rest in the wild. This is the type of leader that nplifts nations and ennobles bromanity. Moses and Mahomed, Buddha and Sir Krishna, ILam Mohan Roy and Ranade, were of this gracions type. They wonld not be saved alone either. Tryy. realised that their people needed their gaidance and that it was their doty on no accoant to desert their people. Opposition and calamny coald not deter them from carrying ont their God-appointed task. They realised in their hearts the meaning of the pathetic words of Mathew Arnold's elegy :

    See 1 In the cands of the world
    Marches the bost of mankind,
    A feeble, wavering line.
    Where are they tending?-A God
    Marshall'd them, gave them their goal.
    Ab, bat the way in so long I
    Yeara they have been in the wreto!
    Sore chirut plagnes theni; the saude,
    Spreading all ronnd, overawe;
    Factiune divide them, their host,
    Threatesia to break, to diseolve.
    Ab, keep, kesp them sonbingd;
    Elee, of the myride who fill,
    That army, not one eball arrive;
    Sole they shall strays in the ande,
    Flounder fur over in vaín,
    Die one by one in the weste.
    And in sanchine and atorm, they stood at their post, and posterity holds them, therefore, in houoared memory.

    The Congress Declaration of Rights. The Amritsar Congress passed a resolution praying for a declaration of rights by statute to guarantee the clvil 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 belore law and thete shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whetber substative or procedural, of a discriminative nature. (3). That no Indian subject ot His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or in respect ol free specch or writing or of right of association except by a sentence by an ordinary Court of justice and as a result of lawlul and open trial. (4) That every Indian subject sball be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence as in Great Brilain and that the right sball not be taken syay suve by a sentence of an ordinary Court of instice. (5) That the Piess shall be free and that no license ot secuity shall be demanded on the registration of a Yress 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 herealter in ; existence tbat are any wise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever'.

    ## THE AMRITSAK SESSION OF THE MOSLEM League.

    The session of the Moslem Leagne held at Amritar was in many ways a notable one. The Reception Committee had as its chairman, Dr. Kitchlew, who was released jast in time to welcome the delegates on ita behalf. The President of the session was Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi. In his addrese, he dealt with the Martial law administration in the Panjab very mach on the lines of the Congress Presidential address, bat was rather more appreciative of the Reform schens than Pandit Motilal Nehra. The question of Tarkey and the Khilafat natarally received a good deal of attention in the Hakim Sahib's address. The President of the Moslem Leagne arged that the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George on Janary 5, 1918. mast be strictly adhered to in the treaty of Peace. Mr, Lloyd George's words were explicit. They were: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Tarkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which!are predominantly Tarkish in race." That these words have lost none of their force by what has happened since tbey were attered, is clear trom. Mr. Montaga's statement on a recent occasion in the House of Commons that he had continnally arged apon the Peace Conference the importance to India of a peace with Tarkey consistent with the policy in the Prime Minister's declaration. The ramoned 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. $\mathbf{A}$ part from that fact, the deprivation of the Ottoman Empire of its historic capital, While there bas been no thought of depriving Germany or Austria of their capitals, cannot bat raise disquieting apprehensions of religioas projadice in nou-Christian minds. Tarkey after all was a minor belligerent -a mere tool-as compared with Germany and Anetria, and if the arch-offenders are to retain their cupitals, it is onjust to deprive a mere accessory of his. We trust that the Government of ladia will represent the Iadian view of any sach contomplated afrangement in time to His Majesty's Government. We are mach re-ussured to learn from a Renter's message that Mr. Moutagn will accompany the Prime Minister to Paris this week, apecially with a view to assist in the final atages of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
    The Hakim Sabeb anggeated in his address that, as a meuns of cementing the llinda Moslem entente, the Mahomedans of Indis should initiate the practice of sacrificiug animala other than the cow at their priacipul religions festival. A resolation embodying this snggestion was passed by tha League. As a beginning, the President saygested that the principle should be udopted by the Nussalmen residents of Kashi; Ayodhya, Mattra, and Brindaban, four sacred places of the Hindus, and the tffort sbould be simaltaneoasly made to apread the idea all over the conntry. The Hakibs Sulib coufersed thut this was a question which, concern-
    ing as it did, a vast, beterogenone popalation of seven crore Mabomedans scattered all over India, would take time to bear frait, bat he urged that that conaideration should not diecoarage them from making an immediate beginaing. For our own pert, we would rejoice to see the day when, like all other great religions, lslam too renonaces animal sacrifices altogether. Sir abbas Ali Baig in a receat pablic speech declared that Islam does not demand sach sacrifices. If that is so, why should not the enlightened leaders of Indian Mahomedanisu, the inheritors equally with the Hindas of the glorions hamanitarian tradition of Gantame Baddhe, immediately initiate a movement to do away with blood ancrifices? One of the greatest Indians of the day, a man of ripe experience and wiadom, told ut not long ago that, to his mind, the greatest achiovement of Hindaism was the discovery of the doctrive of Ahimsa and the bringing about its acceptanoe in practice by the renunciation of flesh-food by the vast masses of the Indian people. We learnt a carions fact in the Panjab. The practice of vegetarianism in that province is far from atrict so far as the men are concerned; bat the women of the principal Hiada castes rigidly. abstain from meat. We trast that our Mahomedan conntrymen will, now that they have begon with the renanciation of cow ascrifice, sood go farther and renonnce all animal sacrifice. That will, indeed, be a blessed resalt of the HindaMahomedan brotherhood. After all, it is far easier to kill a goat or a sheep at the altar of the Sapreme than one own lasts and passions. Menawhile, we welcome the resolation in regard to cow sacrifice as a firat step to this great and hamane end.

    Another significant occarrence at the Amritsar session of the Moslem League is worth being noted. A resolation was proposed arging apon Government that definite provisions for the protection of Mabomedan interests in the Public Services and as regards the nee of the Urdn langage and Persian character, should be inserted in the scheme of constitational reform. One of the delegates present opposed it on the ground that these matters ought to be settled by privateconference with the Hindas instead of appealing to Government. The resolation was eventually negatived and in its place a motion was ananimonsly adopted requesting the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a Committee at an early date to confer with the Committee of the Cuancil of the Leagne in order to arrive at an naderatanding on questions arising oat of the Reforma Act any the demand for complete seflgovernment. The League warmly thanked Hid Majenty for the Proclamation and the annesty to political prisoners, and recorded a resolation welcoming the announcement of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It repeated the Congress resolations regarding General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Hia Excellency the Viceroy. Lot it to said to the Leagne's credit that there were no naseemly apeeches sach as disgraced the procoedings of the Congress. On the sabject of reforms, the Leagne's resolation, while concoived in the aame spirit an the Congress remolation, it free
    from equivocation. It calla npoa I adiaus to demonstrate their capacity for complete self Government by availing theraselve of anch opportnaity as is now offered to them in the Reforms recently ousoted, which it frankly recogaises to be a defaite step to warde the goal of fall self-Goveramoat the Coingrese reambion, as amendod, doss not exclade the alternative of endesvouring to get full self-Government by obstractiny the workiag of the present iustalment of it. We cannot belp thinking that the resolation expressing adherence to the priaciple of separate reprementation for the Moalow commnaity and strongly argiog upon the $G$ iveromant the itamediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in pruvinces where it bas not been applied, nonnds rather iucongrnous in the midst of the ofter resolation of the League. We are amoog thosa. Who hope that the day is not dietant when commanal electorates and representation will cease to exist ia this conatry. Nobody wante to apeat exioting arrangements till there is a nuited demand that they need not be contiaued, bat, surely, it is time that we did not thiak of extending the principle. This also is a question which can be settlej by the sort of Cons ference the Leagne has acoepled for the solution of ? the problem of the proportion of Mahomedans in the Pablic Services.

    The Great Strike. A strike has been in progress in Bombay for the last few days. It promiset 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 Mooday last, the strikers enbodied their demands the chief of which are shorter hours of labour and increase in wages. Considering the rise in prices of the articies of tood and clothing and the monotony of mill work, the idemands 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 aigns of a aympathetic extension of the strike to others besides the millindustry.

    Dangers of a Flesh Diet: Mr. Labshankar Laxmidas of Junakad whose humanitarian propaganda is animated by a lofty idealism, has issued a striking tract pointing out the dangers of a flesh diet. $A_{a}$ American doctor declared that, in his practice of forty years, he has never succeeded in curing cancer and consumption anless his patients stopped Hesh. eating and lived on vegetable lood. Another medical man, apparently French, atates that there is clear evidence in medical practice of the part played by meat in causing dyspepsia, enteritis, and apper dicitis; in favouring the outbreat of typhoid and" dysentry; 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 some of the worst diseases. We wish Mr, Labshaniar success in his noble endeavoars to spread hamane ideas in respect of this and other subjects.

    ## THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIAI.

    ## (By Ma. Mamian Pagext.)

    One can only be thankfal after reading the erticle of "Kotgarh" containing his acconot as to how he came to teach and stayed to learn, and altimately attained to a standpoint where he can call himself a Hinda as well as a Christian. I perfectly agree with him in this as well as in what be says abont the vital need of Iodia nad even of the world for the divine aynthesis of Hindaism and Christisnity, particalarly as I bave been a follower of Keshab Chnader Sen, the Apostle of the Harmony of Religions, while going on the path be had elected especially in his fort years. I came to differ more and more from his Other followers on the question of Christo-centre which he wanted his Cburch of the New Dispensation to have, and 1 even thonght of afarting a Hinda Chnreh of Chrint some years ago, Later on, on learning that the Chrintian Indians werg evolving a natioual Church, I joined the Christian Cbarch, bat ouly to find what I have alrealy described in my first urticle in this puper, Saffice it to say, however, in this connection, that I an in perfect agreement with "Kotgarh" iu thinking that a divine aynthesia of Hindaism and Christiauity sach as be speaks of, and sach as was spoken of by Keshab Chander Sen, is the ouly solution of the problem.

    If I differ from bim at all in anything, it is in some of the details concerning practical life, and whatever I may say I say nith a view to compare notes and even to learn trom sach persons as bave like him thought over these problems very serionsly.

    He misapprehends my position with regard to caste, and in this be is not alone. Before making my position clear, however, I wonld say one or two things more coucerning myself. I am a Jain by birth, and an nuch au "froer, to however amall an exteat it he, from cakte prejudices than other Hindas. Then ggain ( joined the Brabmo Snmaj nearly fifteen years agoand identified myself with it to sach an pxtent as to be even ordaiued as a missionary thereof, - thiag which wonld have been impossible if I had any misgiving whathouser on the subject. I have writen during theno yours some of the strongest thinga againgt cast.p, aid all my Brahmo friends all over Indin will testify that I never kept it in any form winntoorver, thongh remainiog a vegetarian all the While. I may say further that 1 had not even so mneh men denbt that there was angthing wroug in onr denmicntion or practiced abolition of it. Thir, I lelieve, was largely due to that commanal conscionsaens Which the Bratimo Samaj and eapecially the Thurch of the New Dispenation were cuttuating and reatising, and which more than supplied the Nuot of the enme in the castersystem. But when I giowd the Christinn Cbnrch, instead of fiodiug a remter sense of commanity among so-culled Christians, either anoog Indian Christiane themselves or betwien them and the Enropeane, I luend: reriouble vilderness of iudivicualism or
    bolshevism (barring its military featares), 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 cornmanities from the lowest classes of Hindns coming in, not for any spiritaal gain, bat becanse they hall fonad a way whereby their material condition wonld be improved from every point of view. Another thing that I found from persoval observation and talks with converts of even forty years standing, was that these people were exceedingly jealons of all high caste convertp, and wanted all to come down to their level. In coarse of time they receive edacation and become civilized. They anderstand their righte better and come to think that they are the only trne christians since they have no caste-leeling, and natarally begin to look down npori high-caste converis for their harbonring the least little bit of castefeeling. Very often the missionary takes their side and things ure made as hot as possible for the highcaste converts both by the missiounries ant these other Christians. That I am hut drawing from wy own inagitation I sball show by quoting a great mission-historian. He says with regard to the resnlts of this policy of the missions couceruing caste:-
    "What bave been the practical resalts of this decisive and consistent policy? In the first place, it has here and there led withont doabt to arbitrary proceedings and bard dealing, to bypocrisy and dishonesty, for Christians of long-standing and higher castes conformed ouly outwardly to the clearly-expressed will of those placed in anthority-it would have needed more character than the average Hindn possesses to withstand this temptation. And the lower caste Christiaus of Pariah descent commended themselves to their snperiors by panctiliously observing the extergal signs of a complete breuk with custe in order to place themselves in as favonrable a light as possible to ensure their own advancement and obtuiu a higher sulary, or any other sdvautages."

    He saya ayain:
    "The relatious hetween Sudras and Pariahs in the evaugelical eburches have in the course of the centary tarned more and more to the disudvanase of the former nod at the present time the Parinhe tend in ever-increasiug proportions to form an overwheluing enajority. The change in casle policy whilat not the ouly one, has yet beena very powerfil f.ctor it bringing abont this condition of allairs."
    If this is so with Sudras, how mach mere so it is with convert of the highest casten, who are very few comparatively: They live in coustant dreal of subwerging and there is notbing to keep the mon it long, miless they make themselves free from that system ol boudage which makes such thinga possible.

    Now let us see what shonld happen wext. The urouressive Cbristianization of Iulia is inevitnble. The defects of the Hinda social system on one side, and the advantages that fllow on becoming Chris. tinns for many commanities and classes of peopte onthe other side, make this absolotely certain. Nobody*
    from ontaide can noderatand fally what posaibilitioe there are of this, with the heape of money. at the command of Missione, and the powers of organisation and devoted earnestness of so many nissionaries both men and women. Besides the Christian commanity is fisirly on the way to respectibility of a particalar kind. In literacy they stand the highest. Their number is already large. Hence whatsoever converts come and bowever large their number be, they mnst find their place atuong there and be necessarily abbmerged. Thns, since the Christian commanity is altogether proletariatined and progressive Christianis stion of India is inevitable, to build a new Christian India which is the aim of all missionaries wonld mean nothing leas than bailding it from the bottom upwards, a process which would tara topsy-taryy the entire fonadation of the Hinda Society and civilization. This dawned upon me very soon aftar 1 joined the Cbristian Charch, and when 1 discassed it with one or two miseionaries who were candid enongh to discass the matters over with me, I fuand that they too had the same misgivings.

    ## TEE ANNUAL MAHOTSAB OF TEE DEV SAMAJ.

    - (From The Chiff Snogetary, Dev Samaj, Labory)

    The Anunal Mahetsah of the Dar Samaj, held in commomoration of the 69 th birthdey anniversary of ite most wurobipfal founder, Bhri Dev Gura Bhagwan, wate celebrated at Lahare from the 6 th to 10th December, 1919 in the spasious and most beatifally decorated.hall of Shri Dey Gura Bhagwan Memoris Asbram, with intense enthanimsm and remark. able succes. More than 750 perevne firoked from sbout 100 far and near stations of the Panjab, N. W. F. Provincen, Dalbi, Sind, Baluchitan, Bombay and Bengal. There were besides handreds fron amonget the publio who joined the varions meetinge and lectnres,
    There wers in all sixteen ongagemente inoladiug tbres public leotare and ode ladies' gathering. The most imporisnt leature of the eltire coonsion was the meeting held on the 8th inetant, the epecial day of the Mahotsah being the birthdey of our master. As Shri Dev Gura Buagren bad been con. tinually ailing for naarly past tro montbi, it was simply ime poasible lor him to deliver an ex-tempore sddress bat even in that delicate state of health, be to aroid dieappointing his followers had written out anost illumionting addrese whioh was read out by the secretary in bis presence. The address is a most ralnable docament showing the scientific peychalogy of the origin of fictions and fictitione beliofa in religion, th dae to the incomplete sonl-organism of man, as also dealing on the need and biesbednese of the manitestation of Dev Atma, who owing to His beving evolved complete sontorganimm was able to develop that anique peychio light and perer whioh while revealing the Nature and organiem of coul-hife and the immotable coamic Lawly of ite growth, decay and death liber ates-man from the srip of lower and destructive coume of conblife and developen ia it higher and altrantic powert. In concluaion, the master annoanoed that daring the lest year two of his followera had presented to him neurly B - 50,000 in eash and Re. 15,000 in landed property which he dedientes in ite entirely to the purpoe of anique csase, and sthird venorable old Sevat bad prowiend two equarey of land worth if. 30,000 for the permacont fand of the Dot Samaj Bigh School, Mags

    After thie, in respang to an uppeal mede by the Anistant Secretary, Dev Eamsi Finsaoe Departmeot, upwardi of Ra 28,000 wen euberibed on the opot in cach besidee proximet by the mombers and aympethivars.

    In anotber meating the eloction of the Det Samij Proll: Nidhi Sabha (Bepresentative Amershiy) pontinting of thicip. tro menbere took place and this seeombly in ite tare alcowd the menbert of the Exeoutire Consoil of the Der Samaj.

    The anual report of the Der Samaj tor the lat your read in - aeparate meatiog ohowed that daring the gear noder report 80 new jersors were accepted se loneti grate membere and 181 parsons enrolled as anmeiates and aympathicers. Tsere were besiden 750 pertons weaned trom verions aint and evile sach at drinking, opiam-akiug, twhoco anoking, difhonest deslinge, thoft, advitery, gambling, infantioide stoThere wers in oll twentyfoar ednontional inatitutious ioolaiing two bigh solioole for boges one for girls, two mid ile solonile. for girle, and one for boys, and aloo loar nchoala for imy Depromed Clasees.

    ## haO bahadur k. viresalingam

    pantulu gard,

    ## An Applat.

    The metivitiot of the Bangelore Canionment Brahmo Samaf have couviderably lnoreased in recent yoarm. Le addition w its woriz of sprading liberal religione ileas among the poople, the Samaj has been holping the cance of rocial reform. It has also undertaken educational work aud is maintaining a gifls' phool in the C. \& M. Station. It is now propoed to oxtend the activitien of tha Samaj farther in kesping with the progrces of the times. Skope are beiug taken to improve the organieation and inerease the establiuhment of the Bamaj, but the diffialty with regard to socommodation seeme to stand in the way of all cocisl and edusational motivition At presont there is only one building, and ate it in sonseorated fus raligione parpose, only divioe service conid be beld thore. Tbere in no accommodation for holding tocial getheringa Sonday cobools, night elatsel, sto. Immedinte bailding requirementa of the Somaj are:-(1) a hall for a free reading ryont, (2) a hall for socinl gatheringe sud edaontional work, (3) refidence for misaionarien, (4) ont-bonsee and quartẹt for watchmen, oto. It is estimatel that to orast these buildinge at leat Ks. $\mathbf{1 0 , 0 0 0}$ - will be required. Thil aum could oniy be obtained by donations fro:n the pablio, at the incom: from subsoriptions from sonemerabip at present is hardiy enfioient ${ }^{\prime}$ to mees the expenses for the maintenence of the Sartej. In Tiew of the cefal work the Brabwo Semaj is doing for the religions, accial and moral well-bing of the peoplo, and at . its work is not confined to any partiaular ante or eommeniofe: and the buildinge will be to perpetate the memory of the Iate Beo Bahadur K. Vireqaliagom Paniala Gurn, the grest. pioneer ol Social Ryform ia Sontbern India, the Cammittoe of the Bangalore Cantonment Brebmo gemil hope that a generous responee will be made to thit appeal. The donations may be sant to the Becretary or to Mr. M. Kothandarame is Hobe Tiemantr, Brahmo Ssmei, 9, Cavalry Boad Bagalone $Y$ The Seoretery will asknomledye receipt of thom in the. Brahmo Bamaj organ and other newipapars. Djnort of Ba, 250 -and over will have thaip maner iascribed on a siab which will be fixed ot a promiseat ploce fat the brildinge
    V. Babounderam,
    

    ## THR BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

    The prefit of the Bank of India Limited, for the yent ended 81 st Dncember 1910, inclading sam of Rs. 42,692-11-11 bronght furward, moants to Rs, 11,61,471-6-0. Provinion for Iocome Tax and Saper Tax for the current year will absorb Res. 83,981 and the payment of an adinterim divident at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, made on the 30th Jone 1919, absorbed a farther sum of Re. 800,000 The balance now availeble for distribation is Rg. 7,71,490-6-0.
    The Directore parpose:-To pay a final dividend, for the helf year onded 81at December 1919, at the rate of Twelve per cent per snnum, un the paid ap capital of Rs. 50 lace, and to give Bonna to the sharoholdera of Oas Ker pur shars, equal to $\operatorname{A}$ Inrther Two per cent per annum, making Fourteen per cent for the yenr,-these paymente will be free from Income Thx and will sbsorb Ras 4 lace-to place Re. 1 Ins to the Reserve Fun', to write down the valos of Bank's holding in the British War Loan, owing to the rise 10 Sterling exahange by Re. 1 lac; and to carry formard to the pert agesuat the halances $\mathrm{R}_{4} .171,49 \mathrm{~J} 60$, subjest to a dyation to the Benk's provideat Fund and the piyreent of - Honus to the staff of th3 Bank.

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    " in will be as barsh as truth, a od as uncompromising an justice; I am in earaest 1 will not equivoante- I will not exause, I will not retreat a single incb-And I will be heards" Willian Lioyd Garaison in the Libsrater,
    

    ## NOTES.

    The Congress and the Moderates:-The Common. weal. li ? ourselves, takes the view that it was the duty. the Moderates to have attended the Congress ihi rger 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 abistention 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 refupal to join issue in the open cannot but be regarded as a most unfortnoate weakness, involving a timidity hardly suggesting vigorous leadership; or programme. All the more $m$ ist 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 tbis year it has failed-to reflect the National outlook. Mr. Sastri bas shown himself able to rise superior to mere party outlook, and we are more than glad that bis sense of statesmanship dominated those personal friendships and political comradeships which he must to some extent havetried."
    :urt Mr. Sastri on the Congress: We are not sure, judging from some of hisobservations after bis return to Madras from Amritsar vie Calcutta, that Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is now likely to appreciate the congratulations and compliments of our contemporary. His criticisms comprise almost every lault which may be imputed to a public movement. Curiously enougb, Mr. G. B. Trivedi, a leading Prartbana, Samajist, preaching on Sunday before last at the Mandir at Girgaum, is reporied in the Swoudh Patrika to have drawn from the proceedings of the Amritsar Congress the comforting conclusion that spiritual ideals were permeating lndian politics. Certainly ho was right in saying that never before has a Congress heard an address like that of Swami Shraddanand 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 Shraddanand, 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 propot: tionately 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 bas been taken in the course marked out by successive Royal Proclarnations. 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 : lor 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, selfcontrol and justice, all rooted in humility? Have we a sufficient stock of Christian virtue for the task. to which we have set our band ?"

    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 Commonwealh of Nations; to the weaker not more than to the stronger, but not less. "Many.years ago," be writes,
    "I heard 2 speech at Calcutta which assumed from beginaing to end, quite innocently, that the purpose of the British empire in Iadia was to enable scottish merchants to make their fortunes in the jute trade. We are not all tradesmen, neitber 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 ever to the unjust no less than their due, and giving no more to ourselves and our triends."

    Pandit Motital Nehru. The President of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Motilal, says the United India and Indian Statos; is a great social reformer, but sulike 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 defined the orthodoxy of bis 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 retura from England, be refused to undergo the customary ordeal of Prayashchit, or purification ceremony. He is as 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 beld at Allababad and the All-India Patel Marriage Bill Conference at Delbi.

    A Progressive Dewan: The West Coast Spectator (Calicut) writes as follows of the Dewaz of Cochin, Rao Babadur 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 be said that he would strongly put down any attempt on the part of the so-called bigher castes to boid down the untouchables and the unapproachables. We are also told that a second grade college for women would soon be an accomplished fact. Cochin bas 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 badiy 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 bave all the qualifications, statutory and other, for the post, and his colour, in these days, cannot be a bar to the office. It ig high time that the practice of not appointing Indians, however qualified, to the post of Chief Justice in our Higb Courts, were done away with. There is every reason why such a desirable innovation should bo started in the Panjab at the preseat time. Some time ago there wasa tall of an Indian CDiel Justice being appointed to some other High Courts, and the appointment of an Indian as governor is no longer regarded as beyond the realing 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 bad himself proceeded to England and ob: served the sitaation with his own eyes, we venture to think that he would bave formed a quite different judgment" Theother day, a friend remarked, "II the editor of the Leader had been at A mritsar during Congress week, 1 think his views woild bave undergone
    considerable modification." Since neither of these things have happened, is it too much to hope that the two geatlemen would pool their experiences and formulate an opinion which gives due weight to the situation in England and to the situation created by Jallinnwala? Everybody, after all, cannot tee everything with his own eyes.

    Protesting too Much; We have expressed our opinion of some of the speoches made at the Amritsar Congress on the resolution urging the recall of the Viceroy. But when Mr. Simpsoa told the Viceroy at the meeting of the Chambers of Oommerce at Calcutta that he was sure that every Britishen apart altogether from the ordinary feelinge of loyalty. would always rally round the Governor of the pro: vince or the Viceroy, surely he forgot the treatment meted out to the late Lord Ripon, and the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press, of Calcutte to Lord Bardinge, alter the transler of the capital to Delhi.

    Hindus Appreciation of Christ: The slandard a Romai Catholic weekly, published in Madragh comments on our paragraph in a recent isgue iovition attention to Brahmachari Gurudasa'i address on Carist, delivered at the Ramkrishna Math, of which we reprinted $\frac{2}{}$ large part in $\frac{2}{}$ recent issuc. It observes: "The Indian Social Reformef of a recent date called the attention of its Christian readers $t_{0}$ the eulogy pronounced on Cbrist by a Hindu preas cher who was willing to recognise Cbrist at one of the avatars of the Deity. And it adduces this as on example of the tolerance of Hindus and the Hindu Religion, and to rebut the charge that shere is any anti-Christian spirit in the country. We are quife willing to recognice that Hindus are tolerant le Christ and bave no difficulty in looking upon Hint as an avatar. But the trouble with us Chriatiana is that we look upon Christ we 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 Cbrist have beea given this title of avatar.". We are obliged to our contemporary for making it clear that "the trouble" is with Christians who will not recognise eny avatay except Christ, and not with the Hindus who recos. nige that Christ is an avatar of God. The talk of in anti-Cbristian spirit emong Hiadus is thus absurd on the face of it. What is lact in the anti-every. otberteligion spirit of Cbristianity at understood by our contemporary and several other professori of it.

    Spiritual Forces and Secular Dutics. A Chrigtian Missionary joornal cites the following as an illas. tration of the efficacy of spiritual forces in connec. tion with secular duties. "A brigade had been on a raid but had lailed and had suffered considerable casualties. Consequently a second attempt bad to be made, and the most careful precautions were taken in ordei to ensure success. One of the officesge bappened to remark that not oae thing bed been overlooked. "I beg yout pridon," said the chap1aio, "the most important thing of all tas been over looked." The Colonel looked up and said: "What is that, padri"? "The epiritual, 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 bave one "? That evening a service was held ander a tree, both chapo laing takiog equal part. Those present felt the nearness of spiritual farces. The raid was a succoss, they gained their objective they captored prisoner: and their casualties were slight. Surely it was the moral ruperiority of the Allies both as regard rightness of cause and of metbods that turoed the scale in the final issue of this momentous confict."

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> BOMBA Y, JA WFHRY 18, 1920.

    ## THE BOMBAY MILLS STRIKE.

    On the and instant several of the Bombay cotton mills bad 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 Lobour Settlement Committee, Sir Narayan Cban davarkar was elected its' president and among its mempers were men from all the different societies interested in promoting a speedy and satisfactory settlement. The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee set before itsell 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 bimself 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 fhem 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 al 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 jelpeted 4 of the 15 grievances is demanding immediate consideration. These relate to the wages of the workers, their hours of wort . $_{\text {. }}$ the question of bonus, and wages for the days on which the men were on strike. The men want a permanent increase of 15 pér cent. and a temporary increase of 35 per cent. Finor 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 18 r 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 millsi Sir Narayan points out that the mill workers
    feel that the present system of 12 hours for men is oppressive, weakens vitality, ruins bealth, depresses and demoralises home life, and altogether grinds the men and women working in the mills äs 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 coniderations on the other hand it may be urged that if the mill workeps have some oolid grievances, arising from the hard conditions of life due to high pricen and the long and oppressive hours of labour making life miterable, and, if, on acconnt of their ignorave and inability to ect according to the methods of organised and regalar agitation such as mill agents and other edacateI people are aocustomed to take for the purpose of the redress of their grievances, it is Society, as a whole, which by doing nothing to lead them arigbt hat left them to the sole alternative of the action of going on strike without either regalar previons notice to the employers or wit̂bout an organised snd zesponaible representation of their grieranoes. Ong outstaiding fact of the atrike in the general complaint of the aloofaess : of the mill agents-othe want of haman toach on the part of the employers. The mill workers it Bombay feel that they have no responsible gaidance and that somehow their employens hold aloot inetead ol cultivating sympathy, mutand anderstanding and harmony of interest by means of their haman 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 cooperated 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 cän not be doubted. We bave been assured on high aúthórity that there is a consensus of opinion among the Mill-Owners-and has been Ior at least ten months-that twelve hours is too much atd that with a io hout 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 baving struck without notice can not make it wrong. Then as regards wages, surely some increase is absolutely essential in view of the bigh range of prices. Whether it should be 50 per cent. as thep workers ask, or any lower percentage is a question for cosideration. A right settlement can be arrived at only by calculating and comparing the real wages prior to and sidce the war. No one can deny at this time ol 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 settied on the basis of a compromise. The workmen should lose something for their abrupt bebaviour, 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 pablic interesting themselves in their affairs. The refusal of the mill-owners to accede to a pre-emineotly 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 nat 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-bixth anniversary of the great religions and social reformer, Kesbab Chandra Sen. As the Hon. Sachchidananda Sinha observed in proposing to the chair His Honoar the Lientenant Governor of Bilar and Orisss, it is mach to be desired that the cooperation between officials and non-offivials of which one beaps so mach, shoald not be confined to the narrow field of politics, bat shonld be extended to the wider fields of edacation and social life. Syed Hasan Imam was one of the speakers on the occasion, and be remarked that, in the year 1884 when Keahab Chandra Sen died, he was a etadent in the Patna Collegiste School and he rememhered the remark then made that Keshab Chandra Sen by his preachinge bad stemmed the tide of Christianity in Indis; bat when alterwards the apeaker had gone to England and had come in contact with master minds of other religions, he realized that never a greater calamoy was heaped opon the head of Keshab Chandra Sen. He was a cosmopolitan in religion; he did not hpte Christianity. To him all people of whatever fuith or feligion were alike.

    Sir Edward Gait's presidental remarks were soholarls, thonghtfal and agropathetic: Speaking of Keahab's wort as a religions zeformer, His Honour said the docirines of the onity of the God-head, of salvation throngh faith, and of pasionate devotion to God, which were the main featurel of Keshab Cbandra Sen'e religions beliefi, bad been preached by many previons Indiau reformers, inclnding Ramannja, the Sonth India Brahmad, Kabir, the Panjab weaver, and Chaitanya the revivalist of Vaishnavism in Bengal, bat they were propoanded by Keahab with a vigour and elcquence which procared for them a far wider acceptance than they bad ever previonaly
    atmined. Hin Honour went on to obecrv:" The motto of Rami Mohan Roy the diatingaished fonoder of the Brahmo Samaj, seeme to bave been mbolk to the Upanishade." Un the other band, the ontatending feature of Keabab Chandra Sen's oreed was itn eclecticism. He assimilated whatever seemed good to him, Whether in Buddhism, Mahsmmadaniun or Christianity. He was, I ventare to thint, eapecially indebted to Chriatianity, and his lectareon the "Great, Mystery" as he calls it, "of the Trinity" shows the faller appreciation of this fondamental doctrine of Cbristianity than any non-Christiad, before or ainca his time, hes ever given expression to."

    The most interesting part of His Honoar's speech. was that which related to Keshab's inflaence in the direction of social reform. Sir Edward war inclingd to think that the ancoess. Which attended Keahaf's efforts against the trammele of caste, the aeclasion of woman, infant marriage and other aocial evils, was so great that it overshadowed his work as a religion: reformer. He observed : "There are now very many men belonging to the higher cestes in Beogal who, while benefiting by the social reforms introdaced by Keshab Chandra Sen and sharing to a large measare his religions belief, still call themelves Hindug, ${ }_{2}$ and the 5504 persons who retarned themselven an membera of the Brahmo Samaj at the Censes of 1011 constitate only a very small fraction of those who in their hearts are followere of Keshab Chandra Sene This circamstavee may be distressing to me na a. former Ceasas Commicaioner who woald like to plame himself on the accaracy of his atatistics, bat it is perhaps the best possible proof of the affectiveneas of Keshab Chandra Son's efforts as a social reformes!

    ## SOCIAL RECONSTRUOTION.

    ## (B7 the Hon. Mr. Juerton T. V. Seseacim Iyre.)

    In the lectare delivered by me at Madras, I pointed ont that the nation as a whole should be organieed for social work. I am glad, therefore, that the veterani of the Social Reform movement have renolred to e0. large their aphera of work True, the expansion hat become posiible only bocause of the energetic spadowork done by Social Reformors in the past ado of the ideas which they havig sown broadcast having taken root. Without in any way belittling the value of that work, I may reapectfally say that their work in the main bai hitherto been directed towarde the ndvancement of classes, of commanitios and of anits in those classen and commanities. What the country. now stands in need of in the bringing about of nocial regeneration among all clanses and commanities and among all creeds. The old ontlook to a great extent, was to develop the sense of indate jnstice in the educated male population and to direct their attentionto their blandering treatm ent of their women and tothe necentity of re-idjabting their own social conditions. It is true that, in recent yesry, endempnore for the clevation of the depressed classet havo gained somoattention. If I am not mistaken, the active prope ganda in this direction wastgenerally left to be ander-
    taken by special organiations. What we want now is the preaching of eocial equality for all classes and creeds and edncating the anbmerged classes to a sense of their civic rights and responsibilities. The outlook mast be to būild:np a nation, self-respecting, and dominated by a sense of jostice towards all persons withoat distinction of coloar or creed.

    The new political rights which have been conferred apon the Iadian nation will not fractify unless the work of Social Reconstruction is taken in hand even before the new. Legislative Assemblies sit in the varione provincial centres. So long as the edacated Ivdian maken no attempt to carry with bim the vast majority of the popalation, eank in ignorance and leading anhealthy and anwholesome lives, no permanent saccess on the political side is possible. We, who thepride as belonging to the higher castea, bave heen censared as baving purposely kept down the lower classes. There is an intense feeling of soreness on this question. I mast say that there is considerable justification for this bitterness. So long as this feeling of batred and of distrast prevails, the body politic canuot move on. The first and the foremost step iu the programme of reconstraction mast be to equalise opportanities for all classes and commonities. Places of worthip, iostitations intended to give edo. cation, partially at least at the expense of the Govern: ment, pablic baildings, reservoirs bailt at the expense of the Government which ought to be the common property of everyone, bave been regarded as the special property of particular ciasses and commauities. The - Blightest yestige of sach a complaint mayt disappear at once.

    There are at leaut three reasons why this matter should enguge the early attention of the edacated classes. The first is that the lower clasess who are slowly awakeuing to the sense of their rights, are making capital of theae"inequalities and are suggesting that political rights should be withbeld becanse of the proved incapacity of the bigher classes to treat the lower olasses justly and hamanely. Secondly, there is no precept of Hinda religion which jostifies any one, commanity arrogating to itself the privilege of worship to the exclasion of others. Thirdly, in scbools and colleges, the exclueion of the ontonchubles would perpetaally bring bome to the children of the higher classes the idea that they are soperior to others. It woald atrilss at the root of the soand edacation to implant in onr phildren this nujustifiable belief. It woald influence badly their after-career in a way whioh will not condace to harmoniong co-operation with the other com. munities. I am, therelore, of opinion that these matters shonld reouive the earliest possible attention from eocial workers.

    - Oue thing mant be made clear to the people amongat ${ }^{-}$ whow we have to work. They shoald naderstand that we are in no way interfering with religion in ite best sense These caste distinctions are no part of the tras religion of this land. People havevery vagae ideas on this snbject. A vigorons programme of work shonid be andertakeo to edacate the people rem garding the troe 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 thiat the new Social orgeni-: sation shoald invite membere belonging to other re: , ligions to co-nperate with them. No religion is more fitted than the Hinda religion to preach the gospel of Universal Brotherhood. 'In the Gita, Sri Krisháaz states that honoar and obeisance done in all lands a a d by all nations are accepted by Him, althonghthe name and description of the Deity may be differentr; We mast live op to this teachiug fally. In no othetry religion, so far as 1 am a ware, is there anch a bold, and homane statement of the oneaess of religion.: It this precept is properly practised the work of social: reconstraction will have for its convillors men of all cates and creeds; and the problem woald take with- ${ }^{-1}$ in its fold the depressed classes in every codimanity: inhabiting this land.

    Upon this matter it may be said that $I$ am indnis piog in visionary ideas, but I am sure that, whether it takes root to-day or not, this principle of griversality of religions will gain itg reeognition some day: Shall we prepare the way? The root of thie great: principle is to be found in our teachings and in my opinionthe time has come for its active propagation.

    If you examine the religious philosophies of India, you will, fiud that every religions faith fonad accept ance among the Hindns. Tue idol worshipper, the Charvalsa and the Atheista, who deny the existonee bf God, the dualipt and the Adwaitee, have all been age: cepted as belonging to the Hinda creed. I may at some fatare time develop this ides. I think I have? suid enoogh to indace eariest workers to move on this lines of religions co-operation. The Hioda is pecnat liarly fitted to prouch the aniversality of religiond It : onght to be one of the plauks in the platform of social reconstraction, because, in this land which consista of so many clasess and commanities, the aplift of the lower classes will not be easy, if onr vision is circamed cribed by notions of telligions exclasiveness. I hatres endeavoared in what I suid to deaw pointed attention. to some of the most pressing problems of social recgne stractions, I am sure that the movement which has for ite aponeora Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr, Devdhar, yourselt and a number of "other self sucrificing men, will not saffer by inclading in the agebdathesed somewhat immatare ideas of probsbly the newast recrait to the canae.

    4-6th1 1 at
    The Ramatrishna Students' Homes Madrast fot Ramakrishna Mission, tounded by: Swami Hivekah nanda, is doing much quiet work of a most usefy character in many parts of the country. One such instifution is the Llamakrisfna Students" Home Madras; where poêr and talented young men are maintained evidently free of cost. From, the tables appended to the repert for 1919, of which we have received a copy, if appears that the inmates came from all parts of the Presidency and wera drawn from all castes. The Raja of Pithapurint in his remarks. during a recent visit, expres; sed the hope that it will be faund possibite to admit students' of the Depressed Classist In this hope; we cordially concur. The institation was started fifteen years ago. with 10 boarderd. ."It has now 40, of whom zo are college students. The average monthly cost per head has risen fram Rs. 3 -II-6 ta Rs. 12-9.6. The Hume is under the management and supervision of Swami Sharvanandaji of the- Ramakrishna Mission. From the list of subscriptions, it is evident that the Ramakrishoa. Str. dents' Home has won its way to the bearts ot rich and poor, as an exceedingly useful institution carried on by the Mission.
    tie bombay commercial congress.
    In the iseae of the Reformer of Dec. 21st lest jear, 1 wrote a letter on "What Bombay is in most need or" saggeeting therein the starting of a commercial and financial weekly to safeguard tho intereste of Bombay trade and iudnstry jast as there are innamerable trade and indastry weeklies and joariala in Eagland and U.S. A. Sioce then, I fiod that Bombay is going to hold a combined Commercial and Indastrial Conference or Congress thas reviving Sir Fazalbhoy Carrimbhoy's Commercial. Congress. This step of bolding a Congress almost exclasively of merobants, finaviera and indastrialists is likely to yield far betterreanalts than the old method of holding the Iadastrial Conference as an appendage to the National Congress, when all and sundry took part in the dischassion and very little of good or progress came thereby. May 1 jass take the opportanity of saggesting throngh the columns of your valasble paper a few points for the consideration of the Congress ?
    (1) First, I shall reiterate the saggestion of a commercial weekly representing the Mill-Owners' Asocociation and Indinn Merchanta' Chamber and Barean.
    (9) There it the long-standing and vexed question of Railwey Nationalisation on which Bombay is sostrong and almost ananimons and the Congress mast declare in emphatic terms its views. We have had a serions set-back by the carioas somersanalt of Sir D. E. Wacha. Alao, there is the question of the increased Railway Fares and Freight. While benefit ting nobody and while dolog mach harm to the Indian people, the increase of fares and freights has simply pot more money into the pockets of the shareboldera of our Railmays. Carioosly enough, and let all take dote of the fact, that while the Railwase all over the world in these years of war haye 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 bas increased, even to the extent of donble its previoas dividend. All das to the fiat of a benign and solicitone Governmeat increasiog the fares, thas cainsing bardship to the people and rejoicing to the stock-holdera 1 Will not Railway Sationalization lead to the increase of the financial resontces of the Goverament ?
    (3) Imperial Preference: While we owe a daty to Britain in giving proference, there is a danger of oar being asked to sacrifice too mach or it may be an oyewash, Imperial Preferonce, while Keeping out foseigners, England may monopilise Indian raw naterials, thus depriving lodia of the benefit of tivalry and compotition. This was laid etress on by Mrin Borandji, thongh on a totally different occasion.
    (4) The transfer of Indastries to Ministers, ite reanseitation of the Manitions Board into a dew. Department of 1adnastries and the coming in of Sir Thoman 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 bave not mach eon-
    fidence in bim. There is not the slighteat expectation that Sir T. Holland woold look on Iadian intereats with more than atep-mothorly affoction. His whole record, Headehip of the Geological Department, Prenidentship of the Iadastrial Csmixission, Chairmanship of the Manition Brard, his evideace before the Joint Cummittee, all show what a bad choice they bave made to work a newly-created Department fibloh woald require an offleer with rasl sympathg a od enthusissm for India. It is a myotery why Sir M. Visvenvarays's talents are not availel of in the newly-bora interest for Indastries on the part of the G,veroment of India. Besiden, Sir T. Hollend, in the brief period of Execative Connoil Membership, made qaipe at leaders like the Hooble. Mr. Sarma, signed a renctionary despatch. And what a pity that ia the period of midsammer madness of last summer, there wahk not Sir George Baraes, Sir William Meyer and Sif Clande Hill also, perbaps, to preach oonciliation and moderation! The Congress will bave to consider the resalts of the Manitiona Board from the Indian point of view, the activities of the New Department and the powers of Ministers.
    (5) The Japanese inandation, the place of Ladians in the Import and Export trade and the poition of Iadian Merchanta in Africa, Persian Galf, Chiun, Japan etc. Bombay mast closely atady the domination of Ipdian market by foreigners, especially Japunese. It is regrettable Bombay Merchanta don't extend thoir activities very mach either in Iadia or abroad.
    (6) It is gratifying that in the present Indastrial boom, more Cotton Mille, Woollen Mille, Fire Insarance Companien, Chemical works, etc., have bean started. For the present, the nomber of Fire Iusarance Companies is enongh and they thould start Branchen. As for Cotton Mille, there is need for starting Mills on the lines suggested by Mr. Narotism Morarjee on his retarn from England. Bat it is aurprising that one faile to find companies being aterted for manofactaring articles of ach oniveral consamption, as Paper, Matches, Umbrellas, Porcelain and Puttery Giaes, otc. -Japanese ailk cloth is driving oat ovea the Swadeehi Hand-loom silk turig,
    (7) Baying op the Indian secarities held in London. The Government themselves can bay atd aell them bere, thas making a profit.

    I hope these few pointa will attraot the attention of the organisers of the Congrese, In this convection, 1 want to make a small complaint. That is, the several Indian Chambers of Commerce are not at vigilent, tenacioas, clamorons and expert-like as the Earopesn Chambers of Commerce. Aad Bombay should lead the way in the matter of providing the conntry with financial and commercial experts. What a pity that amongot oar co-called political leaders, except three or foor, all others are faguaisl igoorse mases : That ought not to be. Bombay should create leaders who are good finapcial and commercial ext perts. There ehoald be a barean of commercial and indastrial information.
    E.

    ## THE PROBL UM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, 11.

    ## (By Mr, Masilal Pareke.)

    That this is not an imaginary evil may be seen from fther testimony also. Almost exactly a centary back, Raja Irm Mohan Roy, jast when the mis. sionaries were begioning their operations in Bengal, expressed a fear that the higber classes of Hindas through increasing poverty, might become Christians. That was one of bis greatest fears, and epen the very starting of the Brahma Samaj had not a little to do with it. Bat in spite of all that, the conntry has become poorer and poorer during these handred years, and Heaven aloue knows how many of the middle aul higher classes, orphans, widows, women, men and whole families, have taken their place among the lower aud lowest olasses and all this nut for the sake of the glory of Christ bat for money. Bat to this is added now another motive and perhaps it may prove more powerfal in the end. The standard of edacation is very high among women in the Christian commanity, sometimes even higher than among men, and often there ure no suituble hasbands for them. On the other hand, in many commanities umong the Hiudas, very often brides are lacking and at times it is very hard to get a wife at all. Therefure many young men are tempted to become Christians fur this reason. I know Brahmins, Buniyas, Maraibas ete., came even to rue for this very parpose, and thongh 1 may usk them not to become Christians for sach a parpose, they have no-where' else to go and there are others among Cbristian Indians who are ready to welcome them. Thas money and women, Kanaka and Kamini, come to be associated with the buly uame of Corist, the parest of prophets and sweetest of saints, as the muin meaus of recraitwent to the Christinn Commanity from the middle und higher clusses of the Hindus. And all those who came in thia way together, with those very few who come parely for the sake of Christ and who are some of the uoblest sons of India, mast take their place among those who form the majority of the Christian fold. And this inevitable sabmerging of the higher amoug the lower to sach an extent that if allowed to go on progressing in the same way, would be a serions meuace to the whole of the Hindu Social fubrice and might even sabvert it altogether. It is this that I oall a wildoraes of individanlism or bolshevisu (minus militarism of course), and I ask in all striunsuess if the caste-system with all its evils is not better if our chuice lay between these two? The situation that bus been thus created is the most criti. cal one, and along with many other causes the present custe-poliey of the missions is largely. responsible for it. - Apart from the fact that the Protestant Mis. sious bud no justification for sach a policy whether from the point of viem of principle or the practice of the misaiouaries themselves, who would not move a step out of their own colour-line, the very results show that it has been a most dienstrons failure if the success of Christian Missious is to be judged not by
    their carrying on so many floarishing Depressed Classes Missions bat 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 aepired to be nniversal, have done ages nince, 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 mérits. It has been aaid again and again that it is the intolerance of the caste-system that has made this problem I am speaking of possible, bat to eay 80 is to add insolt to injary 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 withont ever caring to understand them, and they did all these against the very spirit of true Christianits. In spite of all this the Hindas who are the most tolerant of all people as every great people cannot bat be, have revered Cbriat as their own, and many of their greatest leaders anch as Rumkrishaa Parambamsa, Keshab Chander Sen, Vivekananda, Swami Ram Tirtba etco. have gone to the length of worshipping Him as an Incarnation of God. Christian Saints haye been honoured like the Hinda Saints, and Christian literatare has been read almost nniversally. Converts like Nilkanth Shastri, N. Tilak, Krishna Mohun Makerji, Kali Charan Banerji, Brahma Bandban Upadhyaya, Sadha Sandersingh and a host of others pave been respected and bunoured by all who knew them, and this was doné ferhaps more by the orthodox eection of the Hindus than the reformed one. It is not therefore the fanit of the Caste-system if it became intolerant. The fanlt lies entirely with the Protestant proselytising Christianity.
    Pratap Cbnader Moozamdar in his famoas biography of Keahab Cbander Sen discriles those early daye when Mission-work begen as follows: "The Christian missonaries, the state officials, the yonthfal journalista, the unfledged reformersall anited to raise a warcry against caste, and the entire popalation of our colleges and schools joined the crasade. It meant the introdaction of the Earopean luxaries 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 impecanions relatives: Excessive indalgence in the nse of alcoholic liquors obaracterised the edacated commanity." He says again after describing sach corraption: "And what is worse, neither the missionaries nor their converts showed any iuclination to protest sqainst the tide of corrapt civilised self-indplgence which npset the character of the rising generation. One of the newapapers of the time characterised Dr. Duff's papils, as well as other free-and-easy yong: men of the time as "crtting their way through ham and beef, and wading their way to liberalism throagh tamblers of beer." The prince of Hiada converts, the late Dr. K. M. Banerji, a little before he was Buptised, got with his friends into serions difficalty through some of these habits. In the face of all this let no one say that the aggressive intolerabee began with the caste-system.

    ## cearactér and marriage.

    ## (By Spif Ppalash, B. A, LL. B. (Caytar.) BaR-it.lat.)

    14- is it metter of lingitit pain to all wall.wishers of the cotatry that hath individanl and pational charecter in Yodia
     puhb ow- vilh, worke lor iadividell betterment ond pational
     itbe parpesee of my theis, I ohoald descrihe not at denoting thethiol aspocth of pnoinena, hamility, honerty, charity harmpesenere, etc. -nt thin we home plentiv, of a kort; pat evén denoting its phoical aspeot of exunal prity-uf this too wa have at leapt manch if not more than what eny other peopla oan ley cluim to; bot alloteoter, to me, meann the earpestinese, the stearfaminem in onr rerpectivs workn, the grim determination to ourrion tnoki thmangh to a refinite tunchation; the $p$ axion that atiachen met to onr work irreno peotive of whit penple eay or are copmoved trany or do. We enpe, itate relp, deterred ia onr nadetakinge by the fint hootile breath; we nwerve from onr porpnes at the first ritionle or 'dineonragement; we denist it the anprowch of the firmf foilnre. That is the resiou why, I minintain, one poblio and privale sinasitationt do not prosper. We lack foitiative; and, even puore thin thet, we lack conrage.
    Now it is not enough to any that tit io in, Bot few will deny it. The actual oonditions of our sooiety are evidence of 'ite "tròth. The prohlem belore na is te propose ways sed - manes that may improve our tons and give nome pertinamity (to our_natare. Thinking over all these and other allied .prohlems, my deliherate conolnaion in that the fanle lies with oari borre life; and home being the pirnt on which the wbale 'of the eocinl, economic and political life of a nation movep, fre: must begin br relorming the root itsell. Heme is the weonlant of the institation of marringes and I intond to 'dwell, in the coarse of thie article, on the sahject of marriage; - for a reform-asd that too of a drabtin nature-ie ahisulately -eacontial for the improvement of our oharacter--ns I naderetand and have tried to explain the word-and thereby ensure the geoeral well-heing of the penple and the prosperity of all our private and poblic andertaking.
    The main aspecte of the Indian marriage may be aommed ap en Pollowe (1) The chaice of the parties reats with the paronts and not with themvelves; (2) The marriage takes place at a fairly early age; (3) The nemly marriad pair ooned to the pareats hones and does not set np its own bome. These three oustoms are interwoven. The ohoice oan reat with the pareate oolt whau thase in eanly marriage. A grown-up man or woman would not, as a rale, ollow others to chnose for him or her. And when there is eirly marrisge i. a., thelore the hachund oan make his own living and the wile oan look alter heroflf and har separate establishment, they must come ander the rool of their olderss they bunnot net op a freek bose for themrelve日, $S$, either all these customs in connection with ont marriages watt remain or all mist go. We cannot tinker hero. Wa cannot find a via media with not doing violence to homan natura and giving rise to endleas diffurulties and resetions. And I Bobmit that all these oustoms mnat go: the puties nuast choose themelve; they mast be safficiently sdvauced in yoars to be able to lowk after themseives and alter marriage they mant pet ap their owa honseholds. I sm not blind to the immense posainilitive of evil; 1 am folltr sensible of the daugars in thie coares ; i know that this is ant a connsel of perfection, that it dueg rot necessurily ensure more happinese than $x$ xites at the preapnt time. Granting all this, I advecste be change aud that fur a single renson.

    I Itel assared that the change will bring ahont echange in the character of the race; mishe it more erll-reliant and mespe fit for adv, nturef; m.re capable of deternii ail ti; mure s-lfwiliel and peribeciuàs, if yon will; noise free ond conragcons. The ehenge, I bonestly feel, will give us a number of qnilitcoions that wo leck; ond thongh it may give rise to certoin erils, I believe that the giod to the individat atd the ance - that will fullow, will coauterbaiance the evil greatiy and eifecuively.

    Kiyling hate good ptory in whick en English officer of a regiment, Major or Culond, cunforter the be has not the apase daring and reckleaspesa siter marriage and childres that
    he bad belare. In thin steterinat we tad the graitent condemnation of entry marriage. It a military offioert who $i n$ no movica, who had heen ia the din end rost of battle raong a time could onddenly.ted bis heart filiting ater he tad pieed from bohelorhood to the marriod atate, we can entily imagine how conl-tamping and hest-harmwing effrote martiage wiuld bare on one tho theiar you-g, hat perbahty dever meen any danger, and who im never hera in a nitantion whern enarige and pertinacity were reqaired, and who bode himell on the very threebold of lift, alreeily wedded and that already e stave ond, already flying Imm the very dirt dongere that faoe him. All his potential oonrage hae been eapperi. Hit wits, and probshif : ohild too, are there emimming In hit mental horis n heckoning him to take oave ut himerll and fy at the frat brea'h of danger. This in the first great oraed why our people cennnt bive any hiah omhitions, rantnot aspire to great and noble ende, and hare eternally to he antified with whatever linte ther get beoonate that litite at leatt helpe to wainthin the family ot bome ead most often other relative as well-near and distant.

    Then there is the question of eell-choice or parental ohtion as to whom to marry. Marringe has hean regurded as one of the great adventarms of life bat in Indis, anfortonatoly, it is no sdvoutnre at all. One geti married of easily-at jeati at far at he or the is permonally onnoerned-ationa may take a sup of tea. All roniance, all rearch, all adventure, all the small and great thinge that give light and colonr to a wed. diag-all are nonest, because the parente search out the manter for their obildrea. They are obtained, on to ang, ready mate. Nuw the searoh for a mate in natural to ofl reariont creation. Il mate were not given $\omega \mathrm{ct}$, wa shall search for het or him ourablven. We muat have a mate. A major portion, if not atholalely the whole, of animate oreation searchea and yearna for mater and eneriboer muoh to oblain the deaired partner. Thit anventare is denied to ne. Oa other sdiventares wo mas or may not embark, bnt on thin we were heand to if othere did sot onme to fil the gaj. Enis barking on one adventare may make ou denirova and eager of emberkiag on otbers. Whon we are denird the irivilipu of the edventure that we would certainly hare undertakneme *e are denied, side by tile, the prasibility of any denire ct eagernese for further adventares Thue mort of ae make no adreutares in lite at all. We are ofraid of the amalleat. We have thas become almmst inoapible of groat and stirring deeds.
    Then I may briefly dual with the question of a trparate home for esoh married pair. This is very inaportant. The best of humes of the best of pirents cannot be the sains at oue's own home, hawever bad, poor or ill-3rganiced. Spparats honaing tosobes self reliance; it bringe at in daily ornact with a great aumber of difficaltict and situtions which every home hat to foce. Then it wonld enable the flowring out of indiridnulity. This is greatly dwarfed ood athuted beansea of the hesitation that the boldeat of goung men feel bofure eidere in whose hons be is, when denirone of duing certain thinge. In Indisa homes, the gonnzatern, however old, bave a pery nofortanale time. They flud it difionste to bave any privacy tof themeelven ; they cannot even recoive and enter. inin their friendes st they like, let alone the notione ol emburk. ing on personal embitions or doing gonregeons deeds. That all percoasal detires ans ambitions bare to be rathleushy anio. thered. And this goes on from generation to generation. Call this be tor the well-being of the rece ?

    All these considerationg leni me to the inevitable corent vion thas drastie changes in our bome-life are dooenenty it the coal of the rise-mind not only its ineagrs and emeciated boly--sre to lie prearered; if we have evarsthing origiasl th cont ;bate to bamen sirilisatio: if $\mathbf{W e}$ denire that the in. divdastity of the racr should be mainained and that ont joang perwons mbuali fince oat into decent and dianitied -peciusuc of mannoxd aud womsobsol. We mant now reti. oanly toke in hani oar inst tation of urartinge and, with cuaroge, ondo the great mroug wo are linfiestig uo oar fatnst --oni moral and anturial fatace.

    I kuow shere wuald be erlo. We canot have all go id
     good and evil sides. I knon for a f.et that at Euglat $\mathrm{C}_{\text {ai }}$
    
     pionas man woold eay, its oa have early mirfoge wert ic th this vice. Firt of ell, darriage is no sboline sula-gitarc
    againgt nex-immorality, Still it is, to a cortain extent. Brt ought we, hecase of the ponsibla danger of hasing a few-or evan many-immoral men, to rain our gath in in $\mathrm{f}_{\text {, wering }}$ by early marrigup, hy harduning ite shonlters an so n. Thuse sexnally fmmural yonng men of Enropean Onifersitien, are able, later on, to do great hinge. It is nor sexnal immaraluy that in morally and yhysically weakening os the gonle danping, ever-prespat fact that there it a family for whowe sate one's own life must not be ripked in 'fou-bardy' esterpriepa, in ambiblone, daring or recklexs undertaking.

    It in, I feel, not the sex-relationahip that is so $h+r m f a l$ as the bondege uf marriazo even withunt, it miy be, the sexrol tionahip. I should nut be understod as preaching immorality. I atand for the nitermost parity of eex-dife. I alno atand for the utmoat fidelity of weided love. But if I wrygiven the option-in the preseut conditions of Indiabetweon a bexnally inmoral hern sun a sexailly pare idiotunedinere, I wuald onhumitatingly prefer the lormer. Dloreover I am not so aure that a great desl of sexual immurality-i Feapite early marris efe-togs thot exist in our edaestional Fnglititions. We scent to lis lost both ways.

    Be that as it mav, I am honently ounyinod that to raiee the cencral level of uar character, to teach as conrage, dignity, fenflesegerg, manlinesa, to fit an for great undertakings and ambitions enterprises, to nerpe us to face the buffrts of the world-it is esseatial that early marriages must go, As a first atep for the building op of our oharseter, for the teach: ing to us of the lova of adventure as a promise for futare furihur and different edventares, we must ellow our young men and young women to find out thrir own spouses. And fur the recovery uf our luat individanlity, for the affording of oppartanities to lenra anffrevarshes, self-kuuwledge, selfrevereuce aud ealt-control', we mast allow onr yonng wedded paira to make thoir own neste, to work ont their own idesle and to yearn for and reatiae their own boves in their own way ; in sburt to Anitheir own self-expression in the form and manner that apueil to them al at and foremo:t.

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     eineune, I will not retreat $=$ siagle inch-And $I$ will be heord.*
    

    | , PONTMENTE. |  |
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    | Satyagraba, | Mr. Juttice Eanade'e life. |
    | Swaml Vivekananda's Ansi, | Miesion |
    | Tetísary, | The Problem of Christige |
    | The'Bolshevik Peril.' | nity In India, 111. |
    | The Bombay Milin Strike, | The Depressed Ciseses |
    | The Bombay Labour Settle ment Committee. | Mission, Mangalore. Ladies' Conferenge |
    | The Montaga Memorial Movement. | Amritas. <br> adian Olympio Asmociations |
    | en for Dleuaity. | As Appeal on Behalf of the |
    | A Mysore' | Ravialiem |

    ## HOTES.

    Satyagraba. The significance and propriety of Satyagrata have been once more brought into controverey by the examination of Mr. Gandhi by Lord Hunter's Committee at Abmedabad. The difficulty which some people evidently feel in regard to them is due to the fact that what Mr. Gandhi understands by Batyagraha is not merely Satyagraba but Satyagraha plus Abimsa. Mr. Gandbi, bimself defined it to the Committee as the pursuit. of trath and non-violence. Now Satyagraba does not necessarily. include non-violeaca. Mabomed and Cbrist were Satyagrabis, according to every defnition of the term. . But they did not exclude the idea of Himsa in a zood. cause. This is indis, putable in the case of the Prophet of lislam, As segards the Founder of Christianity, there is good reeson to think: that. He ultimately adopted the doctrine of :Ahimsa But that He did not $\mathrm{du}_{\mathrm{i}}$ so always is avident fram the incident of His driving out the moneychangera in the Temple with a whip of amall cordsi In India, howevar, for the last twentyfive centuries and more Satyagraha and Abimsa bave so consistenity gone together that they may be said to constitute a single idea. When, therelore, Mry Gandhi speaks of Satyagraha without feeling that it is distiog uishable from Ahimsa, be is undef the infuence of the immemorial tradition of Hindu thoughit gnd cultere. The assurance with, which he bolds that the Satyagraha moyement can do eothing but good is likewise due to this intimate easociation in his mind of the idea of Ahimsa with the idea of Satyagraha. It Abimsa were always and ever the concomitant of Satyagraba, or if Satyagraba, were , fbe concomitant of ahimsa, Mr. Gandhi's position would be unassailable. But it is fot the case. Nany poople who will not kill a Whorm will not hesitate to tell a lie, if it is to their interest to do so. Conversely, there are many men who patronise the siaughter-bouse, but would die rather than depart from the truth. If ite populace understood Satyagraha in the sense that Mr. Gandhi understands it, there will be no saler 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 ignoraice of what trath is. ${ }^{\text {s }}$ The 'test and credential of trath is ${ }^{\text {s }}$ that ${ }^{3}{ }^{3}$ can be apprehended by all. This is especially? and pre-minently true of moral and 'spiritual truth.'

    Swami Vivekananda's' Anniversary: On Sunday last Swami Govindapanda, the local representative of the Ramakrishpa Missiop, organised a publo celebration of the fitty-eighth anniversary of, the birth of Swami Nivekananda. Sir Narayan Cbandavarkar presided on the occasion, and spoke in warm appreciation of the career of the late Swam and bis lasting service to his countrymen. Tho Swami came at the right psychological moment Sir Narayan thought, to remind Indians that theit national contribution to the cause of humanity should be spiritual not material. SwamivViveka; nanda further illustrated in his own person the enlarged application of the ancient idea of Sakyay to the service of society and not merely th at templation. Mr. Gokbale's conception, of te Servant of India Society working in the polit ai sphere, was a partial application of the ${ }^{\text {sin }}$ priaciple, 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 Sayyas idea to modern conditions, I he last , issue of the Prabhudda Bharata, the moptthly orgai of the Ramkrisha Mission, published al Mayavati, parrates a conversation in the coussionf which the late Swami outlined at some length g scheme of a Convent for women as a meqns of der veloping the great spiritual potentialities hatent iq Indian women for use in the regeneration of the country. The sonditipn of the depressed classes moved the Swami to indignation and he had farreachipg plans pos elevating them and bripging them. .up to the sape level as other Hindus, Swami Yivekapand , was undouptedly one of the dynamic forces of modern Lodia, and it is well that we remind ourselyes quw and then of bis great examplo
    The Bolthevik Petil. It is difficult for us in this gountry to decide how lar the lear of the Bolshevik peril which seems to have cast 'in the shade the dread of German recidivism end postponed the settlement of the fate of Turkeyr is a polifical creation and how far it represents a real danger to civilisation. The question has been complicated by the fact that some cort of arrangement has been recently come to permitting of the exchange of commoditiega 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 Facific or southward towards Perbia Afghaniston and India. The Bolsheviks may or may not be devils incarnate-apinion geeps to differ on the point even among Eaglish publicistshut they ara not wanted on mir hirdere. "le hat
    slways seemed to us to be folly to interfere with them in sheir own country and, perhaps, if they had been fet 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 affair, 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 bereffective in warding off the menace, if there is really one. The Government of Indis should make it clear once for all that it will not counten. ance 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 Jhallianwalar 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 Milis Strike. The Secretary of the Mill-Owner's Association announced in yesterday'a 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 badindicated 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 the ef four, the Mill-owners have wholly rejected the laf taken the view that the question of bonus must

    byft to be decided from time to time, and mado Sessions in the direction of increase in wages and hotis of labouir. They have agreed to introduce the ro 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, atd 'refuse only two altogether. It will be the geteral opinion that, ori 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 unrearonable, That being the case, it may well be asked, why should there have been a delay of three weeks in anoouncing these terms, involving mucn 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 bave yet reached its solution. Sir George Lloyd very properiy waited to see whether the em ployers and the employed could not come to a settlo ment without bis intervention. Bat when the -Bombay Labour settlement Committee placed before His Excellency the results of its negotiations with the Mill-Owners' Association and conveyed to bim the confidence aniversally telt among the oper atives in His Excellency's deep sympathy for them ;end stroing 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 pablic teel grateful to him We ought not to omit is this connection to add a word of appreciation for the admirable tact and discipline with which the Police and the troops guartered at various centres, havo borne themselves
    in a situation which put severa strain on their endurance and energies.

    The Bombay Labous Settlement Committee. Next only to His Excellency's Bhare of the credit of the present settement of the strike in the Bombay Mills, is that of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and his colleagues on the Bombay Labour Settlement Com. mittee, who have sat evening after evening anziously discussing each phase of the movement as it doveloped and devising measures to allay anrest 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 bard-hearted and unsympathetic, and no one who attended the meetings of the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee could hap1 missed being impressed by the fact that the opera as a class, though they are illiterate, ure not wad in intelligence and good sense. Sir Narayan Chan varkar at once realised that what was wanted an agency to put the Mill-Owners in touch 1 S their employees and that when once this was eflec ty the situation would satisfactorily solve itself. the agencies which had been working among tha operatives happily agreed to co-operato 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, exposta. lating, linterpreting, coungelling, and several hours most morning in drafting, revising, recasting and replying to representations, The Dnyamedaya, the Anglo-Marathi organ of six Ohristian missions working in the Bombay. Prenidency, pays a well-merited tributa 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 nobla and patriotic thing ia forming a Bombay Labour Settlement Committea, particularly as he has been enxious for fome time past about the health of Lady Chane davarkar. It is to the good of all concerned that the leadership of the two bundred thousand workpoopla in Bombay's eighty-five mills has beoa, esponsed by so sane and balanced 2 man as Sitl Narayan is and we earneatly trast his efforts will soon lead to a resumption of work. That twelve bours a day are much too long to work in an Indiad factory every one, millownera included, will readily admlt. And with Bombay food prices 18I per cent higher that six yeats ago, as Sir Narayen bas shown from official Ggures, the need for bigher wages is quite clear, Perbaps a graver need still is that of better housiag.".

    The Montagis Memorial Movements A movement has been started in Bombay to raise a memorial to Mr. Montaga. Without desiring in the least to dotract from the credit undoubtedly due to Mr. Montan ga for his work in regard to constitutional reform, we feel that the movement at the presint momert is prematura. The rules under the Keform Act, on which so much has been left to depend, are yet to be framed. In the absence of these rulcs, the significance of the whole measure and of the parts thereof, can be bat imperfectly appraised or appreciated. The Panjab affair with its pendant, int Indemnity $\Delta C t$, haf created a new perspectíve im which the Relorm Act bas to be viewed, and there is a section of weighty opinion which is not satisfied that the responsibulity for it ceases with the Government in Iadia A definite apportionment of responsibility mast await the publication of the reports of the Hunter and Nehru Committee. We are not sure that Mr. Montaga himself would like it at this juacture.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    ## $B \in M B A Y, J A N W A R Y 25,1920$.

    ## A PLEA FOR DISUNITY.

    We are obliged to the Leader for the courteous and conaidered reply to our criticism on its groands for keeping ap a division of political parties. It heads its reply "Fact and Sentiment." We sappose our contemporary relegates our criticism to the realm of sentiment because we quoted come lines of Mashew Arnold's in our artiele entitled "A Plea for Unity." But "poete never dream: prose-folt always do." The Vedic rishis "saw" their hymns, and the poet-mind in all ages and lands apprehends as in a flash the deepest traths of life, which, we sometimes think, it is fio main basiness of ns, journalista and politicians, to obfascate. If we may say so without offence, our contemporary has shifted its grounds considerably in Its latest ples for disanity. In the firat article, our readers may remember, it addaced six reasons why the Moderates should continue to work apart from the Congress. Among these were (1) the Amritsar Congress resolation on the Reform Act, (2) the resolation aboat the recall of the Viceroy, (3) the violent langaage of the Radical joarnals in criticising Moderate nembers of the Indian Legislative Conncil, (4) the Satyagraba movement, (5) the boycott of the Hanter Cowmittee and (6) the proposed memorial at Jhallianwala Bagh. We pointed out that the Times of India had interpreted the Congress resolation on the Reform Aot as being in the right direction. Since then the Mahratta voicing Mr. Tilak's viewa, and Young India, those of Mr. Gqndhi, have accepted and endorsed the Times' interpretation. We had pointed ont that the Congress resolation regarding Lord Chelmsford's recall had a good precedent in the Bombay Presidency Absociation's resolation for the recall ot Lord Carzon, that violant langange is not a legitimate canse of party divisions, that the Satyagraha morement was initiated by Mr. Gandhi and not by the Congress, that the boycott of the Hanter Committee was not disapproved by all Moderater, and that the proposed memorial at Jhallianwalla shonld not hurt any susceptibilities. We may state in passing that our objection to the Cawnpore memorinil is not that it perpetates the memory of a massaore, bat that the exclasion of Indians from the premises, implies that the massacre bas the aympathy of all Indians, past, present and to come. -We sre sare no Englishman will be excladed from the memorial at Jhallianwala becauee General Dyer happens to be an Eaglishman.
    Wo need not, however, labour this point, as the Leader in its reply does not lay muoh store by it or the other Wive pointa. Oar eontemporary has discovered a new reason. It in that the whole fabric of modern responnible Government reais on the party system, and that a party in power without a party in opposition cannot be troated to ran officiently the complicated machinery of responsible Government. Assaming for argament': sake that responsible government and
    party aystem are inseparable, we may poiat out that the party system means that the Ministers belong to a single party and have a single policy. The Iudian Ministers ander 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 anderlying idea of the scheme with its nameroas checkg and safeguards seems to deprecate the institation of party Government at the present stage. And what is the party system withoat party Government? As for opposition, there is likely to be no laok of it withoat party opposition in the now councils. With the official execative government, the Services accistomed to frame policies as well as to administer them, and the Legislative Conncil with its commanal elements, wo may assare our contemporsiy that the administration of Ministers is not in the least likely to come to grief owing to lack of helpfal and bealthy friction. Farther, so far as we can judge, the conditions nader which the new scheme will come into force are such as to constrain every Minister to one programme which cannot differ fandamentally in its essential festures. Will the Moderates oppose a mesare for aniversal compulsory education? Will the Radicals oppose a policy which has total prohibition of the manofactare and sale of liquor as its gosl? Will Moderates and Radicals seek a conflict on the sabject of raral sanitation? All the sabjecta in the Modorate programme ontlined at Calcatta aro on the programme of the Radicals. We say that there *is no material for two programmes. We go farther. We say that it is the daty of all patriotic leadera to seek and discover fresh ground which will anite 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 distarbance of this balance will either bring it to a dead halt or scatter it to pieces. In Indian society the centrifagal principle has been developed to an excessive degree, and to add to it by the oreation of political parties is to conrt destraction. We may differ in reapect of individual measares, bat one reading of Indian history and Indian nocio-political conditions absolately preclade oar assenting to a policy of doliberate and determined disnnity. Oar contem poasry recapibalates the circamstances 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 diatinction which has ceased to be a difference or exists only as a differeace of taste and temperament.

    The Leader says that appeals for nuity, however ontitled to respect, do little good. Bat oar appeal seems to have done some little good, if we may jadge from the letters which we have received from men of all parties. "Pablio life mast be, a black drearg thing," writes our contemporary, "if it is to be divorced from charity of jadgenent or fuiraess of criticism." We entirely agree bat no one is entitled to quit his life, public or private, bessase it is deprived
    pf the thingurbich make it a thing-ot-pleatove-and beanty. In oar opinion, the Moderates' action in rocolvieg to atand apart from the rational movement is nothing leas than political saicide. We do not remind our contemperary that some of the noes pro minent Moderates have an their own yonager days enjoyed a reputation for intemparate speech and anbalanced writing. Bat we do think that they bave no right to be so thin-skinned an to equirm at the impatation of motives by anfedged oratore and journaliste. We are glad that oor contemporary recogpiser this Onr contomporary conclade日:

    Surily if oasnot be cootended that it is enough for the Libirain to join the Congries on the three daje of ite eoviona to mosive the courteny of i pecient hearing, and lor the reat of the jear to be kept ont of all the execotivt bodien of the Congross. Taking the sonatitation of the Congrom at it in en present, we cannot mo bow the Liberale with the views they hold and whioh they are not prepared to abandon, esan find themoiven in thoes bodice, If thone who are in power in the Oongrees think that the Liberale are nut jot . political ' antonchablea' and chat they may be jet again admitted into their ascred procincta a radical alteration io the constitution -ff the Dong ress ieenie to be necoseary. It in for thote who -iddrest huot appeny to consider what practionl means of 'moliavidig thit end are' opet to them, It would be a mistake 'si anppoie that their whole duty is done by issaing lettere of Intitation to the Liberals.

    We gladly reprodacé chis passage because we seem tid discerni in it a rag 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 'roent of the jear, Bat we hope that the Leader does 'not tontend that the Liberal party's position is similar to that of the Mohammedans or Sikhe in the" body politic: that so muny eeats ahould be reerved in the Congress Execative for Liberals and so many thrown open to the generality of Cungressmen. The eame oppertanities of winning the confidence of the Congress are open to Liberals as to Radicals. To - Ase for more is a sheer ples of weakness. For the 'reat, oue contemporary knows perhaps better than we do by whom the present constitation was devised and with what object. We agree that it is radically wrong and shoald bo altered. Bat how can it $b_{0}$ altored if those who wish to see it altered refure to take the steps vecessary to get it altered? Finally, lot as remind oar contemporary that constitational reform is not an ond in itsolf. It is a moenns to a grester, nobler end. Let Liberals and Radicals see to it that they do not push their enthosiasm for or against it to such a point as to impede the great social forces which, under Providence, are impelling this ancient land to aohieve its mighty destiny - among the world's nation.

    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 re: vise and to sapplement 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 Rombay on the ryth, and spent that day and the next in this cily. He was received with the cordial tospitality so characteristic of Bombay by all cinsses and aandy all shades of political opiaion. If there were not sach demonstrations of popular enthasiasm as those which greeted the home-coming of Dadabhal Naonoji after bis election to Parliament, neither were. there any of the ungracions, and almont apiteful, ded monstrations on the part of some malcontents, which seem to have marred the great welcome which Calcutta accorded to her diatiaguished citisea on Sunday last. The Stadents' Brotherbood was the Grst body to welcome Lord Sinte at a pablic function in Bombay. His Lordship's reply to the aldrem presented by it showed that the interests of the student population is very close to bis heart. The Western India Liberal Association and the Bombay Presidency Association entertained Lord Sinha, and his speeches on both the occasions were charac: terised 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 wisd adyice. "To my mind," be said, "the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the apherde of our responsible government would be to try and discharge in the manner most satisfactory to the people of India the responsibilities which ate now proposed to be devolved upon us." His lordship proceeded to illustrate this by a concrete example. He said:

    I will asaume that loonal self-goverament, adrestion and moitation will become tronterrod cabjecta. Thoy are ell important and will tax oar anargies to a very gremt extent. Iastoad of diverting oar energien in making for other asbjoots like law and order to be immediatoly tranaforrad, I ventare to think that it in part of wiedom to begin from som lo formolete a poliuy with regard io eash of thove anbjeote of local eellgorarnmeat, education and satitation. How ane we going to finanes thera, in what diroctions esan we expend them it Probably a arrvey is aeceneary in addition to - What het alcenty been aooomplisbed by the local Govaramonte. We ehall hise to begin to carry out that poliey estly next jear. Are wo ready with one $?$ I think not It will thatetore be a wate of-energy, of which we do not have s crapermberd. ance, to begin an agitation tor the parpoee of obsinizag control over the departmente of hew and order.

    We thiak that there is much more polltical energy, potential and even actual, in the country than tiord Sinha believer. Indian politics is no longer the pallid, anxmic thing that it used to be when $1 / 6$. Hume, with 2 cake in one hand and a cane in the other, used alternately to cajole and codgel hid 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 tbing of flesh and blood which it became at Amritsar. The point, indeed, admit,
    so doubt. Apart, however, from the question of n quantity of political energy in the country, we ce with Lord Sinha that we would be far more retively compassing the early extension of responF'e government. by working at the Act than ty : tating for it. Perhaps, his lordship and ourselves ry not agree as to the precise way in which this vking at the Act will lead to the desired result. fled Sinha, no doubt, means that the British irliament. would be so pleased and satis1/ with our succesi that it will hasten tadd more to what it has already given. We are小lined rather to the view that it will be found, en it comes to practical working, that the spheres :orded by the scheme areso closely impinged upon $t$ thope withheld by it, that Parliament itself must alise/that, without these others also being made ir to Indians, it is unfair and impossible to expect m to carry on with the rest without serious de. nent to administrative efficiency. Parliamen $t_{\text {. }}$ anot but come to realise that if Indians are pected to make bricks they must be given a ficiency of straw.
    Let us illustrate our meaning by the concrete. ample used by his lordship himself. How 4. we going to finance local self-government, edu ion and sanitation, which may be transferred to and which, all agree, need a lot of financing? fereare only two ways of financing a department the administrationt by retrenching in some other partments or by fresh taxation, We do not coner the question of loans, because ultimately the ivice of loans involves one or both of these alter. ives. Now, the Indian Minister casting about for lys and means to finance measures of local self. vernment, education and sanitation, has his back a wall. The contribution to the Central GovernEnt and the expenditure on the reserved departpnts, are sacrosanct, however grievous may be his led for his nation-building operations. One course ly is open to the Minister-fresh taxation. Now, ecessive Finance Members of the Government of idia, as well as others, have repeatedly declared l. Indian revenue is inelastic and that almost ald popssible sources of taxation bave been tapped ? That the untrained, inexperienced Indian Minister icalled upon to do is what the trained, experienced idian Oivil Seryice bad virtually given up as imbssible, Not only that, British statesmen with mturies of political experience behind them, would iughast if they were required to work a governmnet stem in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, e Miniaters for the Army and Navy, and the Home scretary, are to be permanent officials while their llieagues for Education and Public Healthand A1 Government are to be responsible to Parlia. ent. While welcoming the improvements which se scheme of reform contemplates in the existing -stom, wo have never concealed our opinion that the sk imposed on the Indian Minister is no light one, ad we feel constrained to point out that exaggera. phs on the one side are not more propitious to a vourable reception of the measure than exaggeraons on the other. One more point. Lord Sinla
    said that it the Ministers worked the Act to the satisfaction of the Indian people, the extension of the sphere of responsible government would beassured., He also repeatedly affirmed that the-futureis in our hands to make or mar. As a general proposition, applying to all human affairs, the maxim. nas a certain validity, but the complaint of the Cons: gress party is that it is the very thing which is des nied in the preamble to the Act. If it is in the, hands of the Indian people to make or mar their. political futare 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 exhortatipn ta his; countrymen.

    ## Mr, JUSTICE RANADE'S LIGE-MISSIQN.;* (By, Me, G. K. Drydrar, M. A., ).

    To underatand fally Mr. Radade's claime to greatness, his life must be stadied in relation to the time in which he was born and the environment that monld ed his character. The two illnminating addressea.s delivered by Mr, Rsaude at the meatings.of the: National Sucial Cuaference in dealing with the cons ditione of India in the pre-British period mane at Lackal. now. in 1889 on the subject of "India a thousand yeare. ego'; and the other at Madras in 1898.an. 'Southern. India a hundred yaars ago", clearly portray to pore. minds the Indis of those tines, Inter on when. pores: tion after portion of India began to come, under. British rale as a resalt either of conquest or commeroial policy followed by parioda of either consolidation, conciliation or admiaistrative constraction, and when: the iutrodaction of Western edacation and science as a resalt of British connection which, acoording to Mr. Ranade, was an act of divine dispenaation calculated 'to lift us ap from the mire of our wretchedness"; set in motion the process of liberalization of minds' and thoaghts of those that came ander thair beneficient iofloence, there was an inflax of agveral vigo rous and patriotic ideas snggeating directions for the rapid growth of the nation. Bengal which was probably the earliest to qome ander the sway of western: inflounce sent forth a generation which came to be: filled with the conviction that the basid of the rociety needed modification and oar old religiona potions and : practices badly needad a radical change. In Bombay ${ }_{1}{ }^{\text {. }}$ and elsewhere it wat thonght that the backwardness of onr conatry was dae to political conditipas. If was at such a janctare whon diffarent poople weresuggesting different remedies for national advancemeat, each one in his own way, and when conflicting; ideas were floating in the air and the conntry was. badding into a new progressive life that Mr. Ranade was born,

    He very powerfully felt, as a result of hic vast reading and experience, that what India needed was a social ovolution, or a radioal ohango in spirit and not in form.


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    ## … LORD SINHA IN BOMBAY.

    - Lord Sinha arrived in Bombay on the ryth, and spent that day and the next in this cily. He was received with the cordial bospitality 80 characteristic of Bombay by all classes and nearly all shades of political opinion. If there were not such demonstrations of popular enthesiasn as those which greeted the home-coming of Dadabhal Neoroji after his election to Parliament, neither wert there any of the ungracious, and almost apiteful, demonstrations on the part of, some malcontentr, which seem to have marred the great welcome which Calcutta accorded to her diatinguished citiaen on Sunday last. The Students' Brotherhood was the first body to welcome Lord Siabia at a pablic fuaction in Bombay. Eis Lordship's reply to the aldress presented by it showed that the interests of the student population is very close to bia heart. The Western India Liberal Association and the Bombay Presidency Association entertained Lord Sinha, and his speeches on both the occasions were charac. terised by modesty, chivalry, and sound tense. While expressing his pleasure that all sections of his countrymen were agreed as to the necessity of working the Reform Act to the maximum advatitage 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 futare, Lord Sinba gavo wisc advice. "To my mind," be suid, "thie best agitation for the purpose of increasing the aphere of our responsible government would be to try and discharga in the manner moat atisfactory to the people of Iadia the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devolved upon ng." His lordsbip proceeded to illustrate this by a concrete example. He ataid:

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    ## Mr. JUSTICE RANADE'S LIEE-MISSIQN.:* (By. Me. G. K. Devphar, M. A..)

    To underatand fally Mr. Radade's claime to greatness, his life mast be atodied in relation to the time in which he was born and the environment that monld ed his character. The two illaminating addreseem 3 delivered by Mr. Ryande at the meatings of the . National Ducial Cuference in deading wibh the conc: ditions of Iadia in the pra-British period-onest Larkis: now in 1898 on the subjoct of "India a thousand yearn. ago'; and the other at Madras in 1898.on "Southern. India a hundred yoars ago", cleurly portray taport minds the Indis of those times, Later on when pores. tion after portion of India began to come, nuder. British rale as a resalt either of couquest or commersial policy followed by pariode of either consolidation, conciliation or adaiaistrative conetraction, and when' the iutrodaction of Westero edacation and science as a resalt of Britigh connection which, according to Mr. Ranade, was an act of divine diapenation calculated 'to lift us ap from the mire of oar wretchedness", set in motion the process of liberalization of minds and thoaghts of those that came auder theit beneficient iuflaence, there was an inflax of several vigorons and patriotic ideas anggeating directions for the rapid growth of the nation. Bengal which was probably the earlieat to qoue ander the away of western inflaeuce sent forth a generation which came to be: filled with the conviction that the basis of the rociety needed modification and our old religions notions and: practices badly needed a radical change. In Bombay ${ }_{\text {. }}$ and elsewhere it was thonght that the backwardnese of our conntry was dae to political conditions, it. was at sach a janctare when diffarent people weresuggesting different remedies for national advance-: weut, euch one in his own way, and when conflicting; ideas were floating in the air and the conntry was, badding into a new progressive life that Mr. Ranade wat born.

    He very powerfully felt, as a result of bis vast readiug and experienoe, that what India noeded was a sociaf evolution, or a radical ohange in spirit and not in form.

    He mid wit is not the outwand form, bat the inward form, the thought and the idea which detormines the outward form, that has to be ohanged if real roformation. is desirod." Another peasage from Mr. Ranade's writings makes the meaning of this phrese olear. "The change which we should all sook is thas a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from anthority to reason, from noorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of hamen dignitg. This is what 1 nuderstand by social ovolution, both for individuals and societies in this country." As philosophy aims at perfection, as roligion aims at salvation, as educstion aims at harmonious development of nataral gifts, so nationalism should aim at a foll and all round development of the varions sides of national life. Mr. Ranade did not bolieve in progress of either the individasl or society by compartments. He was fally convinced that if a nation were to rise to its fall statas it could only do co by ajatematically developing all sides or the aspecte of ite national or social lite. According to him the dwaring of a part meant the dwarfing of the whole. To him the varione national activities sach as political, indastrial, social, religlons \&ec., \&c., were so many branches of the main truak of the social growth or the phases of one and the same thing. That is why he was not content instarting ideas about work in one particalar direction at the cost or exclasion of others. Ho wanted, if possible, that the national problem should be taokled 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 hia life and tha ${ }^{t}$ would sapply s clae to the questicd as to why Mr. Ranade did not favory one particalar brauch of hamen or national activity to the entire neglect of other branchei of haman life. He recognised the need for epecialization bat 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 robast that he believed that "there is no canse for despair if we only remember one great leason of hiatory and science, vir, that no develop. ment of the body politic is possible, anless the new heat animates all our powers and given life and warmth to all oar activities." This diatingashes a towering leader of a new order of society like Mr. Ranade from others and that constitntes his real greatness. Unlike his many contemporaries, therefore, he devoted his attention and energy to the varions needs of the sation and did not set one above the other. High and gederons motives always promp. ted his work He laboured for all cansen that made for progres. His motto was "to love all, work with all, and feel for all. This, in his opinion, was the work of a trae heformer. A trne antional reformer alwaye takes into acconat the varied needs of the conntry, closely: analyees the causes of its slow or stagant growth and eets the stream of pational enthosianem for work in varioas chapaels.

    In his opinion progress in a conatry lito Ludia rich in ita traditions and civilisution in ita glurions past was bonad to be alow and by anceessirs otages, if is wat to be sure and permanent, beonnse all organio and stractural growth wis such. Thie line of thought and action distingaished Mit Hanade from the rest of the men of hie times and placed bim in the forefront as a ato leader of Iudin ea the stande now. That wat the lesson of bie etrenuons life. i)

    To him the national problem appealed very differently. He aays "What is the inuer epriog of action which is settiog in motion both relorm and orthodax workers almost against their will, even where their will does not consent to move? That inver epring, the bidden parpose not oonscionsly realised ia many cases, is the sense of human dignity and lapedom, which is slowly asserting its sapremuoy orer the national mind. It is not confined to one sphere of fumily life. It invades the whule man, and maket him feel that iodividual purity and social justice have paramonat claime over as all, which we cannot igoore long without being drayged dowa to a lower level of existence. Tuis or that partienlar refor $m_{8}$ or revival of ancient practisen, as some rould like to call them; the remoral of this or that partionlar defect or vien, is riot and shoold not be the only end and aim of the agitation so improve our social coudition. The and is renovate, to parify, and alao to perfect the whola man by liberating his intellect, elevating bis standard of daty, and perfucting all bis powers. Till so renovated, parified and perfected, we can cever hope to be what our ancestors once were-the cbosen people, to whom great tasks were allolted and by whom great deede were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, if is a matter of comparative indifierence in what particalar direction it asserts itself, end in mhat particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with booyant hope, with a faith that aèver ahirks daty, with a sease of jastice that deale fairly to all, with anclonded intellect and powera fally coltivated, and, laotly, with a love that overleaps all bound, renovated Iadia will take ber proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the mater of the situation and of her own deatiny. This it the goal to be reached-this in the promised land." .

    > THE PROBLEM UF CHRISTIANITYIN INDIA, IIL.
    (By Mb, Manllal Parexi.)
    Bat when I say all this I am not forgetfal of the fact that neither the caste-peoplo aro with me, for their intolerance and saspicion are already aronaed and rightly eo: nor will I " be able to carry with fe the more thoughtful section either of the Hioda or Cbristiana with myself" as 'Kotgarh' asay. The thiog is that the sitaation is the most serions one and roquires the wiseat handling on the part of the moet thooghtfal amoog both the Hindau as woll es Christians. Nor woald I ever have dreamt of dealiag with it if I had not teit myself, as a disciple and epiritasl son of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keehab
    honder Sen, in a line with all the teaching of the ryan sages in apite of or rather for the very reason 'my being a member of the Body of Christ. In Idition to this my personal experiences with my rople, my family members and caste-brethren, twice fring the last decade, first when I joined the rahma'Samaj and next when I joined the Christian harch (and I was the first to join the Brahmo maj in the whole of Gnjarat) have been snch as to istify me in dealing with the problerf in the way 1 ). Not that everything is smooth or yet may be nooth, for a trae follower of the path of the Crobs nuat be ready to be a veritable scandal in the eyes the world, whether that world with its evil spirit e in the caste-people or in liberal Hindas or in soIlled Cbristians. But apart from that, there is not ie iffifit doubt that with the expansion of the whole Ithé national life in India there has been a corresmoding expansion in the castersystem itself and it is pady to tolerate mach provided those who are thas bleruted know their proper responsibility. Mr. K T. janl has spoken of anch an expansion in the whole If the Hindn life in his artiele on "How Missions lenationalise ns," and he thinks that the Missions nost therefore change their policy with regard to igh-cante converta, a angegtion which bas been avoarably received in more than one qnarter. Bat what I woald plead for is that sach an expansion of Le Eindu Society, insiead of contribnting to the exsansion of a separate Christian commanity in however ndirect a manuer, shonld mean a bult to all proselyisation whatsoever, whether among high and low, nd is the sign for a new order of things eltogether.
    When I say all this I am not forgetifal that a hoacaud aud one forces are slowly bat none the leas urely, making the casteresytem yield ite gronnd on Ill sides. It it does this in order to make room for auk individualinm and anarchy in social life, for 3ulahevinm and class-system sueh as it prevails in Burope and America where the weakest and poorest jo to the wall and wealth and saccess are the two yoda which people worship, if the caste-system made 'oom for all this, then certainly it is a resalt that is rot desirable. But if instead of old castes new commanities arose, in which there would be larger. love and greater purity, then and then only it is a consam. uation devoatly to be wished for. Bat to reach sach in end perhaps a progreasive modification of the :aste-syetern along with a traer appreciation and |oleration on its part of personal, political, social and abowe all religions liberty which is the foundation of all liberty, may yet be the very best means of taking the great Hindn commonity several stages forward in the puth of true progress. The caste-system has setedall along as a wost powerful brake on the iferty of the individual; and though it has often denied him any liberty except in the religions eppere where a larger latitude has heen given to him, there is not the least donbt that it has often prevented whatever liberty it gave from degenerating into lieence. Thne, in spite of all its defecte, and they are mayy as admitted by all, the caste-system does ofter a vantuge-ground from when it may be perhaps easier
    to evolve a higher social system for the Hindut than it would be by the way of the wilderness of individanlism. If the Christians or others now feel that it is too late for them to do this, their first daty is to organise themselves into snch commanities a! would. show to the rest of the Hindas the great superiority of these to the caste-syatem and oonsequently lead them out of it. Mohemedaniam bas sacceeded in: doing this to a fur greater extent than Christianity, and it is high time for the latter in. India to get its. own honse in order before asking. other people to. break theirs.

    Unfortanately in India we have nö true Christianity. Ooly once in a while Robert do Nobili, the Italian Jesnit who was the true St. Panl of India, and his successors worked in the right. way and showed that Cbristianity is nuthing else but the Atmic Rajya, lingdom of the Spirit, of the son of God, and to spread it as such they became even Hindas. The rest of Roman Catholiciam and almost all of Protestantismhas cume as caltaral and political assimilation, and this is the main canse of the extreme denationslisation and proletariatisation, especially in the latter. Had the misaionaries come as servants and not as masters, as Fakire and Sadhas and Synnyasis withont money and political power behind them, had they come in the manner of or according to the commands of Jesus Chriat and St. Panl and all the other great Envangelists of Enrope, and even if their converts had been the lowest of the low, the Hindas would have fallen at the feet of both such missionaries and their converts. It has been the glory of Hindostan and of the Hindas that they bave practised the greateat toleration of all religions for centaries, and paid their reverence wherever they fonnd spiritaal worth irrespectively of caste, colour or country.

    On the Indian side this Pearl of grest price, the Atmic Rajya, was foand ont by many, but above all by Keahno who wanted to nationalise it in the form of the New Dispensation, a Christo-centrie synthesis of Hinduism and Cariatinnity. Bnt it was too great a possession for his followers to be made proper nse of and has been lying almost anased siace his time. Max Maller wanted Keshnb's followers to call themselves Brahmo or Arpa Christians and form a nuclens roand which a traly National Charch of Christ might gather. But what was foand impossible by hia followers may yet be found possible by those among Christian Indians who are trying to nationalise Christianity by forming a traly National Charch. Let all such come oat of their preseut bonduge, and with the spirits of Robert de Nobili on one Bide and of Keshab Chunder Sen on the otber, advance to form a Charch which is traly national, Hinda as well as Christian in the best sease of the term, a Charch which is nothing less than the Hinda Chnroh of Carist.

    The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Rai Sahib K. Kanga Rao, Necretary Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore writes: "The Government has been pleased to give us 34 acres and 29 cents of land in Udipi for lorming an agricultural settlement for the depresssed classes. This is the second gift from the Goverament for the purpose. We request our helpers and sympathisers-and all who believes 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."

    Ho maid wit it not the outwand form, bat the inwerd form, the thought and the idea which determinen the ontrard form, that has to be changed if real roformation. in desirod." Another passage from Nr. Ranado's writings maken the meaning of this phrase oleer. *The change which we should all seok is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from crodulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to remson, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of hruan digaity. This is what 1 understand by social ovolution, both for individuals and sociotios in thin country." As philosophy sims at perfoction, as roligion aims at salvation, at education aims at harmonious development of natural gifts, to nationalism thould aim at a toll and all round development of the varions siden of national life. Mr. Ranade did not believe in progress of either the individual or society by compartmenta. He was fally convioced that if a pation were to rise to its fall atatae it conld only do so hy aytematically developing all sides or the aspects of its national or social lite. Accordiog to him the dwarfing of a part meant the dwarfing of the whole. To him the varioae dational activities auch as political, industrial, social, religlons \&c., \&c., were so many branches of the main trant of the eocial growth or the phases of one and the same thing. That is why be was not content ia atarting ideas about work in one particalar direction at the cost or exclusion of others. Ho wanted, if possible, that the national problem ahoald be tackled in ite ontirety.
    Io 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 voald sapply a clue to the question as to why Mr. Ranade did not favour one particalar brauch of haman or national activity to the eatire neglect of other branchei of haman life. He recognised the need for specialization bat his was the work of direction and like a general in possessios of a commanding ponition the was directing the national efforts into variona channels. Moreover, Mr. Rannde's optimism was so robast that be believed that "thero is no cause for despair if we only remember one great lesson of history and science, vis., that no development of the body politic is possible, unless the new heat animates all our powers and given life and warmth to all oar activities." This distingneshes a towaring leader of a new order of society like Mr. Banade frum others and that constitates his real greatneas. Unlize his many contemporaries, therefore, be devoted bis attention and energy to the varione needs of the sation and did not set one above the other. High and generoas motives always promp. ted his work. He laboured for all cassen that made for progreas. His motto was "to love all, work with all, and feel for all. This, in bis opinion, was the work of a true Keformer. $A$ true astional reformer alwaye taken into acconat the varied needs of the cointry, closely analjats the causes of ita slow or stagount growth and weta the stream of pational sathasiasm for work in rarions chaprels.

    In his opiaion progrese in a conatry like ludia rich in ite treditione and oivilisation is in ! glorione past was boand to be slow and by anccessire : atages, if it wac to be oure and permanent, beasnce all organio and strootaral growth was sach. This line of thoaght aod action distingaished Mr, Ravade frem the rest of the men of his times and placed bim in the forefront at a sate leader of Iodia as alise stauds now. That wae the leason of hia atrennone lifo.

    To him the national problem appealed very differe ently. He says "Whas is the inver apring of actios which is setting in motion both relorm ad ortbodor workers almost against their will, even where thair will does not consent to move? That inder apring, the bidden propose not coascionaly roalised in many cases, is the sense of haman dignity and likedom, which is slowly asserting its appreway over the national miad. It in not confioed to one sphere of family life. It invades the whole man, and makes him feel that individaal parity and aocial justice have paramonat claims over ne all, which we caunot iguore long withoat being dracked dowa to a lower level of existence. Tuis or the prationlar reform, or revival of encient practioen, fié aome would like to call them ; the removal of this or that partionar defect or vioe, is not and shonld not be the only end and aimo of the egitation to improve our social coudition. The ead in renovate, to purify, and also to perfeot the whole man by liberatiog his intellect, elevating hie atandurd of daty, and perfectiog all bis powers. Till so renovatod, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were-the chosen people, to whom great taska were allotted and by whom greal deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direotion it anserts itself, and in what particular method it proceeda to work. With a liberatod manhood, with bocyant hope, with asith that sèver abirks daty, with a sease of jastice that deals fairly to all, with anclonded intolleot atd powers fally caltivated, and, lastly, with a love that operleape all bound, renovated Indis will take ber proper rank among the nations of the world, aod be the mater of the aituation and of her owa deatioy. This in the goal to be reached-this is the promised land."

    ## THE PROBLEMUF CHRISTIANITYIN

    INDIA, IIL.
    ## (By Me, Mayilal Pabega.)

    Bat when I say all this I am not forgetfal of the fact that neither the casto-people are with me, for their intolerance and saspicion are alroady aronsed and rightly to: nor will 1 "be able to carry with 70 the more thoughtfal ecation eithar of the Hinda or Christians with myself" as 'Kotgarh' asya. The thing is that the sitantion is the most serione one and roquires the wisest bandling on the part of the mout thoughtfal amoog both the Hiadae mall wath Christ ians. Nor would I ever have drearnt of dealigg with it if I hed not felt mgelf, at a diciple aod $\}$ opiritasal son of Eaja Rem Mohas Roy and Keahab
    rander Sed, in a line with all the teaching of the yan sages in apite of or rather for the very reason my being a member of the Body of Christ. In dition to this my personal experiences with my ople, my family members and caste-brethren, twice ring the last decade, first when 1 joined the ahmo'Samaj and next when I joined the Christian arch (and I was the first to join the Brahmo maj in the whole of Gajarat) bave been ench as to utify me in dealing with the problerf in the way 1 - Not that everyihing is smooth or yet may be rooth, for a true follower of the path of the Cross ust be ready to be a veritable scandal in the eyes the world, whether that world with its evil spirit in the caste-people or in liberal Hindas or in soIled Cbristians. Bat apart from that, there is not e lifart doult that with the expansion of the whole the national life in India there has been a corresnding expansion in the caste-system itself and it is udy to tolerate mach provided those who are thas lerated know their proper responsibility. Mr. K T. tal has apoken of snch an expansion in the whole the Hiada life in his article on "How Misaions nationalise 0s," and he thinks that the Misaions unt therefore change their policy with regard to gh-cante converta, a saggestion which bas been vonrably received in more than one quarter. Bnt hat I wonld plead for is that such an expansion of e Hiuda Society, inatead of contribating to the exinsion of a separate Christian community in however direct a manner, should mean a balt to all proselymation whatsoever, whether among high and low, dis the sign for a new order of things eltogetber.
    iWhen I say all this I aw not forgetinl that a ioncaud aud one forces are slowly but none the less irely, making the castereystem yield its ground on 4 sides. If it does this in order to make room for ank individnalime and anarchy in sooial life, for olshevism and clase-systen suoh as it prevails in nrope and America where the weakest and poorest - to the wall and wealth and saccess are the two tde which people vorship, if the caste-system made oota for all thin, then certainly it is a resalt that is t desirable. But if instcad of old castes new comanities arose, in which there would be larger. love id greater parity, then and then only it is a consam. ution devontly to be wished for. Bat to reach sach , end perhaps a progressive modification of the ate-ayatem along with a traer appreciation and deration on its part of personal, political, social and wove all religions liberty which is the foundation of I liberty, may yet be the very best means of taking 10 great Hiudn commanity several stages forward 1 the puth of true progress. The caste-gystem has sted all along an a most powerful brake on the ferty of the iadividual; and thongh it bas iteu denied him any liberty except in the religions ohere where a larger latitude has been given to him, nere is not the least donbt that it has often prevent1 whatever liberty it gave from degenerating iuto wence. Thas, in spite of all its defects, and they are ravy as admitted by all, the caste-syatem does offer t vantuge-ground from when it may be perhaps easier
    to evolve a higher social systom for the Hindus-than it woald be by the way of the witderness of individaam: lism. If the Christians or others now feel that it is too late for them to do this, their first daty is to organise themselves into snch communities as wonld. ahow to the rest of the Hindas the great superiority of these to the caste-system and consequently: lead them out of it. Mohomedanism bas sanceeded in doing this to a far greater extent than Christianity, and it is high time for the latter in Indis to set its. own house in order before asking other people to. break tbeirs.

    Unfortanately in India we have nö true Christianity. Only once in a while Robert do Nobili, the Italian Jesnit who was the true St. Panl of India, and his saccessors worked in the right. way and showed that Christianity is nothing else bat the Atmic Rajya, kingdom of the Spirit, of the son of God, and to spread it es such they became even Hindas. The rest of Roman Catholicism sad almost all of Protestantism has come as coltaral and political assimilation, and this is the main cause of the extreme denationalisation and proletariatisation, especially in the latter. Had the missionaries come as servants and not as masters, as Fakirs and Sadhus and Sxanyasis without money and political power behind them, had they come in the manner of or according to the commands of Jesas Christ. and St. Panl and all the other great Envangelists of Enrope, and even if their converts had been the lowest of the low, the Hindus woald have fallen at the feet of both such missionaries and their converts. It bas been the glory of Hindastan and of the Hindas that they have practised the greateat toleration of all religions for centariea, and paid their reverence wherever they fonod spiritaal, worth irrespectively of caste, colone or coantry.

    On the Indian side this Pearl of great price, the Atmic Rajya, was fonnd ont by many, bat above all by Keshnh who wanted to nationalise it in the form of the New Dispenastion, a Christo-centric aynthesis of Hindnism and Christianity. Bnt it was too great a possession for his followers to be made proper nse of and bas been lying almost anased since his time. Mux Maller wanted Keshnb's followers to call themselves Brahmo or Arva Christians and form a naclens round which a traly National Charch of Christ might gather. But what was foand impossible by his followers may yet be foand possible by thase among Christian Indians who are trying to nationalise Christianity by forming a truly National Charch. Let all such come ont of their preseut bonduge, and with the spirits of Robort de Nobili on one side and of Keshab Chunder Sen on the other, advance to form a Charch which is troly national, Hinda as well as Caristian in the best sense of the term, a Charch which is nothing less than the Hinda Chnroh of Chriat.

    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 lorming an agricultural iettlement for the depresssed classes. This is the second gift from the Government for the purpose. We request our helpers and sympathisers-and all who believes 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."

    Ho mid "It it not the ont mard form, bat the ioward form, the thought and the idee which determines the outward form, that has to be obanged if ronl roformation. in desirod." Another pasesge from $\mathbf{M r}_{\text {r }}$ Renade's writings makes the moaning of this phrace olear. "The change which we shoold all cook in thas a change from constraint to freadom, from crodulity to faith, from status to contract, from anthority to reason, from naorganisod to organised lifo, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalisoa to a sease of human dignity. This is what I understand by social evolution, both for individanls and socioties in this oountry." As philosophy aims at porfoction, as roligion aims et salvation, as oducation sima at harmonious development of natural gifts, so nationalism should sim at a full and all ronad development of the varions sides of national lifo. Mr. Ranade did not bolieve in progress of either the individual or society by compartmenta. He was lally convinced that if a pation were to rise to ita fall atatae it conld only do so by ajotematicully developing all sides or the anpecte of ite national or social lite. According to him the drarfing of a part meant the dwarfivg of the whole. To hum the varione national activities such as political, indastrial, social, religlona dec, sc., were so many branches of the main trank of the social growth or the phasee of one and the same thing. That is why be wan not cuntent in atarting ideas aboat work in one particular direction at the cost or exclasion of others. Ho mantod, if possible, that the national problem shoald be tackled in ite entirety.
    Io fact, he desired the improvement of the whole man as a decessary condition for the growth of the society. That was the key to his life and that woold sopply aclae to the questicn as to why Mr. Rande did not favour one particalar brauch of haman or pational activity to the eatire neglect of other branchei of haman life. He recognited the need for apecislization bat his was the wort of direction and liso a general in possession of a commanding position be was directing the national efforta into varione channels. Moreover, Mr. Ranade's optimiem was so robatt that he believed that "there is no canee for despair if we only remember one great boseon of history and science, vis., that no development of the body politic is possible, anless the new heat animates all our powers and gives life and warmit to all our sctivities." This diatingashes a towering leader of a new order of society like Mr. Renade from others and that constitutes bis real greatioess. Uoliko hia many contemporaries, therefore, he devoted bis attention and energy to the variona neede of the ration and did not set one above the other. High and geveroas motives always promp. ted bia work. He laboured for sill caasea that made for progrese. His motto was "to love all, work with all, and foel for all. This, in bib opinion, was the work of a trus heformer. A trae pational reformer always tukes into account the varied need, of the coantry, closely analgate the cauces of ite olow or stagnant growth and aete the stream of national enthasiame for work in varioas changels.

    In his opiaion progress ia a conotry like ladia rich is ita tradtions and civilisation in ite gluriona past wat boad to be alon and by ancceasive atagen, il it was to be aure and permanent, boouse all organie aod stractural growith was encb. Tbie line of thoaght and action diatiagaished Mr, Hanade from the rest of the mea of his times and placed bim in the forefront as a aafo leader of Iodicen ale stande now. That was the lesson of hic atreauons lifo.

    To him the ational problem appealed very difien ently. He aays "What is the inuer spring of action which is setting in motion both relorm and orthodoz workers alnost against their will, oven where their will does not cossent to more? That inger apring, the bidden parpose not conscionsly realised ia many cases, is the sense of haman dignity and tifedom, Which is alowly sasertiog its saprewsog over the national mind. It is nut conflaed to one sphere of fumily life. It invadea the whole man, and makes him feel that iodivilual parity and social justice heve paramoant claime over ge all, which we cannot iguore long without being draciged down to a lower level of existence. This or these partioular reform, or revival of ancient practieen, fien eome would like to cull them; the removal of this or that partioniar defect or vico, is not and shoald not be the only end and sim of the agitation to improve oor social coudition. The end is renovate, to parify, and aleo to perfeot the whole man by liberatiog his intellect, elevating hie standurd of daty, and perfecting all his powers. Till eo renovated, parnied and perfected, we can oever bope to be what our ancestors once were-the chosen people, to whom great taske were allotted and by whom great deede were performed. Where thia feeling animates the wurker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particalar direotion it asserts itself, and in what particular method it proceede to work. With a libernted manhood, with baoyant hope, with a faith that vever ehirks daty, with a sease of jastice that deala fairly to all, with ancloaded intelleat and powera fally caltivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleapa all bonnd, renovated ladia will take ber proper rank smong the pation of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own deating. This iw the goal to be reached-tbie is the promised land."

    > THE PROBLEM OF CHRIBTIANITYIN INDIA, IIL.

    ## (Br Mb, Manhal Parexa.)

    But when I say all this I am not forgetfal of the fact that veither the casto-people aro with mo, for their intolerance and saspicioo are slrendy aroased and rightly so: nor will $I^{\text {a }}$ be able to carry with pe the more thongblful section either of the Hioda or Cbristians with myself" at 'Kotgarh' anya. The thing is that the sitation is the mosi serioas one and requires the wisest handligg on the part of the mont thoughtfal among both the Hindas as woll as Christe ians. Nor woald I ever have dreamt of dealing with it if I had not felt myself, ae a disciple and opiritaal son of Raja Rem Mohan Roy and Keshab́

    Chonder Sen, in a line with all the teaching of the - Aryan sages in apite 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 carte-brethren, twice lduring the last decade, first when $I$ joined the Brahmo'Samaj and next when I joined the Chriatian Chareb (and 1 was the first to join the Brahmo (Samaj in the whole of Gajarat) have been sneh as to jastify me in deeling with the probleri in the way 1 do. Not that everything is amooth or yet may he mooth, for a true follower of the path of the Cross :mast 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 Hindas or in soicalled Cbristians. Bat apart from that, there is not ;the lefant doult that with the expansion of the whole tof the national life in India there has been a corresfponding expansion in the castergyatem itself and it is ready to tolerate mach provided those who are thas tolerated know their proper responsibility. Mr. K.T. Panl has apoken of snch an expansion in the whole of the Hinda life in big artirle on "How Misaions denalionaline as," and he thinks that the Missions mast therefore change their policy with regard to high-caste converts, a anggestion which has been favonrably received in more than one qnarter. Bnt what I wonld plead for is that anch an expansion of the Hinda Society, inatead of contribating to the expansion of a aeparate Christian commnnity in however findirect a manner, should mean a balt to all proselytiantion whatsoever, whether among high and jow, and is the siga for a new order of things altogether.

    Wheu I say all this I aw not forgetfol that a thoncand aud one forces are slowly bat none the less sarely, making the castergstem yield its gronnd on all sides. It it does this in order to make room for rank individualism and anarchy in social life, for Boluhevism and clase-system saoh an it prevails in Europe and America where the weakest and poorest go to the wall and wealth and saccess are the two gods which peoph worship, if the caste-system made room for all this, then certainly it is a resalt that is not desirable. But if instead of old castes new commanities arose, in which there would be larger. love and greater parity, then and then only it is a consam. mation devontly to be wished for. Bat to reach such an end perhapls a progressive modification of the caste-system along with a troer appreciation and |theration on its part of personal, political, social and labuvo ull religions liberty which is the foundation of full hiberty, may yet be the very best means of taking the great Hiadn commonity several stages forward in the path of tere prugress. The caste-sjstem has facted all along as a wost powerful bralse on the Wherty of the individual; and thongh it has Diteu denied him any liberty except in the religious is aphere where a larger latitude has been given to him, $t$ there is not the least donbt that it has often preventell whatever liberty it gave from degenerating iuto ficence. Thne, in spite of all its defecte, and they are wany as admilted by all, the carte-agatem does offer a vniture-grond from when it may be perhaps easier
    to evolve a higher sacial aystom for the Hindos than it woald be by the way of the wilderaess of indiridaae lism. If the Christians or others aow feel that it is too late for them to do this, their firat daty is to organise themselves into anch commanities as woald show to the rest of the Hiadas the great saperiority of these to the caste-syatem and consequently lead them out of it. Mohomedanism bas succeeded in doing this to a far greater extent than Christianity, sod it is high time for the latter in. Indis to at its. own hoase in order before asking other people to. break tbeirs.

    Unfortnately in India we have nö trae Christianity. Only once in a while Robert de Nobili, the Italian Jesuit who was the trae St. Paul of India, and his saccessors worked in the right. way and showed that Christianity is nuthing elae bat the Atmic Rajya, kingdom of the Spirit, of the son of God, and to apread it as such they became even Hindas. The rest of Roman Catholicism and almost all of Protestantism bas cume as cultaral and political assimilation, and this is the main canse of the extreme denationalisation and proletariatisation, especially in the latter. Had the miasionaries come as servants and not as masters, as Fakirs and Sadhas and Sannyasis wilhoat money and political power behind them, bad they come in the manner of or according to the commands of Jesna Christ and St. Panl and all the other great Envangelists of Earope, and even if their converte had been the lowest of the low, the Hindas would have fallen at the feet of both such missionaries and their converts. It has been the glory of Hindastan and of the Hindus that they have practised the greatent toleration of all religions for centaries, and paid their reverence wherever they fonod spirital, worth irrespectively of caste, ooloar or conntry.

    On the Indian side this Pearl of great price, the Atmic Raiya, was fonnd ont by many, but above all by Keshnh who wanted to nutionalise it in the form of the New Dispensation, a Christo-centrio synthesis of Hindnism and Christianity. Bnt it was too great a possession for his followers to be made proper nse of and bas been lying slmost anased since his time. Max Mnller wanted Keshnl's followers to call themselves Brahmo or Arya Christians and form a nucleas ronod which a traly Natiousl Charch of Christ might gather. But what was foand impossible by his followers may yet be foand possible ky those among Christian Indians who are trying to nationalise Cbristianity by forming a truly National Charch. Lat all sach come ont of their preseut boadnge, and with the apirits of Robert de Nobili on one side and of Keshab Chunder Sen on the otber, advance to form a Cbarch which is traly national, Hinda as well as Caristian in the best sense of the tertu, a Cbarch which is nothing less than the Hiada Charch 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 depresssed classes. This is the second gift from the Government fur the purpose. We request our helpers and sympathisers-and all who helieves in the uplift of the depressed to give us whatever help they can to carry out the scbeme: any amount bowever small will be most thankfully received."

    ## LADIES COXFERENGE AT AMRITSAR

    ## --… Pazdal Compimaid.

    'Atthe mivion of the Ladied Copleronos beld at Amritase 'dasiog the metican waik, Mre Eucian fanm apike se tollowis

    - Binterti-l thisk it a privilege to be anked to eddrems this dietiagaished gathering and I am vinoeroly gratefal for h. In my opinion the quetion which immediately neede our antention is the question of Pardab. Preotically ball the moman-popalatinn of our conatry yet remain in veolation, and tere te all interte end parposer; wable to take adrantage of the expanaife times now sheod. We have hand many platform opeaiken in the varioge Conferenose and bave read inna. merable fiturciare on the suhjeot Tet the progreet that *s wea around as lis very limitod asd bardly commensurate with the argency of the problem. We ate a peorle very alow to ,beve and it is apecielly so in regurd to the removal of Pardsh nom onr:Suoial Syitem. While it is the doty of our men to -do all they tan to remove this ovil from our midet, I think it the duty emat apon those of us who have thed the trammels fol Padab is inffitaly greater. It in too late in the doy to dousonatrote that the kind of Pardah that is preoticed in India bea anotion in religion or can be tolerated by any liviog and progresaive commanity. The cancen which led the growth of Pardeh in our Sovinl System are now two well-known and it will be meelealy taking op your time to diate en that aspeot bf the sahjiot. All the remona that are asaslly brought out in support of the ajatem are now folly explided and all thiuke ing poisons realize tbat Pardah is ant oniy now a meaninglesi anachruaiom bat aleo a wource of great hindrance to the 'ontwad progrest of onz country. With the new opportanitien then wro fodes being ollored to ountitry for prigreen und indirancement, aur ideale nod espirations mere natarally vet on sa fatare for oor country whiot ubould in every way be worthy iot haripatt -Then, why not lot ne go beck in imagination to the path history of our had when women were wif free at meng held their own io philosophionl and political disorraiume and were in the true seute of the word the ingrivers of men. To Indiabis the nawes of Sita and Savitree and to many othere in tiande biatory have not only been objwote of aduration and "pride bat have ierved me examplet of womanly parfection worthy of emalation. The Mualim Eittory has her own heroinen whose lives amply prove that women are nevor des tined to live that demorulied and devitalized life which anhappily is the minfortnes of to many of oar siteter in Pandah. What door Pardish moan to-day as life is conatitnted? - Itciaiply meana the divieion of home. Dirinion of home lemin to diviion of fadotion which earried to its logisal pondanion means divicion in the mation. These is nut that barmoniona ooncord, ac bleading of fanotions fur common national goed, and therefore enocent of all conatrac aive nutioual programme is boand to bo bempered if nut -altogetber detied. It in, thenelore, to my mind of the
     ponsible if our idenl of Nationai emancipation in to be ettriued within the time we want. With thems fer worle Ithall resame my mom."


    ## INDLAT OLYMPIO ASSOCLATION, All APPEAL.

    The Editor; The Indias Social Reformer. $\mathrm{Biz}_{4}$

    I ahall be gled if yot will kindly upare apses in the aezt insue of your paper for the following appeal to the citizens of lidiá oa beball of thillind Oijmpio Amocintion.

    The institation it atarted with the objot of roouring re: presolatation for Indians an the Latermational Olympis Comay mittee end of celecting, traiaing and cendiag a reprementalive body of Athleten to thke part in the sext Ol mopic $G$ ameet to be held in Belgiam in Jaly1920.
    The time at oat diepoent is very shorto-baroly two montha-to antinfeotorily mocompliah the big tank of properly selocting and training abody of ropresentative Indicat Athtetee sad of collesting the sum of ahont thres lowe of Ripese necesary to meot their expenses. But we onanot tot go thit opportanity of masting the athletio reprosentatives of the tarione reoes and eations who are oll lospined by the ammel ideale of phynical excellenoe and compete with ensh ot hee in Itiondly rivalig. At the official repart of the lourth Olympiad anyso-
    wThese young men are aleo representative of the generalion into whose hands the devinies of mont of the natioge of the world are pasing at thia moment, and wo may hope the thatr moeting thus feriodically, the enthasisem which thay thare, and the opportanity sfforded of mataal knowledge and matual reapeot may have benefuent tiffect herealter on the csuse of intornational pesco.
    *The nuderlying iden of thew Intarnational $\mathrm{Olympl}_{\mathrm{y}}$ Gamee fit that there in womething in theme periudicel gathering whict givee promize of realte mom important then thume of be hoped for from en ordiary athletio mesetiog, howerer re. prementative and however exteaded in acop.
    -The old Hellen'c Gamee were the expresion of gnod tollowstip between Greek and Greek, and wat the onif lnetitation, indeed, which anited the Dalleaio race during : bintory of cantinuoas internal conflict. They forwed a mort of cord of anity by which the reoe was beld wogher not onity through their interall bickeringe, through the lemporaty ancendency of one state or another, the civil atrife of tte Peloponnegimn war and the downtall of Athene, bint thmagh tho grester disatere of foraign domination like thoes of Maoedon ond Rume,"
    The high ideala of pesee and unity lorm the basea of this whole movement. To echineve noy dogree at success is snch a short time of ont diaposal, expport and cooperation trom every citizon of ladia aod every member of the Aswosiation is the frat esecatial thing. and the beat way of comperatiug is to becamia mombat of the Absuoiation and than to indace frienda and ralatives to do the anme. This ona emily be done by angboty withont any great ascrition or lum of time and 1 do pot think that any one will gradge to genat us thie aimple requent.
    Foll particalari regarding progrese of the movemenat ard pablibhed from time to time in the periodical progrent reforti and I chall be rery happy to send copiet of the namp to thoed who may trquire them.

    1 trost that out peopio will rise to the occacion and belf thene antional ouctemrat, about the importance and atifity ol which thote oan hardly be ang two opinteras.

    Prons, ibtb Jenaery 1920.

    > S. I. BuAOWAT,

    General Beoretary,
    Iadian Oljupie Amociationa

    ## ANAPPEAL ON BEGALF OF TEE MAMASUDRAS

    The Edilor, Tbe Indian Bocial Reformer; Botmbey.

    ## Sif,

    The Nismandres (the eo cilled antousbables") of my village, Koyrt, a place oot very har from the abb-dividicnal tome of Barases (Dietrict 24 Pergnuaun) bege started 1
    school for the edncation and upliftment of thair children es aloo for poor Moulem boys. The school bas been in existenoe for more than a year and the number of scholari reoefring odgestion fe fairly eatiofectory. The eohool is loonted in a thatobed building eonatruoted by the Nomenadres themcolves but at they are too poor and cannot afiord to pay any. thing in oseh they have been appealing, through me, for soot farnitare such as atable and a ebair for the coacher and half a dozen benohes for the boyd. The Educs. tion Department bat been written to for a amall oid, and a general appesi in extended to my educated conntrymen to contribate their mite for the ap-keep of the achool. Any donationes sent in for this leadable object will be thankfally received and aoknowledged by me or my eateamed and patriotic friend, Mr. I. B. Sed, M. A., B. 'L., Bar.at-Lawf. 57-1, Harish Chnuder Mookarjoe Streal, Bbowanipore, Caloatta.

    | 6.5 acken Lane, | Yonza traly, |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | Culontte. | R. N. Dzy. |

    - racialism at ambitisar.

    Brigadiar General Dyer's action at Amritgar is still sub. juclica, althungh the Press as a whole has already passed Judgment. The Jforning Post and The Daily Herald have each been blased anduly in the aireotion which their rea. dere would expect. As a nation pablic opinion has been raie. ly ahooked, hat it it donbtful whether the ultimate canse of auch ontastropbes in apprehended. Tha keyword which explalne the eeverity in the method of the repression of the Paujab outbreak, no lese than the outbrest itseli, is "rasialiam." It was only tor their ekins being white that beuts offivials were olubbed to death by the moh a and it the ekias of the Jullinnwale erowd bed not been darte the caenaliae would at tho most bave been by the esore intead of by the thomand. It may be a gain for the momeat that a $\mathrm{rg}^{-}$ bullion was nipped in the bud, it will be a loss that will go duwn into the ages if this ahooting which stopped the rebellion ond the wideaprend roisery that mat have acoompanied $i t, i_{1}$ to go into hintory as a massacre.

    In the "oranaling order" the raoisl pustion compes even more enuphaticolly iuto spideace. In a oertain atreet Misa Sharwood, - Zanana miunionary, was marderously attacked and left to dead. The General coneidered that some colleotive punigh. munt was dellod for. The fura of panishaent edoptei wan to sompei uny Indian wishing to pass along the atreet to oraml along $\mathrm{it}_{\text {. That }}$ Th to asy, becanes cortain Iadian malefuctort had bratally and marderonsly assaulted an Eaglish lady all Indian entering the atreet were to be bumiliated as above, but broanse thay bad say rosponaibility whatever for the mosaulth bat becaune tieg were of the amme coloar at the men who had oommitted the assaalt. The mutive giren for auch rotributiou mas that "mo lock apon momen es smored and ... I folt the atreet stould bo looked on as asored." There is no Typocring here at the worde rather tend to anggest, bat only misconoeption. Side by side vith the racial passion wat the indiguation of ohivalry. It there is one offunce that before all othere maker an Euglishnan see red, it is the ill-treatment of women, Bat this doen not make the inpulee whioh prodneed the "erawling order" the lese wrong; and it wes revoked by superior anthurity $m$ eson as it cave to notioe.-The Chal. lenge.

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    Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1920. No. 22.


    

    ## HOIES.

    The Late Lady Chandavarkar: Lady Lak. shmibai Chandavarkar died on Monday night after an illness of several months, borne with exemplary courge and equanimity. Unflinching in her devotion to the ideal of Hinda 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 leatures 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 prohlems involved in them patiently for herself, and ber sympathetic altitude 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 ber to give up all public en= gagements, the life and soul of many women's institutions, philanthropic and educational, and had a wonderlully clear grasp of the details of their working Her judgment was always valued for its clarity and wisdom by her coadjutivs Her death leaves a gap in the ranks of oar women leaders which cannot be easily filled. In private hile, Lady Chandavarkar's distinguishing characteristics were a deep solicitude for every one in her very large circle of relatives and iriends, She never missed a single opportunity of showing that she elt with and fur them in all their joys and sorrows and even when sho was ill, she could with difficulty be deterred from performing what she regarded as a duty she owed to them: Every one who knew ber will miss the gracious presence, and the nlways helpfut counsel of the noble lady who has passed away. The loss to the bereaved hurband and children is too deep for words.


    #### Abstract

    Late Mrs. Narottam Morarit. We deeply regret to announce the death alter '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 frieodship for many years. Sir Narayan and Lady Chandavarkar have been looked up to as their deepest well-wisbers by the Morarji family. We cannot belp 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.


    Is India Ripe for the Party System? Nere India (Madras) wites in tis issue ot the 24th January. "We do not know if the Leader, which has rrequently 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 apy 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, agricul. ture, education, co-operation and the like, program. mes of work can be put forward to which all cannot subscribe? Obviously only' when progress bas been made to a certain extent will our political life pranch oft into parties."

    A Moderate Leades on Party Poliftics. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Kao, 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 MontaguCheimsford 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 circum. stances he failed to see the soundness of the cry now that has been raised. Moreover the electorates have not been turmed and it is idie to say that there is an electurate now in existence or likely to come into existence. There are no political organisations as yet in the countiy to form the backbone of any party in the electorates. He therefore thought that political paties with definite political programme woald emerge only alter one or two terms ot the new councils and till then it will be wise to send into the Council the best talent arailable.

    The Montaga Memorial Novement. The promoters of the Montaga Memuial movement have wisely given up the diea of a personal memorial to Mr. Moniagu in lavour of one in commemoration of the passing of the Retorm act and Mr. Montagu's eplendid work in connection therewith ithe memorial is to take the form, first, of some object of public uthty and, secondiy, monumental work of art to be erected on a suitable site and associated with the name of Mr. Montagn. It is undeniable that Mr. Montagu's work in connection with the Relorms has been such as to deserve recugaition in ladia.

    A Sequel to the Newington Tragedy: The Madras papars state tatic the project of converting Newington College, the school tor Zemindar's sons, where the Princlpal was shot dead some months ago, into a Rajkumar College bas been put off and that the scholars who remained at the school have Deen distributed among the educational institutions in and about Madras. Wo are sure that they will learn in contact with their fellow-students more than they would have ever learot in the isolation of a Rajkumar College.

    Hindu and Christian Toleration: The following paiugraph from tue Koman Vatnolic weekly the Standard (Madras) is interesting as a specimen of casurstry, and may be usetul lor future reterence: "We are wulling to make a present of the lact that we as Christians are "anti-every-other religion" to the Indian Social Rejormser. But we should like to detine the character of our opposition to other religions. What opposition there is, is a purc, disinterested, inteilectual opposition to any creed which is not such a complete account of religion as the religion ol Chist. We are opposed to Hinduism, we do not hate Hindus, It is not so with the Hindu attitude to Cbristianity in India. Hindus are sympathetic so Christianity but they do not like its spread in their country. They are tolerant towards Uhrist but not towards Christians. They like Caristianity in the abstract but dishike Christians in the concrete. The sub-conscious feeling behind the desire to Indianise Cnrist is the teeling that Christianty is the reingion of the foreigner and the pariab. Caristianity must be made respectable before Hindus will look at it, Now this is not exactly a vulgar anio-christian spirit. But it is the pationisigg air of the super-man which is more hateful than the honest batred which is a compliment between man and man." Mr. Manilal Yarekh's saggestive letter wheih we publish today propounds a oifferent view of the matter.

    The Rundaomal Girl's School: We have perused the eiguin repoit ol the Kundanmal Girls' School, Hyderabad, Sind, with much interest. The School is in its fitteenit year, and presents the too famitar spectacle of a Girls' School overflowing with pupits but in want of resources and in debt. A Boys* School which was simularly full would be self-supporting. We are incined to think that managers of Girls' Schools do not realise that a good many more peuple nowadays ore willing to pay reasonably high fees for the schooling of their daughters than was the case sume years ago. The report, lamenting the fallure ol two girls in the Matriculation, complaias that the University does not see its way to make a lititie, "just a intie concession, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ in the matter of grace marks in levour of giris who labour under several disadvantages. We recognise that girls labour under a great many disadvantages, bat, 10 the long run, we trink that the strictaese of the University is beneficial to thatpo. Parente abould met that sohootgoing girla
    are relieved of some at least of the disadvantages from which they suffer. We are glad to see that the managers attacn importance to good furniture, building and playground, and to the need of keeping out noises and smells Irum the class rooms. it is ime. possible to tura out good work in circumstances of positive physical discomiort-a truth which is too little recogaised by ladian managers of achoola.

    The Bombay Prarthana Samaj: Tho following short mistury of the bombay Hraithana Samaj, taiton from the 52 ad annual report, will be found iateresting: "1 ba Samaj was established on 3rat March 1807 (Falgun Vadya Ekadashi) for the spiritual worsbip of One true God in place of the worship of many gods and goddesses. lis purpose and principles were the same as those of the Bratima Samaj That was established in Calcuta by Raje Kam Mohan Roy in 1830. Its lounders were Dr. Acroaram Panduravg Turtaad, Messrs R. V. Madgaokur, JV. B. Navarange, B. M. Wagle, B. H. Baggat, 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 itsell with any of the three sections of the Bengul Brahmo Samaj, yet it is in no way different from tae Brahmo Samaj movement except in name, for its principles, aims and objects are the same. This Samaj is higniy indebted to the Brahma leadera of Bengal, pasi and present, for the help that they have always given it and the bond of spiritual and social brotherbood which they have sought to strengthen between this Samaj end the Brahmos in other parts of India." The Samaj maintains the Ram-Mohan Englisu Bchool, o Night School, the Bhandarkar Free Library and Reading Room, and the Orphange and Founding Home at Pandharpur. The Arya Mabula Lamaj is an iasthrouion conducted by ladies belonging to the Samaj, The Bombay Prarthana Samaj carried on some tamine reliel work during the year.

    Orthodox Hinduism Penitent: We are pleased to read the folluwing editonial note in the current number of the Mahamandal Magaxims, the orgat of Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamaudal, Benares: 'He is clear to men of ordinary understanding that that country alone attains progress where the women will have no sorrows, if you leave ladia and look at other countries, you - will see to what extent women are iree 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 degragstion, though knowing that they are the motners of the future Renerations? How.can we prosper having subjected them to manilold sorrows and practicaily ruiced them? Do you know why the Lodians living in' India are deteriorating both in physique and mental vigour day by day? Though arrived in this insufferable conditiun we have not learat the cautes of this condition but are acting like one who baving cut a big tree at the trunk got smashed by its $\mathbf{i}$ 少: If we want to be happy through wisdom, or through wealth and real, we must know that it is by keep. ing the women in comiort and free from pala. Again, in what miserable and degraded state are the Hindu widows especially of higher classes, kept in our society? We generally take no caro for them, we generaily take no interest in them, 00 thinking about them for their progress and prosperity. Take the case of the case of the poor, helpless hindu widow. Theyare utterly veglected; they are aubjected to undorgo hideous physical uglioess and are treated worse than the dogs that watch our doorsan object of illomen and cares".

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBA Y, FEBRDARY 1, 1920.

    ## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE.

    Fiftern yeare ago the Industrial Conference was started and it used to be held, like the National Social conference, along with the National Congress. The oredit of originating this movement and of conducting it as General Secretary for several years belongs to Bao Babadar R. N. Madholkar. Four yeara ago at the instance chiefly of Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy the Indian Commercial Congress was inaugurated in Bombay! As might have been expected, the two movemerts have been amalgamated and a joint session of the two bodies was held on the 23rd and 24th January in Bombay. By a formal resolntion 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 Recaption Committe, welcomed the delegates in a trenohant speeoh criticising the policy of the Qovernment in regard to several features of its Hiscal polisy. Mr. Petit's oriticisms refleot a widespread feeling in the country. He summed up his views in the following forcib'e sentences:
    "When oue comes serioanly to condider the entire policy sdopted in the past by the Governuent of Iudia and England, ander one pretext or another tumarde the trades atid indastrien of thiv conatry, one cannot eseapa the inevitable oonolusion that buth these Governments are not always serivas in the oft rapeated profesion of soliditade for the mercatile and indastrial wellare of this coantry. The naw era that bat now damead, will, I cincerely hope, mean adiferem, and pasy I add a more honeat ond atruighteforward athituds towarde Iadia."

    Mr. Petit's observacions on the Labour problem wers lamentably one sided and superficial. His advice to those whom he called psendo-philanthropists was grutuitoos to say the least cfit. It is difficult really to take him seriously when he insiuuates 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 ons'aught on those who plead for just and homane treatment for factory-workers than the thouzhtiful and wise observations on the same topic in the presidentinl address.

    Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy presided over the joint sestion and his presidential address while laokiog no ahit in incisiveness and point, was characterised by true statesmanslip and breadth of view. His address Hitreversed dearly the a hole commeroial and industrial "field, and abile expressing lively apprecintion of the brighter nide of Indian fiscal policy, pat the aase and the claims of India for jost treatareat with force and dignity. Speakiog of Indian fiscal antonomy, Sir Fanulbhoy thought that the rroommendation of the Joint I arliameutary Committee though it fell short of fall tiscel freedocu was a reul first step towands 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 oonditions affired to it. It will be rememberef that fiscal antonomy has been promised to India subject to the reservation that any measure not eonsistent with the international obligations of the Empire or was opposed to the fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majosty's Government was a party, might be disallowed by the Imperial Government. Sir Fazalbhoy said:

    1 am sare there is no need for ns to give the assarance to the British pablic that Iadia will excercise her fiseal power with due regard to all her obligations to the Empire. There are soveral questions, for inatance, the abolition of the exu'ge duties on the manafaoture of cloth, whereon the Government of India and Indian commerce and indaatry are at one, atthough an antocratic Secretary of State may be given an elastic meaning to the proviso above referred to ; and though there may be occaeione on which the Goverament of India and the Imperial Legislttive Assembly masy not agreg'-at least as long as the constitution of the Oentral Government remains as it is--yet I hope that the concessions seenred will prove Irnitfal.

    One of the most atriking passages in Sir Fazalbhoy'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 tranaferred subject. It is, untortanately, a peanlisrity of thia coantry that exutio trade and industry think their interesie demand that the adwiniatration of trade and indastries shuald the in bands other than Indian. Indiana have proved their capasity to buld the bighest posiliuge ander the State. Thay bave proved aleo their fitares to eatabliah and manage come warcial and industrial enterprises of a great magaitade. I do not know in what words to chare terite the attitade of those people who, in lace of this innyitle oridences of the finess of Indians to manage above all the departmentis of conmmerce and industries, reek to mike ont a casp agniust trausearing these branches of the administration to Indian control. In fact, I go fariber and any that tha hackward coudition in whish Iudis Gnls harself in regard to her industrial growth if dae to the official machinery heing in the bands of the mentere of the Intiss Oixil Serrice who, in the najority of cases, are practically out of tonoh with the rauitites of Iudian trade and induatries. Britith yrade and Bricish induatry flunriah in all conntries, even where they have no prepondrating voice: I see no reaton why in a eelfgoverning ladis they athould be threatenel with any riak. Ia fact, the greateat argareut agsinat this outside contention is affutded by the experience of several newly etarted induetrial aud cummurcish concerns a majority of which bave deaidod to adopt Brit:sh management.

    It should not be thought however, that Sir Fazalbhoy is oblivious of the need for encouraging Indian talent and initiative in industrizls matters. He i, too atrong a nationalist to ignors the fact that foreign management of Indian junustries can be but a transitional device. The true objective of the Indian industrialist was that stated by Mr. l'etit in his adires, in bia characteristio ancompromising style. Said Mr. Petit.

    It Iodia it to be indastrially great at doll.tapporiang the whule conatry should he etodded wi b indaatriat converus ond should be entireig onder Iudian ownersiip, abuaid be menped
    by Iodians fromend to and and abould be finasced oniy with Indies money.
    Sir Fasalbhoy as we mid in not oblivions to thin apect of the matter. Bpeaking of the new Indastries Uepartment in the Gevernment of Indis he said:

    What, I hope however, is this oonnectios is thet Govert. ment will aot overlook the olciun of Indians for employment to the difteront rerricen to be oreated, an $I$ ventare to believe that at Iodisa ageney is beot soited to the etafing of such an organimatibe at the Depertment of Industries. Sine of onminion on this coore are cometimen belittied nuder the plee of the sbreace of suitahlo men. With the establishonent of technical and teobnologioal colleges and the opening of Goverement and Railway workshopi tor the apprenticeship of Indianc, atoh e ples will not bold good. It is moving in a visiona circle, sarely, to refoce appuintmeate to Indians on the groand of thoir wast of experiences and then to pat bene agrinat thair getting rach experience.

    Sir Faizulbhoy's indigoant protest against the shameless sttempt to onat Indians from East Afrioa is worth quoting.

    Unfortunately, oven sfter the great services Indis rendmred to the British Empire in olearing Eat Africh of Germans, the fote of our Indien brethren there is it prosent fer worve then it was in pre war daya. Yua mast bave receutly read the pathetie meseage of the Rer. C. F. Andrewt regard. ing the condition of Indian entiers in Enst Africs. One cannot mintain calmnem of miod when he perceives that Iodiant who bave contribated thair nteost to the develups ment of Eant Alrico, who were the first rettiere in the conntry end who co-operated daring the war to anch large extent, wre not thresteneit with eriction and depaivatios of all their righte and privilegea throngh the narrow vision of British wettlerr. The groands addoced for anch action are the most damaging to our eoll-respect; and all our cointry men shonld raise anited proteat griont the anjastiamble ollegations made by - haudfal of Earopeni eotilers to eerve their own interest. The Congreas is ritally concerned in this queation tor Iod an traders and merchante had no little hand io deve:oping East Africe, sod I bope that yun will all sapport the revolotion which will bo placed belore you dealing चith thit nubjeot.
    We bave already referred to Sir Faznlbhoy's wise remarks on the Labour problem. He rightly re'erred to the housing question as a very important issue of that problem. Good hoasing, as he asid, will do much to improve and stabilise our labour; it has direct bearing on the efficiency of the labour for efficiency is attainable only throngh the establishment of healthy living eonditions. The enthasiastic praise whioh be bestowed on His Exoelleney the Governor for his deep interest in the honsing problem will be ondorsed by everyone in Benbay.

    We have no upace left for the resolutions pamed at the joint session. But we mast not omit to refer with intense satisfiotion to the resolation atich demanded .that total prohibition should be the goal of our excise polioy. Hinde end Mahamenalan sentimenta are atrongis In Envour of total prohibition. Several Christian Miseiotary Couferences have passed resolations supporting it; Indian political, social reform and temperance bonterences have done the same; and now the best and tmost intinential indostrial and commercial opinion in the country hat, from a purely business point of visw
    endonted this demand. It behoves the Government of India to give seme early proof of its responsiveness to Indian opinion on this vital qqestion. We quote below the tert of the resolntion :
    This Confarence argee that in viem of the gros bentifite $t^{\circ}$ traie and indantity which bave aiready been seonared by the Uaited Statea of Amarica through their probibition of liquor and in riew of the fact that the eficionay and Wettire of Iadian Laboor have groaly sall seod through the liguor tatifle, the Government of Iadie ihould eat before themeniren the early adoptiva of the policy of total prohibition of the mava. feotore import and ande of liguor ia the eountry for intuxdcatiag parposes."

    COMMERCIALIZED VICE. CAX IT 日若 Made hlbeal? (By Mirs. F. S. Hachowsse)

    This crasade ia to raise pablic opiaion agsinat Commercialized Vice or Prostitation, an ancient and deeply entrenohed evil, which blights every coantry, even the meat civilized. Evila, as old as prostitation, have given way befure an oulightoved public upinion. Oar fathers aprouted the euormuns apiss of alaveryl As reformers, lecturers and writers wert needed to set forth the enormity of slavery, so are they needed to advance egainst this evil ol commers cialized vica. Mr. Alexander Coote, that veteran worker of the Loudon Vigilance Aseociation, aod of the Barean lor the guppression of the White Slave Traffe, declares-that if a law were pased prohibitiug the buying and aelling of woman's bononr, the result will be :-
    (1) To abolish the prostitate.
    (2) To close markets for vice.
    (3) Places of amosement would be purited.
    (4) Disorderly honges woold ceane to exibt.
    (5) Veated intereste in immorality wonld die ont.
    (6) The procarer and the bally would lie no wore.
    (7) The TWhite Slave Traffic would be killed.
    (S) The moat fraitful soarce of contagion in venereal disesses would be cot off.
    It is perfectly gafe to say. that were it not lor the money, a very large percentage of girla aud women wuald uever 10 tempted to leave the path of virtue. For they are subject to penalties, while there in no corresponding praishment for the profigate man who bays their services. Cummercialized Vice or prontitation is a regular basiness, employiug many hrudreds of thourarde of momen ; it ia the bosiness of supplying sexual gratification for payments mader ftis carried on in varions waye according to the clase of the trade; bat miach of the basiness is dove ty tempting innceent girls and women into hooses of illfawe, or ty casoing rained girlo and women to wik the streets. Those eogaged in ita coodnct, regard it ae a regolar bosidess; in its bigher walks it is even most carefally organized-and io very many cases, the prosticate is out somach making ber living an earaing a dividend, or making a living for mome man or woman in the back gronad. It mant not be thought that all prostitates are cricked into the life. In sume nations, and in ame of the lowest claesem, pronita.
    tion is looked upou at an ordinary method of inereaning the weekly earuings of the family. In other casel, sheer starvation forces many to prostitate themseiven, so that their babies, or aick or lazy bosbande, may bave bread and shelter. Others of low morals or weak intellect, deliberately choose the life. The graat majority enter it under 18 years of age, many in actund childhood. It is esid that 25 per cent. are of weak intellect. Lecky in his "History of Morals" vrites aboat the prostitate : "She is the most moarainl and awfol figare of historg." Most monrafol recause fuw girle enter this awfal abyss antil they aave been seduced. A frequent crime of lovers is seduction. Lovers are often "worse than marderers," lor their desertion of the girl means, that she sinks into hideons infamy from which society bare her retary. A vast proportion of those whose repatations have been blasted by a momentary sin, and are doomed to exiremity of life-long wretchedness, are not those who are incapable of virtue, they bave been led astray more by the ardoar of affection, and ignorance, than by vicions propensities. Infected by venereal disease, they become losthsome creatares, vot wanted even by the lowest. Dend to honour and heaven, they commit suicide or die a premature death; their career being abont five years.

    ## Resout.

    Good women and righteons men, have for centaries past pat forth efforts to plack these " brands from the barning." Bat they have dealt with reanite rather than with canses; they bave, to nee a homely simile, ** bcen mopping up the floor instead of turning off the tap." The tap beiug the demand for anch women! What beroic sacrifices have been made! What magnificent work has been done in thas "mopping up the floor " ! Time forbids to tell of the Societies and Federstions, and Homes, Preventive as well as Hescae, which the ninetepoth centary set on foot for this parpose. The Acte of Parliament pot in force for the protection of women and ebildren wonld take many pages ta dencribe. Good people, philanthropiats, and statesmen, bave made frantic, bot fatile, elforts to destroy the effect of immorality, withoat dealing with the chief canse. Sociery is like the foolishly-fond mother who shields ber son by ascribing his vices to everything bat the right caase. So the law imposes restriction on every one bot the anthors of the evil. "History shows that ponitive measares against the woman alone, are powerless to raise the moral level; they merely add the gailt of finfinatice and crnelty to man's share in the sin." " It has heen said with jnstice, that if it is 'trae that I prositntes must exist in order to preserve the parity if other women, then they should be given a bighlyhononred place, at one who saorifices her very self for the good of Societs."

    One-sides I.egislation.
    1 Mnat be obanged for leginiation which shall penalise both the profigate wan who buye woman's hononr Ifor immoral parpose, and the profigate woman, who selle it. For the woman nay now be prosecoted anu' fined for solicitation, while the man who solicits may
    not be touched. Profigate men bave so long beed legally immane from the conseqnences of their immorality, that the mere saggestion of giving them the same treatment as their companions in siv, appears to them to be an anjostifiable and vindictive attack opon their rights. How the law differentiates, may be seen in the raiding of gambling houses and the raiding of brothele. In the former, both men and women are arrested and cbarged. In the latter, althongh the man-profligate, by his presence, proves bis puilt, he is not interfered with ! Not even the knowiedge that prostitation is the chiel soarce of veneresl diseases, this carse of the innocent as well as of the gailty, has indnced onr legislators to penalize Commercial Vice: Dr. W. Osler, describing the diseases which are the greatest scoarges of the baman race, wrote of venereal diseases : "They are in one respect the worst we have to mention, for they are the only ones transmitted in fall viralence to innoceat children, to fill their lives with suffering ; and which involve equally innocent wives in misery and shame." The veil of secrecy atamps this vice as shamefal. Evil rarely assames such inveterate and perverting form, as when it is shrouded in obscarity and veiled by a hypocritical appearance of innocence. Those who demand prostitates, vainly imagine that they remain onknown.

    ## Alcohol and Commractalizbd Vice.

    There is a historic connection between Alcohol and Commercial Vice, and a wider onderstanding of this fact would give an added zest to the propaganda for the probibition of the Liquor Traffic. Alcohol is the indiapensable adjanct of prostitation. The depravity in hnman natare is stimolated and kept alive by atrong drink. Even a slight exhilaration from alcohol relaxes the moral sense. It "guiets the conscience, $q^{u i o k e n s ~ t h e ~ p a s s i o n s, ~ a n d ~ q u e n c h e s ~ t h e ~ r e a s o n " ~ o f ~}$ hoth yonng men and women. Giris are drawn into a bad life by means of atrong drink. They live nider its inflaence day and night. They are expected to sell liquor to their patrons, and to be 'ireated' by them. The prost on these sales of lignor can be traced in connection with Commercialized Vice in every conatry. The nee of strong drink prevents men from practising self-control, keeps morality at its present low standard, and canses the hideons trade of prostitution to floarish.

    Wantad olganised action.
    Sin is orga:ised, we mast also organise for good. No baphazard attack will succeed. Re-constrnction of the social order is not possible anless.a great phalans stand shoalder to shoalder against the common foe. We snmmon to onr ragks every chivalrons man and every good woman who love their children, their conntry, and their God. If these stand aloof, who will procnre a safor, cleaner world for the yonng lives which are thronging np from the gates of birth? "Every obstaclo, moral as weell as physical to the health and happiness of the people must be remored," wrote England's Premier. Shall me not incur a great responaihiliry, it we do not demand that this obstacle be taken awny? An mothera and wives, the work of raising puble opiuion against the
    continaasce of shin obatacie to the bealth and happimess of their children and hasbands, in our plaia doty. We call ppon every man tho bearn office in Goverameats be it antional, provincisl, of manicipel, to demand legielation which ahall be a deterrent to vice and diecase. The State finds it necessary to enact acringeat lawi against marder and thef: there audoabtedly act as deterrents, thongh they do not abolish tilling and thieving altogether. Wo ask for - deterrent of proatitation as absolately necessary to the Pablic Health of Indie Legislation which aball teach the young men of Indin that purity is as cusential in the father as in the mother: that anfol is the crime of being an anclean channel throogh which the carrent of pollated life flows to dercendants.

    ## ACCOMODATION ON G, L. P. RAILWAT-

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    ## sir,

    1 traveiked Imm Eeeanderahad to Bowibay on the 21at Jnuarry. Ae econ as I cams to Wedi, "The Bombay Mail" wbich bad throe III olest compartmente and tive reat I and II clanker, was signalled line oloer, ather removiug one 114 ches compartaent, detaising aboat 108 permengera, leving them to anfier henry cold. Peasengen who wers men, rommen mod obildren, who had parebueod Mail Ticketa nod who bad to go lung diatances, were not ouly inoonvenienced, bet alee left wuhont food. Tbe suffering of the pers mod rich parengers, where there is do botol on thin $G$. 1. P. Railway is indecribable. I do not laow whether the G, I. P. Railway authoritien have anthorized the Wedi Stutive Btofif to remove the 111 cime compartogent Treok, detriaing all penseagirs to nuffer brager, cold tro?

    Puhapar Ramonidmab.
    Jан. 951 h, 1920. Land Lord, Karnocl.

    ## THE BINLU APPRECIATION OF CERIST.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Roformer.

    Si-
    Will jou kindly allow me to any a fow worde oa thit sali;ect? The word "Aoatar" in very boosely need by the muyerity of Hindus, and thip is dae obiefiy to most of the Ein"u thinking heing monistio in its oharacter, This pore ement babt of looking at thinge in this was, the way of Ved.ut, nutkes mont poople entirely overlook the serione dif fersacess that have broa mede between one 4 yatar and soother benench Theistio sobouls of thought at the Veichanve. Mout of these achools, which alung eon eunaictently ane thas Lerai, look apon only Erishnt on the Purna Apatar, and ocbere ${ }^{5}$ Amela Avatara. This prosioally means that Krishns is the Agator for themp in the mane wence is -aich Chriot is the deatar for tive Cbristisn". Bat even tho way if lowiting at avatdr wo Purna sud Amohas show: that bce lenver of monistic tbought mon not quite abrent.
    On the olther baid, the Christian cou.coption of Ayatar it ziugetiner qualitative. The Corintiane ean any boworer thas: Gud, thunyn He iocaranted Bimerif in Jruas Chrias alona, did aposk 'o hy diverse poricues and in diverse manners" bot cuiy in the Jowish Pruphece, bat in the Tenchern of ocher patints an well. Tbis ann be andersuad as Amatia $A$ vatur if we uno the leriu 4 outar bovely. Ubriotish tmukere it the inet bara lonked apcre even Soer tee and Phto in this light and the Eumen Charsh heo oree ennociend Baddi. sadere differsut mave. There it eulhing is Cbriationity
     Fashere, Mnieoral Myot es or Modera Seboliar, to anke Eantionvery-aber raingwa.". It sppears se such in ladiz be. cacie is canm with whet in called *Diselidenos of Diment and Protostantions of the Protestant" aliod to what 1 many caid Ea, upeatism of the Earrpe n.

    Mathat Panden

    ## the indian na ilunal soclal contereace

    We priat below the full tezt of the rasoIntions paesed at the last National Bocial Conforence hold at Ameitean with the namet of the epeakers:

    ## Condoh wace Ruechetion

    That thin Conference pleoee on reord the cenet of gromet low astained by the easee of actial relurm novament by the very sed death, diving the patet swe yenth of thew vetures mocial Edormers (1) Ree Babodit Vamareo Eolbatker of Nagpar, (9) Reo Bahalar K. Ferresh Lingam Pantake of Rejomenmandry in Medras Promideney both of whom provided over the mensions of the National Suoind Conforonee nad (8) Rai Behedur Megge Mal of Lhhow. Tbe livee of theo three greet woial workers were deroted to the zplift of fadion womanhood and repeoially to the eane of the somarringe of widows and their memed will be remembered with gretitode by all who ere intereted in the asoce of rocial Reform in Indis (Moved Irow the Chair and panod in sillenow mtanding)

    ## Geopit of Soolal atyony.

    Thet thig Eocial Confereset, reoggnising the frem lite opeued out to the conntry by the new art upon whiok it it ontering sad the argont call that fromb life matem tor the Social Reconstraction of Ladia' Nothonal lif, in ef opiniow thut the term "Soeial Raform" thould be widened to to to comprelend, beaides the iterse of reforat bitherto edroeated by the Cobierence, thoes additional menares which ere neensary lor the development of the Induatrial, Eoomomio, Sanitary. and edractional intermets of the Indian people is raral and urben areas and towarde that and the Conlerenoe revolvee that on all India Conucil of Docial Conlernace conaiatiog of abort 100 willing workers all over the Coantry be formed and the Gearal Beoretary in Bombey wad oher Socretarion of the Sational Booial Cooforecon with the belp of the Prorincial Secretarien eawly appoleted be ompowared to move in that mattar, to conent meanarel for propagandint ead praction mofk all over the Country in that bobelf, colloot the meovenery foode, and take auch ctepe as may be doomed atefol in. furtherence of the upeoifie objeot,

    Propaned by Mr, K, Natarajos B. A. (Bosmby) is Eagliab. Seooeded by Mre A mantiknal Gokhale (Bombay) in Hindt Sapported by De. Betyapel (Ameriteer) in Biodi.
     THME pulition
    That thim Coafersoce, th this itapurtant stege In India's netional development, emplamisee the meed for fapproving the. atetue of womes in Indis in onol way mo to enable thors to perticipate fully in the progreceive national life of the conatry and on tebieve thin and argen the quick abolltion of ana evil acntomen atend in their wiy of fall growth mach $m$ (1) 'ewly marriagen, (2) Pardich aydem, (8) the prectice of artortionste dowries top de., and speedy promotion of education sed miker onlture amosg women thee boing eo fary moomany for the growth of poblia epirit ajd zemional carrice, and the raioing of the marriageable ege of girls to at loop, 16 .

    Propered by Berimati Mien Lejevati Devi (Jallaedar' City) in Hiodi

    Geonded by Dr. Kmhat Dey Bhatri M. D. (Deibi) in. Eiadi

    Ten Epocatonfor Wemra.
    (a) That mbil anprocing andidnction th the progrese of dick aive sereg momen in this cooutry thuagts alow and amall, wio ounlerence atrongly arge opon the atheriten of
    
    mach larger and apedier expansion of the elementary and higher edacation among women and apecially calla apon Government to make more liberal grants of fands to provide ample anitable facilities ench as giris' achools in raral areas, Girle' Migb Schoole in arban areas and Arta, Training and Medical Colleges for Women. Copies of this Resolation be ent to the Imperial and sll provincial Governments in the Country.

    Praposed by-Rai Bahadar Sander Das Sari M. A. ( Lshore) in Hindi.
    Seconded by--Bakshi Gopal Dasa Raisa (Amritsar) in Hindi.
    (b) That the custom of pardab should be done amey with as it has no definite legal annotion.

    Mre. Hagrat Mohani ( Aligarh) in Urdn. Bend a paper on fardsh and ite evils.
    remarilaga of Widows atidthe fork of Pumjab Vidiava Vifaba Sabapar Sabea or Lahora.
    That thit Conference welcomes the growing support to the widow remerriage ninvement in the Conatry and appre. ciates the mork of the Punjab Vidhave Vivahn Schaysk Sabha, and farther argea apon other acoial reformanasocistiona throughont the Country to follow ite example and to so-operate with it in oxtending its sphere of activitios in other Provinces so as to carry oa more sotive propaganda on tbe sabject of widow recuarriage and to enlist practical aympathies of the peuple to the canse of improving the lot of poor widuwe by the advoceny of remarriage.
    \% Propored by. Lala Kbusbaloband (Lahore) in Hindi.
    .Seconded by Pandit Thakar Datt (Lahors) in Hindi, z Supported ty , Rao Sabeh Kabbirem Sari (Lahora) in $5{ }^{2}$

    Eindi.

    - hi The Edgcaypian aind Teaiang of Widows.

    That in order to ameliorate the condition of widown and to eneble them to atilite their talents and merrices for the bedefit of the Soviety on the baiis of a sell-reliant and collroppoiting life this Conferenoe recommende very etrongly the ostablishment of instinationa for their edacation and training and to achiove that parpose expressur its bigh appreciation of theexiating inatitntions like the widowe' Home at Poona, Madras, Myrore, Ihdore aud Cawnpore and commende the -Iforta that are buing maie in this disection by the Poone Sueva Sudan, Bonniny Sepa Sadan, and the Vauita Vishram of Bunibey and Surat and Ahuedabad. It forther bighly apprecintos the receat endowneut of Rai Babadar Ganga Fam O. I. E., M. V. O., to prowote the widuwa' ounase as annvuled by Sir ldward E. Muclegan in his recent coronation eddrese.

    Propuerd hy Mr. G. K. Divadhar m. a., Honorary Orgnuinur \& General Secrotnery of the Pouna SeraSudan ( $l^{\prime}$ oona) in Hudi.
    Seconted hy Lala Mukund Beinati Lal (Meerut) in - sirt Hindi.

    Snyperked by Rai Saheb Dr. Narari Lal (Campore) iu Hiudi.
    Abolitiun of Cabit and Intcu-Cajti Marbiagus.

    - That in the opiciun of this Conforeuve the system of caste, as it pravals in the Hiuda Society, conatitates a sarivas obutacle to the growth of a woial, judatrial and National tife ou suand binee, the Conlarence, ilderofore, urgee opon Sucial Rofurm Aasuciations all over the Country at well as otber pubhe builive and workere in the onase of aocial reform the necepsity of sustuiued endenvoara for the sbelition of casto in measarea sach an iuter-diniug, inter-marriages - Act.
    ( Noved from the Chair.)


    ## The Elesyatios oy fife Depressem Classas.

    That in the opinion of this Conference the position of the depressed elasees in the Hindn commanity is very distressing and the main diffenlty in the way of their elevation and social improrment is nntonchability. This Conference, theretore, while appreciating the measarea taken. so far by Government and anmber of Religions Bodien and Social Reform Asbociations for their oplift is atill of opinion that the action taken is quite inadequate to meas the eerions seeds of the problem affecting a large portion of the Einda population. This Conference, therefore, arges apon Govert ment, Social Relorm Associntions, Religions Relorm Associntions, and philanthropic bodies, the need for providing greater facilities for their education, economic and sanitary improrement and thas make it easy for the queetion of nutoachability to be eulved and to enforce equality of treatment in all public institations so ase to remove the prejudices sod dissbilities of notoachableness attuching to them.
    (Moved from the Chair).

    ## Temperarog With a viaw to total Prohibition

    In the opicion of thit Conference the evil of drink incremsing in the Country needs to be attacked vigoroualy with a : view to secaring its total prohibition, and therefore, arges apon tẹe Government and public bodies to carry on a vigorona propaganda to check the evil and to atrive for securing its total abolition' by legisulative and other measarea at an early dete.
    (Mored from the Chair).
    Womat Fxasoniew. $\because: \therefore$
    That this Conference sceotds its hearty auppost to the demand for the anfranchisement of Indian Wemen. ' This 't Conference while expressing ite regret and disappointmentyebus the faot that this claim has not been ;oonceded in. the, yem Uoiverament ol ludis Aet, truste that no time with he lost in affurding the necessary facilities to Indisn womanhood in exerciting the ordinary rights of citizenehip for which the Conference notices with great satisfaction a genoine deaire on the part of women themselves. This resolation shoald be sabmitted to the proper autborities.
    (Moved from the Chair).
    Appointigest of a General Sucretary, twio abibtart
    Geybral Secuetarigh of the National Sogial Cohfrrences and Pboviscial Sbcretarieg.
    That the followiag gante uen $b_{d}$ appinted as General Secrstary, Asgistant General Seuretariss and Proviucial Secretaries as showa helum:-

    Grieral Sbcebtary.
    Sir Narayan G. Cbandavarkar, Bumbay.
    agsistant Grabral Swouetariss.
    Mr. G. K. Dasadari M. A. Ba uhay ani Prasas. |l
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    Panjab ... Lala Lujpatrai Sahni, B. A., Labore.
    Contral Provicices ... Tae Gua'ble Mr. M. V. Jatii B. A. LL.B., Nagpar.
    Mysure ... M. Ran Rza, Baugalora
    Cucbin ... To be uoniuated heramftar.
    Hydembad (Deocan). Mr. M. A., Hydıri, Hyiurabad.
    Barala $\quad . .$. Dr. S. B. Sainent BNakrami Mobla.

    | Ledure | - Dro V. A. Sekhtaiker. |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | Gwalior | -a To be momionted beroul |

    (Mowd from the Chair).

    ##  of rre work.

    That the Geseral Serretarices od the Coniweose and the Provineind Socrutariat pewly aloctod be roquetod to make a report to the sext Confervese regerding the quention of freming a socastitation for the Conlormese and also the quention of better organization of the Cooferenoes in conallation with the beders of Socisa Rolorcm movement in all provinces and to bring into baing a eocmeil of National Social Conforence with et view to organizing the wort of cociol reconstruction oa antional linen all over the conatry by melecting an infinential and reprasentative body of men end women punbering about one hundred and the General Secretaries in Bombay should be atiborized to take the initiative: is thie matter and collect the ueveunry fuade for the work oullined, and adopt meesares for achieving the object in view.
    (Moved from the Chair).
    Votiof thayies to taz Reorption Comititig.
    That a bearty rote of thanks be escorded to the Reception Committee of the National Congress for the lonn of the Pandal lor the parpone of the seesion of the National Social Conferenoe.

    Propoeed by Mr. G. K. Devedhar M. A., (Bombay) in Hindi,
    Seconded by Prol. Ruchi Ram Sohani M. A. (Labore) in Hindi.

    ## Voyin on traiks to fra Prighdiat.

    That a mont bearty rote of thanke be cocorded to the Prenidont of thin Conficence tor providiag ovorithis gremt getbering.
    propooed by-Mr. G. K. Deradhes M. A., (Bombey) in Eindi.
    Secondet by-prot. Ruchi Rave gshani M. A. (Labort) in Hiodi.

    ## TO BINOERE SOCIAL REFORMERS.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    8ir,With the kind indalgenoe of jour namerons readern, I beg to open a new anbject-ma question that has bat juat been throut into prominence by the exigencien of the times through which we are faseing and the trath of which is gradanilly being brought bome to all thinking mind. It haes apparentiy, one thinke, nothing to do with the world crisis; but in fact the proper solation of it can slone asve a commanity trom certain deatraction in the grave and perilous situation the whole civilised world is todey facing. We have belore as this moment the noprocedented aod inepiring eceae of a $\geqslant$ holo world exerting its beat 00 recover ita lost balanee This process of rebabilitation is in tome omest carriod on almont in - feverinh hasta as in Raseia, and the reanit io Leniniam, which, to uee the worde of Sir Narajan Chandararker in
     It in at present aiming at world-mentery and bidsfair to suceed benefiting by the belogged braing of more than nivetenthe of mankind, befogged both by the mieary it has coffered and the system of itu andion deliverancel To come to the point, I wish to imprees, this new theory of moob-rale yarded at tipet onder the guise of Demooracy, in both.
    eballonge add a throt to mealth and art, roligios and moralem bow and etiquetca, Gront minde is all nations are bany findiag out what eas mare their whoty and gannateo, their rompo. rotion trome thie univeral deathl $W$. in Isdie bave bowe Eghting for polition ralorms and we bave just rwoived e frat inctalsooct of the seme. Whother that muat be suffitioction. nomement ue be too little ae otbern deolart is bevide ay aim in writing this letior. I ameare like all my policioal frimede that coon Indis stall pomen all the mont upitodito parapharnatia of a modern Dearoerscy. Bat I beg to inquirt Whother that alone can make for 'Indian Benaimaco." Toone who bas read histort, and mores who ana propbeny for the fatere on the atrength of the pant, it will be pertectly plain that the politionl form of govera veat it oaly one of the nasy frewire that can eithor make or keop a nation lroe and bappy. All this leugthy divertation may to cowe appans
     hande. Sa, by way of an apology I must any that sooeptaviot in theory in one thing and to pat it into motion in quite another. There is befure us at prosent e large mohoul of puliticinas which whefover cornered by thit kiud of potent remon. ing pretende to expoave the eanere of Sooinl Relorm-thet sares grent, and the mont importans fonudation of a people's health and happiness-bat oboarved by ite andjing biat it fighte might and main to fruatrate every provionl nesesare of reforml Sooial Roforment Pray, enough of thit mill-deocit. Lione among you have labonred lit-long sowing aeda of beelthy life bat the evedilinga have beea wetied away by gale of pasion and prejudion! 4 whole harrout thas dreamed and torgotion il Tant attitedo of minoing mallont muet sow be givan ap. Sooial Rolormert mant thomealves be e party som. A porfoot colid phalenx with ac andivided mind and. parpose. They mant apeak in po zneartain word what thay
     and party bickaringe, all theok and more mant be olour out of their patis. Thay math beailing to joia mande wist all who. belinve in their faith. They man atilioe to the faltent extons ovary opportanity whetber, politionl, ceonomia, or religiene that may arice. For thair tank in all 100 inelasive and their identity both tbit or that politioel sobool bet bet hino. dered their ancoese no fars. With thowe who would have name of Sooind Rolotim till they get complete Home Ralo we ose have nothing to do. With the otbere we thall be for him who bide bigher, For thet we mase bave atrongh of name ber, orgasimaion, argament eod ection. I foel quite arge that nooh an opinion is fat being developod. It will be anew spirit, Aresh platorm of tore and amity work and no ustion. tation. Let nat ragged old diepatee dame our ellorta. Nation-
     of abase and reorimination, Sach a farty an I flad aptioning. into life to-dey will parily oar politionl lite, is will rejarinate religion, it will mend morals and will allogether make Ind is - ifr happier and grestar aation with a atrong leot-bold in she proment and an inapiring proapect in the fatare at athe haci
     stion mast be lormed lortbivith and a pertistent propoganda net on loot. We mast be propared to socare fall premisen of progrees slong wecied timet from all thom who wish to enter the now Conncile. And for that stops mant at once be derised to mengtben our ponition. Wiil all Social Refurmers rive like ooe man add achiove it? I bope they will.

    ## 8. G. Baly. <br> - A. mbe

    Vakil Higb Coart,
    Pojean 18th Jali, 20.

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    Office:EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.
    Editor:-K. NATARAJAN
    Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1920. No 23.


    

    ## HOTES.

    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 beet cancelled in this island. The thanks of the Indian public ure 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, $0.8 .8_{3}$, in charge of the C. 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, sorne white settlers in East Arrica are agitating to ruin the Indians in that part of the British Empire. From South Airica, Mr. Andrews sends an alarming ondic. No one is less of an glarmist than be, and we, for one, are quite sure that what he says in bis latest cuble is absolutely true. "Worst situation since rgr3, every right endangered," he says, and no - ther evidence of this is needed than that the Goverament: of South sfrica which welcomed Mr. Gokbale and showed him every courtesy during his tour in South Africa, have declined to receive an Iadian representative with Sir Benjamin Robertson except, if our information be correct, on humiliating torms. That shows the spirit now prevalent in responsible quarters, aud there is no use being annoyed when we are told of things which disturb over complaisant belisf that the Forld we live in is the best of all worlds.

    The Deputation from British Guianar At this juncture, there has come a deputation trom British Guiana offering to receive five thousand Indian agriculturists every year for three years. A Committee of non-official Indian members of the Intian Legislative Council has been appointed to go intalie matter. For our part, we are not against Incolms going abroad to improve their fortunes, and $y+$ a suitable scheme can be devised, receiving just 7 nd equal treatment with all other British subjects, we see no objection and much advantage in encouraging Indian settlers to carty their culture and inteligence to otber lands. The difficulty, however, lies in en suring 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 MacNeilChiman Lall 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 bis 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 ol Kadambur, a student of Newington School, Madras, accused of murdering the late Principal, Mr. De la Hey, was transierred to the Bombay High Court by order of the Government of India passed on the application of Counsel lor the Defence, Dr. Swaminathan. The case was taken up on Mon. day at the Criminal Sessions, before the Chief Jus. tice, Sir N. C. Macleod, and a special jury. After a four days" trial, the jury brought in a unaniuous verdict of not guily and the accused was acquitted and discharged. The verdict, we think, coincides with the impression lett on the pubinc mind by a perusal of the proceedings in the Eombay High Court as reported in the papers. The Chief Justice's summing-up was a powertul and searching criticism of the prosecution case, and the jury did not take more than a few minutes to make uptheir
    minds as to their verdict. The Madras investigating arthorities have come bedly out of the business, and we trost that the Government of Madras will nok rest content sill every one responsibie for this cruel prosecution of an innocent boy is brought to book. The question remains, who shot Mr. Dela Eey. A forther question for the consideration of the Government of Madras arises from the revelations regarding the state of things in the Newington School. Tnere were only nine students. A costly establishment was mainiained for the benefit of the nine men, under European management and sapervision. They were supposed to be imbibing the best fentures of an Eng. lish public school education in this expensive esta. blisbment. What they were really imbibing there is hinted at in one or two remarks in the course of bis tordship'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 cham. pion liar at Newington. There is no champion unless there is a competition."

    The Non-Brahmin Question in Madrast We are sorry to read in the Hindu (Madras) that at the Conference of Brabmins and non-Branmins which met at the invitation of His Excellency the Gov. ernor of Madras to decide the question of reservation of seats in the territorial constituencies for nonBrahmins, 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 settied 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 Ior 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, Mad. ras Brahmins, it is evident that the selection entirely of non-Brahmins for the Indian Civil Service is really a triumph of the non-Brabmin movement. The following passage taken from a letter signed "Aggrieved Vellala" which appeared in Jusfice of the 3Ist January, however, portends a danger against which it behoves the leaders to guard the movement:

    The Madras Government have ignored the Vollale in coleosing candidates for the Indian Civil Sarvice. The selec. tion though very laudeble, whar te goos, is defective in thin respect. Tue West Oueat is well represented, one of the nominees being she son of member of an ancient royal family and the otner a nephew of one who has rendered loyal service in sbe Jodicial Department, The Midiand and the Andhra Provinue are well reprosented ton for the Kamme Beddy and the Balija have bern worthily selected. Bat the Enat Coast, Madrae, and Suathern districts, Fhere renide cotes of the largest owners of the lad, bura been lelt in the cold. Even thowe who imagine that the Brabinin *is the invelligentais" of the country utcea prochaim that she Fellala in next to the Brahmia. It canout be eaid for a momont that the Erat Conat Vellata does not poesess the requisite intellectuel qualificatioss fur the eertice.

    The Viceroy and Indian Opinion: There bas been a noticeable reaction in Indian public opiaion in
    favour of the Viceroy as a result primarily, of the extravagant denunciation to which His Excellency was subjected by some of the speskers at the Amritsat Congress. This has been appreciably assisted by Lord Sinba's tribute to Lord Chelmsiord for his share in advancing the Reform Act. The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Indian Legislative Council, we think, will greatly belp the progress of this good feeling in the country. It was one the happiest speeches which His Excellency has made in Iadia. Lord Chelmsford has always stemed to us to observe a certain amount of detachment, not to say, aloofness from Indian interests but there is outbing of that in this speech where, indeed, he completely identified himself with Indian sentimenti and aspirations. Some papers said that the appointment of Sir San: karan Narr to the India Council was a slur on His Excellency's Government. Lord Cbelmatord told the Council that he bimself had strongly suppoted the proposal to make the appointment. It is im. possible 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 lizely to accept the Viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Chelmsford. Apart from the disadvantage of having an absolute atranger at the head of the Goverament 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 appoint. ment of Earl Haig. It will be misunderatood both in India and the outside world in a way which will be exceedingly unfortunate. If a change in the Viceroyalty is deemed absolutely novaoidablo, we hope Great Britain will be able to spare us a statesman of high calibre and proved merit unch, for instance, as Lord Selborne or Lord Haldane.

    The End of the Bombay Milfs Strize: On Monday Last the Great Cotton Milli 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. Cbandavarkar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar could not attend the Bombay Labour Settlement Committee's meetings. On Thursday evening, however, be resumed his work on the Committee, and the next day he drow up an, exceedingly impresiva trict, 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 benew Gicial effect. Writing of the strike of Bombay Mir' operatives, the Searchlight (Patat) observens "We are glad that responsible leadors like Sir Narayas have thought it necessary to take the lead. Not to Sir Narayan Cbandavarkar, 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 probiem, but a permanent betterment of the social conditionsbetter bousing, better salary, and schools for children."?

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBA Y, FEBRHARY 8, 1920.
    ## THE INDIAN CURRENCY COMMITTEE REPORT.

    The long awaited report of the Indian Carrency Comaritee 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 ChaL mers, Sir Marshall Reid, Sir James Bruoyate and Messrs. F: C. Goodenough, C. S. Addis, C. T. Needham, M. M. S. Gubbay, W. B. Hunter; and T. W. MoMorran. All the English members have signed the majofity report, but Mr. Dalal found that the divergence of opinion between his eolleagaes and himself was so great as to render it impossible for bim to ooncur 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 colleagneg relats to the onuses of the rise of the price of silver and the meagares adopted by Government to meet that rise. Bat these, however, are now past history. As regards the polioy to be adopted to restore to normal conditions the situation that has arisen, he and his fellow-members seem to ns 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 rapes and to re-establish the antomatio working of the Indian currency syatem. 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 oonvinced that it was due to the latter. It is evident that both canses contributed to the resalt which had such ontoward consequences for India. As regards the steps adopted by Government to meet the situation oreated by the rise of the price of ailver, we are in sympathy with mooh of the criticism whioh Mr. Dalal passes on them. We cannot understand the manner in whigh the majority completely ignore Mr Dalal's arguments. We cannot belp thinking that bad D there been at lenst one more Indian on the Committee as fally conversant with the thooretioal side of the sabjeot ap Mr. Dalal is with the practioal, the majority would have found it far less easy to overlook so loompletely the Indian point of view in adjadging |the-results of the policy hitherto followed. Indeed, itheir anxious attempt to make out that whatiever the authorities did was the best that oould have then done in the circumstances, is palpably ontenableThere was very littlo "skill, courage and resouroe" in lwaiting apon the movements of the silver market and patting ap the rapee ralue, not once or twice, bat eight ,times in two jears, (five times in one jear), thas keeping the world of commerce in a state of protracted suspense land ancertainty. The tribate in the majority report to the athoritios for these qualities, is obviously unideserved.

    The mot important difference between Mr. Dalal and his colleagues is as to whether the exchange value of the rnpee should henceforth be one shilling and four pence or two shillings. One shilling end four pence, it will be remembered, was the rate fixed in 1893, and maintained more or less op to 1917. Mr. Dalal pleads for the one shilling and four pence rapee, while the majority are for two shillings. We tbink that the Committes's recommendation is preferable, if for no better reason than that two shillings are much nearer to $28-4 \mathrm{~d}$, the present valne, of the rapee, than 1g-4d. Mr. Dalal observes: "The Indian money standard was definitely ohanged from silver to gold so recently as 1893. Bat it is impossible to contemplate another permanent change in the rapee value of the sovereign." It is not now proposed to revert from gold to silver. As for the sterling value of the rapee, the old limit has been eight times changed, and the roversion to $1 s-4 d$ 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 lastas and temporary, when it is past. The plea of custom will not avail either. If we had been accustomed to the ls. 4d. rapee for twenty years, we had, provious to the seventies, been much longer accustomed to a 2 shilling rupee. The point mnst 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 is-4d rapee camnot at present be effected, as acknowledged by Mr. Dalal himself, without debasing the rapee or prodacing a debased coin to take the place of the rapee, is, to our mind, a conclusive argament against it. It is a carious 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 ropee, actually propose making the nickel oight-anna legal tender up to ten rapess ! We protested against the nickel eight anns piece when the idea was mooted, and we continne to think it to be a highly objectionable measure. Government have found it necessary to contradict a persistent romonr that they are oontemplating the introduction of nickel rapees. We bope that the oontradiction will have the deeired effect. Whether it has or not, we strongly feel that the silver half-rnpee at least should be reverted to, as it enjoys nearly as mach as the rapee the statas in the popaler mind of a standurd coin of the realm.

    That a relatively lower exchange is more beneficial to the export trade and to industries than a higher one, cannot, wo think, be denied. The argumenta of the majority to the contrary are anconviacing. No doabt there will be other causes coming into play to connteract to some extent the detrimental effect of a 2 shilling rapee as compared with an one shilling foar pence rapee on onr industries and exports, bat these caases, with an one shilling four pence rupee, will be of mach 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 anquestionable. The country is entitied to
    demind that as far in possiblo this should be obviatod, The majority report refort to it in a mentence. = We recognise," they observe, "that competitive imports into Indis may be temporarily atimalated by the high rate of exchange, epecially from countries where the eost of production is low; but even in the period which may olapee before the adjustment of prices and other conditions to the new lovel is completo, this influence so far as manalactured articles from Europe and America are concerned, is likely to be connteraeted by the grently increased cost of prodaction in the exporting conntrien at the present time." This as well as the subsequent argument based on the assumption that bigh exchange necesserily means low wages, is of the nature of unsubstantial speculation. Indian producers cannot be expected to be satisfied with suoh airy nothings. In our jadgment, concarrently with the new corrency arrangements, well-considered tariff giving adequate protection to our industries from foreign competition, whether from Earope, America or Asia, ought to bedevised 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 clethed. All this must sdd to the cost of prodnction. And if our industries are not be protected adequately from foreign competitors who have an advantage over as, whether of longer experience, greater facilities, of cheaper labour or subsidised freight, we cannot expect our manufactarers willingly to incor all this additional cost. They may find it impossible to continue their indastries. The disadvantages to which they are exposed by this alteration in our currency polioy shonld be made good to them by a protective tarilf. That is the right wey of meetiog the problem of a 2 shilling rapee. The loss to the producers of raw materials for export cannot be as mach and can be only temporary.

    ## THE GAME OF POLITICS.

    Writing in Neto India on the resolation of the Reform Scheme, passed by the Amritear National Congress, Mrs. Besant had remarked that Mr. Tilak had declared at some time that he was asing her at his tool, and that now he was osing Mr. Gandbi and Pandit Madan Mohan Mulaviga ain his toole and he woold throw them aside when be no looger ceeded them. Young India, which is edited by Mr. Gandhi, replied to this saggestion in its issue of 14th Jenaary. It said tbat it was unable to accept the saggestion, and that aven if there was any trath in it, "if they (Messrs. Gandhi and Malaviya) allowed themselves to be so used, it would not be the Lokamanya (Mr. Tilak) who wonld be to blame, bat Messrs. Malaviys and Gandhi woald be clearly beld blamewortby for their simplicity." Onr contemporary went on to say :
    L. Tilak repreeents a definite school of thonghs of whict ha maken ro seorot. He coneiders that everything is fair in paliticen We have jained isene with him in that conception of political lite. We coneider that the political lifo of the eonatry will become thoroaghly corrapt it we import westera thetion and mothods. We believe that ootbing bat the otrietent adherence to bonesty, hirplay sad charity cas edrunce the
    true intereste of the oanatey. Bat me relase, becases of the mential diffareace jont pointad out to boliere that in eocepting the amendment $L$. Tilak mas gaided by ang motive other that that of meetiog his opponeata' viowe es far as it wat ponible.

    A letter from Mr. Tilak with reforence to the above* is pablished in Young India of the 28th Jannary. He writes:
    1 am surry to see that in gour artiele on ' Roform' Kieeola. tion 'in the lest issae, yoa bave repretented me wholding that I considered 'apery thing firir in polition.' I write thit to you to sif that my piow is not corsetly represented hereis. Polition is a gane of morldy people and not of 8wihach ood
     coaquered pseaion) as presebed by Baddba, 1 profer to
    
     reoeive him.) That explains the whole diflorenee and alos the neaving of my phrase 'respunsive onoporation.' Both methode are equally honest and righteons liat the one is more united to this world than the other. Any farther explanation abont the diference will ba fond in my olita Rahanga.

    Mr. Gandi appeads a footanta to the letter in which be maintains that, for him, thero is no conflict between the two texts quoted by the Lokamnaya (Mr. Tilak), that they embody a law whioh is not for the nnworldly, bat easentially for the worldiy and that "the epitome of all religions is to promote purvehartha, and purushartha is nothing bnt a desperate attempt to becoma Sadhu i.e., to become a gentleman in every sense of the term." Mr. Gandhi cunclades:

    Fioally, when I wrote the asatence about 'everything being fair in politice' according to the Lokamanyait oreol. I had in
     grile with gaile.) To me it ananciates bad lan. Aid I shall not deapeir of the Lokemanya withall bis nenmen agreenbly anrprising India ous dag with - philumphioal diesertstion proving the falsity of the doetrine. Ia say cane I pit the experience of a third of acentary agninat the doctrine onderlying nf प्रहि m्राउयम्र (Meet goile with
     with trath.)

    Mr. Gandhi is absolately right in holdiag that in the long ran honeaty is the best policy even in politicn. Abraham Liacoln, Gladstone, and President Wilmon, are conspicnons illastrations, though all these greas utateamea have been at times denoonced at dishonest,' insincere and bypocritical by their contemporaries who were opposed to them in politics. Napoleon, Bismarck and ex.Kaiser William, on the other hand, preferred and practiced the doctrito of "the "end jastifies the means.". No doabt, they earned the plandits of their coantrymen, bat the stera verdict of bistory, in each case, is unmistakably clear. Mr. Tilsk, in a apirit of over-weening self-conceit, applie: to bimself the words which Shri Krishoe applied to Himself. Now, Bhri Krighne wee an Moatar, in whatever senee we anderatand the term, the iocarnate Cosmic Bral. He could anderstand and appreciate is their trae inward significance the motive and the aet and the aspiration of the worshipper ; and can respond exactly in that sense aod nignificance. Can Mr. Tilak
    claim to do that ? Has he any special endowineut beyond "the rade world's finger and thamb" to assess motives, to see behind the effect to the inner canse? Omniscience alone can anderstand and andertake the meting ont to as in exact measure what we mete oat to orr brothers and siaters. Becanse oar acts are not merely the oalward impact bat slso the inner, thought which is behind it. Does Mr. Tilak claim omniscience? The adacity of his appropriating to himself the text of the Gita, takes one's breath a way. We expressed oar astonishment the other day at some six gentlemen who occapy the positions of Premiers in the British Ecopire presaming to lectare to the world. on religion. Their presamption is as nothing to that of Mr. Tilak. The man who can talk os limself as Mr. Tilak does, is standiug on the edge of a disastroas precipice woll-marked in the chart of every spiritaal voyagers. Let him beware in time!

    ## THE HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

    What it Laces in.
    (By Pandit Chand Nabain Zutsei, m. r, p.a. (London.)

    There can be no doubt that the animosity between the Hindue and the Mobammadans was historic and that the two great commonities of Iadia showed no sigas of cobesion ever since their co-existence through varions stages of their histotical evolation in the country-in a word between them nnity was unknown. None can say definitely whether it was the loss of political power of the Hindas or the saperoilionsness of the Mohammadans that deepened their resentment and hatred towards eanh other and made unity impossible in those times, bat this much is certuin that a greater and greater galf yawned between the two commaities ever since their lots were cass to be the inhabitants of India. It cannot be denied that, whatever might have been the motives, political, religiuns or social, that actuated them, there had been certain Mohamwadan emperors who adopted a concilistory policy towards the Hiadas and enlisted their aympatby and sapport. Bat there had been also some reactionary euccessors who andid the work of their predecessore and contribated a great deal to the eatrangement between the two commanities which hithertofore made progress impossible in this country. Besides, the recarrences of coercions and conciliations making thinge ancertuin as they atood, rather fomentad their excitement than cowed their warring spirit and left the two communities in a bighly electrified condition rendering their tempers so sensitive that a solight provocation was enongh to throw them off their balance and this often bred disorders and led to bloodalted in the realm. The events leading op to the year 1018 quite sabstautiste these remarks. Sach a atate of things nutarally gave rise to pessimism. Men were not wanting who could ace a dark fatoreswaiting the country and no bright star rising on the horizon of Mivdu-Maslim anity. Heppily amoug these were the apostles of Unity whose voice, in spite of anfavoarable dreamstadces, vibrated with the mesasge of hope of

    Hiada-Maslim nuity however delayed, and who treated mung a durk event as bat a preiade to a bright fatare awaiting the conarry. To quote one of them, Sir William Wedderbarn who said in his presideatial address to the Congress in 1910 thas: "No doabt certais events heve broagh into prominence the differencea between the two commanities, bat these differences shoald not be exaggerated, and we should rather direct onr attention to the solid interests in which all Iadians are equally concerned.............A recognition by the two great commanities of the essential identity of their real interests, however loag it may be delayed, is, I feel convinced, boand to come at last". The attempts of sach men to bring aboat the Hinda-Maslim unity, however atrenaons and sincere, failed to produce any satisfactory resalts antil the jear 1918 which marked the climax of Hinda-Maslim animosity, but after which a dividing line has been reached in the Hinda-Maalim relations, so that men atanding on the briuk of 1918 witnessed a change in the order of thinge and that the dawn and eve of the year 1919, presented quite different spectacles even to a saperficial observer.
    Let as 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 HindaMaslim anity a complete and permanent featare of the times.
    To find answers to these questions we mast pictare to our mind the gloom of the year 1219, and recalling to our mind the various dark events that took place in it, we cannot bat call it a dark one: perhaps no darker chapter could be added to the annals of this ccontry than the one afforded by the year 1919 which witnessed the spilling of innocent blood of handreds and thousands of Indian youtb, both Hindas and Mohawadans, in the wake of the Satyagraha movement, the Jullisnwallah massacre and the Reign of Terror in the Panjab, and in which jear many ancold calamitien overtook the conntry in varions spheres of hinman activity. But, as a dark cload bas a silver lining, the year 1919, however dark in other respects, stands as an unprecedented epoch and forms a landmark in the history of Hinda-Maslim anioy as is evinced from the bold tront the Hiodus and the Mohamadans made agaiust 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 commanities of India identity their interests and realize at last the importance and need of naty, like the man and the wult in the legend. Neper were the two commanities, veated with ditferences, religione, social or racial, wituessed participating in the weal and woe and rejoicing in the saccess and happiness of each other, the Hindas moarning with their Mohammadan brethera daring Moharramand the Mohammudane takiog part with their Hinda brethern in Dubharah celebrations: both the communities participating in pablic rejoicinge at the release and moaraing ut the internment of the Allis or the Pala. In a word the two commanities are drifting spontanevasig to warda anity is which oud mero words and addresses atterly fulded to move thom an inch. Thene are the
    happy aigat of the times, portending, we thry do, a change for the better in the Hinda-Muslim relations.

    Jadging from the aigas can we say that the unity is complete and is likely to grow permanent? The andwer is emphatically in the negative. The anity would only be complete when both the communitiea bave arrived at that stage of existence when they can freely participate in their andertakinge whether political or commercial and whether owned by a Hindo or a Mohammadan: when casto prejodicea bave been given ap 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 shoald, on no acconat, be the policy of the Directors to appoint the Editorial etaff excloaively from among their clase. Rather an undertasig of this kind mast in all fairuess be represented by peoples of as different shades of views and secta as possible within the scope allowed for the choice. In the same way if a few Hindas start a bnsiness they shonld not make it a point to enlist only Hiadus as co-sharers and office bearere: one shonld not move an inch without taking the either in his train-every undertaking of theirs mast make for the mingling of both.

    A word for the Iadian Potentates and I have closed this paper. All the Potentates whether Hiodn or Mohammadane should regard Hindas and Mohanmadans on the asme footing and admit into their service both Lindus and Mohsmmadans withont any sense of commonial partiality. They shonld not adopt an extreme policy and the Maslim Putentatos admit ouly Muslims into their service and the Eiadn Potentates admit Hiadas only or both doing the exact reverse, rather both shonld give ap their time-honoured spirit of commonism and adoph - liberal policy in matters of taking into service the Hindus and the Mobamnadans. I take these ius. tances all the more because we mast be on our gaurd against commanial prejndices retarding ludian progress and commanal interests over-raling all other corsiderations of common concern that make for Hinda-Muslino onity, and because it is in this respect that the Hinda-Maslim anity lacke a great deal. In conclasion I feel that anless these considerationa begin to weigh apon the minds of the llioda and Maslin Potentates and the people alike, the HindaMaslim onity is not likely to be a permaneat and complete feature of the times a od 1 udia will certainly be a long way off to be called "anited".

    ## 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 parpose 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 sathority that there is not a word of trath in the report, nor any hint of justification in fucts for ils repetition. There are possiblitioe of mischief in the spreading abroad of a misstatement of this kiod, and this particalar fiction ahofld be contradicted wherever it is heard.

    ## a Christmas nessage to india. <br> (Dr The Ref. R. A. Hewe)

    It is Chriatana Day in Anerion whera I am on a furloagh -beent froan ang antive hand of India. There is a Latin prom verb of mariners of old, Cotim, not animum, matant qui trane mare correats which troathod montis "Thej change their sty, bat aut their learth who truen the mate". My budy is heo thoussad miles ancy. My beart is in my beluved India whera 1 wa born mearly sereaty-hires joars agn, nad where I bare aerved my conatry lor over fortg-five years Thongb I cannot toded ane mig roice, I will anemy pon on one of the eoprema daya of the year briatly to interpant the
    
    There werc loap difluseut clasee of perwius culareted in difforing spirit with the birth ol Jesas. Tbey wall reprobat loar types of spiris which atill come in wuch with the Uue
     there ware throe wise men trons the East who, influenoed is beliere that an aunsoal star proclaimed the ounalug of a kith worthy of their worship, had jouraejed luyg uver trackion, deserta fulloning that sar-gieaul, and had brougbt riva gitu to present to the myaterivas auk ruwn kias waum thej eonght. Dat warfoluus to relate, that atar gleaus bronght
     mauger they saw - uewbura babe. Novestheicas, thinangh loygity to their betiel that even stare givo diviog buidative thay were not deterred from ancephing mather wot thent warch and rovereuve the babe whow they found. Thon, according w the atory, "They Pejureed with exenoding yruat jug. Aad when they anw the guang cbild with Mary bie muther, they fall duwn aud wortapped bim; and upoling their treesares, they ullared anto han gillu, guid nud from
     of revereace. Men evimetimen wrongly ansame that there it some contict Letween religivn aud wilence Toere can nevas be a conllict between trae religion and troe enteluce. The
    
    
     What bee beea mesumed ur aticijemed. Equmily the apint of true reigion in jogtal, reveront regard fur facta aud for the divine in the baman.

    In particniar, the loag, lung eanroa.uf thone Magi and their wonship of the Clirist Fhum they foand, wo dillereat from th. king whom they expected to nee, is typical of the preeont and coming allitade of non-Chrietien wise med in the beat for the, epiritual Ling of nien. At Chritmes Daye and Christenas experienoes retarn and iocreme, reverent and wite men of the Enat will niore and more fall dowa in apirit befure that One born in Bethlebem, will worahip Him, and will oflor Him their spirital gitta.
    The recond group who were connected with the Gint Christmes Day consistod of aaletcered ohepherds who bad seen - woodrous light shine arouod them in darknew, sod bed beard good tidiage of grant jog and of pesce and goodwill f to men. The atory relatee that under tha inapiration of the mensage that there wee born $\&$ Saviour for them and for all propleg, et the ebepherde said one to snutber: Let at now go to Detbleben and ree thie thing that in come to pass which the Lord bath mode knuwn nato abs. Abd they ceang io boske and lroad Mary aod doeqtiond the belo lyitig in the magger." Tbea when they bad gove awny they und other" What they had reea and beard, and at atl that beard it wondered. Tbowe zbepberdo reprevented the rpirit of eariopity

    Irather than that of worbhip. Nevertheleas, it was they who 1 monest and most fally besefitted by their experience, and widely told the story to others. They are typieal of the anlettered massea in our India who to-day are being drawn toward the Clirist, and who through Elim find development of all kinde of good, and who lead in telling others about Him. Aa of old, no todap, not many mighty, not many noble are calles.

    The third person prominent on the firat Christmas Day was Mary thil mother of Jesus who naturally was amazed at her own experience, at the worship and gifte of the Magi, and at the visit of the shepherde. Of her the story baye, "Mary kopt all these aayinga pondering them in her heart." Her's was the epirit of love, the apirit of wonder at contact with mysiery and of meditating effort to interpret its meaning. To any nhecreer of that babe in the manger how little be coald anticinate what the Wonderfal One has for centaries been doing for mankind. Nren now how inadequatoly anyone can forecant what He will atill do for all men! The most rewarding attitude for Christmas is that of love pondering in hestt what the meaning of Cbrist ia for the individual and for mankind.
    Bat there was a fourth participant in the experiences of the first Christmas. He was King Herod, sn incarnation of rellithners, waterialism ond conning. Of him the story saye, "When Horod the king, heard it he was tronbled." Therefore desiring immediately and for ever to pat ont of the way ons whe might oppose bis selfish ambition be bade the Magi, "Go and search ont exactly concerning the young child, and when ye have found him, bring me word, that I eliso may come and worship him." Herod's: was the worldly selfish spirit o: aecret opposition to the Cbrigt, the ontward, insincere, crafty ppitit, which dares not ontwardly oppose the Chriat, but denires crafily to put him out, of the way. For the Magi, for tho Sheplierds, for Mary the first Christmas was a day of jug. Herod was trontled.

    On this Christmas Day of 1919 thers are wies and reverent men in East and West, both; who take and do not take the Christian name, who repere Him who was born in Bethlehem conturies ago. There are zualtitades of anlettered men, who while inadequately anderatending Him yet are flocking to His namo and side. There sre soma devout and mystic sonla who with love ponder His life and who in loving bearts inoarnate Him. There are worldly men who outwardly pruftes reapeot for Him, but who dislike Hie apirit and who would put Him oat of the way.

    - Rigith here in A merica, "while the very greab mejority of Aumericans earnestly desirese Leagoe of Nations which wauld promute peace and goodwill anong wen, there are some in the sents of the mighty who in: illerodian, spirit are "troubled" nad conpire. Bat like Herod, they mast and ahall for ever liape the Horodian repulation, and thall.pans into dishonour. Eycutually at the name of Christ every kuee thall bow. A Tr bas and universal Cbriatmas Day shall come.

    In our India, too, fur types of men bold the same four differing attitudes tomard the Christ and to Eis Dny. To ;one of the fonr ench of as belongs.

    ## INDIAN CURRENCF COMMITTEES REPORT.

    The majority report, whiob is signed by the Cheirman and all nembers of Committev exerpt Mr. D. M. Dolal, atatea at ita objeot the reatoration of a atable and antomatio aystem and the maintenane of the convertibility of the note isene. The fundanatulal mommendations of fhe reporiareatillows:-
    (a) That the preveat rnpee, nnchanged in weight and Gueness, should remain unlimited legal tender;
    (b) That the rupee should bave a fixed exchange velue and that this exchange valne should be expressed in terma of gold at the rate of one rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold, that is, one-tenth of the gold contente of the sovereign;
    (c) That the novereign which is now rated by law st rupees 13 should be made legal tender in India the revieed ratio of rapees ten to one acvereign;
    (d) That the import and export of gold to and from Indie should be free from Government control as soon us the cbange in the statutory ratio has been effecied, and that the gold mint to Bombay, shnold be open for the coinage into sovereigns of gold tendered by pablic;
    (c) That the notification of Government undertaking to give rnpees for eovereigne should be withdrawn;
    (f) That the prohibition on the private import and export of ailver should be removed in dine conrse and that the import duty on silver shonld be repealed unless the fiscal position demands ita retention.

    These recommendations develop with the necespary modifications required by altered circnmetances the principles on which the Indisn carreney aytem was eatablished before the war, and are accepted by the Secretary of State in Connail as expressing the gosl towards which Indian administration, following the previons policy, shonld now be directed.

    Under the conditions existing prior to the war eterling and gold were identical standards. Tha existing disparity has made a choice between these standards necessary, and the Committee's recommendation is in farout of plaoing the rupee on a gold basis.

    In recommending a rate, namely that above mentioned, for the exchange value of the rapes the Chairman and majority have tsken account of the high range of silver prices and of the importance of safeguarding the convertibility of the Indian note issne by providing so far as posuible that the token churacter of the rapee sitall be regtored and maintxined $i ; e$, that the India Government may be in position to buy gilver for coingge into rapees without losg. They were slso impressed by the serions economio and political risk attendant on e farther expansion of Indian prices such as must be anticipated from the adoption of a low rate.

    The argumente advanced in favour of a gold basia and of a high rate of exchange appear to the Sacretary of State in Conncil to be conclusive and he has decided to take the necessary steps to give immediate effeot to the recommendations on these pointe. Accordingly the Government of India have to-day announced that the rate which they will pay for gold, tendered to them nader the Gold Import Act by priavte import. ers will hencuforth be fixed st one rapee for 11.30016 grains - of tine gold, i. d. Re, 10 tor the gold contents of the sovereign. The consequential changes in the regulation relating to the sele of conncil dralte by the Secretary of State in Connoil and of reverse drafts by the Goverament of Iudin will be notified neparately.

    The question of the internal ratio presente special difflenlties. The Commitiee recommend the maintanance of gold on a legal tender footing especislly in view of possible diflloulties in obtaia. ing adequate supplies of ailver. A fixed ratio must, therelore be established between the rapee and gold, wa ueed in the internal circulation, either one sovereign for Rs. 15 as at preeent or one eoveriga for Rs . 10 in correspondence with the new exobange ratio. The former slternative would give the avareign the etatua of an overvalued token coin, neceasitating permanent control over the isuport of eovereign, and making sa open gold mint imposible. The Seoretery of Stato in

    Cormeil agroe with the Comemitten that onch oonditions ought mot to be coatemplated on o permanoat arrangemeat. On the otber head, the lower retio cenand be effictivily ino trodoced while a great disparity contingen to axitr betroten the onmmercial price of gold in iadia and the intended Indien mint par of one sovereige for El . 10.

    Promat conditions sfe - prodact of the war and in come eene artiboin!. They cannot be immediately remediod without tisk of shook to the exosomie sad monetary syatem in India, asd of reation elsewhers to which Indis ennot in her own istareset bo iodiforent : a aradual procese of reotification and of edjuntment to new conditions in required, For some time pant ection hen been tolea in Indin to reduce the premiom oa gold by regalar Covernmest asley of ballion to the pablic and thit menare will be farthor developer. It may be expeoted that in that way a natroil adjustment may be offected autil the poth to logislotion is olesued.

    The Secretary of 8 tate hat decided, theretore, first, that the import of gold thall continue fint tie preeset to be wos. trolled by lisense ander the Guld Import Act, with fixed cogricition rate se mentionet sbore; seoond, that menambila, periodiasl sales of gold bullion to the pahlio aball oastinue; and shird, that at a proviciond mesare daring the transition period covereigut shall remain legal teader at the present matio of Re, 15.

    In. arriving at the deoinions the Secretary of Btate in Conncil has not hailed to give cerofal consideration to the minority report sigaed by Mr. D. M. Dala, Mr. Dalal's main otject is the effeotive restoration and maintenance of the ratie of 18 rupees to a moversign ate memare both of exobange and of the circalating value of the rapee. In order to seceure this he rolies upon froedora for the melting sid export of rapeen and correspondingly to freedom for the impart of gold. To meet the poosible result in shortage of silver ooint be resammende that at long as the New York price of nilver remains above 92 centr Government should coin two rapee silver coive of redaced fineneen, the ooinage of rapees of the present weight and finenese being mean-while suspended, and only reenoued when the price of ailver falle to the Ggare anmed. He aleo recommende that nterling draita on the Seoratery of Bute shoold be wold only at 1s. 3 29/32d.

    The Socretary of Stato in Conncil antisfied thes this programme ouald not be adopted withous antuward consequences. The hevit exporta of silver coin to be anticipsiod under the soheme mont threaten not only the Whole silvar eiroalation bat also the Goverment reserree of wilver coin, and entail the graveet rink of inconvertibility of the Government note isena. The damand for the gold required continually to make shis deficiency good mat greaty aggravate any atrain thers may be on the gold ntock of the world when the freedora of import is reetored. Nor is it anfo to mesume that thene difficultien conld be met by isuaing nem silver coine of intarior finenese; the evidenos againat the moceptability of an inferior aubatitute for the pre. eont rapee has impresed the majority, and their recommendation on this heed is moooptod by the Boerotary of Station decinive. Mr. Dalaile recommendation in regerd to the rato for aterling dratte, il adopted, mant produce an immodiato aram in exchange bringing anmenitod dieaster to thowe who have rearosably relied on some contionity of policy. The only corer which his seheme afferde is the export of the coentry's eirox lating carrency. In any oase, even it a metare to the prowas
     trade or risk to the Carrescy syatom, it would hy Indis open
     recomanendation would tood towneds a redoction of general price levels in India

    Both dariag and sibeo the mar Iodian earrency and ax" change bave premoted problume proviosaly ananticiputed and more perplazing than any amoonaterod sinoo the devision to colos the minto in 1898. I at the Enoretary al Stele in Cones cil in entisfied tbat detivions rombed promint ate evolual rolation, and be devires to expreen hin ecknowlodgmente to the Oornimituo and their Cbairman for the ability and thorougt. aneo with whick they have exploned the lienom and beve framed thair reoommendetioas"

    ## APPEAL TO ORRISTLAN BUMANITARIANS.

    I beg to draw the attention of all Christian bumanitarisus to the follomirg aditorial protest of Mra. Anaie Benant, pabe lished in the Thoosophiat, (Adjex, Medru, India, Maguat 1914. : -

    * I am atonishod to leara trom The Chureh Nissianary Gleaner that Obristian Mimionarioe is Ohine reluse to weept into Canreb mambership any convorte to Chritainalty who are yegetariang. It ecoms inoretible that eatiag dead animale atould be mado cine gue non of Cbristinaity. In itu imate of May lat 1914, noder the boading ' Broken Vown' the Gloaner tayt:-" 0 ne of the diffionalitet in the waj of the apread of the goppol in Chins bme often boea the vogetatism vowe taken by Baddhisto. The bresking down of thene utumbling blocke is olvaye gladiy weloomed by the Miesionaries." This editorial iatrodaction is folloned by thories of the remural of the atambling blocke. A Mra. Deng wat "ia great troable with a bad look. Sha had beea io groat pain, day and night, for over a year, and acked for troctment. In yeare gone by the wonld nevar come near the Chriatiene, bat the pain had been so greas that the wat only too willing to mocept an invitative to come to the Mietion Einuse lor trentment. erea on condition of baving to brest her fast." Mrt. Deng'a mother, Mre Waog, "also decido to bresk har test," and ' bruke har lant conoeotion with ontward idolatory by partaking of a meat dinner, thas dincoatiaging her fal of thirty gears."
    a A diater of here, living bere in Chnogpa, who actaral jeara ago wat a catechamen, but never gave ap ber vegotarian rom, and therefore could not be taken tato membership, hat taken courage, end followed bor alder sinter in alco breaking her fast, 8bo $\rightarrow$ Mra. 8ie-hed beon ill for mand montho. Whenever ahe wesexhorted to prat ber whole trast in the Lord, and give ap har vow, she replied that she wee alraid to break if Bat when ahe heard of har eldar sinter doing so the at onoe expresed a wish to do so too. I brought ber rome cooked ment, and atter prayor abe toot the long lareed atep, sod wid ebe would now really trast the Lord wholly mad colely. Sbe wan in sueh e week coodition that one foft the litule remanas of life might any time bo fainobod, and therdore wo were verg thankful to see her entei the fold Only two days altar breeking ber feet she diod quiet penco. ably. Her coan and deaghterio-lew, wha had tanded beri wit grent cars, have sles promicod to "loern the doetriak."
    ${ }^{4}$ The piefare of the siek woman iadoced to pollace ber. body, and dyiog iwo daji lator to ratior g bectly. The whole procesdiags, with his natortancte family fored oat of taking olma food, ic the frote cene by the refamal of madioal holp antil maok wee ceten, would be inerodible if thay were pot la $p$ Mimionary Joarnal."
    1 pray that Cbriatien bumanitoriens of the world may tiodly protett agaiont the Corivicien Micoionaries epreeding Ambenting with all ite attoodant Horrors io the Epet, tead may kiodig urge the Mimonary Survetion to mad ooly Vegoh tarime Mimionarien to the Reaters coontrive.

    Twog 8maly mot Kilin
    Lafingatian Lammbag,
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    # INDIAN*SOCIAL*REFORMER. 

    ## PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

    Vol. XXX, BOMBAY-SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1920. No. 24.
    "I woll bs as harsh at truth, and at uncompromising as juatice; 1 an in earnest-I will not equivocate-l will ant ceuse, 1 will not retreat a mingle inct-And $I$ will be hearde"

    Willian Lioyo Garrison in the Liberater.
    DONTEENTM.

    Maternity ${ }^{\text {P }}$ Child Welfare Ex. birus.. Delbi.
    Coiptitutional Reform in Hyderabad (Deccan.)
    The First Non-ompial Municipal Preaident in Madras.
    Christian Mistionaries and the Jhallianwalla Mas. sacre.
    Sir P. S. Sivaswamilycr's Unpleasant Experience. Satyagraba and the Masses

    A Correction,
    Indian Olympic Aasociation. The Dacca University Bill I. Redemption, Hiadu and Christian.
    Non-Brahmin Representation in Madras.
    The Prohibition Act in the United States.
    A Useful Book of Reference.
    Surat Hindu Orphanage.
    An Interview with Mr. Gandhi.

    ## HOTES.

    Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition, Delhi. We bave received the programme of the forthcoming Maternity and Ohild Wellare Exhibition to be opened at Delhi on the 2rst instant by Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, the Patroness, who has been taking a deep intercst 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. Alter the opening ceremony on the first day, the students of the Lady Hardinge Medical College will enact Shakustala 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, Kuth Young. There are several other lec. tures 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 pay. ment 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 (Decean.) His Exalted Highness the Nizum has issned the following important Firman Mobarick dated King Kothi, the 5th Febrnary, 19\%0: "In my Firman dated tho 22 ad of Safar-ul-Mnaffur 1388 II. uuder which I established an Execntive Conucil for the more efficient administration of my Duainions, I had directed that my Legislative Council woald continue to work under the existing roles antil they shonld be modified. This Council was one of the ontstauding featares of the Reforms introdaced by my revered father. Since its establishment, some minor changes iare been effected, bat they are not sufficient to meet the requirementa of present times, nor do they give promise of the falfilment of those
    duties and functions which $I$ consider necebsary for the prosperity and advancement of my beloved subjects. The Conatitation I bave given to my Execative Conncil 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 wis'dom of the steps taken. The next important move in the direction of Reforms I'have in' contemplation, is a thorongh and complete investigation of the couditions mort favourable to the enlargement of the Legisiative Cunncil and the expansion of its asefolness 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 attuinment of the above mentioned objects may be based. It is my desire that, with due regard to the social and edacational advance made by my people, particalar attention should be paid to the following points in conducting the investigation :-(a) Sabstantial introdaction of the Elective Element, (b) Direct Voting, (d) Representation of all important Clasces and Interests; (d) Effective protection of Minorities, (e) Conditions of Franchise, (f) The Official Element, (g) Powers and Fanctions. The Sadar-i-Azam is anthorized to appoint special officers and constitute Committees on whose reports a comprehensive schems with definite proposals shall be drawn op for presentation to my Executive Conncil for opinion prior to its submission to me for consideration and orders."

    The First Non-official Muncicipal 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 retura 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 ohe of which every citizen, Brahmin or non-Srahmin, may well be proud. We congratulate Mr. Chettiar on bis 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 Caristian Missions, when it observes, commenting on the Rev. S. Winslow's letter in a recent of issue of the Challengo:
    "We bope these words will strike a sympathetic chord in the bearts of many European missionaties who, we are pained to think, bave taken opon themselves a vow of silence even when the heart of the people is so sore over the affair. If wa had now stalwart European missionaries who participated so whole-beartediy in the joys and sorrows of the poople in the olden days, the whole country would bave resounded with their indignant protest. But it grieves us to find in these days even missiouaries figuring in the performances of the Indo-british Asso ciation. 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 inte "one biazing point all the smouldering resentment awakened by a hundred lesser acts of cold superciliousness and cyaical contempt, of callous indifference on the part of Englishmen to Indian susceptibilities" and branded it indelibly upon their bearts. 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 theie?" 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 bighest importance for the fair name of Cbristians that a declaration should be made that such acts as were done in Amritsar are utterly contrary to the true spirit of Carist and as such they are repudiated. Let the plain thing be said straight and without camoufage. So long as acts liko the Amritsar massacre remain unrepudiated by the general Cbristian consciousness, it will create a very unfavourable impression in the public mind in India." In a later issue of the Challengo, 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 herears are nut "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 bands that first dressed my wounds." The terrible ordeal through which she passed tas evidently affected the good lady's sense of proportion.

    Sir P. S. Sivasmami Iyer's Uapleasant Experience: Sir ${ }^{1}$. S. Sivaswami lyer, 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 bim that they might get into the next compartmemt. He said it was occupied by a gentleman and went out grumbling. The guard or station master then came ap to me, and asked me if 1 would vacate the compartment. I asked bim why they could not go into the next compartment. He said that a gent'eman was travelling in the next compartment. 1 toid bim that they might ask the other gentieman to come into my compartment and that it would be inconvenient for me to turn out with my luggage, etc. Alter a few minutes, the European officer re-entered my com. partment with his wife, and said "you are a damned" brute, it is disgraceful. I bave never heard sucb a thing in my lite, a reiusal to oblige a lady." I said, "you have no business to talik to me in this way," and then he said "shut up.". He and his wife thea 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 be asked me, "do you understand English ?" I said "yes." Then he said, "I bave known lots of respectable people in India, Sikhs, Punjabic, and Hindus, and there are many whom $\frac{1}{4}$ amproud to ca $/$ my friends. None of thera would have beliavid t, a lady in tbe way you have done. The Maharaja! of Bikanir, Maharajah Sir Pratap Singh would have vacated the compartinen. - No Eoglisbman worthy of the name would have b:haved to an Iadian 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 seea such language used." This man is a Government officer, Captaio Childers, of the Military Police at Pyabwe, and we hope tha: his superiors will lose no time in impressing on bim the uawisdom of behaving like a bully to Indian travellers. We should be surprised if even Sir Sivaswami's seasoned moderation did not muffer momentary eclipse when the dawn of the \&5th January was breaking on the way from Pagaid to Mandulay.

    Salyagraba and the Masses: Writing on Salyagraka in a recent issue we remarked that the populace understood Salyagyaha in the sense which Mr. Gandhi understands it in, there will be no safer or more efficacious meang of na-ional salvation. Young India refers to a tradition cuirent in Northern India of the psople having used Salyagraha againat Aurangacebe in connection with a bathing ceremony at Mathura. As we do not happen to know of thia tradition, we are unable to say snything 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 oo 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 Salyagrahe 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 irresponsive Government to undo a public wrong.

    A Correction: We were in error is 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. Vijiaragtavan B.A., B.L., a nephew of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Krishnan, Mr. K. Vallodi b.A; a son ot Rajah'K. C. Manavedat Rajab, retired District and Sessions Judge, Mr. Ramakrishoa Chaudri K.A., of Guptur District, Mir Shabuddin B.A., B.L., nephew Mo: Bazalullah, Collector and District Magistrate of Guntur and Mr, Bhaskar Rao Naidu, son of Mr. Krishaaswamy Naidu, sub.Jadge.

    Indian Olympic Association: We are requested to state that the preliminary sports to select (" a representative body of atbletes to represont India at the next International Olympic Games to be held in Belgium in August 19zo, will take place at Bombay or Yoona daring the first week of April 1920. Exact dates and place will be anoounced later. Only entries recommended by the Provincial Branches of the Association or other authorised institutions will be accepted. Particalars can be bad from the General Secretary, Indian Olympic Association, Poona City.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1920.
    ## THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL, I. Combunal Reprbbintation.

    The Bill for establishitg a University at Dacea in East Eangal, which was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Conncil in September last, was referred after a somewhat excited discassion to a Select Committee on Wednesday. East Bengal has a large Mabomedan popalation and a Dacca University has all along been regarded as specially required to enconrage higher education among them. It is an adraitted fact that Univeraity edacation has so far failed toppeal to Indian Mahomedane, and that if it is to do so, it is necessary that the special needs, difficnlties and, it may be, prejadises of the community should be adequately represented in the varions parts of the University. With this object in vicw, the Bill provides for a dae representation of Mahomedans in the general body of the University and its important organs, in addition to the provision of n Mahomedan Advisory Committee to look after the special requirements of Mahomedan stadents. Mr. Sarendra Nath Banerji fastened apon these provisions and protested against the introdaction of the commanal principle in the proposed University. He was followed by other members among whom were Mr. Sastry, Sir Dinshah Wacha and Pandit Mobnn Malaviya. Mr. Shafi, the member of Government in charge of the Bill, seama to have been a little excited and to have exprtiated on the inconsigtency of gentlemen who signed the Lacknow Compact and advocated Hinda-Mahomedan unity, opposing commanal representation in the constitation of Dheca University. We are nosble to agree that advocates of Hinda-Mas'im anity shonld never in any oircnmatances object to the extension of commanal representation. That would mean that HindaMualim unity ecn be maintained only on one condition, namely, that the Mahomedans mast have their way, bowever irratioual or extravagant it may seem to.others. This, we need hardly suy, wonld be good neither for the country por for the $\mathrm{Ma}^{\prime}$ omedans themselves. The potted child is olten a spoilt child and Iudian Muhomedans bave lieen alteruately the petled chiluren of Government suld of politically-ninded Indians: And we are seriously afraid that they are in the way of sufforing from this circamstance. llat as egarde nommunal representation in Dacea Univeriity, the protest of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji and , be other geutlomen who supported bim, was clearly sisplaced. We have iusisted in these columns over , od over agaio that Edacation is the department of itate activity, which beura woat closely on the scoial ud dowestic life of the people. Holing that view, we canoot but feel that commonal representation, if tis aceded at all, is needed more in the edsoaional than in the politicul organs of the Siate. We are no hesitation in saying that, in the special conitione of East Bengal, the provision for commnal
    representation in the proposed University is a wise and statemanlike provision. It does not follow, we veed hardly asy, 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 soarce of strength to have all comanaities represented on tbe Boards and Committees of oar Universities by the best men available from among the members.

    Semb Subbtantial Objbctions.
    The proposed soheme for the Dacce University is open to sabstantial objections. The scheme parports 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 fandaments of them all is that it throws away altogether the experience gained in the Universities of India daring 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 nnderetanding and working the scheme. At any time, sach a violent breach of continaity in the highest organ of edacation in a conntry, would be inconvenient and embarrassing. At this time, wheu our political system bas been cast into the melting-pot so thorough-going a revolation in oar edacational system is simply bewildering. We can only vuderstand innovations such as this scheme iavolves to mean that Indian edacation is to be treated not as a liviag organism, growing and adapting itself to and drawing nourishmentand inspiration from its environment, batas a rare exotic to be prevented from becoming acclimatised in the conntry, and striking root in its soil, by being dog ap 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 considerad. The Sadler Commission actailly seem to thind that the conditions of stadent life in Beagal are mach nearer to those in England than to those in Scotland or Germanyl That is the ooly menning we can attach to the following passage in their repret:

    The examplea if Sutiont and Germiny, where saitable and respectable lodginisg for students ara abnudaut, quoted by Sir Guoroo Dase, do nut nuve ua su much as the actual conditions of Bengal. We canuot accept his presentation of life at a hoetel as beiug one of rigid rootine and dead level aniloraity. That is lar removed indeed from the happy and varied life as we know it in English Collcges and Cuiveraity Colleges and University hosfele, from the life that we have seen in residen. tial Colleges in Judia like Aligarh, Serampore, Bankura or St Panl's."
    Sume people bave not seen in Aligarh a conspicnons saccess in the introdaction of English University bife. Serampory nud St. Paul's are, we believe, Christica missionary institations attended nosestly by couverts and tbeir cbildren over whom the Miasion. aries excrcise paterual sway. We do not know anything ajoot Bankura. We have recently had the
    oxtreme case of Newington which, in one respect at least, pamely, the extreme fewness of ite scholars, was ideally sitnated for an experiment. In any case, we are notable to diamisa Sir Gooroo Dass's testimony aboat the Indian boatel systen as lightly as the Commisaion bas done. The Dacca Doiversity 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 prisciples are by no means non-montroversial. The country has bad no time to diacass those principles and to express a considered opinion on them. The Report has been published in parts, and as the Reform acheme came to a hend at aboat the same tima, the recommendations of the Sadler report have been thrown into the background. Even the Uaiveraitics have not been sble to deal with the Report in the time that has elapsed since its pablication. They have appointed Committees which will take not less than three or foar months to make their reportg to the Senate, It is atterly impossible to criticise the Dacca University acheme in a constractive sense, except in the light of the views one forms of the general priociples enanciated in the Sadler Commission's Report.

    ## Arbitrary and Revolutionaby.

    Evidently even Mr. Shafi, the Member in charge of the Bill, feels this difficalty bat he is belpless. Nawab Ali Cnowdiri, a member from East Beagal, quoted the opinion of leading edacationists in his province, who were all agreed that the achools and colleges in the province, ontside Dacca, ahonld be affiliated to Dacca University rather than continue affliated to distant Calcatta. The Chief Commissioner of Asaam had arged that the edacational institations in that sab-province should not be ander any Uaiversity outside it, bat it that had to be, he woald mach prefer Dacea to Calcatia. The Member for Edncation conld only say in reply that he was sorry that Goverament was boand by the recummendation 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 groand that the Calcatta University baa grown to anmanagesble dimensions, as having no bearing on the proposal to have a new University at Dacca. We bad aiways thought it had a good deal to do with it. In any case the Sadler Commission itselt was called into existence priacipally in view of the onwieldy dimensions to which Calcatta University had grown. The Commissioners have themselves pat that fact in the forefront of their case for drastic reform. In oar opinion, the line of right development in Uaiversity reformic India is progressively to increase the namber of Universitief, thas redacing the area of their jorisdiction, in every province, antil at last by a nataral and easy process involviug ao violent dislocation of existing idens and expe-ience, each University has a juriediction not too large to admit of its being compacted into a heacbing Universily. Oar main eim in this country immediately shonid be to bring edacation of all kiods as far as possible to the doors of the people. The Dacce Univerity scheme
    deliberately parsues the opposite policy. It rejerts the idem of affiliating colleges in the neighboaring districte of East Bengal and concentrates itself on providing what it believes to be an ideal acheme for persons within a five miles'radins of Dacce And Government, we are told, cannot depart from this plan.
    Confobinge to taz Lettre bet not fun SHintr.
    We remarked above that while the Dacea Uaiversity Bill to a large extent followa tho letter of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, it is not in essential respecta in conformity with the spirit of them. The Sadler Commission obeerve:-

    We bave shown in another pleet the grave distrinatagen of the existing discocition betreen diteiled tromiedge ot academic matters and responsibility tor their alminiatnifions, and bare suggested that while the State cannast and ooght not to rid itsell of the altimale reeponsibility for tho larger ques. tions of naiversity poliog which affeot the ooontry an a whola, the attempt of the State to manage a univercity in detail leade to confasion; it weakens the sense of responsibility of the Univenity in advising Government at to the changet in their regalations, nince Gevernment is not boand to take their advice; and the responsibilits of Goverament in dealing with aniversioy adminiatration beconse somewhat nureal, ainee is is an obvioss imposesibility lor the Gavernment depariment conoerned to be aequainted with the detaila of aniverity managerent in regard to wheb they are legally obliged to meke decisione.

    We have oo donbt that this pictare in largely trne of Calentta University. Bat no one who knows will find mach resemblance between it and the relations between, for instance, the University and the Government of Bombay. As both the Univer. sities are governed by the same statate, the defects noticed by the Commiasion in the Calentta Uaiversity are clearly not ioherent in the statate itaelf. They arise either from errors of administration or from the nawieldy jariadiction of Calcatta Uaiversity. The one, no doubt, hes a bearing on the other. Bat the poiat we wiah to note bere is this : the obvions meaning of the gnotation that we have made from the Sadier Commision's report, is that the Goverament power of control over the Dacca Daiversity eboald be considerably less then what is provided in the Uaiversities' Act of 1904. How does the Bill give effect to this idea? It packe the Uaiversity with ex-officio. me.ubers, while giving itnominally power to meriage ite affairs. Let ue coinpare the namber of sa-officio inembera in Braliay University which controis a whole provinces benidea several Indiag States, and in the proponed Dacea University with its fiye mile radius. In B, abay Uaiversity we bave, besides the Chancellor, the Members of the Executive Coaucil, the Cbiel Jantice, the Bishop and the Director of Pablic Inotraction, seven ia all. The Act lags down that they shall not exceed ten. Tate the case of the proposed Dacea Uaiversity. First, we have the Viceroy as vi nitor with lerge powers which we have, no doobt, will rarely be need. 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 administrstion. The Vice-Chancellor is to be a paid fall-time officer to be appointed by the Cbancellor. The Treasarer is another such officer to be appoiuted also by the Chancellor. The Coart which is the outer body of the University loosely corrosponding to the Seuate in the order- niversities, is to have as ex-officio members, theso three gentlemen, the Directors of Pablio Instraction in Bengal and Assam, the members of the Execative Conncil of Bengal, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the Commissioner, Collector and District Jadge of Dacca, the Director of Agricaltare, the Civil Sargeon, the Saperintending Eagineer, the Chairman of Dacca Manicipality; the lospector and Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Dacfar Division, and a namber of others, without apparently any limit as to number. There is not maoh reality in the independesoe of a University, a point on which the Sadier Commisson lay so mach stress, in which so many persons bold seats in virtue of their official positions.

    ## redemption, hindu and christian. *

    The series of volames pablished by the Oxford Usiversity Psess, ander the joint editorship of Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. H. D. Griswold, with the suggentive title of the "Religions Quest of ladia," marks an epoch in the history of Cbristian contact with lndia, and more generally, indeed, of the relations between the East and the West. It has always been our coaviction that the consammation so devoutly longed for by meu of goodwill all over the world, namely, the union of the Eart and the West, mast begin in the highest realm of thought, the spiritual. Complete mataul auderstanding of earhother's attitade of mind by the religious-minded in every coantry, will acbieve wonders, where the calcolated efforts of the politioally and commercially minded only will fail. Ia this series the editors, adairably selected for their respeotive subjects, bring to their task a mind well-equipped with iuformation, high scholarship, and, above sll, a resolute good will. The result is a growing sense, among thoughtfal Clisistians and non-Christians alike, of the solidarity of the apiritanal. We have called attention before to the carious fact, which goes to contirm our view of the funda mental importance of religion as the biuding force of races and civilisutions, that the moverment of thought represented by the "Religions Qaest of | India" series preceded and preladed by seversl years the correspoading movement in politics which bas Nonad statutory expression in the Indian Reforms Act. It is fitting to acknowledge that the credit of initiafting this beneficent movement, so far as it can be |aseribed to any single man, belongs to Dr. Farquhar whose "Crowu of Hindaism" was its firat and most istriking landmark. We have bad with ne for nome monthe now one of the most rewarkuble bueke in this iremarkuble series, "Redemption, Hiuda aud CbrisItian" by the Rov. Sydney Cave. The subject dealt


    with lies at the very heart of the two religions, and we should like especially to congratalate the anthor on the atmosphere of deep reverence which he has succeeded so wonderfally in diffusing over every page of of bis book. No conscions effort woald have beensble to achieve this resalt. The reader feels tbat he is dealing with a writer to whom the names are nothing and the ideals behind them everything. He can see God, recognise Trath, under Hinda as well as under a Christian nomenclatare. He is far too deeply and vitally interested in the grand movement by which the material world is slowly being trangmated to the spiritaal throngh the soal of man, to waste attention on the verbal eddies that have at times delayed and even temporarily diverted it to ends seemingly irrelezant to its main great parpose.

    ## Need for Re-Statement of Cbristianity.

    We were privileged recently to publish an article from the pen of a highly-valned contribator with the assamed uame of "Kotgarh" who told us in beautifal words how his deepening insight into Hinda thought beiped to deepen his insight into Christ's thonght also. Mavy a Hindu can say the same of the effect on bia ot a sympathetic understanding of Christ's message. Mr. Gandbi, in an interview with a Christian Missionary gentleman on a recent occasion, acknowledged in striking language his deep debt to the New Teetament. We are glad to recognise Dr. Sydney Cave as of the groap of pioneers who are boring a passage from either side through the great monntain range of prejadice and mianoderstanding which has kept the Eust and the West asander for centaries. 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 ontset-though he holde, and rightly, we think, that they had excase for it-that the earlier Christian Missionaries in India had no access to the higher Hindnism. In other respects, too, there have been fandamental changes in the conditions of the problem of Christian Missions in India. "Even the moral supremacy of Christianity," writes Dr. Caves "can no longer be spoken of as a traism. Men are aware that not all in England are Sabibs. The "elam" there, the social vice, misery, are familiar facts. The victory of Japan did macb to rehabilitate Oriental self-respect. Now, on the gigantic scale of a world war, Indians have seen not only the failare of Christianity to preserve Christendom from war, bat its failore to keep war free from needless craelty and lost. And Indiaus can point with pride to the equal comradeship of their troops with British on the field of buttle and their proved discipline and valour." If these chnoged conditions have made a restatement of Cbristianity, in terms of Indian spiritual caltare, imparative, the faot that Cbristianity has made most of its converts from the depressed classes, interposes a serions obstacle in the way of such a restatement. "The great muss-movements," mrites Dr. Cave, " have been chiefly among the outcastes. For sach, religion meant devil-worship, and Hinduism, the
    ajetem which satotioned their degradation, and debied to them the elementary rights of manhood. It is not sarprising if those whom Hindaism has thas treated shoald regard the. very phrase 'lligher Hiodaism' as an oxymoron. With no tradition from the East, they have grasped eagerly at the culture of the Weat. It is scarcely to be wondered at if many sach out-western any Westerners. Christians themselves are often as incredaions as Hindus that Christianity will ever supersede Hinduism. And in onr great Christian commnaitien even men of naiversity edncation are oftea almost incredibly igno. rant and indifferent in their attitude to Hinduism." The average Cbristian Missionary has bimself been infected with this featare of the Indian Cbristian mentality with which he is most closely and conalantIy in contact. And when thinkers like Dc. Cave, among Westerners, and Mr. K. T. Panl, among Indiens, endeavoar to restate Christian traths in terme of Indian religions coltare and national self-reverence, it is no wonder that they shoald at first meet with little sympathetic response from those who have come to constitate the conservatism of Indian Cbristiadity. Aud conservatism in Iudia is the root factor, whether it bear the label of Hinda, 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.

    ## Tas Tro Great Religode Tites.

    Dr. Cave briefly states the parpons of his book thas: "That Christianity is a religion of deliverance end, as anch meets the aspiration of Hindaism, it is the main purpose of this essay to show. The presentation of Christianity as ethics and not redemption is one-sided, ands as such, false to the Caristian Gospel. Christ came to deliver men not from gailt only, hat from bondage to the temporal. Born on the Semitic soil of Jewish legalism, Chistiauity went ont into the Aryaz world of Greek cultare, where the craviog for redemption was so intence, and fuand there a congenial home. It redeems from the world, yet gives moral content to life in this world. If there be a niversal religion, we may expect it to be adequate to the spirital necessities revealed by the two great types of world religiods. We way look for it in a reconciliation of the two types in the higher aynthesia of an ethical religion of redemption-a teligion which redeems from the world, and yet euables ve to fiod in the world a epbere of moral activity and progress. Jast such a religion is the Gospel of Jesne Christ." The phrase we have italicised concedes the possibility of there being other such religions. And therein, it we may ventare to asy so, is the distiactive merit of Dr. Cave's book-its appeal to all wen of good-will of whatever faith to cooperate in finding the Universal religion, whether among the oldeetublished religions, if it is to te fonad there, or in a new one if one has to be evolved bereafter. Ur. Ciave classifies the great world-religions in two groaps-the religion of redemption and the religion of ethica. These he farther identifies with the Arjan and the Semitic respectivelf. The Argan or redemptive, he
    esya, aeeks to meet men's mystic yearninga, bat taile to give life in the world a moral content and meaning. The Semitic or ethical, oo the other hatd, is icterested and influential in the condact of this life, bat fails to meet man's mystic jearnings. Every classification of this kind can be but a rongb and general indiontion of the manin characteriatice of the caspories concerned. Yet we woald prefer to iadicate at once that we do dot think that either of these tro types of religion is to be net moywhers at any rate in hiotorical times in its pare, or rather crade, form ; and that everywhere the two elements, othical and redemptive, are to be fonad (in Mendelian phraec) recessive or dominant, but ready to develop in congeuial environment. Even Jadaism hap ite "Song of Sulomon," while Mahomedaniam, hand ite Sofisan. Buddhism is the othical phave of Hiadaism. Not unly that, Clariatianity which, as Dr. Cave conceises it, is both ethical and redemptive, has developod predowionatly as an ethical or a redemptive religion at diferent periode of ite long hietory. 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, thongh the ethionl or mystic might predominate, the other has never been altogether absent. In other words, a certain midiman of both is required to make a religion, whioh aggeste that religion is neither ethics nor mynticism bat something from which both ethice and mysticism epting and in which they both have their being. The Uaiversal religion therefore, mast obviously be foand not in a certain proportional biend of ethica and myaticiam, bat in the heart of Being which holds both in fuaion. All great Teachers were in direct contact with the heart of Being, and their teachings were edapted to the needs of their times and their generation. Begond these, their words pioted to and revealed a vest vista of meaning applicable to all times and all conditions by men of tuith and foresight and noble unaelfighaess. Men of goodwill will, therefore, find in all religions the clne to a solution of the problems and perplexities of life. It follows that each iodividnal will fied the cloe more readily in the teachers of the fuith in which he is born and broaght $n$ p than in others, just as one fiada bis way atout in bis owa home even if ill-ighted than in s atrange hoose thong brilliadly lit ap.

    ## NON-bHaHMIN REPRESENTATIUN - In madllas.

    Io the last issue weroferfed to the Conference of Brahmine and noa-Brahmia representatives, held by His Excellency the Governot of Madraf, to bring abont an ouderstanding regarding the namber of aesta in the Dew l'ruvincial Legiolative Conacil to be reserved for the nou-Drahtuias in the territorial constitaencies. Justices, the organ of the non-Drabmia movement, polliothed in its issae of the fith Febroary an open letter addreseed to the non-Diahtoins of the Madras Presidency, signed by five non-Brahmin gentlewen who were present at the Cunference, giving their version of the proceedings. It was agred at the outset that those present at the

    Conference wonld be free to pablish a fall accoant of the proceedinge but that, before doing so, they shonld unmit a copy to His Excellency "to see that sach report was accarate." In view of this diatinct onderstanding, the signatories have not done the correct thing in poblishing their version withont the omission and alterations enggested by His Eficellency. No donbt, they have indicated in marginal notea that His Excellency had taken exception to them, and they have also pablished the correspoodence between Dewan lahadar Theagaraya Chetty, and Mr. F. B. Evann, the Secretary to Government on specisl duty in connection with the reforms, who conveyed His Excellency's corrections. His Excellency was reqnested to be present at the Conference by reprementatives of the Brahmin and non. Prabmin sections. It was characteristically kind-hearted of Lord Willingdon to bave agreed to the reqnest. The Jindu thinks that the tone of His Escellency's remarks was not quite calcalated to soften asperities, bat we fuil to see what was wrong in them even aecording to the veraion of Dewan Bahadar Theagaraya Chetty. On the other hand, Mr. Kastari Ranga I fengar's attitnde at the Conference is really nointelligibleMr. Kasturi (who is the Editor of the IIindu) is said to have sapported Dewan Bahadar Kesava Pillay's propoand to reserve 30 ont of 63 seats for the non-Brabmins, bat he qualified his sapport by the condition that "if all did not agree, he would withdraw it." If it was right and fair to reserve 30 scats, why on earth ahoold not Mr. Kantnri arge snch reservation regardless of what others thonght of it?
    Dewan Bahadar Ramachandra Row said that not more than 28 or 29 seats shoald be reserved for the non-Brabmins, Llis Excellency, however, thought that 50 per cent of the seats (that is, 32) would be a very fair namher. Dewan Bahadar Theagaraya Chetty did not say how many seats he wanted hat he regretted that be conld not accept 50 per cent as he was answerable to olhers, which clearly meant that, for himself, he was not unailling to accept that namber. Uader these circamstances, His Escellency bad no coares open bat to have the matter referred to an arbitator au provided in the Report of the Selborne Committee. We strongly feel that those who deolined to accept His Excellency's very fair proportion, whether Brahmins or non-Brahmins, have shown themselves to be wauting in foresight and political asgacity. The non-Brahmins are clearly entitled to demand that they Hhonld, independeatly of the seats open to Brahmios and nou-Brahmins alike, he assured of a minimam enpable of effectively representing their pint of view. Under Dewn Babadar Ramachandra Row's proposal they will not be assured of sach a 1 minimam. Bat with the proportion favonred by llis Excellency, they will be completely assared of it. Their rejection of $i t$, puts them clearly in the wrong. The Arbitrator, whether he be Lord Meston or anybody else, when be ia asked to concede a decisive majority to the nou-Brabuine, will have to enquire on what gronads such a demand can be sabstantiuted. Ho will donbtless enquire how far and in what way the geatlewen' who profess to apeak for the nou-

    Brahmin millions really do so. Table 1X, Volume II, of the Madras Census Report, 1011, gives the statistics of edacation by castes, There are some 80 Tamil cantes, nearly as many Telaga castes, abont balf as many Malayalam castes, the same namber of Canarese castes, and aboat 60 Oriya castes. The Bralimins are to be fonod in each of the four gronps bat the different lingnistic groans, Brahmin or nonBrahmin, do not inter-marry. For all practical parposes the Telagn Brahmin is an albogether different custe from the Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam or Oriya Brabmin. And so the Tamil and the rest from one anuther. If we leave ont the Brahmin, there are 79 Tamil castes, as many Teloga castes, and 39 Canaress and Malayalam castes and 59 Oriya castes, all oomprehended in the term non-Brahmin. Each of these scores of non-Brahmin castes is as exclasive from the rest and from one another ss the Brahmin. The leaders of the movement which goes by the name of non-Brahmin, belong to one or other of aboat half a dozen (if so many) of these nearly 300 castes. It can be easily proved from the Census figares of literates, especially literates in English, that the Brahmin's inflaence in the Tamil and Telagn districts is dae entirely to his superios literacy, and that in the Malabar districts the Nair caste, which has most literates in English, enjoys a mach larger secular influence than the Brahmins Whose intense ennservatiom has stood in the way of their taking to English education.
    If the leaders of the present non-Brahmin movement had exertgd themselves in the pust to minimise, if not to abolish, caste distinctions in the Hinda community, the maltiplicity of the non-Brahmin castes will not be the forcible argament which it is against their claims to represent the whole Hinda commanity minns the Brahmins. Taking the five signatories to the statement in Juatice, and speakiug with some knowledge of the social and religions reform movement in Madras daring the last thirty years, we do not remember to have heard or read of any of these gentlemen asibaving ever been prominently associated with the social reform movement which, daring the last three quarters of a centary and more, has aimed at bringing aboat the estinction of caste. There are, we gladly admit three or fonr gentlemen, in the less promiuent ranks aufortanately of the present politieal movement, who have worked whole-heartedly in the cause of social reform. The most distiagaished of thera, one of the recognised leaders of the Brahmo Stioaj and the social reform movement, whese name is well known and highly respected all over the coantry, is Dewan Bahadar Venkataratarm Nuidn. Aud what did the Dewan Bahadar bay at a meeting of nou-Brahmin sncial workers over which he presided on the 31st of December last?
    The other day reading a briet report of a preliminary meating of the People's Service League I found it atated that Dr. Kurap had moved a reeolution that Brahmias might be allowed to become nembers it they gave up their sacred throad. Without considering whetber that reeolation wis rightly or wrongly njeoted, shall we not pat this test to oursolvee? We bave uo sacrel thread to be cast awry. Bat me bave oarte
    pride to be musailisted. We have esote preiodioes to be given up and we have cante relotiona to be deated. Until we do this-chat is one of the faotort in the triple Sadbans I have epotan of-one social mervice will oniy be epatching op and healing op, which is mat permanent and ooniplete cares
    If all workers are imbued with the iriple sadhana of which this eminent social and religions former so eloquently impressed the necesaity on his andience, whers is the need for differentiating between non-Brahmin and Brahmin: Dr. Karap's engeseation that Brabmine who discarded their aacred thread might be allowed to become members of the People'a Service Leagae, and, even more, its rejection by the members of the Leagne, are extremely signiEcant. None of onr readers is likely to mistake as for champions of the caste system. Bat we do very etrongly object to the electoral machinery being atilised, at the instance of men who most of them are bigoted sdherent of this pernicions syatem, to penalise one particular caste because it has been quicker to react to the edocational and political conditions introdaced by British rale. After all, the spirit which rejects caste is the ontcome of Eaglish edacation. It follows that men who are imbued with that spirit are likely to be proportionatoIs more namerons in commanities which bave benefited by English edncation than in those which bave not benefited by it to the asme extent. Nevertheless, holding as we atrongly do that any concession is worth makiag to indace edacationally back ward commanities to interest themselves in astional questions, we wonld earnestly sdive that Dewan Bahadar Kesava Pillag's saggeation of 86 reserped seats may be accepbed even at this eleventh honr. The Dewan Bahadar is a veteran publicist who has fought many hard battles against vested interests and corraption in championing the cause of the poor and oppressed, and any saggestion emanating from him is entitled to respectinl consideration from all Brah. mins an well as noa-Brabmios.

    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 15th day of the present montb; and can not be rescinded by President Wilson or any other man or group of men. The fact that every State which bas adopted probibition, and some of them bave tried it more than thirty years, prospers far beyond its wet neighbours, has proven to the Amesican people the desirability of making prohibition a part of the constifution of the United States."

    A Useful Book of Reference: A very useful book of relerence, modestly priced at annas twelve only, is the "Useful Information Ior 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.

    ## SCRAT EINDU ORPGANAGE. An Appal Foa Tcida.

    This appealic watis on behall of the Snmat Hinda Orpe beange which was outhbliched dariag the woil nevore fowine of 1900, to allevite the niterise of bomelow opphans in Gajerah Sices ita foundation it hat malatained its poiltion as one of the foremat Einde Orphanagn in this Remidenoy and uplo now has giren abeler to over . Thoound dibildron of all agon. It bas never shnt ite doone agaiast any on Fhane brooght anier ite proteotion. Iadeod, they lare beas sordially welcomed. Thia Orphanage bee aloo pionered a sjuetmatio training of ite inmaton is arienad indoctice, and made it in frot eare to ace that under ite protection they have beea woll adocatol and truloed ea woll at thoy would have bean in normal surroundinge. Its working hm recoired the bighest commendations from the Goreroment and the
     pablic iastitations who heve risited it. The polioy of the management hae all throughoat beea the anving of child life as of primery importance and all ite revenroen had been apent for this purpose. No attompt wan made to look op any moneye received in bad and baildinge whinh would bave prevented that number of livee that have been sotanlly saved, This policy mut now be revised. The Buildings ooonpied at present are getting moresud more delapinatad and anheolithy lo condition and the surronading had lo fornad to be insaffioiens for the wido and beaeficent progremme the managemont hat ret belore it. Ia consequenee of the provailing bigh priofa of land and bnildinge, it in fouad difioult to obtain anothep saitable premises and sinoe it is imperative that the ondenirsble oonditione ebould not provail any longer, the provision of hating ite own bome is ceagatial. The inatitution has atsiued its ouefalnesa to muoh bigh degree, that it bas roceived continoonaly deatitate ebildrea ovaning from other charitable institatione auch at the gove Sadan, the Ohildren's Refage in Bombey and vereral other kindred organisations. A featare of this institution is thes it never has limited the namber of orphans to whome it should gire protection. Any number at any time is alraye weloom. ed. The Urphanage has till nom been oloned to a acotion of the untonchable clans, but in the new programang that it bea ret before it, it hopes to be able to provido adequate arrangemente for the recoption of the obildren of thit onfortanate clase.

    An the institation bas hitheto mainasined ith mot oborishod featare, the prowetion of old inmates daring thyne genre of their yoang life immedintely after their learing it, a metulment will aleo be provided for themen it hat beon done to. a limited extent at prasent. To carry ont thent mout presting seeds of the orphanage, an appeal is now mado for raisiog two lakhe of Rapees for land and buildinge and nettienent. It is ourneatty boped that the pablio will give it a hoart $y_{s}$ sod
     nowledging e gift of Bar. 80,000 towarda the o'jeos frum Mro Kapilram E. Vakil in memory of bis father,

    > Dinsbaw Edoldi Wafcera.
    > Therotaidat N. Malyif
    > Ghasen Peajo Thaokyanl.
    > Golabcaand Dyoguajd Zatiset.

    Bombay, 81 at Janeory 1920.
    [The excellent work of the Burat Hindw Orphaanga is midely knowa and appreciated. The appeal for fuads to provide a permanent boroe tor it will, we are sure, esent with geaerous respoase Mr. Kapilram'a maniticent gift tolacemory of bie father
    

    ## AN INTERVIEW WITE MR GANDHI

    ## (Faom the Indian Winness, Leckeow.)

    4.I talked with Mr. Gaidhi, I marvelled at the sim. plicity of his drems. He wore conrse white olott, with a $k_{\text {ambal thrum }}$ over hie body to protect him from the cold. A little white eap wit hic only head covering. Ae he ast on the hoor faoing me, I anked mpwell, hox oan this little man, with bis thin face and large protrading ears, and qaiet brown eyel, be the great Gendhi aboat whom I have beard wo much? All doabts were set aside, when we began to talk. I do not agree with all the methods that Mr. Gandhi -mploya to bring aboat the derired end; but $I$ do want to bear thic personal testimony of the man bimesll. Mr. Gandhi in a epirituel man. He is a thinker. In my ehort interriew, I had the same heart-to-heart fellowehid with him - I have had scores of times with some of God's eaints. I uok knowledge that thla man had been to the Souroe of Ohriatian atrength and had learned frons the great Chrigt.
    4. Mr, Gandht, what ean nations of the West do in Inrthering the all-round development of the East, and partio nlarly of India ?"Mr. Gandhl answered the question in. directly : "Indin is jast now in the atate of unlearning. She ban learased a lot that is uselese and anproftable, From my obrervation of the Weat, and particularly of your own conntry, I hava learned two outstanding faets: Firat, cloanlinett ; seoond, energy. I am fally oonvinced that my people cannot adranoes apiritaally, antil they clean ap. Youz peopla are wonderfally energetio. To a large extent, 'it bea been energy after thinge materini. It Indian people could have that eame monat of energy, rightly dizeoted, they woold reacive a great blowing."
    "Mr. Gandbi, will goa kindly tell ms how Christianity osn beat belp Indis, in view of the spirit of nationslism that fo abroad." He replied, "What we need, noost of all, in sympathy. When I was down in Atrica, I found this illuatrations. I had to dig some artenian welln, In order to reach the pare flowing streams, I had to dig deep. Many of the people who come out here to atudy my peopie only eorateh the earlace, If thay wonid dig deep by meana of aympatily, thay monld fad a atream of life there, pare and olear.' ${ }^{\prime}$
    "And will gou kindly toll me, Mr. Gandhi, what book or porson bas influenced you the nuost $\gamma^{\prime \prime}$ Ot coarse, I wan prepared to hasp him say eomething slout the Vedas and eseorsl other Indisn books with which Christian people ahould be convereant; bat I wan not prepared to hear frum the lipa of thin man the mention of three Eugliah books that bad shaped bis life and thought. He frankly confessed that be wat nut an omnivorous render, bat rathar a osoreful eelector of the vory bent, The order in which he apoke of the books was at follow : The Dible, Ruakin, 'Tolstoi. Speaking of the Bible, he asid "There have been many timen when I did not kuow which way to turn. Bat 1 hava gone to the Bible, and partionary the Nuw Teatemeat, and haye drawnatreagth from ite megnage."

    1 wat anxiout to know how our Mearat Graduatea' Asson oiation, oomposed of the fuest of the edrosted men in the city, oonld further the oity's welfars. In reply to the question, be gave we this one word. "Scasengor"' He nid, "I employ that word in all its moaning. It the members would get out and jend a belping hand to olenn up the sity, literally aud mordlly, they would be doing a great work."

    Whea I tald Mr. Ganditithat I man going ap to Lacknow to : Conferenoe of the leadert of Methodian, and that I wonld like to take a mesange from him to thera, be asid: "Toll ynut lendert to live op to the tenobinge of Paul, as be atated thero in las Corinthinng, 19. Love and bamility afo the two maseagen that I rould tike so lente with them."

    MNerus.
    S. W. Chemes.

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    Editor:-K. NATARAJAN
    Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22,1920. No. 28.
    
    

    Wixsin Licorb Gington is the Liberater.

    ## OONTENT䍃。

    Eenjan.
    Thect Capital of India.
    theons and Compulcory Education.
    Bxtraordinary Intolerance at Jalalpur.
    Christian Minsionarien and the Jhallinawala Mass. eorc.
    The Dacon Univeraity Bill II,
    The Timee (London) and Sir Michael O'Dwyer.
    Liguor Liceases in the Pupjab.

    Materaity and Infant Wel. lare in India.
    Lady Lloyd's Infant Welfare Scheme.
    Chriatian Missione and Ve. getariantam in Ching.
    Lain Lhjpat Rei.
    Sri Ramkrishom Paramahamea.
    Chriatianity and Vegetarianiem.
    Legislation Agajnst the Social Evil.

    ## HOTES.

    Sanjan. On Sunday, the 15th February 1920, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejibhoy before a large gathering of Parsis assembled on the spot, made a happy speech enlarg. ing on the significance of the column dedicated that day at Sanjan to commemorate the landing of the Parsi Pilgrim Fathers on Indian soih There have been discussions as to whether the Yarsis 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 connecrated bytradition 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 religble of data. Tradition has no doubt been added to and otherwise elaborated so as almost to obecure 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 beari the following inscription: $\because$ Homsge to thee O, Ahura Mazda. This column 4has 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 Yazdnzard Shahriyan, for the sake of their religion dearer than life, left their aative land, and sufforing innumerabio-bardohips 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 darkaess, the other's light, meet again niter centuries, guided no doubt by the sub-conacious instinct which found expression in the first words of tbe leader of the Parsi poineers to

    Raja Jadi Rana: "We shall be the friends of all Hindustan l's As for Sanjan,

    Where rolled the deep, there grows the free
    O eatth, what clienges hast thou seen!
    There where the long waste rolls has been
    The atiliness of the central sea!
    The Capital of India. The Hon, Mr. B. N. Barms 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 sbould be converted into pillars of salt, the fate which overtook Lot's foolishly retrospective wile. 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 cbar* acter. These reasons were stated and discussed at length when the capital was removed from Calcutta to Dethi, To shift it-once again from Deibi to any other place will be an act of political soltening of the brain. The decisive vote on Mr. Sarma's motion will, we bope, convince Calcutta once for all that there is no chance of the seat of the Imperial Gove ernment 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 piovincial capital instead of brooding futilely over the departed glories of the capital ol the Indiantmpire. 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 connt try. The remedy for this drawbackeis not a change of place. It will be as isolated at Iny 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 golle of Bempali polition 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, lyengars and Chettiars of the South, and to introduce an element of responsibility in the Govera. ment 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 Mabomedaa 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 bill-tops.

    Pooma and Compustort Education. One of the cardinal defects of the Act which permits Municipalitiesin the Sombay Presidency, with the approval of Government, to introdace compulsory elementary edacation, is that it leaves it open to them to apply the provisions only to boys With the single ex. ception of Bandra, all the Municipalities which bave applied for sanction to introduce compulsory education in their areas, have restricted it to boys. The Mabaraja 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, bas shown himself to be a shrewd jodge of human nature. We are glad that the more enlightened section of the public of Poona, under the enorgetic 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 introdace 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 in. exorable 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 daugbters, tet the preference be given to those who bave been bitherto 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 setuled down there. The real reason segits to be the usual one of playing to the ignorant and superstitions gallery. Under the vigorous propaganda of the social reform party, however, pablic opinion in the;capital of the Peisbwas has become so liberalised that Mr. Tilak was refused a bearing for bis reactionary views at a mass meeting in that city. This is no canse of surprise as it is evident that fe is steadily losing ground with the younger generation which does not believe in his shifty metyods. We wish the Poona protestants every suiccess in their endeavour to assert the equal right if both sexer to the benefits of education. We ite particularly pleased to see that the Marathas are trongly supporting Mr. Paranjpye and bis party of goligbtened reformers.

    ## *

    Extraordinare Intolerance at Jalalpure t A valued correspondent writes: "In your issue of 18th January, I Doticed an interesting article "Hinda Apprecietich of Cbrist" in which the writer comes to the conclasion that "t the talk of an anti-Cbristian 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 Cbristian boys who are preparing for the vernacular final examination were admitted in the Local Board Guirati school. Tbereupon the parents of the Hindu boys witbdrew their boys from the school, and in order to stand well with them, even the-Mahomedans and Dheds witbdrew their boys I What is worse, the Anavala Brahmins, who are influential in the village, stirred up Hiodus in otber 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.Cbristian boys or Missionaries did anything to offend the susceptibilities of the Hindus. It is an anti-Christian movement pare and simple, engi-
    neered by the Anawalag, although boys of the latter class do attend Mission schools or sit with Cbristian boys ia 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 movemont to establish indigenous schools in place of Mission schools, it is not a bad thing. But the intoleraces shown by the withdrawal of children from the local konrd school, because Indian Christian boys were aderted to it, reflects on the patriotism no less than on the ealightenment of the people of Jalalpur. We hope that the Local Board will not be intimidated by this exhibition of disgracelul intolerance.

    Christian Missionaries and the Jhallianwala Mact: acre- The Rev. J. O. Winslow's letter in the Challenge Arew, besides a letter from Miss Sherwood, to which we referred last week, another from Cand Guilford who referred chiefly to the efforts of seditious leaders in the district to atir 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 atso, can any unprejudicedperson 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 misbebaviour beyond disobedience a military regulation which might conceivably hay. been naknown to them. (3) No preliminary enptiries were made as to why this regulation bad been contravened, or who were responsible for the gathering. (4) Firing was opened immediately and continues until all the ammunition was expended sad five hondred 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 denuncistion 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 Engliahmen to ' native susceptibilities," but experience is too atrong for me, and each word of the indictment was carefully weighed. It is not, of course, an attack apon "all Englishmen in India." There are huadreds of Eng. lishmen 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 lact 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; whosefeeling don't mattor 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 fondamental denial of the Gospel of Cbrist, of which the Amritsar mamacre 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 denonciation would have followed. Shall we condone or palliate the act because they are lodians? That is; the issue." Yes that is the issue. We are glad that Mr. Winslow has eppiken out so clearly for the Chriatian conscience of England.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBA Y, FEBRDARY 22, 1920.

    ## THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL II.

    A comparison of the views expressed by Sir Miobael Sadler in his address at the Bombay University on the eve of his departare from this cunntry, with:tite opinions expressed in the body of the report of the Calcntta University Commission over which he preaided, and of these opinions again with some of the specific recommendations of the Commission, furnishes an instractive illastration of the way in which the Indian Execative Government makes nse of the sothority of eminent experts from Great Britain to give effect to its own preconceived plans. Some of thofe gentlemen cannot belp aeeing 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 bave no option but, after a few ineffectual attempts to break away from them, to walk with as mach grace and dignity as they can master into the Khedda inesorsbly indicated for them. Speaking of the resalts of the policies adopted in Germany, England, and India regarding the relation of the State to edacation, Sir Michael remarked in Bombsy: "Central Earope has got a good deal for its money. England pays a great deal of money for $x_{\text {** }}$ hat it gets. India, deemed able to afford bat little hes got little in retarn." He laid down the broad lines of a soand polioy in these terms :

    Eduontion, aeen in its larger aspect as one side of national life, is too great e power for the State to leave it unhusband. od and unrestrained. But the vital inflnences of edocation are too intimataly conneoted with personal conviotion and with family life for it to be wise or bafo to leave their control and direation to the dibcretion of Government alone. A middle way mate be discovered between two extremes. How shall it be found ? 1 see no other way than that of disonsion, sffocting adminiterative polioy throngh organs of representative Goversment.
    Towards the end of his address in Bombay, Sir Miobeel Sadler pointed out the exceptional advantages which India possesses for great edacational experiments,

    Jndis would be femons at the triahgronad of many new ednontional ideas. And by basing yoar experimenta apon the tooial organimation of the people concorned and by making the new education an integral part of community life with ite varied interenth, experienoce and neede, jon would aot in the manner towarde whioh Weatern though in education is already tending.
    Examine the conatitation of the proposed Dacca University as outlined in the Bill before the Imperial Logielative Coancil and, indeed, in the Report of the Sadler Commission itealf, in the light of these observations. It is bused not on "the social organisation of the people concerned" bat on the administrative bierarchy holding away in Dacca. The regiment of ox-fficie members can have no permanent interest in the institation. Es-officio persons have no "personal oonviction or lamily life" with wbich edacation is intimately convected. They will onter and
    depart according to the exigenctes of the Services to which they belong. We may point oat that this policy of packing the Univeraity with ex-officio members while giving it on paper extended powers, is directly contrary to the policy advocated by the highest anthorities in Locsl Self Government, namely, that of doing away with control from within, reserving to Government only a power of intervention in cases of gross defsolt.
    Replying to a question by Nawab Syed Nawabaly Chandhary in the Imperial Legislative Council in March 1917, the then Edacation Member, Sir Sankaran Nair, stated as one of the main reasons for the postponement of the Dacca Dniversity scheme, " that the great areas over which the classes are dietribated Who seek aniversity edacation, make it impossible, according to eminent edacationiats in India, to import into India that type of University which requires the Colleges to be gronped at a centre." The Bill betore the Council so far defers to this opinion, that it allows a territorial jarisdiction within a five mile radius of the central building of the, new University, 2 departare from the strict letter of the Sadler Commission's recommendation. As we showed last week, Mr. Shafi does not seen to be quite happy over this feature of the Bill-only he does not know what be can do. An honoarable member from East Bengal ${ }^{4}$ has given notice of an amendment increasing the five mile to a fifteen mile radias. 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 Prafalla Cbandra Ray, the distingaished Indian scientist, presiding at a pablic meeting at Caloatta, observad aboat the Calcatta Unizersity Commisaion's recommendatinns and the anxiety of Government to give effect to them before the new Councils come into being :
    But how do the reconamendations of the Calcatits University Commisssion stand? The Commiseion has "ithelf admitted that they are a complete departare from Indian University traditions and amount to a revolution in the University eyatem as it now atands. It svolation is the law of life I do not see why it will not hold trae in the life and inatitutions of a peopla. Order and progress are the watic and dgnamio forces that act npon society and all social institutions. You onn not with impanity completely break away from the past. 1n politice we are asked to obey the lam of proyressive realisation for the altainment of our idest, whel should it be otherwise in the field of edacation?
    The Government of India will be well-advised, if it decides to postpone action with reference to the Calontta University Commission Report, inclading the Dacca University scheme, until next year when the constitntional reforms will be in working order. This will be in conformity with Sir Michael Sadler's own saggestion that the middle and sonad way between State control and absolate laisses faire in edacation, is that "of discossion affecting admidiatrative policy throngh organs of repregentative Government." The present Indian Legisiatare is on the eve of its disaolation and has not moral anthority safficient to support changes so momentons in oar edacational system. If the essence of Bolshevism is the inatitation of ohanges
    without refereace to hitorical conditions, Bolabeviam in edocation is as little to be eaconraged as Bolshevisce is the economic sphere. This is an aspect of the quention which we ventare to prese apor the Government of Indis which has startod a new department to prevent the infoction of Bolshevist ideas from epreading in the coantry. If, however, tor any rese cone which are not apperent to the pablio, Goverament is determined to get the Decce University eatablished withoat giving an opportanity to the enlarged Coancil to consider the acheme in the light of ite more reprementative oharacter, we would ank that an anthoritative prononncement (or protent) mhould be ande that the principles anderlying the present acheme are to be regarded as exceptional to it. In the echeme of the Bill iteelt, the number of an-offeie members in the Court should be redaced to a maximum not exceeding that in the older Universities. The Conft ahould be liberalised and enlarged by room being foand fur a proponderant element of non-official Indiane with academic qualifications, both by election and nomination. Donors of large sums shonid be honorary members entitled to participate on ceremonial occasions. "He who pays the piper may call the tone," is not a fit motto for a University whether at Dacoa or at Oxford. The Court thas reorganied ahould beoome the governing-body of the Univeraity; approximating to the Senate in the older Universities* The Aoedemic and Execative Conncils which, in the Bill, are independent statatory bodien making coordination of the work of the University difficalt (thas throwing all power into the hands of the salaried Vioe-Chanoellor), ehould be redaced to the statos of the Syndicate in the oxiating Diveraities. The academic and administrative sides of a University are $s 0$ closely interiependent that the deairability of having two independent Committese for the parpose is fer from evident. It is the introduction of ediarchy" in the University and the diasdrantages of it are not half so problematic as in didministration. We woald eaggest that the two Conimila shoald be thrown into one Conncil. It will, of coarse, be open to it to appoint an administrative Commitree for parely adminiatrative matters. The acheme will thos be simplified withoùt detriment to its findamental provisiona, and, what is equally important, broaght within the range of Indian experience. The homan factor should not be altogether left out of consideration. The best-conceived schemen are eare to tail if they have to depend largely on imported men for their working.

    The three factore in the problem of edacational reform are, (1) our idee of what a nuiversity is, (2) what the conditivns of teachers and stadents lives are, and (3) what kind of a State is established in a conotry. The Sadler Commission has dealt more or less adequately with the first two factore of the edacational problem in Bengal. Bat the third important factor conld not have been brought within the terms of ite reference, thongh in determining the relation of the State to edacation, it can not be a matter of indifference what kind of a State we have to deal with, Sir Michael

    Sedler in hia Bombay addrese inatitutod an instrootive comparison between the reanlte of the edacotional ayatems in Germany, England and Iadia. Ho would, we are sare, be ready to admit that if the State in Germeny and Englend had been, wia India, discontinnons with eociety, the effocte of their policies would have been materially different from. what they bave been. It it idle to ignore the fact that in India the State and the rocioty axe, m yot eeparated by a gulf of differenco. Herathere is not that important infleence in atendying edncational policy which in Germany and Eagland provente it from being worked to extreme limites nemely, the influence wrining from the fect that the etalemen who mould the dentinies of the State are themelves prodicts of that syatem and that their obildren and children't children will have to raap the benefits or evile of the ryetem. Where this inflasode exista, we are inclined to think that the quention of policy is a minor matter. No donbt, English Govern ors and teachers do thoir beat to pat themalves in the place of the Indian bat they are not Indisas, Their solicitade is either overdone or anderdona. It is seldom that they are able to hit of the golden mean between what is dae to discipline and what in due to yonthfnl ardour. From the Report of the Sadler Comaisuion itaell we can prodoce instancea to show that in some things the members have been carried wway by excesoive tenderness to what they took to ba a national sentiment, while in others they have failed... while poartraying with remarkable accaracy the are ronndinge of the Beagalee stadeath to onderstand how hie mind and eoal reacte to them. The Sadler Come misaion gives an twothirds of the meterial for Uoiver: sity reform. The reformed Legiolative Council will give ns more of the rewainiug third than the present Goverament of Iadia or ita Conncil cas poseibly do.

    ## THE TIMES (LONDON) AND SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER.

    Any man of ordiasty commonsense in the ponition of Sir Mishael O'Dwyer, woold bave seen that the beat conrse for bim with reference to the Ponjab disclosures was to preserve complete nileace. Hie admirers woold heve taken it as a confirmation of their opinion of him as "the still, stroog man in a blee tant land," while bis detrsctora, it might be hoped,. would 4000 tire of "baitiog "a man who followed the Diarselian maxim of "novor withdraw, néver apologise, never-explain." Thoee who do not bolong to, oither of these categorien woald have been gled to ift the matter pase peacefally into the limbo of oblivion, at the best thing for the reatoration of harmony in the country and as the mont charitable thing in the interests of Sir Micheol's repotation. If, however, the: Inte Lienteannt-Goviroor of the Papjab bad adoptal this coarse, be woald bave belied his character as is ohampion bareancrat. Every bazeaneracy, it ia ordaino ed, mant be deatroyed oat of its own moath, and it Providence hed not carsed it with an overwhelming itchiog for illtimed opeoch, it woald be virtacilly
    invalnetable. The time was, and that not so long' ago, when Sir Michael's ides of the Times, as a London edition of the Civil and Military Gazette, wonld have been amply jastified. Those were days when England bad had no practical experience of bareancracy as a great paid agency for canaing the maximam of harasament with a minimum of service to thaf ${ }^{\text {w }}$ eople. In those days Indian complaints regarding the bareancratic administration fell on deaf ears and were treated as eballitions of the disgrantled edacated classes intent ouly on obtaining a transfer to themselves of the loaves and fishes of office. Bat this has now become impossible. England has bad a taste of bareancracy since, and can now appreciate Indian complaints regarding its imperviffasness to external impressions. And what better proof can there be of this defect than that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, even thongh be has had the opportanity afforded by some monthe' stay in England, has totally failed to appreciate the change which hog come over the attitude of his countrymeu towards the pre-eminently Prassian idea of a fiendiably efficient bureancracy supported by a rotbless militarism?
    How inconsequential, not to say silly, masqueraders in lion's skins can be, is only known when they open their moaths. . The ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Poajab denies that he telegraphed approving of Goueral Dyer's action at Amritsar bat says be iaformed Geueral Beyuon that he approved of it. The Times scornfally points ont that the point that Sir Michael O'Dwyer did not telegraph his approval himself bat merely permitted somebody élse to do só, is very nuimportaut. General Dyer made no distinction between the Lieutenant-Governor telegraphing his approval directly and throngh un intermediary. He declared betore the Hanter Cummittee that the Lieatenant-Governor had approved of his action, and prodnced the telegram. It did not seem to have occarred 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 Lientenant-Gpvernor approved of his action. If a bobordinate had pat. forward an exouse of this kind, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. woald have rightly-regarded it .as a prevarication aggravating an offence. That he finds himself puder the necesaity of resorting to it, ouly shows that he finds -himsalf in a position from which be mast find a a, Why oat auyhow. Sir Michael O'Dwger declares that Ggneral Hyer was jastified in opening fire. The General was prima facie the best jodge of the amount ..pf, the fring pecessary. We ars indebted to the London Correspondent of the Bombay Chronicle for a filler and moro informing snmmary of the Times' cqumente than Renter has anpplied. Reater's sam. masty elars over an effective part of the Times rejoinder to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's defence of Gederal Dyer. It meroly atates that the Times maintains that General Dyer's action was indefensible especially because ho did not stop the firing when the orewd inatantly began to dieperse. The Chronicle correspondent supplies en important omission in Renter'a mossage. The Times points ont that for
    many years inclading last year there has not been a riotons assembly in Indis which coald not have been dispersed by a volley or two from a conple of dozen police arraed with smooth-bore muskets. If, we may add, at Amritsar it was fonnd necessary to shoot down five bandred men, besides woanding thrice that nomber, for the same parpose, to what but to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration is that change dne? His late Hononr is thus between the horns of a dilemma : if Geueral Dyer was right, his administration is irretrievably damned by that single fact. Bot this is not the whole of the matter. A faller treatment of it will become possible (and necessary) when the Hanter and Nehra Committee's reporta are pablished.

    Bat 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 oficial in India as a bafl or a bear, and it is not onar pastime to bait balls or bears or British officials. We should bave preferred not to dwell on this sabject now had not Sir. Michael thought fit to "bait" the press in England and India which has condemmed his martial law policy in the Panjab. In the first place, we are not sare that Sir Michael is right in patting 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 manoer. Not only that, bat it has been stated that some senior officers in the Ppojab itsalf did not approve of Sir Michael's policy or methods. Sir Michsel's pretension, therefore, that he stands for all the British officiuls in India and that to criticize his administration is to bait them, is absolately natenable. It 'it were otherwise, lhefe will be no alternative for intelligent Indians ,bat to centre their hopes on the attainment some day of absolate Swa. raj. This point aeems to have escaped the Times. Its remarke that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was suffering from loss of perspective and that British officials in Iodia and eleẹwhere are pablic servants and are not exempt from pablic, criticiam, seem to imply that it accepts Sir Michael's nnwarranted claim that British officials in India, as a class, approve of General Dyer's shooting or the late Lieatenant Governor's administration. There is an important sentence in the Times' article, sent by the Chronicle's correspondent, which will infase confidence in India. It pertinently points out that the Honter Committee bas no jadicial 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 is view of the matters before the Committee having been loosely spoken of as being sub judice by persons in aothority who ought certaiuly to know better. The Times adminiaters a parting comment to Sir Michasl O'Dryer which should go far to reasare as in India that British opinion will not tolerate any laxity in dealing atern justice to the perpetratora of
    iniquity in the late distarbences in the Panjab. Mr. Montaga would seem clearly to have misanderatood the tread of public opinion in the conntry -to pat the best interpretation on bis wordewhen be said in a post-prandial speech that the chief lesson of Jhallianwalla Begh wat to warn' Indiana of the danger of loosing " retaliatory machidery" by indaiging in riotone behaviour. The Times' comments show that it is not the view of the British public that "retaliation " in a principle of Government in India. There is a higher law than the les calionis and it is the reign of that law that Great Britsin, as a professing Christian nation, ought to seek to establish in India.

    ## LIqUOR LICENSES in the punjab.

    The anthorities of the Excise department in the Punjab are making a new departare in fixing the term of liquor licensea in five districts as three years instead of only one year as has invariably been the case in previons years. The Amritsar Temperance Society protented on the groond among others "that on the eve of inaugarstion of the new ora by the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation, the Government would be fettering the hands of the popalar miniater to whose charge the Excise department woald be transferred." The Society farther pointed ont that "such action woold be natarally criticized and objected to as rendering the nse of the powers about to be conferred on the people nagatory and ineffective, and be connidered as extromely ansympathetio towardis popular aspirations and requirements." The contention is simply nanawerable. In a year's time the department of Excise will have been transeerred to popalar control. Why shonid the Excise aathorities in the Parjib effect an arrangement with the vendors of liquor which will tie the haods, and fetter the discretion, of the minister for the balk of his term of office? Why should the Government appoint a popalar minister for the department of Excise, and then for the balk of his term, deny him a free hand to deal with the namber 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 poople be on probation, and how can they prove their fitnesn to manage the departments haoded to their control? It is obvions that the Government of the Puajsb are putting themselven in the wrong by trenching on the province of the minister. It is not enough to any that "the decision wat taken with the object of minimizing the evils of the frequent recarrence of anction," for sarely the misister when he comes may be trasted to be at least as anxions to minimise those ovile as the boreancracy. We are farther told by the Financial Commissioner that athe aystom has been introdaced only in districts in which the namber and location of shops bas recently been sabjected to special ecrotiny by the Depaty Commissioner, the

    Commissioner and the Financial Commiasioner, and in which the sjatem of acke of conotry liquor in seated bottlen for "off " consumption bat been established." The compleoency of the Exoise Departmeat is iudeed admirable, bat we are get to lears that this "epecial scratioy" by the anthorition named hat given eatiafaction to the people themuelrose If the anthorities imagine this to be the case, they danit be living in a fools' paradise, for is it not a fact, despite the self-satisfaction of the authorities, thal the reverue from Excise in the Proviace showe an appelliag tiseand so does the cousumption of liquor? That is why the people want a popelar miniater to taokle with. the problem which is growing more and more anote every year, certainly not to ait with folded haods and do nothing, or meraly to echo the viena, and voice the opinions, of the Excise department. If this were the only parpose, no winister woald be needed : if one is needed ho mast be left free to chalk out his own course. To do otherwiee, would bo to take away bis ocenpation nod to redace " responsible govern. ment " to a farce.

    ## MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE IN INDIA.

    ## (By Mife Kabibat Nowramaz B.A., L.M.8.)

    As one goes through the heslth reporte one is grieved to see the growing mortallity returna smongat mothers and new-born babea. In blg cities like Bombay with so many phllanthroplo institations and so many dootorn, oharftable dis; pensaries and hospitala, why ahonld this atate of thinge continae, is a question whioh tronbles those who ponder over the aubject.

    Amonges the eanses that go to make the heary mortality, low condition of the expeotant mother, improper attendance and aegligence at the time of confinement, atarvation and anhealithy arroundinga, are some of the ohief. Mont of these are entanoed by gross ignoranoe an to whet shoald and ehould not be done daring the whole period of pregnanoy and lying-in, on the part of the people in general and women in partlealer. Beniden this there are certain auperatitiona which oome in the way of taking proper modioal adrice.

    As to the death-rate among ohlldren, mont of the onses are due to ignorance about baby rearing. As you go over the question ourefully to find out the causes, you ire astonished to tee that, in meltat easen, the ill-health is brought on, so to aty, by the parente through their silly harmifal notions at to feeding, olothing and tarroundinge of bables.

    It is alwaye wiser to prevent than to cure diseach and in order to do this women mast be tanght to anderatand their reaponaibilities and dution of this period of their lives.

    If they anderstand how to sake care of themil welvet and of their anborn and newborn babies whom


    they treasure more than jewrels, and if the great oalamities that they themselves bring on their precions treasures by their ignorance are glaringly poinied out to them, I am sure they will give anything to avoid them and get healthy babies. So many anxions sorrow-striken mothers are seen going about from person to person (Vaidya, Hakim, Quack and doctor) in search of health to their Iittle 华iter.

    It is to help these mothers particnlarly and save the precioas lives that are to baild and strengthen our nation in fatare that the Materaity and Infant Welfare work has been lately started in India. And Mrs. Rath Yoang's book on the subject deals in essy langange with some of the most important fachas. Not only does it give an idea as to the work the Welfare League wishes to take up but it also gives useful hinte to the health visitors and parents. Mrs. Young has in her book tried to show some very ordinary yet just as mach injarious practices that are oarried on through ignorance and axperstition; and a health visitor, if abe is to gain the conflence of the people she is eager to help, has to be well acquainted with all these in order to vividly point oat the dangers that are brought on by malpractices and show how timely care and help can avoid all these.

    Mrs. Yoang has given usefal and instractive information for young mothers in simple langaage and though the book is an outeome of lectares given to a class beld by the association for the provision of Health and Maternity supervisors, it is very usefal to all mothers who anderatand easy English and should be carefally read by all interested in the subject.

    ## LADY LLOYD'S INFANT WELFARE SCHEME.

    A considerable volume of life, how moch it is impossible to say, is lost daring the ante-natal period. This loss is largely dae to ignorance und lack of proper care of the expectant mother and is consequently largely preventible. A large proportion of infanta born alive (according to statistics for 1919, 852 per 1,000 in Bombay) die within one year of birth. When it is remembered that the namber of birtbs each year is about 20,000 in Bombay the appalling exteat of thia loss may be realised. The deabla are in the main due to ignorance and lack of proper care afthe mother daring (a) the ante-natal period, (b) the natal period, and (c) the poat-natal period, and lack of proper care of the infand daring (a) the atal period and (b) the post-dstal period. The deaths are conseyouently in the main preventible.

    What is Now Being Done and at Weat Cobt.
    An Iufant Welfare Scheme is at preseat being conducted in Bombay ander the able aod aympathetio matngement of Dr. Dosnibai J. R. Dadabhoy. This philanthropio lady ia giving her valaable aervices gratis to the poblic. Two centres bave been establi-shed, viz: -one at Sleatsr Road, Opposite Grant Road Station,
    and one at the Haji Saboo Sidick Maternity Home, Imamwads. A health visitor, who is a fally-trained norse and midwife, is in charge of each centre. With the aid of the District Narse (employed by the Manicipality) she endeavoars to keep in toach 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 regulary to the centre for advice and assistance.

    At each centre a register is kept containing particolars (inclading weights) of the infants brought there. Eiach infant is carefally weighed aud examined on the occasion of each visit. The Lady Doctor herself attends at each contre 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 oltained rent free the work is considerably cramped for lack of funde. The monthly expenditure in each centre amonnts to over Rs. 400 as ander :-

    | Health Visitor | . | - | Rs. 100 |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | Milk | - | - | Rs. |
    | Medicines, etc. | - | - | Rs. 20 |

    Medicines, etc. - . - Rs. 20
    The funds available for the work amoant to bat Rs. $6 x, 000$. The deficit between working expenses and iaterest on the fands is being met by voluntary contribations.

    ## Whatis Pboposed to be dong and ters Estimatid Cost.

    Her Excellency Lady Lloyd having become aware of the terrible conditions prevailing has determined, so far as lies in her power, to slleviate them. With this end in view she has, with expert assistance, evolved the following scheme. There shoaid be at least 10 centres, as above described, in Bombay, all nader the control of a qualified Lady Sapervisor. It is estimated that a capital sum of at least Rs. 20 Iakhs woald be required for the ap-keep.
    

    As the sobeme is to be on a permarent basir and it woald be anfair to expect volantary services for all time, an allowaves for doctors has been made.

    The next requisite in order of argency is an Inetitate. The bailding ahould inclade a large ball, an office, and living quarters for the Lady Sapervisor. The hall wonld be ased for addresses to mothers, lectures to health visitors and midmives, biby shows and exhibitions connected with Infant Welfare.

    The Institate should be loosted in some centraland convenient part of the laland, ia the lucality of Parel. if possible. Lastly, there shonld be in the asme compound as the Institute both (a) a Maternity Hospital
    and (b) a Childrer's Hoapital. These woald not merely beafit the actaal patients, bot woald afford e mesis for the practical training of bealth visitors and midwives. When the Inatitate is taken in band, it will accordingly be necessary to acquire, by parohase or on a loog lease, safficient land to accommodate not merely the Inatitate building, bat likewise two hotpitals.

    ## Applal toz Subgoriptiong.

    The objecta skove described mast appesl to all of whatever race, creed or calling. Moreover, the appeal is not merely to the heart bat to the head also. Bombay is already faced with a shortage of laboar. If but hall the infant lives now lost were saved, and with the firat alone of the above measares it is anticipated that far more than hall woold be saved, a sabstantial incresse to the laboaring popalation mast accroe. The appeal is made at a time when Bombay hat greatly prospered. It is the firat appeal Her Excellency has made. Aasaredly it should not fall on deaf eara.

    ## Futurr Management.

    When fands bave been collected, it is proposed to pat the echeme on a legal basis either under the Charitable Endowments ${ }^{*}$ Act of 1890 or by registration ander the Registration of Societies' Act of 1860 or the Indian Companies' Act of 1919. A featare of the control will be the inclasion of Her Excellency Lady Lloyd for so long as she may be in Bombay and leading members of the medical profession. Subsoriptions should be sent to Mr. R. Kidd, National Bank of India, Ltd., who has kindly consented to sct as Honorary Trensarer.

    Christian Missions and Vegetarianism in China: We have received two letters from Christian Missionaries bearing on the allegation that Christian Missionaries in Ohina make the eating of anigtal food a condition of church membership. One of them is printed today. Thé otber 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 free: dom írom 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 Laipat Rai. After five years of expatriation, Mr. Lajpat Rai returned to his native land on Fridayafternoon. We are sure his presence in the Punjab will go a great way to hetp the other leaders to reconstruct pablic iife on sound, constructive liñes.

    Sri Ramkrishna Paramahamsa: The eighty-filth birthday anniversary of Baghavan Sri Ramtrishna Deva will celebrated at the Belur Matb, on the 2gth Februaty, $1 ッ \approx ニ$

    ## CRRISTLAFITY AND VEGETARIANISM.

    ## The Editor, The Inalian Social Raformer.

    ## sir,

    It your isene of Fobraary the eth you publimhed : letter andor the headiag "Appael to Chriatian Hamanitarinat is which the writor hae quoted, through the T hooosphist of Auguet 1914, extrocu from the Oharth Mimionary Gheset of Moy 1ot 1914. I have not beoa ahlo to verify thigeotition atid to be taken from - magasine pablithed nearly jouri ago, but aineming that the gootation if mosnenta, I cannot refrain from writing to axpien oit my owd bebalf, and I feel certain, on babalt of Chriatias Mimionarime is geveral, oar completa repadiation of the inculerable polioy fadionted by these axtracta. The fact that 1 ami not a vegetarina mybell doee not 1 think in any degree leasee the atrongth of my fooling aod I am writiug immediatily to the London Soorener of the Society for definite informetion. It it spease almontioo mach to expect that jadgment, with sach olesr oridenes balore as, chonld be cuppended, 1 hope at least that the netions of sertain individasla in Chine will not be taken to axprets thi general attitude of Ohritisn Miscionaries on the question of meat-enting so a teat of finem lor memberabip in the Obritita Charob.

    > Yours haithrully;
    > (Rev.) A. W. DAvid;

    Agra, 11th Fobruary.
    Church Wisionary Sociaty.

    ## Legislation against ter goclat evil.

    We tinderatand the Blahop of London will shorily iniro dace a Bill to raise the age of conent to eighteen for girla; with e clane protesting boye up to fixteen from rednction by women over dighteen. The Bill will probsbly veek to sbolith the defence of "remonable caues to believe"; extend the tims linut witbla whioh a prosecntion nuan be begun and incresse the penalite ugainst brotbels. Wre wiah Dr, Ingram every succeat with his Bill the bas incladed in if most of the points apon whioh women's orgabisatione are prac tically enanimons. We woald suggeat, howiver, that it might do siray with good deal of opposition it the Bill defuitely sested for the equal proteotion of both soxet up to the age of eightead. There duen not seem tobs any ajequith remon for protecliug boye ouly to sixtecn if girla ard io bl protected op to eighteen, and it is Important that the law eshonid exprese the trat priscipla behind it, which 4, in thit ase, that the prederration of the ahestity of yoang men if regended as being of equal imporinnoe to the ounmunity it the preesration of the chastity of foung women.

    We wish we could feel that incrensing peanlitet againt brothel keepare wuald do ant grod, but we believo that, wade the precent eytem, the whole law ageinst brothols is atterl ineffective. It is, in fact, not enforced, and it seeme neeied to add to the panstice then those slresdi on the stetate bool ore so rarely pat into operation. It in well thown tha promentions agaiant brotbele are largaly, if not entiraly, tal to the diecretion of the police, and their discretion generall meant that a brothel is nut interfered with meroly for being brotbel, but only if it is aundacted is e dicorderly manaer, en eanoyence to reaperable peopla, or in mome other ine becomen obsoxions to the police. It any be erganble the this io ultimetely the beet was to deal with brothels, but is cot the law of this curatry, and the low shuald either coforced, or saitebly amended. Wo do not approve of leavin the police to decite whether brothels shall or shall not !
    tolerated, and eo long as thit is the oave wo can take no interest in proposals to increase the penalies:' In our opiaion, brotheis should be proceeded againat by raid: all those found oo the premisen ohould be arrested and eharged with aiding and abetting : and these saids shoald take place daring sach hours as the houses are mont likely to be need. We think, too, that the lam should be simplified, wo that say citizen or local resident could go before s magistrate and complain of a brothodima a public anisance, and the magiatrate :should have power to send for the occupier and owner and ask them to show oanes why they thould not be proceeded against. If the oceapier or owner conld show that he was not asing his boase for the parposes alleged, then no farther action should be taken, bat it the oocapant is so asing the premises, then both he and the owner shonid be cantioned, told to discontinue anoh ane, and braod over to coma up for jadgmen if oulled apon. On a further charge the oceapier shoald be ojow tod and the property closed for twelve monthe at the ofiner's losis. As we could not now afford to close a bouse for twelve monthe, better way might be that the owner should be heavily fined and the bonge made over to the charge of the locul anthoritien for twelve vonth; or more, until the fue had beea paid by the rent thereby socraing. In towns where the police are under the control of the local Town or Boroagh Conacil thie plan might work very well. In London things are more difficalt, se the lo al anthorities heve no control whaterer gever the Metropulitinn police; these being, tor all practioal parposes, a'semi-military foroe, respousible only to the Chief Comanissioner.

    It would, however, pat ary use!al weapsa into the -bands of social workers it they coall obtwiu iujnactiong againat brotheis by fersonal, well-lounded complaint, and it in along these lines we would like to see the law amended. An it atands at present we believe the administration of the Jaw to bea lorm of extri-legol toleration, and although we feel sure that for the most part the police aot with discretion, and propriety, wo do nut consider thast it is eithor wise or right for suob powera to be left in thicir hads. If the Bishop of Loudon oan see his way to a real amendment of brothel legialution be will do a great e"rvies tu public mo:als.
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    ## he to MOIES.

    Barrenness of Political Thought in India: The Standard, the weekly English organ of the Roman Oatholic Christian community published in Madras, is one of the papers one always luoks 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 Etate or not. We have a right to expect the produc. tion in India at the present moment of great political literature. But beyond one solitary production, Mr. Vyasa Kac's Fiuture Govornmicnt 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 munner of the several branches of the adramestration. But it is not the kind of literature whictr the Standard has evidently in view. While we recognise the truth of our contemporary's lament, we athink the cause is to be found in the fact that the course of political reform in this country is determined not by deas but by exigencies. Since the Regulating act, India was governed on the basis of a unitary Statc. 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 *uth August 101i). Nr. Montagu a few days belore the became Secretary of State denounced the Gove crament of ladia as wooden and ante-dcluvian, and
    yet, when be framed the Reform Scheme, be deliberately excluded the Central Government and concentrated his relorming 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 buft?

    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 Edindurgh Review points out that the Eng ish Public Scnoul cannot be the basis of an effective system of national education. He writes: "The Public Scnools 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, thereiore, 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 circumstences 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 bighly paid teachers in the land, that they will have as fine play-fields, as open a feld at the Cniversities, 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 sbould have belore 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, Sccretary of the European Association, who has been trying to get up opposition to the Relorm Act in England, writes as lollows to his Assoctation, regarding the effect on English public opinion of the Amritsar disclosures: "By far the most important, and from our point unfortunate, event since I last wrote has been the publicity attained here by the Amritsar disclo-ure. 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 a bout India can be plainly made known to them. The immediate effect of the Amritsar disclosures has been to stifen nearly the whole press against us. Tby
    "Morning Post," of course, can always be relied upon to put our case; and the "Evening Standard" is fairly friendly. I managed, with some difficalty, to get the "Globe" to publish a short article by me on the subject, taking the line that even if General Dyer shoald befound to have gone tos far, zeal to denounce his possibly excessive measares should not blind us to the aims and acts of the murderous mobs in Amritsar. I tbink 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 diffeult. Even a paper like the "Observer," which, though pro-Indian, bas 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 jssued 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 securi. ties 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 lmpetial Legisiative Council last week, Government said that they had no idea of repealing the Act but that they would consider bir P. S. Sivaswami lyer's suggestions for its modification, made in his presidential address at the All-India Moderate Conference last December. Beeing that bis arguments did not convince even that Conference which passed a resulution demanding the repeal of the Act, we wonder what object is to be gained by adopting his milk and water suggestions, "Rallying the Nodctates" in oflicial prarlance evidently meana "considering" the sugirestions of the most timid of them.

    A Hopetul Sign. We are pleased to read the following wise advice in the columas of the IIsudn Message of Srirangam, edited by brahmin gentlemen who are rigid upholders of the Varnashrama Uharma (caste system) with relerence to the lallare to settle by agreement the number of seats be reserved for non-Brahmins in Madras. "The country would not be endangered if the Brabmins 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 Noa-Brabmin Legislative Council an opportunity to vindicate itselt. This may sound beterodox, but it will none the less contribute to the progress of our country which every patriot-Brahmia or Non-Brahmin-must have at heart. It may mean the dislodgement of a lew of the Brabmin veterans, but more than any one else they should know that they can serve the country by remaining outside the Couocil, at least as well as, if not better than, by temaining within it."

    Depressed Classet in Travancore and Cochin. In the elevation of the depressed classes, the Travancore Goverment have been taking praiseworthy steps. Their first action was to improve the material condition of the untouch ables and the nnapproachables by offering
    them sites for bouse-building and cultivation. The Government has promised them 500 ncres and gave about ball 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 beet given to ther, to enable them to follow their traditional occupation of agriculture and to make themselves ready lor further betterment in education and social position. Cochin bas been even more progrese sive under its enlightened Raja assisted by his liberal-minded Dewan, Mr. Vijayaraghsvachari. The Raja of Cochin has ordered that all public ronde shall be opened to all depressed classes who are now debarred from using them, and that all public schools, including those receiving a Goverament grant, shall edmit the children of depressed classes. These declarations are being enforced and several prosecutions have been launched and convictions obtained against people who attempted to restein members of the lower castes from using the puflic roads.

    Pay of Primary Teachers in Sind. We have ree ceived a copy ot a memorial which has beea 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 admita of no controversy. The statcments made in the memorial are only too true. Besides an increase to their salartes the teachers urge that, as they rarely live to enjoy pensions, notwithstanding that pension coniribution is regularly credited into the Governtnent Treasury Irom Local Boards and Municipalities, the proposal of the Director of Public Instruction my ${ }^{-2}$ De adopted to give ther familes 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 caiculated to raise the atatus of teachers, which involves no expenditurc, 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 lavoura. ble consideration of Goverament. The grievances of the bind teachers are more or less those of teachery all over the Presidency, and relief should be extend. ed to all.

    Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Eill. Ms. I'atel's Inter-caste Hinda Marriage Bill was relerred last week to a Select Committee of the Imperial Legisla. tive Council. All the-non-official members of the conacil are members of the Committee, and the Law Member of Goverament is the only official on it. We print today an article by Mr. Leie on the Bill Mr. Lele agrees that an age-ilmit should be fixed, by! objects to the introduction of a provision to ensur, that parties taking advantage of the bill should havo no other busband or wife living. We have just time to-day to state that we strongly disapprove of bis line of reasoning. There should be one taw and one rulo of sight for man and woman, and, whatever the Hindu law-giver might have thought in ancient times, we most emphatically protest against the Brtish Indian Legislature extending his one-sided doctrines to a dew set of facts We may add that since his return Irom England, Mr. Patel bas personally assured us that be will himself introduce the age-limit as well as the moogamous principle into the Bill in Select Committer

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER.

    BOMBA Y, FEBRUARY 29, 1920.

    ## POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES.

    In the last few daya, Indian political life has been oarichad by the accession of two atriking peraunalities. Lala Lajpat Rai retarned from America where he bas bear ghliged to live for the last five years for reasons whioh are somewhat obseare bnt which may be gafely described as political. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ivengar resigned the Advocate. Generalabip in the Madras Presidency and has formally joined the Congress ${ }^{\circ}$ Mr. Igengar's act is almos't the first instance of an India esigning high office in order to devote himetf to pofition. When it is remembered that Lord Sinba and Sir Sankaran Nair both began their careers of omicial preferment as Advocate-Generals, the one in Bengal, and the other in Madras, it is engy to eatimate the strength of pablic apirit which has led to Mr. Iyengar'a giving ap the post. A special canae for antisfaction in the reatoration to pnblic life of Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Srinivaas Iyenzar, ia that neither of them ia a mere politician. Lala Lajpat Rai, indeen, gradated in Indian pablic life throagh the difficalt coarse of social service, when snoial service was mnch less appreciated than it is to-day, many years before he tuok ap politics. In the beginning of this centrep when a grest famine rapaged the conntry, he started the movement of Ilindn orphanages which has since been taken ap in all parts of the conntry. He hud a very large-in fact, the largest-mare in bnilding ap that wonderfal edneational organisation, with its h:gh sobools in every district of the Panjab, and its Colleges in several plares, which ia at once the pride and glory of the Arya Samaj. The vitality of this organisation can bo jodged from the fact that quite recently it has thrown an outpost in this Presidence, the longeatabliahed Rajaram College at Kolhapar having been made over to it by the Maharaja. Mr, Scinivasa Iyen. gar is the President of the Madras Midodn Social Reform Association, is an earpest and liberal sapporter of the movement for raising the Depressed classes, and one of the stalwart sapporters of the neo-Hinda movement which Dr. Sabramanya Iyer inangarated some years ago. We have bad occasios to refer to his, addresses on this sobject. He believes that caste is not an.essential part of Hindaism and that the disappearanoe of catete can only add to the streugth und vitality of Hinduism.
    Ma Srivivave Isengar, as we said above, has formain joined the Congress party in Madras. He signalised his occasion by making a pnblic speech in which he maintained that there was room in the Congress for all parties and that it was the dnty of all Iodians to work within that wovement. That is our own view. But we are dot sure that that is the view of some Congresswen who happen to he iufloential with the balk of the party at the moment. We agrea with Mr. Ijengar that it is our dnty to make the broader view prevail with the mass of Congressumen, and that it is not right for the minority to secele from the
    national movement. We do not go so far as he did and ask that the Liberal organination abonld cease to exist. As we remarked once before-and the remark was received with apnroval in several qnartera--there is need for a second chamber to onr anofficial Parlia. ment and tha Libaral organisation may well sapply that need. Mr. Isengar rightly said that all memhers of the Congresa are not expectad to approve of all its resointions, and that he himself did not do so. Why shonld not those members who do not approve of some reaolntions, from an organisation by themeelves to propagate their own viewa on those matters? Bat it is necessary that all shonld recognise that the paramonatey of the Congress and that none shoald make it their bncinesg to noll down and diaeredit that movement bailt ap hy yenrs of strennons labour. Lala Lajpat Rai han not formally deelared bis adhesion to any of onr political nartiea. Ia Bombay there seems to have heen nomething of a scramble to aeonre him firat. Mrs. Beasnt ronle with him in the first car in the procession, and Mr. Tilak ocenpied the eecond ear. The Servants of Iodia Society had invited a few frienda to welcome him. Amidst this embarrassing wealth of attention, the Lalaji kept his own connsel and devoted the larger part of his pablic speeches in this city to the enunciation of several home-traths which, we trast, will not he lost apon oar leaders, old and yonng. It in 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 shonid feel jast like any other Panjabee. We are glad of the accession of Mr. Iyengar and Mr. Rai to the Congress movement, becanse it is sare to add to the olements which make for strength and stability in it , snd which badly need reinforcement. The only moderation that is not pore opportanism is the moderation that springs from a keen realisation of the large length of bleeway that we have to make ap in international lifeMen who bave thought and worked in. the fields of religions and social reform, and have a vivid idea of the hampering inflaence of some of our beliefs and enstoms, cannot but realise this, and cannot bat realise that withont removing these hampering infneuces, we cannot hope to rise to the fall statare of Indian manhood.

    ## redemption, hindu and ceristian.

    In reviewing Dr. Cave's escellent book in the Religions Quest of India Series, we pointed ont that the redemptive and the ethical elements were present in every religion, though the one might be more promineat 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. Jaduism is the ethical and Semitic type of religion par excellence, and yet the Paslmist was thinking not of his condact in life of bat God's redeeming grace whea be reflected :

    Whither aball I go from Tby opirit ? or whither shall I fee trow Thy preance ?

    II I acoend up into heares, Thoo at there: il I make my bed in hall, bebold, Thoe art there.
    II I take the winge of the morning, and dwell io the attermonet parte of the sen ;

    Even there obill Thy right hand leod ma, aod Thy rigbt haod elall bold ma.
    II I may, arely the darkness ohall sover we ; evee the nifbt shall be ligbt about as.

    Th, the darksem bideth not from Thee; bat the aight whineth se the day: the defkeen and the light are both alike to Theo.
    This train of thonght is elaborated in a mander worthy of the Hebrew Pealmist bimself in Francis Thompeon'e andscionily holy poem, "The Honad of Beaven," is which God's love parsaes man as the sleath-honed paranes the criminal: it will not be denied.

    Now of that :ong parait
    Comes of at hand the bratit
    That Voiot is round me like a borating men;
    *
    Eisite by.me that footfill:
    lsmy g'oom, after all,
    Shade of Eis hand, ontetretebed oartuingly ${ }^{\dagger}$

    - Ah, fondeet, blindent, weiket,

    1 ans 日e Whom thun weekent
    Thoo dravest love from thee, who dravest Mo.'
    The thonght of the Hebrew Pealmist of, perhaps, the aecond millenniam before Christ, and of the English poet of almost oar own day, is repeated with striking felicity by the medieval Tamil eaint from Whom Dr. Cave quotes so largely and appreciatively in bis book.

    Mo dog, lower than a dog, all lovingly Thyeelf didat take for Thine. This birtboillanion'e thrall
    Is placed within Thy oharge alone. Aod 1 in wooth, in there aught
    I need bejood that, with cart march out? Herein is there authority at all with met
    Thou may'at again coneign mo to some mortal frame; or 'nenth
    Thy jorrelled feet may'at place me, Brow-ejed Oae, or again in the famont lines,

    Abating Tbee or praising,-croshed by ain, and griered am L.
    La, Thou'at loreaken mas, Thoa brightnem on rod coral hill.
    Thou mad't me Thine; didat fery poicon ent, pitying poor sonis,
    That I might Thine ambrosia taste,-I, meaneat one.
    The haman father in Cbrist's greateat parable waite till his prodigal son comes back to Christ to lavish on him bis all-forgiving love. Bat the Heavenly Father parsues His prodigal children even to the pig-aty with His love. "If I make my bed in bell, behold, Thou art there." In this view, the moat paissant which faith and devotion have evolved, of God, the Diviue Grace makes no conditions, not oven that of repentance. Neither faith nor works can add to nor sin detract from the power and deating of God's love to redeem. Love never faileth, and God is Love.

    The ethical content of religion arisee from the fact that the realisation of the trath that God in Love, is atterly and absolutely incompretible with sin. It bso the power to cast ont sin, and nothing else hat
    that power. We mast digrese a litule to point ont that "sia" in a spacific perchological phepomanos whloh shoold be carofally distioguished from the lapen from convention and enatom to which the terra in generally and wronely ennlied. Nothing in ainfal which is aot. arelfinh. Everythine selfoh in sinfni. An an Amerimas thinker, Cr. Fvde, pnts it in his admirable little book, "Joena" Way:" "Allaio ie paracitio. It caver itself by ancking the life out of something better than itsolf. Every sinner of every atripe belongs tod he genus parasite. Evil hae not the strength to stand alone. It mast alway fasten on to something better than itsolf to hold it up." The athioal powet of religion is the nower of religion to redeem man from selfinhnes. The realisation of Cod's love drises ont sin becanne it drives ont aelfahopan. The infpired Anthor of the Gita is a true paychologint whon Et enge that, "ever it the very winked worship Me, with devotion to none eleg, he whonld be regarded as gnod, for he has riphtly rexalved. Sonn dons he become righteons." Chrint habitaslly acted on thie priaciple and incarred thereby the reproach of the Pharisees for mixing with pnblicant and cinnere. The ouly erception was in the case of the rich man who bad kept all the enmmandmenta hnt whom Jenos woold not admit to His eipele antil he mold all he had and gave the proceeds to the noor. Thin be could not do, and so he goes ont of the Seripture. There shonld have been exceptinal reasone why Jesne who, lite all great Teachers, an deep into the heart of man, required of this bighly respectable citisen a test to which ha nover enbjected the pablicane and sinnern whom he befriended. The pointh bowever, is that both the Hinda Avatar and the Cbriatian Incarnation adopted an identical attitade in this matter. The othical ime polse in every religion is inherent is its redemptive power. It followe that that religion in which the redemptive aspect hes received most atrons, is likely in its practical operation, to be also the mont ethjcal, that is to say, the moet effective in driviog nelfishoess out of the hamen beart. $\mathbf{A}$ religion which sets ap merely as a sort of moral police, cas bnt indifferently sacceed even as regards ite special parpose.

    The failare of Cbristianity and, iodeed, of llindaimm and of every grest religion, is due to priticisus and priests baving aubordiasted the redemptive central featare of each religion to their apecial limited objecte. The two great dangers so which a religion is exposed are statecraft and prienteraft, and not Pantheipto nor the doctriae of Karma. It rony, well be that minds nartared in the daalistic ayatems of religion grow temperameatally incapable of appreciating the, rirofoand ethical potentialities of the belief chat all if dad and God is all, even as those who are brought ap in a aystem the corner-utone of wich is the doctrine of Karma, sre quable to conceive of how Calvary can save makind. Bat the Vodanta has prodaced anials even as Cbristianity has done, fact which is not to be cancelled by the other fact that the names of both bave been claimed by hypocrites. As fur the doetriat of Karms, Acton telis us in his eseay on George Pitiol -nche sapreme parpose of whose work," he sajg, "wal ethical," and of whoe worke be writen, "there ant
    few works in literatare whose infloence is so enoob-ling"-that "sbe thonght that the world woald be indefinitely better and bappier if ceen conld 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 ceemed to ns to be miscouceived. Iudian Pantbeism bas prodaced the finest types of revereuce. That is a fuct No ergoant of word-spinaing can get over that fact. When logic and fact conflict, it is our logic that is obviously at fanlt. As for the doctrine of Karma, its fereign critics have not anderstood it in its falness. It no doubt makes a man feel that he is a victim of his own irrevocable past, bat it also makes him feel that hich atare is in his own hands to make or mar. The peofuer mental reflex of Karma is neither pessimism nor optimism bat patience and perseverance with charity to all and bitteroess to none. It is the best antidote to the prevailing teadency in the West to impate all evil to rival oations and all righteonsness to one's own. A sincere believer in the docirine of Karma always looks to the beam in his own eye and says as litlie es possible sboat the mote in his brother's. We can think of no greater inflaence for fostering charity than Karma. And Charity is greater than even Faith and Hope.

    ## PEISONAL HYGIENE.*

    The publishers jnstify the pablication of Dr. M, 12. Sumey"s book on "Personal Hygiane" on the excellent ground that in the existing English and Enropean works on the subject of sanitary science, the theories and letsons are all clothed in the-to them-swadeshi realities of English and Encopean life, social, ecunomic and religious. "There is no ase preaching," they rightly observe, " sanitary dootrines which ignore the cratom of early marriage, the joint family syatem, the all-pervading scheme of antosohability and appretitions parifications, the conditions of the Indisn retail trade in foodstaff, the floor, the cowdung, the ante, the eating leaf, the broomstick, the batter milk, the tropical heat, the scavenger .etc. Some of these conditions antomatically help the attainment of the ideals of the sanitarian, while some bopeleasly staud in the way." What Lord Mayo wrate of official auggestions for agricaltaral improvements, applies with even greater force to anaitation,
    "Firol," rewarked that great Vicerog, "we most not unteptatiously tell Native hasbandmen to do things whioh they bunt been duing fur centaries. Second, we mast not tell them to do thingu which they cand do, and bave no mesus of doing. In either anve they will laugh at ne, and they will learn to diaregard rally useful edrioe when it is given."

    This is what has actaally happened in respect of official endeavoars to improve Indian sanitation. Dr: Sumey's book is valusble inasmach us it takes special note of the practical needs aud couditions of Indian climate and social life. Withoat being a faddist, Dr. Samey is an
    advocate of the simple life. As regards food, he prefers a nat and froit dietary, sapplemented for vegetarians by the liberal ase 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, nanataral and disease-indacing foode, the canse of the nervons prostration and broken-down heallh that sbound on all sides. On the sabject of foods and drinks, Dr. Sa mey has some excellent commonsense observations which will be foand usefal by yonng and old. For drink, clean, pare water is the best, and oar anthor banns tea, coffee, cocoa and, of coarse, alcohol. The simplest and safest way of en, saring 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 nse of snaff are equally objectionable. They, as well as smoking. taint the breath, rain digestion, obliterate taste and emell, spoil the blood, oppress the brain, dopress the heart, irritate the nerves, waste the muscles, obstract the liver, diu the vision, stain the akin, and deteriorate and contaminate every organ and tissae with which it comes in contract in the body. "Their influence," sums ap Dr. Samey, "is to lesson vitality, to benamb the sensibilities, to shorten life, to kill." Weare afraid that many readers will leave of reading the book at this point as, in their view, life withont tea, coffee, liquor and tobacco, is not worth living. Bat 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 usefal and informing pages relating to sleep, constitation, heredity, idiosyncracies and temperament. We think these topics woald have come more natarally after the pages devoted to the exterior of the haman being which is the proper complement ot the topics of food aud drink. Dr. Samey's sections devoted to cleanliness are quite as lacid and helpfol as those on other topics. The anthor 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 woald be all that is needed. Dr. Samey is not a fanatic in respect of any particular kind of bath. The temperatare of the water, he says, should be adjasted to sait different circumatances of constitutional health and disease. He gives some sensible general rales which all people will benefit by following. He adds a warning against excessive bathing which tends to make the akin harsh and scaly by dilating tae secretions of the sebacions glands. This may be noticed on the persons of very orthodox Hinda widows and very prosperons professional Hinda priests. Oar anthor has a good word for the unsient Roman costom, followed in many parts of India, of rabbing some bland oil over the body before bathing. Europeans have a repalsion for persons who bear the marks of this mode of bathing, as shown by the term "oleagiuons" commonly applied by them to the Deugali Iadian who anointa himself with mastard oil every day. In some other parts of India, sesamam oil is used, and slsewhere,
    cocosnat oil. Dr. Semey recommends pare refined coconnat oil an the beat of all for this porpose. Referring to the ase of soap, he points out that some of the ingredients ars injorions to the skin and that,therefore, s liberal supply of water should always accompany the the nse of soap. Dr. Samey's remarks on the veoessity of teeping teeth, tongae, naila and skin, clean, ere not now bat 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, be is not an adrocate of growing long hair and beard, either asa means of conserving animal magnetisn or as a meant of eaving time and tronble. The sabject of clothing is a vast one. There is no question which has more agitated clothes sanitarian than the one of fannel. Dr. Samey, we see, followe the orthodox rale and advocates woollen next the ekic. In a recent American book of considerable scientific pretensions, this practice is denonaced in unmeasared terms, and cotton staff is advocated as the most suitable material to be in contact with our bodiea. We most leave the experts to quarrel and follow onr own particular convenience or comfort. Dr. Samey recommenda flannel next the exin "especially in summer," which, we are afreid, mast remain a connsel of perfection to many people. Dr. Samey himself recognises this and anms up with the simple rale to keep the bead cool and the feet warm at all seasons of the year. As regards the style of dress, his motto ie as light and loose as possible. We commend this especially to some of our joung wen who wear clothes so tight-fitting that we have often found ourselves losing the thread of a disconrse in wonder as to however a large section of the sadience managed to get into their clothes withont 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 end we feel ourselves once again disconcerted by his introdacing the sabject of "the skin "after that of "exercise "instead of, se it shoald be, onder "parsonal cleanliness" All the same, what he has to eay on these topics are well worth saying sad being and attended to. On the sabject of exercise, Dr. Samey rightly lays atress on the importance of its being pleasurable. It is, he says, the enjoyment of exercise in which consists ite chiefest excellence.

    ## HINDU MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL. [P. R. Lizix, B.A, Lus.]

    The Hon'ble Mr. Patel bas moved that the Bill he introduced to validate intercaste Hinda 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.

    Ae at preaent drafted it is a negative Bill taking away a disability. Bat the ability has not been provided. The law as at present enforced is that there cannot be a legal marriage bet neen 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 sponses belonging to different casten shoold not render the marriage legally invalid does not by itsalf conatitute a provision that will make it a legal marriege. It is in fact a new lustitation that in songht to be fonnded and one has to add a positive cection providing what will conatitate a valid marriage. Oa the atatute Book of India there are two ensotments giving sanction to marriages that were not, before the eneotments, velid marriagea (i) the Hindo Widow's Remarriage Act and (ii) Gua Special Marriage Act. Going into those Acta, one fadsa provision in the beginaing 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. Ia the former Act, Sec. 6 rans:-
    "Whatever words spoken, ceremosies perfortued or engagements made on the marriage of a Hindu fomale who has not been previooaly married, are sufficient to conatitate a valid marringe, shall bave the same effect if apoken performed or made on the marriage of a Hiada widow : and ne marriage aball be declared invalid on the groand that anch worda, oeremonies, or engagementa are inapplicabie to the case of a widow."
    In the lattor, sec, 11 rans:-
    The marriage shall be solemnised in the presence of the Registrar and of the three witaenses who signed the declaration. It wasy be solemnised ia noy form, provided that each party saye to the other in the presence and hoaring of the Regiutrar and witnesces. "I (A) taks thee (B) to be my lawful soifa (or inge. band)."

    There mast be a similar provision in this Bill. The second is not what we want inssmuch as wo do not want to register intercaste marriages for validating them. Saction 6 of the Widow Remarriage Act will serve an a model and may be (in the abesce of a better anggestion) adopted mutatie mutrandis. The main cbange will have to be made as regarde that portion which it on the basis of the two apoases being of the same caate. The priacipal reacon for the change is that while in connection with a marriage under the widow Remarriage act only one of the parties bae to be given a atatatory capecity, in an intorcnate marriage both have to be given anch a statatory capeoity. The ceremonien and recitation and engegementa applicable to one caste may differ from those applicable to another and we mast choose at to which epoase should be selected to make a pivot of. We may asy whatever cersmonies, \&ice, would have constitated a valid marriage of two parties of the basbandis caste or of the wife't caste ahall almo constitate strind marriage of two partiea of difforent cattes. We may also bave another way and say whatevar ceremonies, \&ce, woold have constitutod a valid marriage of two parties of the lower of the two cantes to which belong the partien to a marriage io quention (or it may be higher) shall aloo conatitate sach a marriage an a valid one. In my opinion the formet way is better becanse, it is more definite, the latier having the poasibility of bringing into coarta the tongh questions are only tentative aggeations made because of the
    necessity $t 0$ make some sach positive provision in the Bill

    Having deald with the essentials, I mean to dispose of two sabsidiary 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 ns, therefore, pat in the Bill some minimom age limit, the best age limit in my opinion is sixteen for the lady. Whether there should be different age limits for marriagel with the consent of the gaardian and those without anch consent is a point that most receive its due attention.
    (ii) We ought not to enact that marriages ander the new law ehall be monogamons. In those commanities which require marriages to be monogamons, thepe is provision for divorce or dissolation of marriages. According to Hindo law there is no divorce and bence any requisition that marriages mast be monogamons will work hardahip. Sapposing the wife in the case is gailty of adaltery or some such condact as woald have entitled the hnsband to ask for a divorce had the Indian Divorce Act applied, the hasband in the case will be without any relief at all. Uoder the Hinda law he can marry another wife and if no specific proviaion be made, Hinda law will govern the marriages even ander the new law. If the Hinda law is to impose on the parties to a marriage ander the new Act its own restrictions, the privileges mast also be mainteined. 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 Indisa Divorce Act to marriages performed onder that Act. Even then, of coarse, the result will not be quite satisfactory, becanse yon may be able to apply the Divorce Act to marriages solemnised noder the new Act, bat not to Hinda marriages that do not require the aid of this Act. So that a busbavd who has married according to ordinary Hinda Law will not be ablo to marry ander the New Act a lady of avother caste if his first wife deserts him or commita adaltery and the New Act enjoins monogamy. He is at present able to marry another wife of his own caste. Thesufest course is, therefore, not to enact monogamy antil Hinda Law admits of divorce.

    ## FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHI LDREN.

    The whole futare of the Presidency of Bombay will be aflected vitally by what we accomplish daring the mouth of March, 1920. That is a sweeping assortion, and of late the pablio may bave been some what anffoited with sweeping assertiona, But this etctiment is not demagogaery. It is literal and precise trath. The greatest asset of any astion is itg manpower, (Man-power iuclades woman-power, as mankind inolude womaukind). The frait of the manpower tree ja His Majeaty, King Baby. Ita root is the mother. The Children'e Wellare Organization aima at saving, !mproving und developing the frnit, and having behind it logis as well love, practical wisdom as well as hamanity, shrewduess aud experievee io other lande as well as sentiwent, it aims at saving and improving the frait by stadionsly tending the root.
    Motherbood is a vitally iuportant and very complex art. To regard it as fortaitons or accideutal, or
    as a mere matter of coarse, like the passing of the seasons, is to flout Providence, to neglect one of mankind's most sacred daties, and to invite astional deterioration and disaster, There are whole quarters in Bombay in which motherhood is not even an accident, but sbeer, stark tragedy, both for mother and babe. We may strive withoatcessing to bring aboat political and social reforms, bat 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 marcitizens is when they are in the cradle. You canoot hope to get high-grade citizens out of low-grade nar-series. The gatter and the chawla of Bombay are some of the lowest grade nareeries in the world. The Children's Welfare Organization aims at remedying this evil and safe-gaarding the Bombay public against the gravest danger that can threaten any commonity : (1) the deadly peril of a high rate of infant mortailty (2) the almost more deadly peril of a sickly, weakling, ailing, disease-ridden infant popalace.

    Do not forget that the babies of one year are the citizeds of another year. The appeal is as mooh to your sense of logic as to your seose of hamanity. It does not matter what your calling, if you are resident in this presidency yon are and must always be affected personally by Children's welfare in this Presidency. It affects your pocket and yoar prospect even if you shoald make believe to yourself that is does not affect your heart; because in it is wrapped up the whole matter of the conntry's progress, the people's efficiency, production, prosperity, the relations between capital and laboar, and a handred other vital questions. The vitally important question as to whether or not Bombay (which in no many other ways leads all India) shall adeq uately and successfully lunnch its Children's Welfare Organization, depends opon two main factors, the atrength of your generosity and sense of daty, 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 actalal work which mast precede a saccessfal lanach. The time is very short now, and yoar help mast come very soon if it is to affect the launch of a movement which goes to the root of all progress in Bombay.

    ## Wantrd.

    The Children's Welfare Exhibition and Fete opens on March 8th at the Prince of Wales Masean. Your contribation is awaited 300 , your attendance on March 8th.

    The Children's Welfare and Pearl Nacklace, which will be one of India'g really famous ornaments in years to come awaits your contribation a pearl, or the price of one now.

    The Children's Welfare Fand needs yoar contribation badly. Whether it be s lakh or a rapee and needs it now please send to Mr. Kidd, of the National Bank of lndia.

    There will be many entertainments in aid of the ame canse. 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 bay yoar tickets now. See Measrs Rose aud Company aboat it.

    Refreshments will be provided at the Exhibition. This section is in the charge of Mrs. Chambers. Every kiud of comestible that yon ever eat at tea-time is wanted and your contribation cakes or cash will be welcomed gratefolly at the Exhibition Office, Priace of Wales' Maseam.

    ## CQIEDREN'S WELFARE PEARL NECETACK

    Tha tollowing ritetement shows tha Pearla and cach which heve been contribrted since last weet's list appeared, Thewe donatione are mont gratelally seknowledged, and it ia hoped that farther gifte will be sent in an early as possibles-

    Mra. Mangaldas (Abmadabad). 1 Pasl.
    Mr. Pervilaty Bomanjes Putit. Cheque for Ras 600.
    Mr. 3. B, Needham ...e ...e Cheque lor Re. 370.
    Pearls and Cask will be rectived up to Mareh 81st, and the Rafle will be drawa early in April. The 1at Prise Necklece, value abont Ra, 85,000, in now ready and on tiow at the Army and Navy Etorss (Jewellory Departenent) The remaning prisen will be on vie⿻ ahortly but will be subject to alterations and additions te more pearls and money sre received.

    The following ladie and gentiomen art members of the Children's Welfars Penrl Neoklace Sub Committee and Ma anthorised to recoive pearli or money for the necklaoe : $\rightarrow$

    Lady Jebangir, Ready !'onay Eouse
    Mrs, R, Jeejeebhoy, The Cliff, Ridge Road
    Mrs. J. O. Bomen, Altamont Ruad.
    Mr. F. A, Vakil, Pedder Eomd.
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    Mr. Shantidas Askharan, Watchagandhi Rond, Gemdevi.
    Mr. Guabehand Devahand Jeveri, Cbowpatty,
    Mr. Mis Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani, Choten: Hoame, Dontad Street.
    Intendiug donors are requested to amad thit donations as soon at posaible to any of the gbove or to the undersigned, and they will be duly acknowledged.

    $$
    \begin{gathered}
    \text { Katrlaya Happsa, } \\
    \text { Choircuad, } \\
    \text { Sub Cormittef, } \\
    \text { Children's Welfare Pearl Neckloce. }
    \end{gathered}
    $$

    Molabar Bill.
    26th February 1920.
    CUILDREN'S EXEIEITION AND FRTE FUND.
    The following Sabscriptions are gratelnlly ceknowledged and farther help is earneatly invited

    Amonat already acknowledged ... ... Re. 119,884 .
    Mrt. Pirojbai J. P. Bathilas.... ... ... 100.
    An Indiall ... .. ... ... $\quad$. 100 ,
    Rs. $\mathbf{1 2 0 , 0 8 4}$.

    ## BOOKS WHICH INFLUENCED Ma, GANDUL.

    The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.
    Sin,
    In the Indias Social Refurmer' of Febroary 10th yon have quoted from the "Indian Witnesn" of Lacknow as excellant eceount giren by Rev. \&. W. Clemen of his interviev with Mr. Gandhi duriag tho latter'a figing vinit to Meerat on Janary 22nd. As the interviam tuok plics at my hoase, When I bappened to be precont I should jant lite to add oce or two thinge to thil scconnt, in case it nimy ba found inetructive by your resiers.

    Among the booke mentioned by Mr. Gandhi as having inflaenced him the mont and to whieh he referred even now in momeate of doabts and diffienlice wery, bevidet those anmod by the interviener, sleo the Bhagarad Gica, ibe Remsyana and the biography aad asyinge of Rej Cbanirn, a Gajaraki, and to the iaterviower he recommeaded Edwia Arnold's *song celestial' (an English vertion of the fret)and Griffith'i

    Trastation of the secsad. The Ind fo in Gajarati but on isquiries I leara that a Elindi edition in available.

    To the intertiower Mp. Gandhi eles explained bow the wertorn missionaries aeed not work hert an it they vere aplifting a fallen people for Iudia's was a honry civilimation and how by working among mases, ha himsell did not pmotast to. temoh shear bat learnt from them.

    MageUr,
    Tonm faithlally. Sifa Ram. 21st Febmary 1920.

    ## OERISTIANITY AND FEGETARIANISM. (E)

    ## The Fditor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    ## $\mathrm{Sir}_{1}$

    In yoar iesue of the 8 th Fobruary Mr. Labl Shanker Lakahnides in an sppeal to Obriotian humanitarione qpotes from the "Theosophint" to the effect that is Ohina oftain misaiontries would not accept people for mambersblp of the Chnreh except on condition of giving up the vegetarien vow and of oating meat. It is difforit to ascertuin the trath in a matter like this anjes one knew sll the sider of the quetion. SoI am inolined to thint that alre. Belont'n Interprotation of the report in th, C. M. S. Gleaner may not be right. For at - Christian I sannot onosive that Mitaionariee moold do auch a foolinh and anneceatary thiog as that anlest thare wet some shing in it The report pablinhed in the ${ }^{\text {G Glesnet }}{ }^{\circ}$ doee not lend itsell to this interpretation. I prosums in Chine the vegetarian vow is a eurt of an invelurats prejudioe baeed on religions principlas. In that ones Minsionaries wors right in demanding the vegetariane to gire ap their tow In a preotical mancer before they wore allowed to be nembere of the Charob. For in Christimity food is fudiferent from the etendpoint of religion. A vagotarian fan better Chrietian mor a flesheater a worse one bacanea of the difference between them as regards food.

    Let me tell jou that though 1 am not e regeterian mysell I bave a great seapect for one tho baces hir abstinence from meat on convideration' of heslti, ubrfulneas of cartaill animale, guitshility of olimate etc. and I buliove that vegeterianian oaght to bs onconraged by procept and example. Buit consider vegetarianiam on roligivas gronods as nuthing lesa than superstitions. Mr. Lazmidea' quotation is miele ding and beside the point. If he will conmilt the 20th Chapter of the Book of Exodue in the Bevised Vertion of the Bibis, he will find that the sixth commandmeat is "Thon shalt do no marder," That is the meaning of the origieal. If it meant monkilling of animals aleo, as our fruad seoms to think it does, you coald aeither explaia nor juctify the Jewiab practive of soimal sacrifice. It is not to the puint, beemene in many mattert Cbristiane ire net bound by the zalet of the Old Tevis. soent which beve wern superseded by higher rannation through Chriat. Jewt zede all sorts of dietinction in the matter of tool, like many of onf Ginda brethrea, on religions grounda, which Cbriat ouce for all awept away by his pergegal example ond preoept. Oar hord used to take all kinde of food, and bis declaration on this puint in fiant. Plesse read the 13th Chapter of the Gorpel sceording w St. Mathew where we bave the fulluwing is the 1lth veres-w not that whiok entereth into the month debioth the man; bet that which proceedeth out of the month, thil defileth the mon;" ond sleo the 17 th to the 20 th vernes whers Chriate' own explaner tion in giren which 1 do not quote to asvid being lenglhy. Jeans Chriat ate fish on the eosest at the wen of Giliter and lamb'a fieh on the sight of betrayal with hin disoiples. A Cbrintian will admit that unneocerary killigg of infliction of
    pain on dumb creatiou is wrong and he will join any offort maie to prevent or remove anch suffering. But when vegetarianism is presched as a religious trath and we are asked to relfain trom killing even for food we !rablly sey we do not anderatand it. We beliave ancb a movenuent creates insincerity because it is not practicable absolotely to refrain from killing and because the great majority of those in the name of whose religion thimsa is preached, live on some kind of animal tood which involves a hage amount of pain. Even vegetariane cannot claim to have realised the idenl which indeed "thnnot, in its very nature, be realised and so is not a trae ideal at all. Tiney deatroy plant life, which from Einda standpoint is not distingaishable from otber forms of life. Men must kill something or other if they have to live. So that a vegetarianistic anperatition must be broken in the interests of a higher conception of religion. It is olso interesting to note that the criticism is not asaally directed againat Mabomedans, Who are as nuach, if not more, enamoared of $f$ fish as Chria' tians aro sapposed to be. May I tell you that I have a num. ber of Obristian friends who are vegetarian in their diet bat are uot superatitionaly or religiously ao. Under necessity they would eat animal lood without any remorse of conscience. Should we not make a more rational case for vegetarianibm in Iudis by purging it of religions associations and then adrocate it earnestly?

    Yours etc.,

    ## St. Juhn'a Collage, Agra.

    ## COCIIN PANCHAMA CONFERENCE.

    The Panchamas of the Cocbin State will hold a couference in the last week of April, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will preside, and Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar may probably be present and deliver an address-Tne West Coast Spectator.

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    K K I. XXX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 7,1920. No. 27.
    

    Reaction against Communal Electorates. It may seem rash to speak of a reaction against communal electorates with the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy in Madras carrie © before an arbitrator appointed by Government, and the heated speeches in the Imperial Legislative. Oouncil on the special representation of Mahomedans in the Dacra Unjversity. It is nevertbeless a fact that a reaction is setting in. Mahomedans of culture, cbaracter 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 Mabomedans?" 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 communab electorates in at least one province in the new reform scheme. But they are a bighly educated community, and we are not surprised that one of the leading 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 neeme evident that at least the Indian Christians in the Madras Preeidenoy will bave conseded to them the righta of - soparate electorato. Their demands have been met in the fallest of degree possible. We wonder whether this in a matter for congratulation. We have added one more barden to the man who calle hiaself a Christian. Take, for exmomple, the oase of a oonvert. He makes his decision beonuse of a personal religions experience. Wo scoept him because of that and admit him into our society, and, incidentally now, to a opecial electorate. May we ask what coanction in there between a man accepting Jesus Christ and being compalled to inveat himself with cortain politionl rights or handicapt; catting him off evan more lally from those boand to bim by tiee of blood, kinahip, and friendship. The whole matter
    meeds very serious conaiderntion. We trast that thow whe without tbeir ounsens are oumpelted to vote in apecial electorater; wi ether Molamedan, Earopean, or Indian Cariasiac. will be individasily permiued to visbdraw thetavelve and vote in the geveral electorace. We believe there are come anch who, as matter of conacience, and mat mea of goodwill." will willingly ahjure any rigbta which opecial commenities may conter opon shem.

    Constitution of the Imperial Legislature: Early in January the Government of lndia 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 constitate the Imperial Legislatare under the Reiorm 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 tor, 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 tountain-head of progressive thought in the country. These to seats should be provided either by increasing the total number of elective seats in the Assembly to ino 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 lew 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 Commercialised Vice. On February 26th during "Maternity and Infant Welfare" weet 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, Tinaevelly, 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 gteat rolls; one men's, the other women's, measuring together 200 feet long, about 7000 in all. The memorial prays for legisiation, 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 banding on of disease to otbers, is a crime.

    Miss Sberwood's Compensation: The following para grapo to the Bengalee ittlects, we believe, the thought of most Indians un the news that Miss Sherwood, ihe Christian Missionary lady who was brotally assaulted at Amritsar, had been offered Rs. 50,000 by Government as compensation lor the assault, and had refused it: "Mliss sberwood has shown her true nobility of mind by refusing the offer. But why did the Government go out ol its way in offering such a hoge compensation to her alone? There were others, both Indians and Europeans, who suftred more or less daring those dark days when the bunglings of the
    officials made matters worse in the Puajab Were they offered similar compensations conceived in a reckloss spirit? All tonour to Miss Snerwood that she has declined to accept the offer, seeing perhaps the invidiousness of the distinction that has so gratuitously been made. ${ }^{4}$ The principie on which ${ }^{-1}$ the compensation was calculated is as inscrutable as that on whicb 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. 8till, we are told we are on the way to resp sasible Government! Certainly, if financial responsibilithe are the criterion, we have had it for many years past.

    Sinning against Light. The Mahralta thinks that our comments on the proposal to leave out girla from the acheme of compulsory education which the Poona Municipality has in contemplation, were due to our not knowing that the leaders of the qovement for exclusion bave themselves educated their own daughters and, what our contemporary calla, "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 Makratta, is in no way different from that of most district Muacipalities which have their own problems of water-supply and drainage to soive with resources utterly inadequate to the functions vested in them. As regards the other point, we are quite aware that Messrs. Tilak, Kelkar and Lavato are far too wise in their genaration 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 thase named above, who know the value of education for girls and bave 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." $\Delta$ more selfish point of view, it is impossible to conceive.

    ## Swami Sheaddhanand's Timely Exhortationo

    Swami Shraddnanand has issued an appeal to future voters. He writes: "a There are different political societies in the country and they are induaing you to return members who would support their different propaganda. But whather you retura a liberal moderate or a Home Ruler, a Tilakite or Besantite, a title, holdec, a congressman, do heep one great Truth in viow. It you vote tor a men who is sexually 1 mpure, is a miser, a hypocrite, a ppey to passions or is addicted to any one of the five great vices eniumerated by the anciént Indian lawgivers, the change in your poltical emancipation will be a change in name only. Theretore, I earnestly, imptore sa the name on Truth and the Motberland all the voters to vote for men of stirling moral character whom no smile by Kama, or lobhpopr mota will beabie to lead astray from the path of Truth and Justice:"Ms Asquith's Retuen. We welcome with pleasurf the retuin us Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons by a large majority at the by-selection for Paisley. Quacks sometumes effect cures in politice as in medicane, 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, Haidane and Asquito, bave buitt up English public life and inbued it with its high character, and it will bean evil day when their places are taken by gentlemen who learnt their politics on the roadside.

    ## THE TURKISII QUESTION.

    The question of the terms of the Peace Treaty with Tarkey which has been smouldering for months past barat into a blaze on the annonncement some days ago that the Bapreme Allief Conncil has decided to leave the Tarkish Goveroment in possession of its historic capital at Constantinople. A section of the English press led by the Times attacked this decision vigoronsly. An inflaential section of British politicians, prominent among whom are Lord Bryce and Lord Robert Cecil, have genonnced the decision in scarcely more measured terms, and demanded its rescission. The strength of the agitation bas been sach as to indace Mr. Montagn to interrapt his convalesceace by an interview to a London paper vigoronsly defending and juatifying the decision. What is more, the matter was raised in the Honse of Commons and the Prime Miniater made a speech the tone of which indicated the serious character of the opposition. All these, however, are in the natare of political controversy amenable to the ordinary methods of political accommodation. The sininter featare of the sitaation is the intervention of ecclesiastical dignitaries and eminent nonconformist clergymen with a plea for depriving the Tarks of Constantinople. The effect of this most anfortanate action on their part has been to convert a political question into a religious controversy. Mr. Lloyd George himself stigmatised it in the Hoase of Commons as having beneath it something of the old feeling of Cbristendom against the Crescent. If international questions are to be decided by the intervention of Christian Charch dignitaries, not only Mahomedans, bat also the followers of all nonChristian religions inclading Hindas and Baddhists, together namberiag many millions more than the anmber of Cbriatiane in the British Empireand in the world, bave reason to feel oneary. No reader of thin joarual will take it to bo wauting in appreciation of the religion of Clurist. Bat surely, that in quite a diffe. reot thing trom heving the tate of pations decided according to the prejadices of any oburch or calt. The effect of the ill-considered action of the Archbishop of Canterbary and other eminent divinea has been to stiffen the sapport lent to the Mabomedan protest movement by the other great commonities of .the Indian Empire. We are glad to note here that ovan't Christian Indian commanity, with cousiderable effinities racial and religions to the English agitatora, namely, the Angloundian comenonity, has throngh its accredited representative urged the upholding of the decision to leave Constantinople in the possession of the Tarks.

    Jost as we rale oat the prejodices of Christian eccleaiastics, so we exclade the beliefg of Mahomedan divines, from our coneideration of the question. The reform movement for which this jourual stands and has always stcod does not rest on any.infallible
    revelation bat on justice and reason. Who should be regarded as the Khalif, is a questiop entirely for the Mahomedan commanity. Nor do we concern ourselves with the question whether the removal of the Saltan's Government from Constantinople, will or will not derogate from his dignity as Khalif. These are matters which no non-Mahomedan is competent to discnss. What we arge is, that the pledge having been solemuly given that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Tarkey of Constantinople, that pledge shoold be kept in the letter and in the spirit. Mr. Lloyd George told the Hoase of Commons that the pledge of Jannary 1918 was not an offer to Tarkey bat a perfectly deliberate pledge made to reassare the people at home and in India in regard to the Allies' war aims. It was given, the Prime Mivister declared, after fall consultation with and with the consent of all parties and the Allies. "It stater" he went on to say, " that the Allies were not fighting to challenge the maintenance of the Tarkish Empire with its capital at Constantinople, subject to the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neatralised : also that Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine were entitled to recognition as separate nutionalities. The declaration was specific, anqualified 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 snggests, Thrace is to be handed over to Greece, the pledge will be as mach dishonoured as if Tarkey were deprived of Constantinople, Thrace having been distinctly mentioned in it as a territory of which the Allies were not fighting to deprive the Tarks. Another point for consideration is whether the conditions under which it is proposed to leave Constantinople in the hands of the Tarks are consonant not merely with the letter bat also with the apirit of the declaration of Janaary 1918. The Prime Minister made no secret of the fact that the tenare of their capital by the Tarks auder the Peace terms, will not be materially different in its effects from their expulsion from it : rather it will be sach as to enable them to be kept ander sarveillance. On all these points, India looks to His Highness the Aga Khan who has retarned from Earope at an opportane moment, to give a clear indication of his views. He has, as Mr. Muntaga acknowledyed recently, played an important part in the discassions which have led to the present decision, and he more tban any other Indian is competent both by position and character to give the conatry the lead in this matter which it urgently needs. May we add a word of friendly connsel to those Mahomedan pablicists who insist on the restoration of Tarkey 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 demend to blot the past five dissstrons years out of Time would be.

    We also atrongly eadorse Mr. Gandbi's advice to the promoters of the Khilafiat movement to eechew sach methode as "boyoott" which altimately do more harm to the cause on whoee behalf they are itarted than to that against which they are directed.

    There remains one other point. Both the apporteri and opponenta in England of the retention of Constantioople as the capital of Turkey, seem to be agreed that massacre in a regalar method of Tarkish rale. Were it not that we have reason to think that this opinion is due to a large extent to racial and religious prejadice, we confess wo should not have been able to sympathise, as we do, with oar Mabowedan conntrymen in the Khilafat movement. What is more, Indian Mahomedans of the caltare, hamanity and enlightenment of several of those who are prominently associated with the movement, woald not have done so whatever might be the view of bigoted Mallas and fanatical Monlvis. That the assertions about the massacring proclivities of the Tarks, as a race, are grossly exaggerated, to asy the least of it, appeara from the paragraph which we reprodnce below from the opening article in the Jannary number of Asia, the ably condacted and saperbly got np organ of the American Asiatic Association of New York, received last week. The anthor, Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, writes of Tarkey with a broad background of experience, having travelled extensively in Earope and Asia as correspondent of the New York Herald and Cenlury Magazine. He reported the wars of Torkey with her eabject peoples, Italy and the Balkan States and, more recently, Tarkish attacks on the Suez Canal doring the late world war. Dr. Gibbons is the anthor of "Fonndation of the Ottoman Enpire" in the "New Map" series covering Europe, Africa and Asia. He ie no admirer of Tarkish rale which, he roundly says, has always been a blight. His evidence on this point is, therefore, specially valaable. Patting the Tarks in a class by themselves for ornelty and destruction in invasions, he observes, is prejodice or ignorance. And only prejadice or ignorance is responsible, he adds, for the stories that gained credence in Western Earope of barbarons treatment of Chriatians ander the Tarkish yoke after the conquest was come pleted. He goes on to remark :

    The truth about the Ottoman rale is that the 8ultane who foanded and extended the Empire ehowed a colerance to wards subject peoplea quite uanaan in Earope of that daj. II they had exterminated the Chrintiane or expalled them, how explain the millions of Christians in the Othoman Empirt to-day I It it wes impossible for Christisen to engage in agricaltural parsaite and commerce with any feeliugs of eccurity for life and property, bow explain the enormons amount of property owned by Ciristisne and the preponderant poaition of Christian elements in the compercial and indantrial life of the Otioman Empire f Far from exterminating or driving ont the people of the land as Isracl was ordered to do is Oansen or as our ancestors ectuailg did both when they croseod to Eaghand and Leter migrated to America, the Turke recognized the Christion elemente of the land int, which they came at millete (netions) aod allowed therm a large mesarejof atonomy. Why? We find the amarer ia Tapkiah motire and in the Otoman systam of goverometat.
     Chacmians If ofbert did not weil to seoppl ibe tret Prophat why abould the Terke wory ! Int the rajed (cee Mabouradas enbjecta) the givame (inildels) mange thair own affin and eetth thoir own quarrio suong themedres.
     mic and social life of glimownt thin one the maicet way out of the difficult $y_{\text {. }}$

    ## IMPLICATIONS OF HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY. Aar

    We reprint io-day from Young India an article by Mr. Gaudhi headed "Hinda-Mahomedan Unity." Mr. Gandhi, more than any other Iadian, has atriven to bring aboat Hinda-Mahomedan anity, and hia words on that accoant, deserve the most careipl cos. eideration. Besides, we hold Mr. Gandhi in bigh respect and we loth to diesent from him except for weighty reasons. We are therefore, extremely eorry that we are constrained to characterise bin artiele on "Hinda-Mahomedan anity" as aperficial, illinformed and misleading. We had condemned Mr. Candier's personal challenge to Mr. Gandhi at im. pertionnt, and there the matter eads. As regarda the larger guestion which Mr. Gandhi has ondeavonred to answer in the article noder notice, so far as it is a warning agaiost forcing the pace of progress, it is well-conceired and timely. Certainly any organised or even anorganised attempt on a considerable cosle to force apon the "Hinda-Muhomedsa unity" es the term is anderstood at present, impliostions affecting social and family lite, in bound immediately to renalt in disraption. A contributor writing on the sabjeot a few weeke hack in thene columos ased the phrane that Hindas and Mahomedans bave "dritted" too wards anity. That is quite true. There has beea no conscione preparation towards that great end. That even Mr. Gsadhi should deny that "Hinda-Mabomedan anity" ahoald have any implicationa extend. ing the social and family life, shows how little thought has been bestowed on the quention.
    To our mind, it is idle to talk of E Hiodr-Maho. medan anity ${ }^{\text {" }}$ so long es the mere mention of inter. dining and intermarriage is enough to lead to the consequences to whicb, Mr. Gaadhi righily thioka, it will lead at present. What we see before as is not unity bat only a movement towards it. Beal and complete naity will come only when inter-dining and inter-marriage ceace to be anthinkably as choy are at presents And, notwithotanding Mr, Gandhi's pessimism, weare sore that that day is not fap distant. There are forces " which are not an" that are making for sach anity. So far at inter-dinity is concerned, Mr. Gandhi's ponition will atrike moat of oar readern ea far-fetched and oat of focas with what is already happeaing. Carioasly enoogb, Mr. Gand il confaces inter-dining with eating out of the sarue plate and drinking out of the eame copo. These are inseartary practices which no one thinks of when be speaks of inter-dining. Mr. Gandhic view that the idea that inter-dining is a means of cementiog social and national life, is a soperntition borrowed from the Woat, is belied by the fact that castet and secte, Hinda and

    Mahomedan, have commonal dinners the right of each member to be invited to which has sometimes been songht to be enforced by a court of law. So far as we know, it is not part of Hinda caltare that a man should observe the same privacy in eating as in the sanitary necessities of life. Sanyasis, widowe and others who wieh to impress their hosts with their piety, sometimes observe the vow of sielence while eatiug, and thers are, uo doobt, persons with or withopldprotensions to piety who prefer for reasons of theit own to eat noobserved. Otherwise, commenesbility is one of the most ancient iocidents of social and domestic life, well-known to and largely accepted by Hindas and Mabomedans. In fact, the invidionsness of the prohibition against other commnnities, arises precisely becanse of the recommenduticn, not to kay obligation, to interdine with one's own. If it were a rale tbat each man shonld seek a solitade to take his meals in, there wonld be no need at all for such a prohibition. The offensive natare of the prohibition obtrades itself most when you requesta Mahomedan friend to step ont of the room for a few minates in order that yon roay have your tiffin with the Hinda friends who are present. Such occarrences are not ancommon, and it is idle to arge that the onsted Mahomedan has do canse for offence. As a matter of fact, most edacated men, Hiudus and Mahomedane, perfectly zealise the absardity of the prohibition of interdining, and, as we said, it is being tacitly abaudoned.

    Intermarriage, as Mr. Gandhi aays, is a more diffcalt question. It is because it euters more deeply into personal and family life. And jast becanse it does so, it can and does prodace a anity between commanities which nothing else can. Mr. Gundbi speaks of the English and Gerwans fighting notwithstanding that there is no bar to interdiuing or intermarriage between them. But we would remivd Mr. Gandhi that before the War the Germans, thongh they were known to be putential enemies, bad all the righte of Eaglishmen in India, thoogh these were denied to Iodians who are British sabjecta ; and that even today there is a well-marked distinction discernible between the way White races deal with one another and the way in which they deal with colonred races. No one says that commnnities which eat and inter-marry do not fight with one another. Bat it is obvious that aven when they fight, they do so with greater consideration for each other than when they fight agaiust racea which they woold not admit to egoinl interconrse. Why do the Suotch and the Engliah got on so well together, aud why is Ireland such a problem P Becanse the two furmer "assimilate,". while the Einglish and the Irish do not, thongb they
    -have lived together ander the same Crown for nearly the same leogth of time. Difficult as the problem of Hindn-Mahomedan iutermarriages is, there are reasous why we need not think that it is going to be alwaya as difficalt as it is now. There ere distiuct signs of a proof of sooial and racial fasion which has been interrupted. Without going so far back as the Moghal period, there are tooday in Iudian States
    examples of sach intermarriages being recognised by the commanilies concerned. Bat for our law coarta, the process would bave been more rapid. Mr. Gandhi holds it to be utterly impossible for Hindas and Mahomedans to intermarry and yet retain intact each other's religion. There is a great Hindu nobleman in an impertant Indian state, who has married a Mahomedan lady, and yet retaina his orthodoxy. The Hinda religion, and all religions for that matter, accept accomplished social facts, or they would not last long. Mataal toleration is not anity. So long as Hindas and Mahomedans mataally tolerate each other, so long there will be no real nuity, whatever you may call it on paper. Those who hold that national noity is desirable, and work for it, shoold realise that inter-diaing and intermarriage are inherent in the idea of unity and prepare the way by facilitating a common ${ }^{\text {i }}$ line of social evolation for all communities inhabiting India. To snm np the whole matter, Mr. Gandhi sees no harm in caste und his idea of Indian nationality is a con. federation of castes. What is going on in Madras is a conclasive proof that, though caste might have been beneficial in its origin, it is now become barmful to lational progrese. Social divisicns there will always bs bat to as it is inconceivable that any. nationality, as the term is anderstood, can be built up on the basis of custe which, as it is to-day, is nothing bat a device to redace the opportanities of social intercoarse between persons of different castes to a minimam in order to concentrate their sympathies and services on their own particular sections. Bacon recommended a single life for charchmen "for charity will hardly water the groand where it mast firat fill a pool." Tbat reason has an application to the caste system.

    ## C.tTle-breeding in india.

    One of the interesting questions of Indian demo. graphy 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 wall-carned leisure to contributing his interesting reminiscences, written in racy and idioma. tic 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 tamous Mysore Amrit Mahal cattle which, he is convinced, is the best in India, "the very $I t$ in cattle flesh", ho observes: "The fame of the Amrit Mahal cattle was justified lor size, speed, endurance, impatience of harsh treatment, etc. and were proved in scores of military operations undertaken on British ground by the British Governmen'. 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 Nortoo's reminiscenes 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. Narasimba Iyengar's reminiscences are in both respects comparable to Mr. Norton's, and are, in one respect, superior to to them, namely, the value of bis 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 wonderfal 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. Narasimba Iyengar says that from a prolonged study of the matter he has come to the conclusion that the ancient Indians bad 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 cattlebreeding. 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 ste much store, do not show that it suffi. ciently realises that its aim should be to make 2 better breed of cattle available to the average cultivator in the country. For example, we are told that foreign countries appreciale 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 huadred animals had been sent out mostly to Brazil. Is India going to be a cattie 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 pecular 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 obser-. vances 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 whiteelephants in the shape of bulls fetching two thousand rupees each-the Department boegts of having that sum offered for a bull at the Miasar estahlishment-but to breed serviceable animala in large numbers, such as the ordinary Indian cultiva. tor can leed, house, and manage without an expert veterinary department attached to bis humble bomestead. The section on catlle-breeding in the Agricultural Report shows how far removed the aims of the Government experts are from the needs of the peoplo. 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 bumble 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 ruc on wrong lines and, so lar as Indian requirements are concerned, is waste of money.

    ## HINDU.MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

    Mr. M K. Giaudhi, writes in Young India :-Mre Caudler some time ago asked me in an imaginary interview whether, if I was slacere in my professions of Hiado-Mahomedan Daity, 1 woald est aud drink with a Mahomedea and give my daaghter in warriage to a Mabomedan. This queation has been asked again by some frieade in abother form. Is it recessary for Hinda-Mahomedan anity that thers should be interdining and intermarrying $?$ 'The quettioners say that if the two are neceasary, real paity can never take place because crores of Sanatanis woald never reconcile themselven to interdiaing, mach less to intermarriage.
    I am one of those who do not consider caste to be - harmful institution. In lits origio caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-beingas In my opinion the idea that interdining or intert marrying is uecessary for astional growth, is a auperatition borrowed from the Westo Eating is a procese jast as vital as the other nanitary necessitice of life, Aud if mankiod hed not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indalgence, wo woold have performd the operation of eating in private
    even af one performa the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the bighest coltare in Hindaism regards eating in that light and there are thon'mands of Hindas still living who will not est their food in the presence of anybody. I can recall the name of several cnltared men and women who ate their food in entire privacy but who never had wny ill-will against anybody and who lived on the frieudlientrurms with all.
    fatermarriage is a still more difficalt question. If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footiog withont ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficalty in my danghter regarding every Mahproedan brother and vice versa. I hold strong view on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint wo exercise with regard to onr appetites whelher aboat eating or marrying, the better we become from a religions standpoint. I shonld despair of ever coltivating amicable relations with the world, if I had to recognige the right or the propriety of any yonng man offering bis hand in marriage to my danghter 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, bat for years I have taken nothing bat frait in Mahomedan or Christian households. I would moat cartainly decline to eat cooked food from the mame plate wilh my son or to drink water ont of a cop which his lips have toached and which has not been washed. Bat the restraint or the exclnsiveness exercised in these matterm by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mahomedan or the Christian friends or my sons.

    Bat interdining and iutermarrige have never been a bar to disanion, quarrela and worse. The Pandavas und the Kanravas flew at one another's throats without companation although they interdined and intermarried. The bitterness between the Engligh and the Germaus has not yet died ont.

    The fact is that intermarringe and interdining are not neceseary factors in friendahip und anity thoagh they are often emblems thereof. Bat insistence on either the one or the other can easily become and ia today a har to Hiadn-Mahomana nuity. If we make ourselves believe that Hirdas and Mabomedans cannot be one uuleas they interdine or intermarry, wo wonld be creating an artificiul barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it musuld serioasly interfere with the growing noity betweon Hindus und Muhomedaus if, for example, Muhomedun youths consider it lawfal to court Hinda giris. I'pe Hindn parents will not, even ifthey suspected any such thiug, fresly admit Mahomeduns to their homes as they have began to do now. In my opinion it is neces. anry for Hiada and Mahomedun yoang men to recognise this limitation.
    -Iho!d it to be ntterly impossible tor Hiadus and Muhomedeas to intermarry aud yet ratuin iatact esch other's religion. And the true liennty of IIindnMahowedan noity lies in each remaiuing troe to his own religion and yet being true to each otber.

    For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mshomedans even of the most orthodox type being able to regard one another as astural friends instead of regarding one another as nararal enemies as they have done bitherto.

    What-then does the Hiadn-Mahomedan anity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The unewer is simplr. It conaists in our having a common purgose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is liest promoted liy eo-mperating to reach the common koul, by aharing one another's sorrows and by mintnal toleration. $\Lambda$ comninon goal we have. We wish this great conntry ofnnrs to be greater and self-goveraing. We lave enongh sorrows to share. And today speing that the Mahomedans are deeply tonched on the question of Khilafat and their case is jast, nothing can be wo powerfal for winning Mahomedan friendship for the Hindn as to give his whole-bearted sapport to the Mahomedan claim. No amonnt of drinking ont of the same cnp or dining ont of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

    And matual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace ifithe Hinda will not tolerate the Mabomedan form of worship of God and his manners and castoms or if the Mahomedans will be impatient of Hinda idolatory or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meateating and smoking, bat I tolerate all these in Hindas, Mahomedansand Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these althongh they may dislike it. All the qnarrels between the Hindas 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 argent and so fine a canse as Children's Welfare many words shonld 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 ensaing week to lannch Bombay's Children's Welfare movement on a scale befiting the dignity and importance-and the crying needsof 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 Mnsenm, 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 Famons 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 firat worth about Rs, 85,000 ; the secord about half that amount, the third sbout
    balf the second, and $n 0$ on. Everyone wants tickets, to early appliontion (at the Exhibition, or at one of the Banks or Clubs) is most desirable.

    ## Garyival Weri in Bombar.

    The Exhibition and Feie will be one of the most remarkable ever seen in Indis. There will be matter of amasement, instraction, entertainment, value, enjoyment and interest here, for all classes, all ages, every tate. Every woman must see the sections for women only. Nobody should miss meeing the Exhibition and Fete, Bombay's great centre of attraction next week. Music, danciag, 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 themelven, all visitors will know that they ere helping the children-the finest and most practical of all good canses.
    There will be Pardah arrangements at the Children's Welfare Eshibition and Fete, on Wedneaday, March 10 th from 11 a. m, 1 p.m. When women only will be admitted; entrance in Rampart Row. Free admíssion will be given to all nurses daring these hours, on March 10th.

    On the 12th and the 14th instants there will be particularly interesting Indian Concerts in conneotion 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 Gauhar Jan, anpported by many well-known Indian instramentalists 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 neoessary to book early. Tickets obtainable from Rose \& Coy.

    ## THE CHILDREN'S WELFARE EXEIEITION WEEK. •

    The following enbecriptions are gratefally acknowie Iged :Amount alrenis acknowledged Rr. 120,084
    Mr. \& Mre. Arthar Froom
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    - 50

    Bombay Manicipality
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    - $\quad \mathbf{5 , 0 0 0}$
    $\qquad$
    I:8. 126, . 34
    CHEISTIANITY AND VEGETARIANISM.
    The Editor, The Indian Social Reforwer.


    ## Sir:

    I read with mach sarprice and profoand regret the extrect from the Church Nissionary Gleonerio joor valasbie imprese sion of the 8 th instant. I doalt very mach whether the etetemante contained therein are reaily true. For anybody Who hoe read the Bible knows theroughly aell that feeb-raiing is not as all a aine que mon to join the Chri .tian Chareh ( $V$ ild Romans 14th chaptor verwi 17 and 21.). There are
    handreds, if not thoasade, of Indian Curistiene in the Southere diatricte, like Taojore, Madura, Triehibopoly and Tianevelly, whe are very etrien vegetariome, end yu commanioant membert of the obral. I are Braheia convert, of oves 80 years ckanding and an coanected with the Methodiat F.piroopal Chareh, end wes ordianed in 1894. All through my life and even upbodate I ame otriet veguts rivn, and a trict shefainer from all kinde of lizuor, and fant the ase of toheoco. In a book, I prabliohed tour jears ago deaignated a The Hehrc ${ }^{1}$ Origio of the Iodian Beabman'a I had atroggly airocated that the Earopean Yicnionaries whe work and move with the high clese Mindue olould sbotain from eating animal lood, wioh is an abomiatioe to Hindua Neseribelere the opiusion in abrond in India that the moment a Inida becones a Christian, he bee theaceforth a lieenter to eat mution, fish, herf, pork, oto, and to get drank. Th\& great nusjority of Indian Crrinians art not vegetarianes and phis io a great stambling block for high casto lindus to join that commnni'y. On ti.e Malalar Conot the Indian Chriatione are en ditty in their habita that when one eate animel lood aud ditiks liqmor, hie neizhbonit would ark him whother be hee beson.e a Clirintias. Unfurtnnately the raligion of Cbriat ha presented to the Indians in a Enmpeanised form. Cbrist ras an Oriental Garu. It in not at all necemary for one to clange bie diet, bis ooetnme, bie identity, his anaes, and bis pationality to become a Christian.

    ## R. B. Gopala Aitaz.

    ## HINDU MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL AND MONOGAMY.

    The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.
    Sir,
    Let me thank you at the atest for probliohing my article on Nr. Patel'e Bil: in yoor issue of the 29th Fobruary. I was really glad that my blant opporition egainat ancetiog mon"gany was met by a like dieapproval and urave lenve to mate - little explanation $I$ asim antiraly for monogomy for Hiudus as mach an any olher moe. Bat an I atated, for making minogaray es real inatitation jou munt have some mease of dinculntion of marriagre it ia mavoly becance fHinda Law dues hot generally seengaice any disnotation of marriage that iI sabmitted we eboald not precoribe monngamy is the proposed meanare. Otherwine a reault will follow whist 1 shall elucidate hy a consrote inslance, $\mathbf{A}$ is a Marathe with a Marathe wife married ia a etaicty Hinda fahion. A's wifu deserts bim. What can be do i Uoder thu Hisda Lamr, A caa tale anothar $M$ uratha lady forbia wife. Snpponing 4 falls in love with a lady of the golismith enete, he cenoot marry ber in spite of the Patel Act beceuse his firt defankingtwifo Ives ond cannot be divorced, if monogatuy is preseribed in that Act. If by any means thio dificulity is avaided, mbody will be more delighted then I to exe monogany exjoined.

    $$
    \mathbf{P}_{0} \cdot \mathbf{R}_{0} \text { Lele. }
    $$

    [ What becomes of the Marathe wile, in the inuctration, 4 4 decerts her in "n etrictly Hiadu tachion "? 8 be ancect remarry so long as a bappens to be io the lasd of the fiviogt married perhape under the provisions of the Patel Bill to the goldecaith lady with whom the bast "falied is love." Why should A be provided by the Legistatire with a fecility deaiod to his Marstha wife ?. Mr. Lele has evidentiy not thought of that. Ed I. S. R.]

    ## THE CANADA HOSPITAL, NASIK. (For Wowen asd Childreis).

    ## The Editor, the Indian Social Reformer.

    8ir.The citizens of Bombay have alwaja, responded generonsly to every appeal for cupporting pablic institntions mennt for women and children. A very intereating pablic institation in thit prosidency is the "Canade Hospital" at Nagit. One of itt interesting festares is the fact that it in supported by foreign money and managed by Earopean ladies for the bencfit of Indisne of any race or creed: This hospital in argently in need of finaicial eapport, and I have volunteered to maiae an appeal to the generone pablic an I havs meen, during my vasant vinit to Nasit, what a vary useful and helpfnl work is Yyug done there for the welfare of the people of this land. I if the hospital fall of patientn, mensty Hindus, who wire dmisted either lor crdinary medical or operatetive treatment. 'he lady ductore and ninres are whole-time workers. Between seolali and Nasik this is tho only hanpital where competent redionl and surgical treatments can ba had for purdah ladies ad other female priento who profer beingy treated by a doctor rtheir oma sox.
    Oring to the exohapge troable the money received from Sarope and Anserion gives only ball the amonnt iutended by he donors and required for ranning the hospital. Againat bis there is the quastion of the ever-rising prices for food tuffo and oluthing in be considered.
    Mach enconragement to the workers of the hospital and unccour to their poor patiente can be given if we, the Bombay pablio, anbscribe Re. $\mathbf{3 0 , 0 0 0}$ which is not a large anm when sonipared to the argency and iaportance of the requirementa. Many rich people Irom Bombay have either bailt or are alruady buildiug bangalows at Nasik and Deolali for their temporary Hay. Among theee there might be some who would like to perpetanto the memory of a member of their family, by a apeoial gitt. There might be others who would wish to enaure the help of a generous doolor by belping her at thia time of apecinl need. Larger amounts oould be roost neefully devoted to the work; bnt the very analleat donativns will be gratefally seovived and auknuwiedged.

    I many add that I am in no way connected with the bo-pital or any out engnyed in its aerrice. I wat prompted to rolanteer to make thio apposilas I feel that this hospital deserves every prosible tiumeial help at this tine, aud as I aleo fel on re that an appeal of this kind is never wade to the cilizens of Bombay, in vaiu.

    Mtay I request that all enquirioes and donation bo sent direct to Dr. (Niss) Landuli, Canais Houpital, Nasit.
    Bombay Guardian Huane,
    M. G. Jusepa.

    Bowlay, "6ih Fei. 1920.

    ## dea first inter-caste mabriage in bangalore.

    ng
    (From our Langalure correspondent.)
    In the avening of the 15th Febraary the first inter-catte and widow reauarriage which was revently regitered ander Brabms) Xarriagg Aot LIL of 1873 by Mr. T., J. Tasker, I. C. S., Segiairar ander the Aot, wea oelebrated 14 the S.waj preatisor. Iu lesponse to invitativan imad by Mr. and Mra V. Balanndarans, who wore primarily reapousible in briugiug alont tbia oveial relorm marriage, a large gathering of ladies aud gentlem.n were present at the Samaj, mung thora bung Rer. Mr. Fullar of the Wealeyan Miraun, Mr. O. R. Reddy. Iaquector-Geuetal of Edacation,
    

    Mra. Coopasmamy Chettiar and many others. Mr. M. Narayan Singh, the bridegroom, as Assistant Master in the Wegleyan Collegiate High School, and Srimathi Bagialakrhimi amros the brido were recipients of congratulations from many friends of Mr. and Mrs. Belasandaran and from others interested in zocial reform. Mr. E. Sabhnkrighnniya, Brahmo Misfionary from Madras, performed the ritusl. After relreshments Mr. Sobbakrishnaiga perfurmed Harikatba performance and the interesting fancti, n came $\mathrm{w}_{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{a}$ close at $8 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$.

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    | A Correation. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | The Aruadale Romance. |
    | Ewami Vivekananda on Indigenoun Medical Treat. meat. | The Indian Press Act. Indiana id East Africa. |

    ## 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 Oanterbury and defence of the decision to leave Turkey in possession of Constantinople, though under the guns of the Allies. $\Delta$ 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 be 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 lor an independent enquiry by the United States into the truth of the allegations. This, however, does not seam to bave prevented the Allies from taking drastic measures. liritish troops have occupied Constantinoplo 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 Georgo defended. There is a strong re-action 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 ol Commons, supported by Lord Robert Oecil, has demanded ita revision. Government gave a temporising reply. There can be no doubt that whether the Coalition Government moves in the Fitter or not, the next British Government will materially modify the Treaty of Versailles in favour Yit 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 Ireating 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 reRction in British feeling against the Treaty of Versaillea is illustrated by an extract from a review
    of Mr. Keynes' book "The Economic consequences of the War" in the Challonge 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 disormed and defenoeless enemy to exaok terme which they could .not gainany. We forsook justice for revenge. Posterity may find an. apologist lor Mr. Lloyd George. There is alwaye a recurrent lashion in the drams to idealise the weak tyrant, and bistory iteelf is suaceptible to anch tendencies. Bat no pleading onn blind the historian who chose to net the Fourte日 Points, which were the tale of onr proposale, against the Treaty of Versailles, which is the record of our performance. By this contrest we stand condemned. We in tarn bave begn faithleas 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 turu back and amead onr way ${ }^{9}$ Drastic revision of the treaty, a complete reveral of ita reymation clanses, above all a swerve of apirit form hate to justice, are necessary it the good anme of Eugland is to sarvive and the peaples of Earope are to live. . . The war has not exbausted our sacrifice. We mast lay an offering of love apon the altar of the world.

    Our contemporary, echoing no doubt a widely prevalent opinion, calls for a new Peace Conlerence 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 harts 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 real ise the great opportunity that Providence has placed in their hands.

    India and the Labour Pasty. Speaking at a reception given to welcome him on bis 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 Britist political party. Nearly fitteen years ago we fell under the lash of Sir Pherozeshah Mebta for venturing to differ from bis 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. 8amarth, 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 rathlessly 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 prools. 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 misapprebension caused by Mr. Munshi, who moved the vote of thanks to the Ohairman 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 $\Delta \mathrm{ct}$, it was in virtue of his office as Editor of the Bombay Chroniels 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. Horaiman's coming back, would certainly not bave done it if Sir Narayan Chandavarkar had, as he had a periect 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. Manshi's remarks were not only irrelevant but also extremely ungracious, and bave ill served the purpose he meant to advance. Matters were made still worse by the reporter of the Bombay Chrosicle taking upon himself to ascribe to the Hon. Principal-Paranjpye who seconded the vote of thanks, ideas and expressions which be 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 hor coadjutors, Indian and English, for the succese of the Child Welfare Exbibition which they have so ably organised. The central features of the exbibition were, of course, the educational, health and maternity sections, but the object being to raise funds for permanent work, a number of emusements were provided in the shape of side-shows. We trust that the proceeds of the exbibition will exteed 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 Excelleacy for her devoted and unwearied labours in organising the exbibition and making it the grand success that it has undoubtedly beea. If even a hundred lese children die per yearig Bombay as the result of Her Excellency's propeganda, 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 Alrica 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 bere. 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 bea terrible tyranny. Here General 8muts is at the mercy of ignorant and reactionary Boers. Education hare in interesting though depressing. Tha material pro. gress 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 "Imphications of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity", dif. senting 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 "auperficial, ill-informed and misteading". 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 fate Owami Vivekanandz 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 disciplesuggested that indigenous Kaviraj medicias was very well suited to the Iadian constitution. Whe Swami who was himself at the time undergor-g Kavisaj treatment, dolefully replied om My idea is sbat it is better even to die in the treatment of doctory well posted in the modern scientific developments of medicine, But laymea who do not know the modern scientific developments of medicine, but blindly go by the ancient books, may cure $\&$ few cabes, still there is not mach bope of recovery in their treatment."

    The Ranya Maha Vidyalaya, Julluodur. We are requested to announce shat the annivergary of the Kanya Maba Vidyalays, Jullundur, comes off on the 4th and 5th April next. Mr. Gandhi will give away the prizes

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBA Y, MARCH 14, 1920.

    ## FREEDOM OR POWER?

    It is a paradox that, while Indians have acquir ed 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解blish a newapaper withont baving to deposit a Becarity or obtain a dispensation from the Magistrate. .That, notwithstanding the Act, the Indian Press has grown and is growing enormoasly in inflaence, is due to the growing appreciation of the people of the ases of a strong press to resist chiefly th's aggresaion of the Execative Government on their liberty. It is a fact worth noting in this connection that the majority of Indian newapapers belong to the National Congress side of politics. This is because liberty is the primary need of the Indian people and the Indian Prese, and the National Congress by its demand for a declaration of rights and otherwise lays more stress apon it than the Moderate party which attaches more impurtance to the participation in political power promised by the Reform Act. It was no mere accident that brought the Panjab troables in such close sequence to the Reform schems. There is a logic in events tranacending what we know as logio, and it was that logic that ordained that the one shoald come so closely apon the heels of the other. Instinctively the National Congress pat the Panjab occarrences 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 acate form ever known in India. They utamped the demand for a deolaration of righta which, since Mrs. Besant's disinternment, was tending to lose some of its vitality, with the authentic seal of national aecarity.

    Mr. Montagn's attitade has consistently been to aubordinate the question of civil liberty to that of participation in political power. Speaking at the banquet given in his houour on the passing of the Reform Aut, he practically justified the martial law exuessea at Amritsar, asking of his audience of young Indiana whether thoy ahoald not do the same in a nimilar emergency. His colleagae, Lord Sinha, expatiated a good deal on the Reform Act on his arrival in Indis, bat asid never a word to soothe the laoerated heart of the Panjab. Mr. Bfipendra Nath Basa who, though no longer in office, has a liking for official circamlocation for its own anke, has, so far as we know, been observing a like riticence. The Moderate leaders, although for obvioun reasons naable to imitate Mr. Montaga's detachment, bave beea infected by his example in their rolative valuation of the events in the Panjab and the passing of the Reform Act. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is reported to have said in a poblic speech at Lahore or Amritsar that they ahould try to forget or
    overlook the martial law occarrences and to appreciate the merits of the Reform Act. No doabt, he and other leaders honestly believe that the participation of political power ander the Reform Act will in itself be a garantee of civil liberty, but history does not support this view. Tocquevilie has shown that the French Revolation, far from reversing the political spirit of the old State, only carried out the same principles with intenser energy. The State, which was absolate before, became still more absolute, and the organs of the popalar will became more efficient agents for the exercise of arbitrary power,

    The popalar view is that the excellent priaciples of the Revolation were perverted by the absolatism of the revolationary leaders. Bat, as Acton points out, the Reign of Terror and the period of convalsion were barren of political resalts, and the absolatism of the Republic was really the work of the ideas of 1789, incorporated in that Constitation of 1791 which continued for seventy years the model of all foreign Constitations, antil Austria retarned to the medieval originals which England alone had preserv: ed. He goes on to observe:

    The purpose of all Continental governments framed on that pattern, is not that the people should obtain seearity for free dom, bat partioipation in power. The incresse in the number of those who share the authority renders the anthority atill more irresiatible ; and as power is associated with wealth, those who are interested in the augmentation of power oannot be interested in the dimination of expenditurd and that parliamentary government generally resalts in an improved administration and inoreased resources, bat also in addition to the pressare and the expenses of the State.

    As we anderstand these observations, the Montaga scheme follows the continental scheme rather than the English model of giving precedence to secarity for freedom over participation in power. The Morley-Minto reforms also followed the same main plan which Sir William Meyer rather cynically, though traly, described before the Joint Committee of Parliament in a sententions form. ." It there are people who woald apset the boat," he said, "it is beat 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 secarity for freedom? Not necessarily. That is why men who feel a fervour for freedom and have worked for it in the religious and bocial apheres cannot regard the Reform Act as a setoff againat the Press Act. We may add that had constitational reform taken the line of greater secarity for freedom and not merely of participation of power, we would probably have been apared the. several commanal demande for apecial prolection,

    ## THE INDIAN SITUATION IN EAST AFRICA.

    Jadging from recent nambers of the East African Chronicle, the principal organ of Indian opinion in that colony, the Indian sitastion in East Africa seems to be taking a favoarable tarn. It is evident that the main oanse of this happy featare, is the visit of Mr. Andrews and the effective manner in which he exposed the falsehoods with which it was being sought
    to instigate measares of repreasion againat Indians. The firit indication of a reaction against the nefarions propagrode, wan the closely-reasoned and thoaghtfal letter which we reprint from Mi. Robert Chamberlaio, one of the oldest British settlers. This has evidently had an excellent eflect. IF' has pat heart into the more fair-minded and hoièst section of the local British oommunity and oncoaraged it to speak out. The East A/frican Chroniclis of the 14th Fobrary reprinte a letter from Mr. G. H. W. Mackensie which ind ite lndictmont of the religh section of Raropeans is even more oútepoken than Mr. Robert Chamberlain's. "No one can get away from the fact," says Mr, Hackenzie.
    that Indians wore bere boloro the adroat of the Earopena, and that they hive ameitud it oponing ap the conntry to a vory groes oxtent. They peneitruted far into placeses that: ware not enywhere nease olvilistion, und began and developed the breiven of trading, and 'wore the firts to indooes antivos to wess olothers, thoogh thin ooly begmo with a piese of oloth. Finenoindy the Indiens own the greater part of thic country; neither cas anjono rotuse to cadmit that the grostor namber of Europeant in this coantry aro in their debt. They aro almazu ready to menint in any good eanse. Thers in no poor Indien to the extent that he would have to give himuelf ap an destitutu of meana of subsiitenose. Amongst the Indien commanity one asiaits the other to e very great extent, when timen are very bad. They mould aleo aseist any, White man when occession aroes in ayery poesible way. Dirity I Tine majority are not reanily dirity. It io their manner of living or dreasing, there masy appear to be a lot of rabbish in onr eyeo, bat it is clean rabbieh."

    The East African Chronicle of the 21 st February recorde another prononncement hy an Englishman in that colony, prefacing it with the remark that there are eigna that the tide is slowly changing. "We can feel," writes our contemporary, "the reaction setting in. One by one Earopean geatlemen are boldly taking the platform in correction of the anti-Indian crasade." The President of the Kagama Chamber of Commerce, Mr. F. Colmani of the National Bank of Indià, made an admirable apeech at the annaal general meeting of the Chamber, in the coarse of which he atrongly deprecated the anti-Iodian attitade of some of his fellow-Earopeans, on the groands of the material interest of the Colony as well as jastice to bis Indisn fellow-abjects. The passage is rather lengthy bat it is morth quoting. Mr. Colman asid:
    I do not prolen to be aseer, nererthelese wo can iese Indis amakening from her repoas organizing eommercially, orgennising pollically. Indin in not the India of ten yerre ago. The Feat in bidding atrensoady tor ber favoor. The time han gooe past for treenting her with indifferenoe. The trade of. the Weat of Meopotmonis of the Persins Galif, of Egypt and of Africe will be attraoted to acech $m$ oestre an Bombay which Tould rupresent ie ready market of adjatmiont and exebango, rendering sach a point an exchange blearing honse of thie part of she world: The time ie very nearmumy be thie yearwhen Ugende will cell the majority d ber coitoin, which is of fine quarity, to Bombay, stimulating the lendency wo trootifer
     Ugade masy "adjut" thoir ourreoney, ebange it to eota, Coppery Nickel or paper jot the axchaged dircho mantalanaya rem sia Morbbeas, Bembry, Londoo, neoveritating harroonions,
    mappoed to mobiamatia, intarcrilatios. Tha importaces of Indin eot colly to Eect Afrien bat to the Empire, maken it all the more seceseary that we sbould deal with ber sabjecta in thin conatry with all faireest. Tot oar candidateo denfon Te with thoir ery of "I Iodina Reatriction." On what gromede do thoy aphold the attempt to penalise them in the land they were the firat to ocoapy and dereiop ?
    Mr. Colman condemned the attitude adopted by the majority of British apeakern and newapapor contribne' tors as one which had never been sapported by' Imperial reasoning and tree merely the eballition of local feeling. He went on to observe :

    It in a mattor of deep concorata to observe the attort at repres' sion of the Iadisa comarnaity which haid besa ruoh a conispi-* onous fentary of East Atrican polition for the past fory youre Erery oppoitanity soemit to be takea by corthin sentiona of the pablio and Protes to dibtrom and stalitify Aolatices, Apd. What bave they done to doserve ouol treatmens 9 Enterat tando competision \& That is the paramount grievanoe. There is no sach grierance in India. Earopeans in the Poniarala anter into compotition with, Britinh Iodiam and on the enme terane as in thic country and are quits able to hold their owa -and. mare. But the jaevitable has coonarred. Oar porenainly wno syatematio attitede bat done ite work and inatead of having to bandle an anconourned and cosefiding fraternity. wi have now to deal with a politionlly organisod sommanity vastly saparior in nambere to our own. We might well be more generons in onr vieme and oonsider their porition and socept thoir appesis to take part in the mdiniaistration. It in an Imporial neves. vity that we ohoald reviow oar attitade and meet their lugiti. mate arpirations. We may well regard the fact that British Indin put more mea in the lield in our recent life and denth atraggle thad all the Coloniea pat together. Oar presens pttitade it not in acoord with this or the spiril of. Empine or the generis trend of politiond movemend of our day. The Home Govera ment can zever approve for a womeat the prastical presoription of oar Iudian fellow sabjecte of the Emapise which is to plainily the intention of so many of orf apokeco men.
    The protests of Englishmea like Mr. Robert Cham. berlain, Mr. Mackenzio and Mr. Colman, are beginping to have their effect. The East African Chronicle reports that there has been a marked difference in the latept seasion of the convention of Associations, as contrasted with previons sittinges "the Indian question "atomatically dropped oat. It was, in lact, no "question" as atl. And the themo has noticeably been abandoned by the can lidate! at Nairobi, Upline, and at the Coast, who have isered manifestos in preparation for the Legislative Council elections. We hope that thie aaspicions development will grow and prosper, and that the relations between the English and Indian commanity in East Africs will be once. tot all eatablished on linen of sriendly and cordial aby operation.

    ## PACTOBY LABOUR IN INDIA.

    There are thonghtfal Indians who hold that tha conditions of laboar in factorief can never be improved so as to admit of a healthy and high-toned persons and family life, that the man or woman mat becom a piece of machinery like that which he or the bas th tend all dey; mad that as man is more than maon.
    factares, factory labuar is inimical to national and social well-being and that, therefore, factory indastries shonld as far as possible be disconraged, if not altogether abolinhed. This is an extreme view. The important featares which differentiate factory indostries from handicrafts is, first, the ase of mechanical power, secondly, the gathering together of a namber of workers withoat 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 laboor. Modern indastrial nations, oncited thereto by the last of commerce, bud treated their haman inatroments with less care and consideration than their machipery. But gradnally labour has become conecious of its own rights, and has turned the babit of working in association for the profit of the emploser to good ase by working together to altinio it ${ }^{\prime}$ own alvation. Agricaltaral labonrers anased to working in gronpe have always been anable to compass by combination any considerable improter ment' in their position. Bat factory labonrers have ancceeded in many countries by asing the kuowledge gained in the fuctories of the advantages of combination, in' compelling employers to give them an increase ed and increasing sbare of the profita of indostry. And several onlightened employers theimselves beve devised and pat into operation achemea of co-operative indastry in which the workmen bas also a proprietary interest. A list' of euch schemes, some of which are in actual operation and somo of which bave beeu auggested, was given in an Américan exchange, Sooial Service. It is than evident that if factory ind astry has, like most institations, fmperfections, it has aleo, like them, in itself the means of, overcoming them, in the habic of combination which it fosters among the workers. If wise and bamane foresight on the part of employers and of the State does not anticipate and provide for the dislocation of family lifo and persunal atandards, which is caused by the workers being drawn away from their bomes and villages, their own outraged personalities will ere long tise in wrath and require reforma to be ?ffected at the risk not only of the employers bat of the whole commanity. The history of the past in the conntries of Enrope and Ameria, and also in India, show that partly by the homanity and foreaight of employers and the State, and partly by the more or less effective nse of their power of combination, factory workera have had their conditions of life gradually ameliorated. We are', therefore, niable to condemn factory industries, as such, as being incom: patible with a clean and healthy life for workers.
    Speaking on the Hon. Khan Babadur Ebrahim Hincon Jaffer's motion to appoint a atrong commis: mission to enquire .into the conditions of factory faboor, Sir Thomas Holland told the Imperial Logislative Connoil that, ou the whole, he thought it not unfair or indiscreet to say that be would rather see the mill industry of Bombay wiped ont than aocept an indefinite pergotation of the conditions onder whioh many of the workers are necessarily compelled to live. As Sir Thomas hnowe very well and, jndeed, utated in his speech, that they noed oot be perpotastif
    ed, the Conncil might have been spared this affectiontion of idealism, especially on the part of one speakiug for Government. 'The mill operatives themselvee, sympathy for whom was the professed motive for this 'oatbarst, would not approve of Sir Thomes Holland's anathems. The conditions in which they live and wort are bad in all conscience, but the dayi were when Iaboar conditions in England were tuach, worse, and yet nobndy thooght of wiping out Eagliét indnstries as the oltimate remedy. We are accastomed to have hamanitarian gronuds arged in enpport of policies which resalt in material losi to tidia and her people, and Sir Thomas' nofortanale remark'might be availed of by Manchester politiclaus to press apon the Governinent of India reforms which may serionsly cripple our mill indutry. Farther, bad as are the conditions of tifs of the cmill operatives, they ure lews had than they were some, yeara ago, and the very fact that the lani, great atrike was condacted by then in a perfectiy orderly aind constitutio:al manner shöns that thay have duntived other advaulagys ió from their occipatiou. No one who had occaaion to watch their beuring, will gáy that théy are a down-trodden cilass.' There is no uise udulging iu exaggerations, and Sir Thomus Hollañ's observation was unpardonablé. Ou the sabject of Mr. - Jaffer's motion itself, we egree with Sir :Thomes that there is much relating to' the condition of factory labour which needs reform, aud which requires no Commission to discover: The fact is that a number' of nembers of Legıslative Conncil who cannot spare the time or do nut command the knowledge to form considered opinions of their own or prblic questions, Gind it easy to move resolatious recommending the appointmedt of commiltees " of offioials and nonofficials "to do thís for them.' "It has been said," obserred Sir Thomas Hollund," that when the devil had exhansted all other devious for retarding progress, be inveuted the Committee; and the Commígión, with his specis! object in view, is such an improvement on the Committee that its inventor may readily obtain, at any rate, provisional protection, wíthons infringing the devil's patent rights." We do not know if Sir Thomas Holland had Lord Hanter's Committee in mind when be made this canstic comment on the inatility of Committees: The fact that he did not exclade any Committee from the acope bf his generalisation carries with it its own aignificance. There are several reforms which can and ought to 'be andertaken at once. No Commiseion is needed to say what they are. In fact, we think that a Commiscion of Enquiry is not at present the most argent need in connection with the problem of factory labour.

    The most extraordinary speech on the motion; wes, however, that of Sir Dinshaw Wacha. Sir Fazalbhoy Carrimbhoys while holding that the appointment of a Commisnion would be prematare, laid atress on ithe edacation of the workers and the formation of anions among them as the first. conditions for institating : system of arbitration with a good. chance of sucouss. This is perfoctly trae: It followe that, in the prosent state of illiteracy of the majority of factory workersh it

    - is the daty of Goverament and all men of goodwill in the commanity to soe that their interesta are duly cafeguarded. Sir Dinahaw Wache'e apeech ohowe that ha hap attorly failed to realise this fact. His acconat of the recent strike of mill workers in Bombay, how it arose, hom it developed, and how it came to as end, is not in accord with facte. The narrative of a mill operative reprodaced in one of the representation of the Bomber, Labour Settlement Committee showing that the atrike really began an a lock-out, hat op to thie date not been contradicted. To talk of a ${ }^{\text {a }}$ lightniogestrite " as Sir Dinshaw did, is, therefore, not eqrect. Neither is it correctito say, so he did, that the operatives organised themeolpes in a threatening mapner, and that it wat only when the aid of military vas invoked, that the troable wat checked, Oa the other hand, it was the general view that the operativen had behaved with exemplary.good sense, and it wau this which facilitated the intervention of His Excellenoy. As for the invocation of the military having endod the atrite, it peed only be pointed out that the atrike lasted many. daya after the troopa began to be picketed in the mill district. We have stated more than once tbat it is a mistake to regard the millowners and agento, as a clagn, to bo bard-bearted in their dealinge with their morkers. Bat when Sir Dinshaw Wacha puta them in a par with the operaciven and, urgen on their wephalf that they too have their "grieyances " againgt the latter, it in imponaible te take him seriogaly. Ae a matter of history, vé may point pot that he wap not correct when he eaid that,"" When the tronble, was setpled, the mill-owners had، the same terma to pat before the strikera as they had determined on at the outset."' The terme were motified first, and it, wat not till a week after tho ogtification that the oporatives resumed work after' persuation by the Bombay Laboar Sellement Committee and other wholesome influences. Sir Dinshaw Wacha seems to have been, especially pat out by Sir Thomes Holland's appreciative references to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work. Sir Narayan bad aaid in an article that what pas wanting really was "the homan tooch" in the relations of the millowners to their workers. What is their one-sided in this atatement? Perbaps, it would be best to leave the matter at this point. Sir Dinshaw seems to have been entirely ignorant of the facta and taken no care to acquaint himself with them before talking at he did in the Council.


    ## THE ARUNDALE ROMANCE.

    The Hindw-of. Madras is onenof the -ablest rand 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 impalsive or effusive. The out.burst beaded "Adyarts Wayst. in its issue of the sth - instant, therefore, attracted an amount of attention 2. Which it would not haye dene in most other jourpalk. The solitary fact which, evoled 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 commooplace, and nowadays excite little comment except in ultra-Indian or altra-Anglo-Indian circles Most of as dismisa the naws of such a marriage without a thought and, if more generously disposed, with a bope 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 Englishmitiay There bave been a few such cases, though far fower than of the former kind. Why the Hinden abould bave lashed itsell into rage over a marriage contern. plated by Mr. G. S. Arundale with a Brabmia giri in Madras, passes our understanding. Where is "the great scandal" which several leading shab. $\min$ friends of Mr. Arsadale were invoked by. the Hinds to avert at the risk of forfoiting the respect and confidence of their fellow-countrymea? The Hinde felt it its duty ${ }^{46}$ to warn Mre, Besant and Mr. Arundale that their responsibilities will be terrible and that the reaction of such a step on their political and educational activitien will be intense." We confess that all this seems to us to be quite bysterical and unbefitting the columas of a great Indian newspaper like the Hindiv. The correspondent who proteated that the Hinds bad no right to attack a privato transaction and that it had done a grave iojustice to the girl and made her the subject of common talk everywhere, was perfectly right. The explanation of the Hinde that the mattes of its comment was wholly derived from, and the paragraph itself pablished at the desire of, a close relative of the girl's, only meana that that journal lent itself to be used by an interested party to create a scandal about a coatemplated act which was well within the righte of those most immediately concerned in it. That the Hinds 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 Hind"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 sitaation, sach hamble service in lodia's cause as 1 am able to render, I have decided to subordinate my personal interests to those of the land 1 adoptod as my mothierland many years ago." The bump of egoism past be very pronounced in Mr. Asundale's phreaology to mate hime so oblivious of the enormity of subordinativg not his "personal iaterests," as ipe says, bat the far more important interests of the young girl whom he bas exposed to an odious publicity, to his precious contribution to Iadia'd cause. The motherland is best served by treating hel daughters with the loyalty and revereace that is hed due Some glimmering of this seems to have dawn
    ced on Mr, Arundale's mind, because, we soc, 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 bis 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 a ${ }^{\text {ande }}$ to was in contemplation' could not have ainy other meaning. To postpone a thing is not to put it out of contemplation, rather. it is ta prolong and extend and perfect the contemplation of it. Further, the advice of responsible friends, including Mrs.J Besant, was too big a force to produce so slight an Wfect as mere postponement. No doubt, Mr. Arundale used the phrase " in the present difficult aituation," 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 excbange, 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. Mabadeva Sastry's letter in Now India in defence of Mr. Arandale and against the onslaught in the Hinds, leave on ou: 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. Arindale'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 IIimdu 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 Eill 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 clearinghouse for all India.

    ## * THE indIaN PRESS aCT * yhir (By Sin Narayan Caandafarear)

    I am glad to associate mysell with this movement for the repeal of the Preas $\Delta$ ct. I have been ever since I began pablic life a sopporter of the liberty of the press. Having been myeelf at one time a jorraalist for twelve yeara I have realised the grave reaponsibilities of the Press and the power it has to make or mar its conntry. I have felt how precions on the whole is the liberty of the Press? I will howerer not dilute here on the value of the liberty of the Press. That is annecessary because the Goverment by res


    moving the restrictions imposed on certain newspapere. under the Indian Press Act has ghown that it too: values that liberty. So long, however, as the Act reat maine,-and the angestion of Sir Sivaswami Iyer forl mere modifications in the Act will make no differenceliberty of the Press in Indis mast remain adulterated; and we all know adalterated articles' and 'policy are not pare. My opinion that the Press Act shopld be repealed is not of to-day. It was strongly pressed in $a$ memorial to Government addressed by the Bombay, Presidency Asuciation five years ago."

    Briefly, what have been the main argaments adrand ced in sapport of the Act? First, it has beeni said that the ordinary law has beer nasble to get at "Veiled Sedition." What, $I_{\text {ask, is }}$ veiled sedition? In plain langaage it mast mean sedition which works and spreade in secret, which is not open and therefore cannot be got at by ordinary means. It operates undergroand, hidden. Bats newspaper'a writing is open; it works in broad day-light. So if it is aeditions, it cannot be said of it that the sedition is veiled. If by veiled sedition is meant covert attacks: apon Government, intended to overthrow it, I hambly affirm, having bad jadicial experience, that the ordinary law in nofficient to provide agiginst veiled sedition. In : recent decision a well-known English Jadge sitting on the Judicial Committee of the Hoase of Lords to decide a case, said in his considered jndgment that words which are dangerons to aociety or social stability change their meaning according as society changes, with its views and idealg. They have nó fired import applicable to all times. Sedition is one of those worde, and the definition of it in the Penal Code is so elastic as to apply to any seditions writing veiled or not. The real root of the matter is this term "veiled sedition." used in support of the Press Act is a cover for the distrast of onr Courta by the Esecative. Bat it is said, the Coarta have power ander the Act to decide whether a newspaper's writing is seditions or not. Yea, they have the power ; bnt, there again, it is an adalterated power, not the fall jadicial enquiry of the ordinary law. That fall judicial enquiry, it has been arged in defence of the Act, won't do in the case of newspapers beoanse a long trial in Court with the articles read, commented on and exposed to pab. lic gaze by pablication of the Court's proceedings in newspapera serves only to spread the seditions writing more widely than when it had appeared in the paper arraigned, and to make a martyr of the charged editor. Bat that evil remaina all the eame in the case of the Press Act. The proceedings in Court where they are taken against the paper broaght ander the Act, are exposed to pablic gaze all the more and when the Coart holds it gailty, it and the editor become martyra, greater martyrs too than if they had been found gailty by the process of the ordinary law, because the more summary character of the proceedinge of the Press Act strikes the ordinary layman as denial of foll justice and as oppression. The Act has been in operation now for aeveral yearic. We have had safficient experience of that operation. Does the experience jastify the continaaqce of the Act on the Statate Book? The test ift-Han its
    epplication theee diae jeart allejed anrest P It hae not Its edpportore wuaid perbapi tey: © Things might have been worme bat forthe Prese Act." That is at beit:opecalations It is not becanse the bedrock of fact utside that the unrest has been there all the sme. I wonld eay, it hea been greater than it was before the $\Delta$ et. Al any rate, it bas not sensibly diminiohed, Then what is the juntification for the Act except the waking of the Excontive partly at lnast Jadgen int theif pwa enuse ? T That is the ating of thie lar and this sting mast go, if liberty of the Prens is so bo real.

    It has been declared by Hia. Majenty that we are entering on a New Era of reform in India. That New Era bae been initiated by amnesty to a large number of political prisonera and by removal of restrictione imposed on a large number of newspapers under the Press Act. We ask that this circle of confidence for the Now Era may be counpleted by the repeal of the -Act itself and the right hand of fellowship eatended cordialis by Government to the newspaper press, whose fanction it is in modern timet to diecharge the daty of the propbets in old timed. I would also most eari'nestly appeal to the Prese'to rise to the 'occasion of the Nen Era, to the beight of Hin Majesty's recent Proo clamation and serve the conntry and the Empire with -a faithedl sense of daty and dignity in apholding the ;cause of the people and of progreseive goveraments io expoaing fearlessly and trathfally all wrong and injustice, add in parifying the prixateand pablio lifo of the coabtry all fonid. It is of natise for a newapaper to claim liberty of the press in the name of liberty and criticise and condemn antocracy as it abould and at tbe same time impose its own antoracy and slavery on the people by creating. its own reign of newspaper terror and antocracy, vilifflige all who diffor from it and who do not eing to ite trine, or pander to its - tastes Liberty in such a case is worse than olavery. Liberty of the Press is a meani, not an end. It is a means to a larger liberty. When the liberty of the Press becomes liberty for the newspaper, none for otherf, it imposea its own alavery on others and ene dangers the larger liberty and taints and corrapta true national life. We are now at monentous step of Ipdia's growth wea we sll, Goverament, the Press and the people, are being tested and tried by Providence. Let all three atrive for' real liberty. One way to that is the repeal of the Press. Act by Government and fearless, bigh-mindod and impartial disoharge of its daty by the Press.
    

    Ye reprint belon a remarkable lettor addressed to the Daily' Zoader of Nairobl by Mr. Robert Chamberlain mhom an esteemed corv resjpondent of the Eant Africus Chroniclo describes as "an Englichman in East Africe one of the oldeat, mont anccesalui, and most capable cettlay"
    Sig.
    By hin mpailete, Lord Dalemere hee fraskly joined inepe on the Iadian apd nadive quaftiona as agninat the mind, coneciemoo, sas jartioe of I mparial Eagiand. Ha bee bebind bine the mejority of the white selulors. Bot be hap oot pehind
    bita the micority whe dare to melt thair jndgmenta bolow the surfice of thinge. In ans opision, the probable and ulmopt i mevitahte repels of the prement white stititede will be to corePol the Imperial Goverament to take hoth ewhjeote ontirely out of the influence of our local inriedictinc and to logislate on both them fundemental ienues by Order-indotasili. Iord Dolamertis weakepet is that he in just a Peprestionith. He is - factor to be comadered, but mot becoon lishe for the gaidence of etatenmanchip. By hie masifeatio hie londuhip ote his signatnre onoe more after due and deliberate conainfer ation ovar a inge period, to the aotnrions and oflioeecoatsint of Chapter Eeven of the Eoonomia Commiosion Report. Lord Delamert is a Reprocaionid. Ep Is a Reproseioniat an againct the mative. Ho is e Represanatet en ageintt the Indiens, Ee oftere no glenm of hope to cither of theen testions of the vome manity. Hia real attitude towarde the vative eas be enmmod ap in his inevllable reply to ove prognant question. is May I," anke e progremive sivilised native "can 1 bfliad Prom the white man in the open martet p" And Lord Delamerti' reply, givea in the name of the whole white come munity is an emphatis "Nn." "The saperio race aball io Pree to intarpenetrate yon. Uader ao eiroamstamess bball joa erer enjoy a similar privilege or a similar right ae againat the white man. The ree of the coil io opas to you la pleent to be celected for you by an. It in thore opea to goa only apon the condition of yout evrility and your ergnieccence in the asbitrary diotate of our enperior will." The bualo between white and bleck wasjolned os prooicaly ago this inare many deoader in gonthatrica. It has boen fought ous there. It he writing is already on the wall that the whice mas has lonk. Mate no inistaki about that, Let bim who doubtengo and look for bimell. He need not look below the arffes The white min in atill In South Afrion in large nombert. He bolds the berboatt, the railwaye, and the goldicids. But the toil he doen bot hold. The coill to poesenced ly tha bleots $m$ D. For him It yiolde its Iroita, for him and for his and tor over. The dirmmed of colonisntion of 8outh 4 frios belongs alrendy to the world of dreame, of anrealitices, of thiage one attainable. With the liat ton of gold eafely ont of the laet stope, the tree ponition of the चbite mang, relative to the bleck will be deolared in all ite stark nakednens. The Bonth Afriean bettle has been atubboraly fooght. The white man has parcevered through many genefstions. The native hae jues gone on living and inareasing and leapplig. Thare is la-day in Sonth Arrica no "Native Problem" The prohlem now in a White Man's Problam. How in heto manintaia a bare foothold for his childrem againet the vaet malliplying, edvanoing horden of akilled; aspable, and civilised black men? The Repromioniat plicy of Soath Afries hee arailed lene tban notbing againat tbis over-wholming tide of hamanity. Aud Lurd Dolamero's policy of Repremion will evail jons an little in dealing with the antive quaction of Reat Afrlas. It will avail oreb leat at egainat the Indians. The Indtan commanity is formnataly woll shle to take care of fteelf in the coming trugglo. The Iadian asko for tero thingementhe fran. ohice and accene to the eoil. Both requests will in duc soneon beoome domanda. For both requesis are sencomeol and cach is rostod fn'juatice and la the astare of the oirt camatancest. Aad eash requent, coom to become e. domand leade itcell to compromise and agreament witbont denger o wankeuing white control in escontial festares. The worst of the matter is that doley broeds ill-will and bostility on bot aidea." Delay in the diechargt of the politionl jostiee tas bet wesa trems eas sad doen prodaes eocial dangert for thworst pomible sype. The Earofesin daes bot andern Land the Indiar and form him-loars him a eommertio inductrial and politioed competiur. Ho feare that ony fors senaion of the franchice to the Iadien will lead-besectinil and mavitably by the abear weight of aumbers-to atranatef of polition control to Indias hands. Tbe font and ite origi can be saderatood. The white mata's view of the froselion is the demoeratie vien. He cat think of the vole on is the terme of cocuplete equality- -0 manhoud sofirage. Tt white man bolieves that the Indice shares this view of til Irsuchion, and wesll believe-lor I an bere at ons wish bl fillowi-meth the Iodian Commanily would be amoble f eapport aneh st extemive privilego by the meemeary fodin deal ebarseter ced copecity lor poíitical allairs $A$ wbi
    
    and responsible political factor, for he has as atragyle of cento ries long behiod bim which bas produces political aptitude cha ecoond nataro. An Indian may be odacated in the seademic sence of that mach sbased torm, and jot may be quite incapable of esating sa intelligeat vole. It it bere that we toach the ternel of this tough political problem. Bat les as be sure of une thing before we devolop our lears. Dies the IrdianCommanity, ia reality and sober irath, ask for the franubise in the rense ne are prone to attribute to their requent $?$ Personalls, I think not. At I read the situation, it moald appess that $a$ resconable mesaure of votiog anj deliberativa power entratied to the edacsted and propertied olanes wonld meet all their wish and even all their aspirat tionc. They rofaco - and in my opiuion, they rightly roface -to accapt oar arbitrary and antocratio domination. They world acoept and oven rejoice in our politieal gaidance and fontrol, Bat they alk-and in my opinion they rightly ank-
    What we ohall base saoh gaidance and control apon one reapeas for tbeir manhood, for their civiliontion and for their mommon bumanity. Could they well be content with lene ? What the semote fatare bas in store, what is to be the reealt of this contact on Alfican toil, on our Western and their Eactora civilisation, no man cand dare predict. But deither shall we dare to lear the conseequencee of an act of bare political jastioe. For myeell, I hold firmily to the beliof that our Earopens influences apon Alrigan evolation will gain in apiritand depth by virtue of ooopperation, by virtae of nome nioral and baman quality in Eastern oivilimation whioh will help to roinforee even our own great powerr. If I did not and oonld not bold auch taith es this, I should ralue at leent than nothing wy own thare in the corrows and joys which make ap the tale of bamen existence.
    At a matier of rocent Alricna biatory, there is a quear bat exeot parallel to the present thite attitade, towarda the Indian Comnunity in East Afrion. That attitude, as delined and expounded by Lord Delamero, is precieely the attitude of the Transvan Repablio towards the Uitlanders. I wes an Uillander for a termi of years, and I know what it feelalike to be a politionl oatcanto The Uithender won, He imposed bis polition principles on the evolation of Suatb Afrion. The resalt in-and rigbty-that the Dutch majoric. ty, once the represtive factor, now rales the English minoriif apon Britinh principles. Yon will see-lor I dare to propheng on thit partioular head-exnotily tho rame resalt here. The Indian Uitiander will win. He aike jast now for the romsoabble meseare of politional jantioe whioh later on he will nternly demand. Lord Delamere offers him a very decided mensare of represtion and mises the dranght with the bitters of threatened expalsion. Eoglishmen know all about the pulioy of reprention. Wo tried it an a national policy tc. wardo the Jewe daring a period of some centaries. Under one of the oarly-Edwarde, we eren expelled the Jews. And What was the resili ? I would ask Lord Delamere to atiend as the Honse of Lords on e gala dey. And when be has dinuacsod oor hoal Iadian question with Lord Sinhm, I woald ank bitw to do a little coanting for me. I don't want bim to conat receding furebenden ad weat ching. Ona gala day, that moald be too severe a lesk in spite of the number of modern ereationg. No, all I want him to do is to connt
     nuade the cuant, the noble lord might resame bir place and talk to Lord Siuba aboat a Lord Dieraeli who once ent there in the places ot poump and power. Aud jout as theold puliog of reprostion failod agninst the Eagliah Jowa, to will it jath as arroly lail againat the Enat Alrioan Indian. Oar troatment of the fudian question hore can take ite origin neither out of racial projudioe, nor represtion, nor expalsion. The Repreasioniat is really a Bolaherith, tarned apaide down. It he were really a logiosh, normal bauan boing, he would realise that a poliog of represion finda ituelf expreneed in the long ran in a policy of externaination. Yon remeaber Srati'e rewedy for Lrish anreat ; let the rioh Lrisa culonias make an article of det nat of the poor Irish aborigisal, and all woald be well. Lurd Dolamero'd proposel to expel or reprose the Indias is lonnded on prociecly the came political privoiple as that which $S$ with rodiond so contempt and hat ghter by the woraful tonet of bis bitiuk wit

    IFi ona noithor reprone, nor axpel, nur argregates, mar oven axterminate the Indian. Ut in hero--a fact to be doelt with Dy tho atateaman in the apirit of jatioe and bamanity. Indians
    ond nativen demand of tes the anme thingb-the realftien of just government and these thinge we shail give them in fall memare. Neither netive nor Indian wante the pretences of the politician. Interpenetration is a doctrice tall of fat meat for the white man. For the native it meaur werfdors atarvation. The Indisn prohlem is anpable of a calation which expremily exeludes the influenee of fear. That colution is to be found only on the broad bighway of racial cooporation.

    Elementaita,
    January 15 th 1920.
    I am, etc.,
    Robzet Chambrrlaia.

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    | Lord'Meston's Award, | The New Bombay Council Hall. |
    | The Problem of the Roundling。 | Gujarat Stri Kelavni Mandal. <br> The Press Act Meeting. |
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    | Freedom or Power ? | Speech. |
    | The Way to Social Relorm. | Control of Venereal |
    | Art in Rellgion. | To all Me |

    ## NOTES.

    The Turkish Question. The Harial in Dombay on Finday passed peacetully, 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 excued demands of the Arcbbishop of Uanterbury and others. Writes our contemporary : "Constanunople remains Turkish. This must cause general disappointment, which we tully share. But we do not dispute the decision, and we do not think that Cnistians 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 bold that the religious interest cannot be really secured by military or political action. If on general grounds it were wise to remove the Turbish power from Eurcpe we should rejoice to see it done. Eut if such an act conld possibly lead to a Mahommedan boly war, that result would condemn it. And wbile we ardently desire to hear of Christian worship offered once more in the Chuich of the Holy Wisdom, we should not welcome that as a deliberately enforced result of milutary victory. It was in accordance with Mahommedan principles to turn it torcibly into a Mosque. It is not in accordance With Christian principles to turn it back by lorce into a Church. We hope to see it a Church again when the children of those who are now Mosiems desire to worshlp Christ."

    South African Politics. We published last week some notes irom a friend regarding the seriousness of the political situation in South Alrica. 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 setlled in South Africh. The Maritzburg correspondent of the Times of India cabled the results on the j ith instant of the General

    Election in all except eight constituencies, as follows: Government 39, Nationalists, 39, Unionists, ${ }^{2} 4$, Labour, 2r.. A Reuter's cable of the noth 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 Tnomas Smartt, will support General Smuts. On the constitutional issue the attitude of the Labour Party, under Colonel Creswell, will probably be determined by economic considerationss It should be remembered that the vast majority of the inhabitants of South Africa have no votes he parfy in favour of the imperial connection ghlide. have had an overwhelming majority, if the coloffed races had not been denied the franchise.
    Lord Meston's Award: The non-Brahmans of Madras have not profited by taking their 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 pot 32 , if they had not contemptuously rejected Lord Willingdon's offer of 50 per cent. They could have bad 30 for the mere asking. Bratmans 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 tordship points out that the claim of non- Brabmans 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 infuence and electioncering tactics of Brahmans. To avert such a contingency it does not, he says, appear to him necessary to guarantee the nonBrahmans 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 outdistanced if they exercise ordinary energy and intelligence. Lord Meston points out that recent experience in Legislative Councll as.well as municipal and local boards elections, shows that nonBrahmans arealready competent without special protection to secure reasonable success. The reservation of an absolute majority ol seats, he goes on to say,
    would place the non-Brabmans in a prsition of security which might tend to impair their cohesion and encourage sectional differenoes. On the other hand, eomething lese chan a clean majoity vould ensore an effective voice for the intereste of their commanity in the Connail wuile it woald leare them with a beality stinalios to strive in the competition of polis fur rapresentation more closely roiated to their numerimal eaperiority.

    There is much force in these remarks. A Mahomedan gentleman who had taken a prominent part in gettiog 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 namber in excess of the numercial 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 miuch, 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 aniversary last week held, as usual, a public meeting devoted to the work ol its Orphanage and Foundling Home at Pandnarpur. 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 otber means of getting rid of therr 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 bas been the experience of such institutions everywhere. The Social Welfarc, an admirable Canadian weekly published at Toronto, indicated in a recent issue the bistory of the problem and its right solution. Our contemporary observed :
    Too long we have looked at the problem from the wrong angle. Firat, we considered the mother only, aud anviug ber from diagrace, This bas led to "Baby Forming," and the terrific infant mortality-rather, infent murder-rate of the past. Then we came to consider two partier, the mother and the child-and the mother bore all the mieery phycival, mental and moral-while the father went "scot free." We shall only attain the proper heighte, when we rocognice that hare soc have the Eternal Triangle on which all human progress is buill-a man, a woman and a child. The treas: ment of the illegitimate child is to anve bim from being neglected. Norway has passed legisiation which has oolved the problem to a large extent. The father is forced to accept responsibility by the State. He aud the mother contribate jointly to the sapport of the child and the sbild takes the fatber's name. This recognizes the fanily principle, remoree the onnat of diugrace from the mother slone, gaarantees the rights of the child, and illautrates the grardianohip of tho Slate at its bighest.
    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 fines in the new Legislative Councils. Till we bave a law of this type, our efforts to deal with the problem of the ruined widow and her foundling baby will be Iruitless.

    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 o those whose securities are not to be returned Thirty-lour presses and five newspapers obtain thi relief out of torty-six presses and eight newspaperi from which securities have been taken. Tweivi presses and three newspapers are denied relief Among these latter are the Bombay Chronicle prest and the Gujarati, the Mahratia and the Kiesari news papers. The attitude of Government to the Press will be interpreted by the public more with relerence to the cases where relief has been withheld than from those where relief has been given. The fout newspapers named above hove, perhaph, been more uncompremising critics of Governmeat 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 trom the most uncompromising criticism. These remarks apply also to the relusal to remove the restriction un Mr. Horniman's relyrn to this country, $\Delta$ great Government fighting shy it the presence of an individuall His Excellency the Governor gave some wise advice to mill-owners recently exhorting them so to consolidate their relations with their work-people that ugitators' incitements may leave them unmoved. We venture to think that Government might do the same with the people whose affairs they administer. Perhaps, it in at well that these presses and papers arekept uader security, as a reminder that there is the Press Act still on the statute-book. No newspaper in the country is fres 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 frcedom.

    Freedom or Powes? Apropos of the reflections in our leading article last week the following observa. tions of the Tribune of Lahore on the outlook in the Punjab are very much to the point.

    Unless we know our duty oud are prompt in addrasing ourselven to it, it will be no matter for enrprise if the electorate - will, in these cironmatanceth, retura a large number of men to the Cunncil who for the present will readily dance to the tane set either hy diatriot officert or by their enperion at the bead quartera, A legishatare, the majority of whowe members were thas anbeervient, would slearly be amots potent weapon in the bande of the resctionary elementa in the bureancracy than even their presont uadivided authority and irresponsible power, and the process of damb legislators quietly rigistering the decrese of the exenatire, so benatifal in its simplicity and in logic, will go on materily an evor.
    The passage occurs in a leading article enlarging on the urgent need of imparting political education to the masses, but what tind oi political education is possible in, the presence of such lawa as the Press Act ? A certain kind of political information can be imparted ; but education which implies the clash, ife mind with mind in a free atmosphere is impossible*

    The Way to Social Reform, "Social reform in not to be secured by noise and shouting, by contt plaints 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 acticn; and when there is correct thougbt right action will follow. Power is in the bands of the masses of men. What oppresses the masses is their ignorance, their shortsighted selfishoess."-Heary George

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORHER.

    BOMBAY, MARCH 21, 1920.

    ## AKT IN RELIGIUN.

    The exhibition in the Leicester Galleries of the astatae by Mr. Jacob Epstein of "the Risen Christ" hus canned a commotion in the world of Christian ; convention. It represents, as the Challenge says, not so mach a departure from tradition, as a fierce denial. "Each one has bis Christ," Mr. Epstein is reported to bave said. This is the Master as he is seen by this great imaginative artist, very different from the tradifonal Christ. Cbrist is traditionally pictared as a tallman 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 figare, with close cropped head and clean shaven lip sod chin, with scornfal month and accasing eyen. The flgnre is closely awathed evidently in its gravecolothes and the left hand points with tant forefinger to the wonnd in the open palm of the right hund where the nail had pierced. Can this be Christ? The artist says it is his Christ. The Rev. Father Bernard Vanghan, the fashiouable castigator of social vicep, writing in the Graphio, denounces the statue in bitter terms. He writes:-

    I have atond in the front and at the back alevation of this grons and grotesque thing, with nose turned np and feat turned in ; I have stood on the right and the left of this offonding and harting cariostare: I have stadied the nuehapely head, the recediag brow, the thiok lipe, the ap-tipped nous, the nooanny eype, the poorly built body, with its agly leet and uglier handr, till I felt ready to cry out with iddignation that in this Christian England there should be exbibited a figure of a Chriat which saggested to me some degraded Chaldean or Alrican, which wore the appearance of an Asiatic, Americat, or Han Jow, which reminded men of some emaciated Einda or badiy-grown Egyptian owathed in the cerement of the grave. Solse one has ohecrved that if a hero wete to coure into a room we abould stand up and acelaim him: and if Christ should oross the thresbold, we should kueel donn aud retere Hian ; but let meadd, if Mr. Epatein's horror in bronze were to apring iuto life and opparina room, I fur one obould ily trom it in dread and difgust, lest perhaps he might piok my puckels, or worse, do some deed of violenoe in keeping with his Bulaherik appcaranoe.

    The Rev. Father's oriticism is so far at least inept that Christ was a Jew, and as a nutive of the land -whioh linke Asia to Egypt, he was more akia to the ILipda and the Egyptian than to the Greek and the Ttwian. The fact that Epstein's statne recalls these races rather than the Levantines is thas a point in its favonr. As for koevling down and revering Him, if Chrint oame iuto a room, the poet, Lowell, did not fiad his Christ in a room where Reverend Fathers are in mortal dread of their pockets being pickedtheir Mastor hud none-bat in a hovel rade, with naught to feoce the weather from His head:

    ## A naked, bungry child

    Clang round Hie gravinas kuee,
    And a poor hanted alare loaked ap and umiled To blesa the emile that set him freo; . . . . . My Christ no more I seek, Eia throne ia nith the oakrest and the mak,

    Sarely if Christ came to-day, He would not be found in the drawing rooms which the Fev. Father denonaces with such knowledge and acceptance, bat in Iodia, Eggpt, or in Bolshevik Rassia where there are so many weak and oatcast. What the Rev. Father's soul yearns for is not Christ bat the fashionable padre "the dear good man" with "the high forchead, the almond eyes shadowed by dark eyebrows, the fine nose, the month opened as thongh to speak (perbaps to eat ?), the long pointed beard, the beantifol oval face and the long chestant ringlets of the hair, whose dignity is enhanced by the long parple garments"-sach as a Society lady will be prond to exhibit in her salon. The traditional Christ of Father Vanghan's adoration is jast as mach an imaginative prodaction as Epstein's bronze statae. 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 flactuating one, antil that of Byzantium became naiversal. The Rev. Father's condemnation of Epstein's work is really a revelation of Society religion in London. "The Risen Christ" angers him so becanse He has parted with the parple robe and pointed beard and chestant ringlets. Epstein's Christ is false becaise it is not pictaresqe !

    There are other writers, not less religions than the Rev. Father, who take a juster view of the statne. Thas the Challenge appends below an excellent portz rait of the statne the following appreciation:

    There has come home to the artist one aspect of the Ohrist of the Gosfels-sa aspect too often forgotten. There is. in the Gospel a atrain in Christ of anger, of mastery, of triampbaut power. This has often been forgotien, and the Church has lingered apan "the gentle Jeans, meek and mild." Here in this work Mr. Epatein has seized apon the other side of the Mastor's character ; he aeta it apart, be mokés his Christ as incomplate in this way as the Jesus "meets and mild" would be. Bnt here at least is the attempt of a great artist to express tine Christ ho has seen in the Goopel, and though there is more, infinitely more, there is such a Cbrist in the atory. There is in Hin power, ansterity, terrible determination onshrinking coarage. The thing which should astonith the bebolder is not that the theme has now been chosen liat that it was not chosen before.
    This two-sided cbaracter of Jesus is well-described by Professor Hoflding in his "Philosophy of Religion." Compariug Christ with Baddha, he observes:

    The character of Jesas doen not fall under the expansive type: it is rather one of conflicting opposites. And be is a man of atru:g will; he does not retire that he may find rest, bat soeks to determiue the late of his people by leading them to higher thinge. He is, at any rate as compared with Buddha, an enotional man. His epiritia violently atirred: he is noved to bis inmost depths; bis soul can be shaken and deeply truabled; he can be augry. Jesua' love is no mere gentle and involantary ontponting; it ia a restlessly meoking and atraggling love: bie is an endaring aut a resigned surrender.

    Epstein's statae brings ont the atrong traits of thia character more than the traditional "meet and mild"

    Jesus. Bat neither represente the whole of Jesas. That echievement awaite mater-apirit is whom the conflioting opponites of Christ's personality are appropriately intermized. The.volcano io repose and the sarne volemno in ernption are two different thioge, and only - great gesins can render the repose-aspect and the eraption-aspect in one pioture. Baddha, whom Professor Hoffding assigns to his category of expansives" who posess in their moul's life a falloess of nuity which, on eceonat of its overwhelming power, moves them to activity and commanicativenese," is an easier sabject for the artist. There is no eraption-side to Him. He is like the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas, gerane, calm, ineffable,

    Ae some toll cliff which lifta ite awtal form
    8wolle from the vale and midway leaves the atorm,
    Tho' ronnd its br mat the culling clonds are sprend,
    Etarnal sunobine settles on its hend.
    By contrast, the discordant types, as H .ffling names them, "tortared by the opposition offered within their own breasts to their ideal, the effect of which is beightened by the close prosimity of the ideal, tarn to juristic analogies; they feel like criminale in the presence of the jndge : the jodge, it is trae, becomes transformed into a mediator, bat the play of contrasting effecta soon breake ont again, and the mediator, in his tard, takes bis seat on the judge's bench." Professor Granwedel bas tried to establigh in a learned treatise that the traditional figure of . Baddba is an adaptation of the Greek Apollo. Indis, according to this acholar, was trying feebly to evolve a figure of Baddha, bnt ber own genius was not equal to the task. In the first centaries of :the Christian era, Greek artisls wandered over to India carrying with them the types and etyles of the age to which they belonged. Nutarally, the Professor aaye, they woald copy or adapt the models of their netive art to meet the demands of their foreign clients of whatever religion. Foacher has described this process with reference to Gaul. "Do you want a Hesus, a Teutates? Wo can give you a Mars, a Mercary, and you can worship them under other names. We do not know jour Goddess Solcis-you people of Aqna Solis (Bath), but how would it do to make this representation of Athena stand for ber image? ${ }^{\text {? }}$ If Apollo was Iodianised into Boddhe in this manoer, is it not eved nore probuble that the same or some other Greek type was Christianised to represent Christ? Perhapa, Mr. Epstein himself has ancongcionsly adapted somo type with which be is theronglily familiar to represent his risen Cbriat? Is imagination anything bat sabconscions metrory?

    ## THE INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BIIL IN COUNCIL.

    On the 25th Febraary the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel moved in the Imporial Legislative Cuancil that the Bill which he had introdoced to provide that marriages between Hiudue of difereat castes are valid, be referred to a 8 =leot Conmittee couristing of official and non-official members. The Home Meuber, Sir

    William Fiacent, moved an amondment to refor the Bill to a Committee of all the non-official members of the Conncil with the Law Member as Chairman. Sir William explained the position of Goveroment to be that they regard the Bill ae a liberal measare with which individasl membere of the Goverameat have every aympathy. Many of them, he said, felt that it was anremsonable that adalt persons who desire to marry ahonld be prohibitodty la." from doing so becanse they belonged to different castes. Bat they wished to acoertaia the opinion of non-official members not only in regard to the detaile of the Bill bat slso on the question whether they (the non-officia! members) think that it woald be right to pass this Bill at the present janotare, or whethler they think that pablic opinion is not ripe for it and that it ahoald be posiponed antil we have a more representative Oonncil. This athitade is so obvionsly reasonable that even Mr. Patel virtaally acoepted it. Wo shon!d not be sarprised if the Soleot Committeo reports that the Bill should be brought ap bofore the enlarged Conncil next gear. The Bon. Mr. Sareadra Nath Banerjee who atrongly sapported the principle of the Bill and forcofally rebatted the objections arged againat it by its opponenta, thought it woald be preferable if this matter were considered and diaposed of by a larger and more representative body reflecting in a trae sense the pablic opinion of the conntry, apeaking with a voice and anthority not belonging to the present conncil. Exoept Mr. Patel and Mr. Sinha, none of the anpporters of the Bill was argeat that it shoald be passed by the present Conacil, and aeveral of them seemed to be of the anme vion as Mr Sarendra Nath Banerjee.

    The Mohamedan membera of the Conacil objected to being incladed in the Committes. Sir Fasalbhoy wtated his reasons thas : "As a Massalman, I woald not like to aerve on this Committee and discass thi question, firstly, becanse it is a parely ILinda qres tion, and, secondlg, the Hincias themselves are divid od on this question, an we have seen in the debate if this Cooncil for the last two days. If we a Mascalmans aerve on the Committeo, and if wo decid to side with the minority, I thiak is will not bo fan te the other part. of the Hindn members thet wf should mir ap aod discass this queation and df cide it with a Mahsmmadan majority." Tb Hon. Blir Ased Ali gave another reason which perhaps, weighed more with his Moslem colleagoer No precedent, be said, should be creatod wherehtan piece of acial legislation affecting a particular con monity, especially when it is intervoren with religion castome and asagea, might come ander the revioun the representatives of other commanitiea in ' t , Conncil. The mischief of commonal electoratea con not be more vividly illastrated. There are be no general standards of right and wrong in acc matters, bat each member is to roto and act ac Hinda, Massolman, Sikh and so on. The Mahomed members, to be trae to their religion, oaght join the Committee and anpport the priaciple of of measare which is on the lines of haman brotherho

    Which the great Prophet of Arabia proclaimed to the world. Is it not their duty to uphold the doctrines of the Foander of their religion and to advance them in all reasonable ways? What is the good of talking abont Islam, if one does not believe in its great message of haman brotherbood and strive by avery peacefal means to spread it far and wide? Is Indian Mahomedanism degenerating into a statntory quarification for commanal electorates? In our opinion, the Mahomedan gentlemen who, for one reason or another, wished to shirk this daty were not acting in the spirit of their religion or in the interests of their conatry. Farther, as Sir William Vincent pointed ont, there are some nonHiphan, inclading Mahomedan, members representing mixed constitnencies, consisting partly of Hindns. Would it be right to deprive these constitaencies 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 bis motion and winding up the debate. He started an irrelevant discassion by stating that the opposition to the Bill came only from Brahmans and that the majority of non-Brahmans sapported it. The assertion was easily disproved by several of the speakers, bat it gave rise to rather acrimonions observations so mach so that the Vice-President had to deolare that he woald not allow any farther reference to the matter. And then we certainly expeoted Mr. Patel, after his repeated personal essurances, to take up a mach stronger attitude aboat the monogamons principle and that of adalt marriages than he did in his conclading speech. What he said amounted to this:: personally he was prepared to accept these princíples if the majority of the Select Committee so desired. Oar position from the first bas been, and now is, that without these two principles, the Bill as it now stands will do great harm to the Hinda commanity, apart from the quescion of social reform, It is evident from Sir William Vincent'e remark quoted above that he
     'adult marriagea. Mr. Sarma, who supported the motion, remarked that anless the Bill asid that the partien to a marriage onder the Bill are to be monogamons, the resalt might be disastrous to the Hinda cummanity. He also referred to the omission to fix an age-limit in the Bill. Mr. Banerjee also apoke of these points as of great importance. Mr. Sastri insisted that the Bill shoald contain a condition that the Plarties to a murriage noder it should be adulte and monogamous. The Hon. Mr. Chanda also arged that a provision shoald be made in respect of these two mattern. These are not matters of detail. They are vital to the atility of the Bill and we regret thalit they were not incorporated in it at the very ontaet. Mr. Patel, cariously enough, eeems to think that the Bill will be opposed by the Llinda commanity more strongly than it is it it laid down an ago-limit to marriago, and made it a coadition that the parties. should bave no prior wife or hasband living. On the contrary, wo think the Hindn commuoity will feel wore ro-assared that the Bill will work no harm.

    Mr. Sastri's soggestion that marriages ander 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 castomary proofs thereof will not suffice. There should also be provided some form of divorce to part conples who find that they shoald never have joined in matrimony. Then, the law regarding succession in respect of the issue of marriages ander the Bill, shonld be definitely fixed. Mr. Patel made great play with the phrase "the line of least resistance." He is ap against an adamantine prejadice 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 measare on the lines of Mr. Basn's Bill. Orthodox Hinduism may keep its sacrament intact, bat the Legislatare will provide an alternative form of civil marriage and succession for those who have outgrown the limits set by caste and castom.

    ## THE NEW BOMBAY COUNCIL HALT.

    The agitation against the use of the southern corner of the open piece of land known as the Oval for building a temporary new Councill 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 fiffeen years. An agitation of a very similar kind some years ago interfered 'with the University making some much-needed addition to its accdmmodation, with the result that the work had to be uidertaken during war time at m 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 Oity, 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 Oral, 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 frbm 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, step. ping across the road when they are actually wanted. Then there is the easy accessibility of records which
    will, otherwisa, have to be transported in lorries to and fro at each sitting. For the convenience of Governor, members of Government, Ministers, and their retinces, 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 lorce 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 nigbt, 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 iavolves 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 Coancil that the critios of the Oral site have pat forward no alternatives, eaggeste the Town Hall. It also mentions the University Convocation Hall and the Cowasji Jehangir Hall in the Rosal College of Science, as suitable candidatea for the bonour of the Conncil Chamber. The Times of India's sympathy for the Reform Scheme amoants to enthasiasm, end the great service rendered to it by its eminent Editor by his evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament, has been gratefally acknowledged by Moderates and Nationalists alike. Bat we think that our contemporary has momentarily overlooked the character of the new Conncil in ite laadable anxiety to conserve Bombay's open spaces. It has also overlooked the rights and claims of pablic bodies to which the two Halls in its waiting list belong. It bas farther overlooked the many sabstantial pillars of the Town Hall, throngh which no member can catch the eje of the President without the help of an Xray apparatas. If the pillare are to be removed, the Hell will have to be rebailt, and Bombay deprived of its one bistoric building, its yew lamb for persons with some bistoric feeling. The crax of our contemporary's alternative is that the new Conncil will not in all probability sit for more than 30 daya in the year. We are sare thet this is not the expectation of ine Indian pablic. The Reforms are avowedly a first step to responsible Government and the new Coancils have been epoken of even by etrait-leced officiala as potential Parliaments. In any case, we feel that they shoald be inagarated under conditions most favoarable to the growth of high associations and worthy traditions. A British Minister cannot bat feel himself braced op in difficalt moments by the thonght that he sits and apeaks from where Pitt and Peel and Gladstone sat and spoke from. In Mr. Monespenay's life of Disraeli, there is
    an acconnt of an anedifying equabble between Glad. atone and Dieraeli aboat the Chancellor of Exehequer's robe of office, which was wora by Pitt when he held that office, and bad deacended to anocessivo Chancellors since. Macaalay in bis essay on Warrea Hastinge speaks of Burks impeaching the illustrions mindemeanant in the Hall of Williem Rafus, where Bacon had been condemned, where Charles I. had been convicted of tyranny. What sanitation is thour bodily health, high associationa which stir great memories are to our sonls. To assign a Hoase to the new Conacil on the assamption that it will sit ouly for 30 days in the year, is to fly in the face of the Reformes scheme Bat even it it were to be held only for three daya in the yoar, it should atill hang its own home to which all the Presideacy can tora ad its constitntional centre. This, it will be taid, 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 forgeta that the Convoca. tion Hall belougs to the University, that new baildings are springing ronad it to accommodate post-graduate classes and libraries, and that not so long ago our contemporary itself has repastedly emphasised the need for developing the University as the centre of academic life for the Presidency. The Senate meeta most frequently jast when the Conacil will be in longeat session. The arrangement will constantly conflict with the convenience of the University. Ae regards the Royal College of Bcience, the Hall is intended for the College ases 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. Tbat, however, is another matter. Bat it will be an act of high-handed usurpation to commandeer it as a Conncil Hall.

    ## GUJARAT STRI RELAVNI MANDAL. (By Mrs. Sharnda Mirta B. A.)

    This Mandal has been started last year by the Grjarat Kelavni Mandal, which hae been doing . good deal of work in varions branches of edacation lor the lat four years. Ite chief object is to gaide and promote the private attompts made at different places in Gnjarat in the direction of Secondery Edacation for girle anited to their special needs. With a view 10 . echieve this end this Mandsl hat thought fit fá affiliate the institntions working anch experiments, to supervise their teaching work and to hold examingtions for the final standard.
    The following institations have already been afflici: ted : Vanita Vishram Mahile Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad, and Mahils Vidyalaya, Sarate Affiliation of nome other schools is expected.
    The chief features of the curriculam framed by the Mandal are:-

    1. Special importance to the atady of domestic arts and Science, Vernacnlar, Ancient History of India and present Adminiatration.
    2. Division of subjects into necessary and volan-tary:-
    Necessary :-Vernacalar, English, Domestic Art and Science, and English and Indian History with Administration.
    Volantary :-Sanskrit, Mathematics, Hindi, Geography, Needlewort, Drawing and Theory and Practice of teaching.
    3. Vernacular as the mediam of Instraction. The yotcial featares of the examination are:-
    (1) Oral and Practical examination in English, Hindi, Needlework, Drawing and Practice of teaching.
    (2) Vernacnlar as the mediam of examination.
    (3) Holding of examinations twice a year.
    (4) Exemptions to be given as follows :-
    (a) In Eoglish (except oral) Sanskrit and Mathematics to the examination atadents who passed those sabjects.
    (b) The theory and practice of teaching (except teaohing in English) to atudents who passed the final examination of the Female Train. ing College.
    (c) In certain anbjects of Drawing to stadents who passed the final grade examination of the School of Art.
    (d) The subjects which the candidates have passed in the previons examination or examinations held by the Mandal.
    This examination is called "Shaiant Pariksha" (Sichool Leaving Examination). The first examination will commence on the 21st Jane 1920 at Ahmedabad and other places to be notified after the receipt of applications.

    Candidates not appearing through the affiliated Institations may appear privately. It is manifest from the above that Matricalation stadents desirous of appearing at this examination cau very well do so after a short atady of Verancalar, Ancient History of India, and Domestic Art and Science.

    Candidates are required to send their applications with a fee of Re. 1 before the 0th May next.

    Application forms, Syllabos and Rales of the examination can be had from the Hon. Secretary, Social Reform Hall, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.

    Prizes of Rs. 10 each will be awarded to soccessfal candidates atandiug first and obtaining not less than $45 \%$ of marks in any of the following subjects:

    Subject.
    Donor.
    Gnjarati,... ... Misa. Needhaw, M. A., Principal, Maharani Girls' High School, Baroda. Dúmestic Art and Science ... Mis. Sharda Mebta, B. A.,

    English, ... Mr. Kesherprasad C. Desai B. A., L.L.B. Mra. Vidya Nilkanth, B. A.,

    Hindi,...
    ... ... ... ... History, Drawing Gnjarat Stree Kelavai Needlework, Sanokrit, $\}$
    Pedagng.

    ## THE PRESS ACT MEETING. <br> Resolutioss.

    The following resolutions were passed at the public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay on Friday, the 5th March, nuder the anspices of the Indian Press Association, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, presiding :
    "That Sir Narajan Chandavarkar be eleeted to the Chair." Proposed by the Hod. Mr. G. K. Parekb. Seconded by Mr. B. N. Motiwala.
    "That this pablic meeting of the citizens of Bombay held nuder the auspices of the Press Associstion 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 batry as experience has proved, increase prejudice againat Govern ${ }^{\circ}$ ment, making the remedy worse than the disease; secondly that the repeal of the Act will further the ende and be in fulfilment of the policy of trust and co-operation inangarated by His Majesty's gracions Proclamation of December 1919 and lastly that the repeal will complete in a marked manner the liberal polioy already adopted by Government by the removal of restrictions imposed on certain newapspers under the Act.
    "This public meeting aleo appeals to the sense of national daty of Indian journaliets to rise to the oscasion of the new era and realise folly that that era will throw on it greater responsibility than heretofore in inspiring all clastes of people in India with a apirit of mutual cooperation, harmony, and ordered progress whils fearlessly and with dignity upholding the peoples' cance and representing their wrongs and adyado. ing the cause of constitational freedom and Indian Nationality."

    Proposed by Mr. Mohandan K. Gandhi.
    Seconded by Mr. M. R. Jayakar.
    Supported by Mr. C. S. Doole.
    "That this public meeling of the citizene of Bombay held under the anspices of the Press Aasociation of India conveya its thanks to the Goveramont of Bombay for their action in oancelling 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 requeste that eimilar aotion may be taken in the few remaining cases of the kind, 80 that the new order of thinga may begin in an atmosphere fres from griev. ance and irritation on the part of the public prees."

    ## Propused by Mr. G. K. Deodhar.

    Setonded by Mr. Easanally Abdulally.
    Supported by Mr. Mavji Govindji.
    "That this pablic meeting of the oitizens of Bombay heid ander the anspices of the Press Association of India requests the Government of Bumbay to remove the restriction in the way of Mr, B. G. Horniman, President of the Prees Astocistion of India and Editor of the Bombay Chronicle returning to Ladia, as a measure of justice in consonanoe with the terms of the Royal Proclamation."

    1'roposed by Mr. K. Natarajan.
    Seconded by Mr. Faiz Tyabji.
    "That copies of Resolations No. 1 and 2 be forwarded to the Rt. Hon, the Secretary of State for India and E. E. the Viceroy and Governor.General-in.Coancil; and Resolation No. 3 to Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombsy."

    From the Chair.
    Vote of thanks to the Chair.
    Proposed by Mr. Munshi.
    Seconded by the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.

    ## Sra Naqutam Cgatpavariaita Space.

    The Editor, The Irdian Social Reformer.

    ## 8ir,

    All thooe who listened with mept atteation to the defioite and dignified, thoughtill and lorcelal sadrean of 8ir N. $G$. Chandavarker, me Chairman of the Press Aneocistion Menting hold on the 5th inetant in, Bombay, teemed aurprised at his absolute silesce in respeot of Governmentis attitade towarde Mr. Earaiman, And while moving a rote of chanke to the Chairnan, Mr. Manshi did jast the right thing in seying that the Ohnirman't omisaion wat aimply accidental. And be wat quite correct in his eonjecture, for Sir Narayen did eay at that clowe, that this omisaion "was quite anintentional, and that everybody who had been deprived of his liberty must be eet froe in accordanoe with the Royal Proolemation, and they all bopod that in the oane of Mr. Horniman this clemency, would be exercised the earlieat."
    It is thus olepr, 8 ir, that Mr. Manshi mas quite relorant and gracefol in hil romarks, and he offered them not to create, bat to avert any misapprohension in the poblic abont the unintentional ominaion.

    | A poilo Street. Bombay |  |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | 18th March 1920 | Yoard faithfally, <br> Burjorji Frayja Beaboc |

    [Quer correspondent misquotes Sir Narayan's worde. He evidently taken them from the report in the Bombay Chronide, which was not correct. What Sir Narayan said was that the omiesion as to Mr. Horniman was not unintentional, that he did not refer to him because be was not there at the meeting to adrocite the cauce of A, B, C or D, and that as Mr. Munshi bnd relerred to tha matter, it was hie (Sir Narayan's) duty to inform the meeting that, in tis opinion, whatever might have been the merits of fhe action of Government in extraordinary stimen, now, having regard to Hiz Majesty's proclamation of amnenty, Goverament would be well-advined in removing restrictions on all persons aod Mr. Horaiman was one of them. Ed.-I.S.R.]

    ## CONTROL OF VENEREAL DISEASE.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    ## Sir,

    The Repost of the Fedoration of medical women on the Daty af the State in the control of venereal disemen, is just to hand from Europa. This report oondemne the present mothoda adopted for combating the eril, and rete ont in general terma a construative policy apon the bescis that the control of renereal disenses can only be attrined by an honest recognition of the cause of these dieasses. While thin repon approves of frat, secred and efficient treatment for all patienteg, it deolaret aod reiterates that no truatment can posesibly eradicas the esil. This prononncement by lederated mediral momen is the same ne that which we have broaght belore the fublio of India doring the past year. It is, that Presention in the firak atop to be taken by any mane body of relormers, sud that the State bat the primiory reeponaibility lue dealing with the moarce of public disenee. This is the direct, melthod to get rid of the pablio trade in rice. All other metbode, excellent ao they may be for doaling with the evil, anch as edocation al tha jopng, raising the age of consent, honaing reform eta cannot hope to atem the disease, as long sa the manafacture of it is going on in everg sity, by fecilifien appro, ed by the State. Let at tee to it that oar citien are cleanated from the centres of contaigion-then all the cuntributory methode to constantiy urged will have a chance of maceesh.
    (Mrs) P.S. Hallowen.

    ## "TBE END OF TAR ROAD."

    The Miniatry of Health and the National Counoil for Combating Veneroel Disences have given thoir approval of a film dealing with veneronl dieneno, ontitied uThe Eud of the Road." The film was firet shown privately to a selocted ardience at the Alhambra, London, and later to epecial audienoen by invitation in a namber of the largor prorinoial citien. The flm oan be rented in the ordianry way to any piotare thdacter which oaron to axhibit in and an lar at wo can gatber there are co restriationa imposed upon ite twhibtion, althoagh most managera will prabably tollow. the apample of the manager of the Regent Streat Polytechnic cine mas, who hat atipulatod that no one ander eightean uhall be admittod.

    By the courteny of the N.O.O.V.De, we were able to, see the film at ite private oxbibition at the Alhambra. The ytory is designed to reveal bow the carvers of young people ona be influenced by their sarly moral tenching. We mee the mothor wha, auing the illautration of a bird'oneat toand with three egge in it, tello her little girl of five all the atory of her birth, making it interesting aod beautifal to her. The eecond mother pofe her ohild off with evarions and lies. Then wo follow the derelopment of the two girls, one at the af ond of the rond," entering nunriage with the herodoctor, and the other begioning after many triala and tronbles, the loug tedions procese of trealment for ayphilin. If the film had beon limited to the caresrt of the two girla, aud the "good" girl had not been quite no aggressively gool, and the "looliah" " girl had not been quite so inanely foolish; if , too, the whole production had been really Eaglish iustead of pretonding to be so, it might have been a good deal more interesting. As it man, the andience had to follow the mentimeutal adrentures and illicit love-making of hall-a-dozen other people all drag. ged into the story to point varions moral aupecte. There wan the girl aedaced by the chanfeur, who ahot him when he relased to marry her (a voman Counoillor sitiling neas remarkel andibly that thit girl wes the only wonsible one in the storg 1) There wim the girl who followed her lover to the eamp, but wes taken oare of by the Y.W.O.A. Patrola ; the girl who worked in a "aweat-abop " and weat to the camp. lor a lark, and was there kised by a ayphilitio man and ao infscted; there was the womea who druwned bercell aftor apending week-ends with a masriod man whos! little son io blind from birth, and whose wifo. In being opgratad on lo gonorrhoesl complicetions dae to his looss lifo. Five out o the coven men portrajed aie loose-living, callpun coonadrals, baf jodging by the film they are all in perfect hoalth and comfortable oircamstavces, All the principol women excopt the beroine come to a bid end owing to their trattial ignorances -ither being ceduced, contrnoting repereal dicenco, or com mitting cricide: We think the natural conclasione of any ordinary perwon weiing this film would be that women have no eharactar, no combron nesue, and no eodarance, and that venereal diecace is a dinesso from which mon sro immanai bat which they ean pase on to women. The ubop.girl who goen off to live with a ich man was apparently apeet becance be woold not marry her, but me there wat nejer the alightast indjcation that be intended to do 00 , her attitude neomed cornewhet ancesconable. She is infected by bim and in anwilling to take trentment, eo she is ghown ovar a Loct Elospital and rees the Irightfal effecte of ayphile in ite late atages ; but bere, agsin all the victims are womes. The pietares in this metion wert borrible and revolting; they might coneaivably frighlen come joung proply into contingnote, and thet appearit
    to be the object of the glm, bat we can conceive no reacon why an andience should be compelled ansuspectingly to see an operation actuslly performed. The preliminaries of the opes rating thentre are slways apared a patient in ordinary aurgery: be or she is ansenthetised in another room, bat here on the film we see not only the preliminaries bat the actual cutting of the flesh. In our opinion all this should be entirely deleted. It is needlessly borrible and apsetting to the las 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 ogpild be cat down to half the present length with advantage. Oo the whols we ahould prefer it not to be exhibited at all. Like the colebrated 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 corta of obscene brutality in the name of melf-protection. The N.C.C.V.D. has done mach good Fork, but we do not believe this gilm will add to its repateCon. There is a general feeling that the horrors and dangers of venereal disease have been pressed too mach 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 rigbt ideas, and there is a real desire jnat now for conetructive moral teaching. Unless wo really believe that ovil is more powerfal than good, we should trust more to the natural goodness of people, and appeal on the very highest ground. For instance, instend of showing the ravages of venoreal disease we shonld like to see a film, play, or lectare illastrating what love in its mont spiritaal sonas demands of the man or woman who desires to be a true lover, and the positive reasong for chastity and self-control in all thinge.
    " Love is a great thing, a great and thoroagh good. ........
    " Love deaires to be on high, and will not be kept back by auything low or meau.
    "Nothing is sweeter thau Love, nothing ruole conrageons, nothing bigher, nothing faller nor better in heaven and earth.
    "Lova is born of God, and cannut rest bat in God.........."
    Is it impossible to bring anch thoughts and ideals before onr young people? Pe:haps the film is an impossible medium, but that it oould be done in some way we are quite sure. We believe adolescent jouth bas more true apprehensinn. of bigh idoals than ary other age. Can we not give it something better and more truly romantio than "The End of the Road'?

    > The Shiald, London.

    ## TO ALL MEN.

    We appeal to all men to recogniae the great spiritasl force of love which is found in all and whioh makes us all one common brotherbood. In spite of ancrifice and devotiou there is disaatisfaotion and unrest in all lands. Consoiously or anconacionsly men are seekiag for anew way of life. They
    ivery tor a boad which sball naita the world in freedom, righteoraness and love; that shell liberate it from its suffering, its hatreda, its disunion. They ory for a religion of life, for an aotive apirit of pesce on earth, of goodwill to men.

    Througn the dark oloud of eelfishness and materinliam shives the Eternal Light of the Cbrist in man. It can never parish. This Light of Chist in the beert of every man, is the ground of our hope, the basie of our faith in the spiritanl unity of all races and natione. Because we have been blind to this easential feot of life, we bave failed iu social and intornational reletiont end are now in confasion. The pro
    found need of our time is to realise the everlasting trath of. the common Fatherhood of God-the Spirit of Lovemand the oneness of the haman race.

    We have need the words of Christ, but we bave not acted apon them. We have called oureelves by His name, bat we have not lived in His Spirit. Nevertheless the Divine Seed is in sll men. As men realise ite presence, and follow the light of Christ in their neartw, they enter apon the right way of life sad receive power to overcome evil by good. Thus will be built the City of God.

    We atretch out our hands in fellowship, eympathy and love scross frontiers, lands and sans. We call upon all men every where to unite in the aervice of healing the broken world, to bear one another's bardene, and so falfil the law of Chriato Issued by the Society of Friends in Great Britain, Devonohire
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    Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1920. No, 30.
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    ## NOTES .

    The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Roformer" will be Rs, 7-8.0 instead of Rs, 5 from the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound zterling instad of twelre 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 suficient to account for the increased subscription. We hope our subscribers woill kindly realise our difficulties. All new subscriptions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1 st April will be at the neto 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 bet ween members of the soveral Hindu castes, which the Eon. Mr. V. I. Patel had introduced in the Imperial Legislative Oouncil, has been postponed, on the report of the Select Oommittee 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 tosee 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 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 lor him to leave the old system alone, and to provide alternative modes of marriage and succession on secular principles, Neither 11 r. Patel nor Sir George Lowndes can create a new nor extend an existing sacrament. But they cam 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 eatisfaction 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 lar 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 moffussil 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 relerred with regret to the reticence of Christian missionaries in India, as a class, regarding the martial law excesses in the Pun jab. There have, of course, been noteworthy and courageous exceptions. Speaking at the annual meet ing of the Bombay Auxiliary of the Bible Soctety on the rst instant on the influence ot the Bible, the Rev. Dr. Macnico said: "We are far too ready to preler patriotism to truth, to side with our class and let wrong remain unrighted. We have far too mucb of the simeserving 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 IsraelMr. Gandbi 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 Panjab. But why have missionaries, as a class, merited Dr. Macnicol's self-accusation ? It has long been in our mind that the immense organisations, edacational and philanthropic, which they have establisbed 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 gaide, his conduct. Bat human conduct is not always gaided by conscious motives. There are, too, insidious, sub-conscious currents from which consciousoess takes its colour. Cardinal Newman's words in one of his "Parochial and Plain Sermons" were called forth by somewhat analogous conditions. "We bave taken the world's pay, and must not grudge its yoke. Independence surely is not the church's privilege, wnless 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 ia the Bombay Legislature Council to appoint a Committee to enquire into the social and economic conditions of labour. As we said a fortaight back, noenquiry 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 white 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 2oth 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 8ocial Conference beld at Amritsar, is to be given practical shape at the deliberations of the Conference. Mr. Gopal Krisha Deodhar M. A. of the Servants of India Society has kindly consented to preside and $\mathrm{S}_{\text {Ir }}$ Narayan Chandavarkar will attend the Conference and deliver the ianajural adjresi. Fee for the membership of the Reception Committee.and of Delegates is Rs. 2 and 1 respectively. Peasant and lady delegates will be admitted iree of charge, on application. All correspondence rezarding this Provincial Social Conference should be addressed to Raoji Nemchand Shab, 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 Ohrist and Mr. Jacob Epstein's Christ, we observed in our leading articie "Art in Religion," last week that a figure representing and reconciling the twolold 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 jis 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 Obetgammergau. It had been rumoured that he was dead, but be is still alive and well. He was given total exemption from military service by the Bavarian Government duriag the war, and even hia application to enlist as a stretcher-bearer was refused. "It is good to know", says our contemporain', "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."


    #### Abstract

    Lllegitimacy Laws in America: The high infant mortalty 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 Freaund, of the University of Chicago, on illegitimacy laws, issued by the Children's Burean of the United States Department of Labour. Pro. fessor Freaund 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 salety" may be a convenient expression but it is not much serviceablo 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 toothers there is no reason why the conces. sion should bedenied 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 n 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 kiade amounting to a paper famine. Paper mille is America, England, and Scandinavia are booked up for periods varying. from one to two years. Prices are at present anytbing from sis to nine times higher than they were before the war and are rising every week. News paper which in London could in 1914 hy bad lor an anna or a triffe more per pound is not 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 bave announced an increase of 100 per cent. in their rates of subo cription 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. 

    ## BOMBA Y, MARCH 28, 1920.

    ## THE CONGRESS PUNJAB ENQUJRY REPORT.*

    , The Commissioners appointed by the Panjab SabCommittee of the lndian National Congress to enquire into the incidents of the martial Jaw administration IIN, the Panjab, have made their report which was pablished on Priday. 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-Iaw, as Secretary. A large part of the evidence dealt with in the report had been collected before the appointment of this ahofficial Commission, by the Panjab Sab-Committee of the National Congress ander the direction of the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehra and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who went to Lahore soon after the cessation of martial law and immediately institated enquiries. This prompt action on their part, involving as it did considerable personal loss and inconvenience, pat heart into the people of the Panjub whom the martial law regime had left dazed beyond description. The evidence collected by the Sah-Committee was anpplemented by some received by the Commissioners direct. The Commissioners examined the statements of over 1700 witnesses and bave selected for pablication 650 of them. The excluded statements, we are told, are mostly statemente 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 astisfied as to the bonatides of the witness. No statement was accepted withoat sufficient cross-examination of the witnesses. Many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages. Some of the witnesses bave made very serions 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 slatemonte, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personully ran and the damage that may ensue to the cause by reason of exaggeration or antrath." The Commiesioners rejected statements which could not be corroborated although, they say, in some cases they were inclined, ta, believe them. Such, for instance, they add, were the atatemente regarding ill-treatment of women.

    The arrungement of the Report is in keeping with this scrapalons care in the admission of evidence. It opens with a brief historical and geographical juketoh. It goes on to presenta critical estimate of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's attitnde towards Indiau opinion and the Indian Press based mostly on his own pablisbed speeohes and from official records. Larid light is thrown on some of the recraiting methods


    adopted by officials. This chapter affords a clae to sabsequent events and is important. The Commissioners conclade:

    He (Sir Michael $\mathrm{O}^{\prime} \mathrm{D}_{\text {wyer }}$ ) wanted to make and did make a supreme effort to ornish the spirit that was struggling to be free from the thraldom noder which he had bonnd it daring hie iron sule. He acented dapger in every honest apeech made by the lenders and he detected conspiracy in every combination, and thas forgetting himself issued his orders against Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gandhi. He most have known that this could only end in exasperating a people who had already been incensed against his sule. We feel tempted to say that he invited violence from the people so that he coold crasb them. The evidence in the appendix ebows that he sabjected the Panjabia to the greatest provocation onder which they momentarily logt aelf.control. They bave paid deeply for it, but they have also, with amazing quickness,. regained self-control and risen parified throngh the fire of sufferings mostly ondeserved.

    Then follows an excellent analysis of the Rowlats Bills and an account of the Satyagrahs movement. As regards one of the Bills which was passed (the other has not been heard of since ) the Commissioners say:

    It bas been contended on behalf of the Government that there has been misrepresentation and exaggeration. in conneciion whith the Act. We hold that the Aod hardly lends̀ itself to popalar miarepresentation. It has certainly been mierepresented on the ufficial side. A typical exaggeration that we have seen complaind of is a orgptic phrase; na appeal, na dalil, na rakeol meaning "ao appeal, no argument, no pleader." In our opinion, it this is the worst description of the Act on the popular aide, it far underrates its evils, rather than overstates them,

    The chapter on Satyagraha is only indirectly relevant to the salject-matter of the report. The Commissioners themselves say that in the Panjab, the civil resistance part of Satyagraha was neither anderstood nor appreciated, much less practised The hartal as sach had nothing to do with civil resistance. It is an old institation of popalar protest against an anpopalar measure. Neither Satyagraha nor hartal, in the opinion of the Commissioners, had anylhing to do with the mob-excesses. In a brief cliapter on the general aspect of the martial law regime in the province, the Comwissioners point out that on the 6th April there was a complete hartal in the Paujab and meetings at which resolations protesting against the Rowlatt Act and demanding its repeal were passed. There was no disorder and the demonstrations were perfectly peacefol and orderly. Bat Sir Michael O’Dwyer was displeased. On the 7th of A pril, that is the day next after the hartal, speaking in the Panjab Legislative Council, he shook his mailed fist and rattled his asbre. The following private conversation on the same day with one of the members, Raizada Bhagat Ram, is illnminating.

    After th.e neeting (of the Ponjab Legirlative Conncil) I (tbe liaizuda elates) met the Lientenant-Governor in the drawiug roun. He asked me what sort of a hartal oe had at Jallandar. I replied it was a coniplete hartal, and that there was no distarhance. Sir M. O'Dejer asted me That !
    attribated in to. I andwered, "To my miad it wan dae to the sool fore of Yr. Gandhi" On this Sir Miehaol mised hia (14) and acid, MRaizads Sahib, remember thers is another greater foree than Gandhits SouHores."

    We cannot deal in detail with the chaptere in which the Commissioners treat of the occarrences in several towns and villagee. The plece of honoar is appropristely given to Amritsar. Here, too, the hartal of tha 6 th $\mathbf{A p r i l}$, was observed peacefally. Not only that but on the 9th April, there wat e remarkable Ram Naoumi procession in which Hindan and Mahomedans Iraternised. When the procession passed the Depaty Commisaioner who was watching it from a beilding on the way, the bands strack op co God Seve the King". It was a grest demonstration of HindeMahomedan friendship, conduoted in the most orderly and loyal manner. On the 10th April, the day after this procession, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, the Mahomedan and Hinda leaders, were sent for by the Deputy Commissioner and sent away to an unknown deatinatios. When the people came to know of this, they started bareheaded and bare-footed (common eigne of moarning , and totally withoat the meana of offence even for a stick, to go to the Depaty Commisaioner's bangalow to plead for the release of their leaders. The crowd marched throngh the streets of Amritear, past the National Bank, the Town Hall, and the Chtistian Mission Hall, "the very baildings, which within a ahort time were to be destroyed by some of them". It was atopped on its way by a military picket. The men wanted to go to the Depaty Commisiioner to make Faryad, prayer or complaint. It pushed forward, the military fell back a little, it advanced, the milttary fired killing and wounding some of the crowd which turned back carrying the dead and wonnded with it. The sight of these :exasperated the mob Which became thenceforth nacontrollable. It sacked the National Bank killing two Englishmen, brntally mardered the Railway Gaard, Robinson, the wanager of the Alliance Bant, and Sergeant Rowland, barnt the Town Hall, the Post office and the Misaion Hall, and committed the cowardly assanit on Mise 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 Gity was left to itself that night, and there was no diatorbance, no robbery, no looting. On the 11th, the dead bodies were carried in a large faneral procession within the time stipalated by the anthorities, in a peacefal and orderly way. Neither was there any troable on the 12 th . Meanwhile, the water and electric sapply to the City had been out off as a panishment. "The oaly incident on the 12th was that Hans maj , who sabsequently became chief approver in the Amritsar conspiracy case, held a meeting and announced that next day another meeting would be held at Jallimawala Bagh ander the chairmaoship of an old and respected citizen. This gentleman knew nothing about the matter, and the Commissioners think that it was merely a lare to draw a large gathering at Jallianwala on the 13th. On the morning of the 13 th , General Dyer who had relieved the civil authorities on the 11th of charge
    of the oity, eaterod- A mritear and made a proclamation at about $9-s 0$ prohibiting procesaiona of ans tiad in the city at any time. The Commisaioners point out from the map of the city that the moot orowded parte were lef out in making the proolamation. A little while before the proclamation, a boy weat aboat the street beating on a tin can and annonociog that a meeting would be held at Jellienwala at 4 p.m. that evening and that Lela Kanhya Lal, the geatlemant mentioned above, woold preside. General Dyer came to know of this at aboat $18-45$ p.m. He took no atepe to prevent the meeting, bat waited till $\&$ p.m. when he got together aboal 100 troops, with "ivo armoared cars, and reactied the Bagh at ahoat 5 p.m. What followed is now notorions.

    This book is the gravest and most deliberate indiotment, preferred by noanoficial Indians of naimposohd, able character and capacity, againat any British' administration in India. The conntry owes a debt of gratitade to the Commissioners for their devoted laboars. Their report is a model of logical arrangement, clear exposition and $\alpha$ materly marahalling of facts which, as a rale, are left to toll their own atory. A chronological summary of the principal ovente in the only want we bave experienced is oor firut haty perneal of the report. Perhapa, an indez wonld add appreciably to the convenience of the reader. Farther editions are sure to be callad, and these saggestions may be borne in mind in prepariug them. A word of praise is also due to the Karnatak Printing Prena for the way in which it has carried ont its part of the work ander obviona pressare of time. We print the Commis. sioner's sammary of their conclasions' Io another colamn. They involvo several high-placed officiale from His Excellency the Viceroy downwards. Iadia is asked to a wait the Hanter Committee's report before passing jadgwent. She will do so. Bat she will ask Britain when the time comes to do Jastice. India will not ask for revenge. She will not even ask that the men who, in infatation of power, might be held to have killed, wounded and, worse than both, bomiliated ber children, ahould be made to suffer in person or property. She will ouly ask that they may no longer pollate ber by their presence.

    ## A fer hour sbali wreak

    The deep prophetic faliets of bar woen
    And pile ap on their beade the moontain of ber euree: That eurce abal be Forgivenene:

    Gokbale Education Society, Beazaras No more appropriate memorial of the late Mr. Gokhale can be, imagined than Iree primary education. The Benared Gokhale Education Society is imparting this to orer. 200 boys and girls in that"etry. The hast anaual report is a record of strenuous work on the part of a few earnest admirers of the late Mr. Gokbale.

    A Temperasce Meeting. A public meeting will bes held at the Cayasjee Jenangir Eall (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 Eoston, well-known as a social worker and public speaker, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will be among the speakrs. Tbe meeting is open to all and stadents in particalar will be welcome.

    ## RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATION FOR LEGISLative CuUncll members.

    In a Pootnote to the section on his "Elements of Politics," dealing with the best method of forming olectoral divisione, the late Professor Sidgwiok 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 jitalics, are ours., The late Lord Acton pithily described the residential qualification for candidates in the Legislutare as tantamoant to a rale that if ten statesmen liped in the same street, nine shoald be thrown out of work. He pointed out that the object of soch a restriction, namely, "secarity against Boalangism" (carpethaggers, in Aoglo-Indian phrase), can be attained by restricting the number of constitaeacies to be addressed by the same candidate, and that in the United States where the usage exista, several intelligent Americans are puranaded that it is an argent evil. Viacount . Bryce in his monamental work, "the American Commonwealth" points ont the evils arising from this restriction. He writes:
    .The misobiel is two-fold. Iularior men are returned, beosues there are many parts of the country whish do not grow atatemem, whery nobody, or at any rate nobody deniring to enter Cungrese, is to be found above a noderate lovel of politioal oapacity. Aud men of marked ability and zeal are preveuted from lorcing their way in. Suct men are producod chiefly in the great citien of the older States. There is not room enoagh there for nearly all of them, bat no other doors to Congress are open . . . As anch men cannot enter from their place of tesidonce, they do uot eiter at all, aud the nation is deprived of tho beneflt of their services. Carecrs are moroover intercupted. A promisiog politiciau may lose his stat in bis onu distries through some flactaation of opinion, or porhapu be bat ollended the looal wirepullers by too ninch independence. Sinoe be oannot find a seat elsewhere, he is stranded ; his politioal life is closed, while other yourg wen folined to independence take waruidg from bia fale.

    This rule, so thoroughly condemued by all authorities, has been, as usua, adopted in this conatry. It has been in force ever since the elective priaciple was introdaced in the constitation of the Indian Legislative. Cooncils. The Southboroagh Committee recommended that it shoald be retained in Bombay, the Panjab and the Central Provincee, as a compromise. The passage in their report on this point, it worth quoting .
    With regard to the general and communal constituenciea, the majority of ur, althongh opposed to such a restriction anywhere, rosolved, on a considerati,n of the evidecce, to abandon uniformity, and to impose the restriction in the provinoes of Bombay, the Punjsb and the Central Proric a.s, but not in the remaining proriuces.

    Tue minority, consisting of Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Hailey and Mr. Hogg, desired that the restriction shonld be imposed in all provinces, and were prepared, it necesanry, to face s definition of the gnalification which
    would secure that the candidate should be actually a resident of the constituency. In his evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament, Lord Soathborongh spoke out his mind very freely on this point. The Joint Committee itself accepted "the compromise"' saggested 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 Panjab. Even as regards these provinces, Mr. Montaga, in the conrse of the debate on the Bill in the Honse of Commons, expressed himself as personally opposed to the principle of restriction and held oat the hope that it may be reconsidered when the rales were made.
    An energetic protest shoold be made against the retention of the residential qualification in Bumbay, the Panjab 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 sach disastroas consequences in Sonth Africa. The bareancracy, of coarse, bas a rooted aversion to "tall poppies" among Indians and it is nothing strange that it shoald not be overansions to facilitate their entry into the Cunacils. Even without the handicap of residential qualification for members, the new Councils promise to focns not the intelligent, progressive elements.ia the nation's life, bat the depressiog, dividing, debilitating elements in it. The fear which the Tribune expressed as regards the Panjab, in the paragraph which we reprodaced last week, is by no means exclasive to that province. It existe everywhere, in Bombay as mach as in other provin ces. The residential qualification is the means by which the choice of the electorate is made subservient to parochial influences in the moffusil, among which offlcial iufluence is so promiaeat. The Indian pablic will be preparing a great disillasionment for itself if it does not exert itself to the atmost to get this relic of a disoredited system abolished once for all. It is likely to work far more mischief in the pew. Councils than in the old. Viscoant Bryce poicts oat that, as Ministers cannot be members of Congress in the United States, as in England, the British Culonies and in Continental Earope, the operation of the rale is not so mischievons in America as it would be in these conntries. "The inconvenience of exclading a man trom the servioe of the nation," he says," because he could not secare bis retarn in the place of his residence woald be aneudarable" in England and the other coantries. Tbe new ladian Legislative Conncils 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 canses which mighl make a member nopopalar in his constitaency in Western countries, parely social and reliyions reasons will have to be reckoned with in this conntry. A member may become unpopalar in the mofassil for such reasuns as (anong Hindus) keeping his danghter nomarried bejond a certain age, for marrying a widow or out of bis caste, of even associatiog with
    members of the depressed classes, and (among Mahomedans) for shaviog hie beard or for not sesladiog the women of his family behind the pardah. A abrewd observer of the sarface carrents of pablic life telle as that Mabomeden mombera with haven chias have disarpsared from Indian Legislative Conncils These ere possibilities which cannot be ignored. Theeffect of the residential restriction, from this point of viow. mast necessarily be to divorce political from social, religions'and sauitary reform, and to retard the progress of mach-needed social legislation the lacilitating of which was one of Mr. Montaga's declared objects is the scheme of reform.

    ## IMPLICATIONS OF HINDU-MABOMEDAN UNITY."

    (BY "Kotganh")

    Permit me to congratalate yon opon the article entitled "Implications of Hinda-Mabomedan Unity" appearing in your issoe of Murch $\boldsymbol{7}$ th, anent Mr. Gandhi's article from loung India.

    I feel some diffidence in differing from Mubatmaji bat on this point I feel it my duty to add my voice to yours, as a resolt of my own personal experieuce.

    Does not onr error lie in the too generally accepted position that there will always be commonities, ather. ing to Hiuda, Mahomedan and Christian religions, as these faiths are now held $\boldsymbol{\%}$ Have we not get to learn that there is but One True Raligion, and that it is yet in the making-that each of these systems of philosophy and faith has its quota to contribate to that One Ultimate Understandiog of our relation with God and with each other ? Surely as these three at present exiat-80 divergent from each other in varions wayethey cannot all be perfect visions of the trath. Personally I canuot ferl that any one of them is that, And if mantrind is to progiesa and grow away from the Maya whish at present mislesds and delades it, the path mast lead not only through but beyond these local phases of spiritaal and intellectual experience. Religions mast tend to marge into each other as they draw nearer to the Trath which is One, and racialism mast be lost in the recogaition that the differences which we set ap between man and man ara illusions baeed upon pride, seltishness and iguorance, that wo are not in reality many men or cowmanities or races but one Purush 一 - one malti-personal unity.

    I feel with you deeply, that all these castoms and conventions which separate os into different carnps, ere not litile things. It is of such that life is made up at present, and these things violate that deep bnnger of the soal for naion with one's brother and with God. They hold us apart where love should and woald draw us together. There may be temporary political and national anity of parpose sind aymatby without trae anion in the thiogs of common life, bat it will only last it it leads to trae anification. .Eatiog and driaking together, and inter-marriage, these are not little


    or soperficial things, for of these, and the relationships which they imply, our mandane life-and indeed mach of the nobler aspect of lifo-i made up. It does not outrage the law of love if man prefers to eat alone, but it does ontrage thet law if ho is ready to eat with one person und rofases to eat with another in evory way his opirital and social equal. Barriera set op between men of equal spiritaslity and refinement of life and feeling. Whish holl apart from participation in a common life those otherwise fitted to prufit by coming together, obetraot the great noifying principlo of God's love is the world, throngh which we most grow logether, and having become one with each other grow to that higher salvation where mas becomes one with god.

    Eight yeara ago I had the privilege of making an Indian lady my wife. The experience of these Jofify laye apon me the daty of writing this letter, for they bave been jears of an ever-widening vision of the saperficiality of man's conception about racial and commanal differances. Fundamentelly, mankind is One, and whers Love is there is neither East nor West nor where love is will there be eventaally Hinda, Mahomedain or Cbristian. Lack of love is the force Which make for duality, and doality is the fruit of Maya.

    Oar whole tronble lies in our having stopped sbort at being Hindas or Mahomedans or Cbriatiana. Not one of these religions will solve the problem of anity. Thers is-there can only be-mone true religion, and in that we mast nltimately find ourselves one. It has'not get dawned upon the world, bat as with the ever-iucreasing light of trath men cast awsy their insalarisua and inherited prejndices, and as the great religions faiths in which the varions sectione of tana. kiud are plording onward, merge into one nobler and broader Way, our Faith will be one, sad oar Life and Uope and Porpose one.

    There are diflerences now of faith and race and commanity, bat they are the resalte of error and selfishness. We mast admit that they exist, but We mast try to overcome them-not compromise with them. They will oaly go gradaally, bat they matt go, or the world will alwage be what it is now-a place of pride, disnoion, oppreasion and trouble.

    1 notice at the top of your paper certain noble words of William Lloyd Garrison. Lat mo add to them in closing others of his, which seem to me to point the way for us as regerds our proper relations with each other.. "My cunatry," aaid be, "is the vorld and my conntryinen me my fellow-men." And if be had been a Indian, ind living in Indis today, I feel that with an equal clearness and coarsge be woald have said "and ay commanity is the commonity of menkind".

    Let me adinit that differeoces exist, bat let as not be conteat with them. Let as not rest natil by ani. versal consent the artificial barriers rained in darker ages of prejadice have boen swept anay. Toen oaly shall we have the right to call all mea our brothers, fur while we saction these differences wo bave no right to do so.

    ## Cochin nair bill

    ## (By Mr, N. V. Sarma, B. A.)

    Oar hearty congratalations are due to the people of Cochin, and no less to Mr. T. Vijayaragheve Achariar, its present Dewan, (hettraving uahered in the Cochin Nair Bill. The Bill, vietwed from the social and moral standpoint is fur aheud of any social legislation existing either in British India or in any other Indian State. Compared with the existing marital castom obtaining among the Nairs the present Bill may be said to be revolationary in character in the circamstance that it is designed to remove all the offensiveness of the existing castom by; as it were, a stroke of the pea. That edncated Nairs bave been tolerating sach a castom even in spite of their edacation, has been a wonder to us. It is within oar recollection what amonat of opposition there was when Mr. (now Sir) C. Sunkaran Nair introdaced some yeara ago his Malabar Marriage Bill in the Mudras Legislative Coancil.

    The eatablisbment of the institation of monogamy is the paramount object with which those who are respousible for the Bill seem to have atarted, and if the Bill with some modifications which we shall saggest presently, becomes law, we have no besitation in saying that the formalators of the Bill will have received the amplest reward in the satisfuction that their labours have not been in vain.

    There are several points which the Bill deals with. Bat, for our parpose, we shall take ouly the one which is calculated to improve und raise the moral and social standard of the society viz., its marital aspect. We are far from protending that, by the mere passing of the Bill, the mural salvation of the people of Cochin will have been achieved. We only mein that, allowing for the falts of hamanity, we may hope to realise the objects for which the Bill bas been druffed. Cyming to the Bill, chapters II, III, and IV deal with marriage and its atteudant cousequeaces. Cunfuing ourselves to the performauce of the marriage, bat not to its conseguences, we shall have to deal with ooly chapter II, and even here to section 4 primurily. If the iateation of the framers of the Bill is to stop polygamy in the State, which we Lelieve it to be, the clause prohititing polygamy is not extuansuve in as much as it bas beft out of cousideration a possiblity of continaing polygamy withoat breakivg the law of the . luut. According to the clause " au oue baviug a persoual law of bis own allowing polygamy shall murry a Nair femalo while ulready uarried to a caste wife." The Tawil Brahmios living iu Cuchin and the Nambadiris have a personal law of their owa and polygamy is permitted. The clanso probibits them to marry a Nair female. But, in the State of Cochin, there is another commouity called "Tirnmulpad" to which also the Ruling Ionse of Cuehin belongs. They are Kahatriyas ; but so far as their marriage custom goes they adopt the cnstom of the Nairs. Since the prohibition is extended ouly to Nair femalea, Tamil Brahmius aud Nambadiries can very well takenay namber of wives from the Tirnmulpad community. To ns the
    omission to inclade this commanity within the clatches of the law, seems to be rather nofortanate. We hope the clanse will be so modified as to make it exhangtive. Next, in clanse 5 dealing with dissolation of marriage, there is no provision for snch in case the wife or hnsband becomes insane. Again the Bill does not provide any relief for a dissolution of the marriage if the husband or wife commits adnatery, and to ns it seems it is desirable, in the interest of futnre generations, to provide for a dissolation of marriage in case if either husband or wife is proved to be saffering from any venereal disease.

    If these saggestions are embodied in the Bill befure it becomes an Act, the Bill may be suid to be satisfactory so far as the State in concerned. Bat outil the Nairs of the adjoining State of Travancore and Britigh Malabar develop a bigh social conscience or until similar legislations are carried throngh there the beneficial resalts of the Cochin Nair Regolation may not be prominent in as mach as there are varions possibilities of defeating the parpose of the same. Sappose a Bruhmin of British Malabar baving a caste wife marries two other Nair women one from Sonth Mala* bar and another from Tirchar (Cochin) and lives in Ernakalam with all his three wives and childrea. The Cochin Nair Bill as itstands cannot tonch a hair of hia. If similar regolations were carrent in British Malabar and Travancore, sach a state will be an impossibility. Perhaps it is pertinent to hope that the Nairs of British Malabar and Travancore will tuke a leaf ont of the book of their brethren in the Cochin State and revolationise their society by agitating to get similar laws passed.

    ## the fUNjab congress ENQUIRy concludions.

    1. The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's admiatistration hy reason of his staried contempt and distrast of the educated clagses, and by reason of the crael and compalsory methodu, adopted during the war, for whtaining recruits and monetary cuntributious and by his suppreasion of pablic opinion by gagying the local press snd shatting ont nationalist newsuayers from outside the Parjab.
    2. Tue Rowlatt agitation distarbed the public mind and shcok pahic confilence in the good will of the $G$ verument. This was shared by the Panjabina faller mea-are, pernapa than elsewheri, liecause of the nie miade by Sir MI. O'Dwger of the Defonce of India Act for purposes of stifling pabtic movements.
    3. Tine Satysgraha noveneni and the hartal which was designed as a frecarior of it whilat theg vitalised the whole eountry fitu activity, savel it from nore awiul and nore nidesp:ea 1 calamitiea, by restraining the violeat teudercies and passions of the peoplu.
    4. Tta Ruwlutt agitation $\pi$ as nut conveived in an antiBritish spirit, and the Satgagraia novement was conceived and conductel in a epirit outirely Iroe Irom ill-will and vigion:
    5. There was a2 osnspira:y to overthrow the Goverument in the Puujab.
    C. The orrest and internment if Mr. Gandhi, and the arroits and de;ortitina Its Witchlem an!

    Satyapel were anjeatifisble and ware the only direct cane of byateriod pupalar exsitement.
    7. Tbe enob violecee which began at Amriluar wat diros Uf due to the firing at the Railway overbridge, and the aight of the dead and wounded at atime when the exoitement had reeched white heat.
    8. Whatever the canse of provceatios, the mob excerses are deoply to be regretied and condemsed.
    9. SJ for $e s$ the facte are publicly known, no reasonable onase bes been shote to jatify the introdaction of Mertial Law.
    10. In each osse, Martial Low was prochaimel altor cro der had beea completely reatored.
    11. Eren if it be held that the inlrodaction of Martial Law ras a State necepsity, it wis nuduly prolonged.
    12. Most of the messurea takan ender Martial Low, in all the five dietrict, were anneceseary, arnel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the peeple affested by them.

    13 Ia Lebore, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Gujrat, Jalajpar Jattan, Lyallpar and Sheithupara, there were no mob ex. ceaiel af all worthy of the pame.
    14. Ibe Jallianwalle Bagh maseaere wat a calcalated piece of inhomanity fowards atterly innocent and noarmed mens inclading cbildren, and unpararalleled for its terocity in the history of modern British adminiatration.
    15. The Martial Lav Tribunale sud the Sammary Cuarts were male the means of haracaing innoceat people, and resule ed in abortion of justice on a widescale, sud under the name of justice osused moral and material sufferinge to hundrode of men and women.
    16. The crawling order and other fancy puaishmente ware minwoithy of a civilized adminigtration, and were asmptomatic af the quoral degradation of their inventore.
    17. The imposition of indemaity and of panitive polica of varlous places, notwithatanding exemplary end vindictive punishmente meted out through nearls iwo long months, moatly to innocent men, and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions were an ancalled for, unjast, and sided injary.
    18. The corruption and bribery, that took place during Martial Law, form a separate chapter of grievance which conld hare been easily avoided noder a aympathetic adainistration.
    19. The measurea necessary for redreasing the wrong done to the people, for the parification of the administration and for preventing a repetition in future of official lamlemes neas are :-
    (s) Repeal of the Rowlatt Act.
    (b) Relieving Sir M, O'Dwjer of any responsible offi.e noder the Crown.
    (c) Relieving General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. 0 Brien, Mr. Boswurth Saith, Rai Sabib Sai Rsm Sad and Malik Bahib Khan, cf say posiliou of rerpontibility ender the Crown,
    (d) Locel inquiry into curropt practices of the minor officiale, whow mmes have been mentiuned, in the ataten ente pabliabrd by ap, and their dismiseal on proof of their guilt,
    (f) Recall of His Excelleney the Viceroy.
    () Refand of the fices collected from people who were convicted by the Epecial Tribanala end Sammary Conrta; remiseion of all indemnity imposed on the cition aficeted; refund thereof where is has siready been collcted ; and removal of punitive police.
    It is our deliberate opinioa that Bir M. $\mathrm{O}^{\prime}$ Dwryer, Gener. 1 Dyer, Col Juhnson, Col O'Brien, Mr, Bcsworth Swith,

    Rai Sabib Sri Rean 8ud and Malik Bahib Khan have mean gailty of anol illegelitien thet thay deverve to be iapesobed, bat we parpoesly rofrain from aiviciag any enol courne, becance we beliove thet Iodis ona oaly gcia by waiving the righe. Fater parity will be onfficioody guapateod by the diamisel of the Officiala comoumed.

    We believe that Col. MsoRee and Capt. Doveton have. failed equally with Col. O'Brien and abhert to anry ax their truat, bat we have purpoeely rofrained from advinias any public metion againat thours at aulike the cthert mantiono od by us, them two Offirere were inexpericeod and their bretality wat not so atedied and mooland esethat of the experieneod Officert.
    M. E. GANDEI.
    C. R. DAS.

    ABBAS S. TAYABJI. M.R.JATAKAR.

    ## THE KBILAFAT QUESTION.

    ## The Editor, The Incian Social Reformer.

    ## 8 if

    In thase otorny dage the throwing of ail on troabled watera is everyona'a da'y, and though I cannot hope that my little capfal will accomplich mach, yot $I$ think $i n$ masy do conething.

    In almost all the reeolations pased on the Ehilatat quewe tion there are atrong reforenece to ${ }^{\omega}$ the fenatioiscis of Chries tian elerican. Now this is not to be wondered at, Panily from the very brief way ia whioh the telegrams come aod partly from lack of knowlodge of the oirommenacon in which the epeoobre are mads, tach an impression amons Mohamedans almont inevitablo, bat I an eertain it io quite erroneose, I wea brought op int the atchospbore sheut upech:e represeat and know by report mont of the ween whoes apeeches ars quoted and thore in mo word in the diotiosary leva eppliable 83 them than " fanatice ". Thair atmake have aothing at all to dy with raligisn bat art directed againat the Tark as such, and ars founded simply on his roputatios for eraelty to thone ander his rale.

    Personally I think thew atroug apeocbes mont unfortunete and believe they wonld not have been rede, bad the spenkere realised the etrength of Indian Mohamedan foeling. The trouble in that two thioge are being coofaned in India-the position of the Khalifat and that of the Tarkieh people. For the Turkish prople is it to be wondered that resentoment rune atrong? They intertored in a quarral that mas at theint and by the atreagth of their position prolonged the wae at leact two geart, thatanasigg to the Allies at lasat a million extre cosnalities. But the $\mathbf{K}$ hilifat problem in quitio aific: rent thiag. $I$ believs 1 an eorreet ia aajing that verg lan present day Coristinas would winh in the least to benom tfis prestige of the Khasifat. Cbristiagity had ite fanatidy etager, hat it hae grown out of them centarion ago, The position of religisus wentrality sbat our Goreromeat mands for, in recognined ace the Christion ono.

    If this, which I devootly believe in true, mare realined, it wonld do a yoot dral to lemen the provest terasion.

    Yoors cta.

    ## ㄷatary

    FAIR PLAY FOR " NOBODYECRILD"

    Fair play for the child bora oet of wedlock is urged by Erneas Freaund, Profencer of Jariepradence and Pablie Law of the Usiveraity of Chieago Las sebool, ia the excerpt asd acalytio of a peport on Lllegitimey Laws reontly impad by
    the Children's Burean of the United States Department of Lalor. "The innosent child of anmerried parents is frequentIf condemned not only by the eocial sentiment but by the law of the land.

    While the stigme of illegitmacy ean be lifted only throogh radical ohangen in public opinion, everything within lagiale tive power ahoald be done, as Proleser Freannd points ont, to Mariate its bardship. The English common law, which regards the child born unt of wedlock se the "child of no one", atill prevails in some par:s of the Uaited States and deprives the child not only of a name but of the subatantial righta of inheritaricer aed ianpporto Adranoed legislation in some atates bas in recent years altered the common law by proviaious more ferorable to the child but the need for unifurm legislation designed to protect rather than panish is evident. 1. Legislatisn bearing on the facher's obligations has bean particularly backward. In one Btate, laws enseted as far back an 1798 have remsined practically nualtered, and tbese in turn are modeled on the English bastardy law of 1575. Bix States and Alasly atill have no proviaion whatever for compelling the sapport of a child by its nataral father. Where provision is made it is in many oases eutirely inade. quate, for when the payments are not too low, the period of soppurt is too brief, extending conetimes to the tenth or oleventh year. Legielation, the report suggesta, should consider ohild labor policies by providing for aupport by the father ap to the age when the child may legally go to work, In many cases no finanoial provision is made by law for the care of the ohild at' birth and daring early infancy. The high infant mortlity rate among children born out of wedlock bears witness to the need for such provision.

    A comprehenaive acheme of reform in logislation affecting the child born out of wedlock should, sooording to Professor Freand, consider the creation of on oflicial guardianship, " io order to do fall juntice to the varying and devoloping circumstances of eaoh case, and to stan. dardize the legel duties of lathers toward the offspring." He recognizer, however, the limitatione of the lam, and estimates that a change ir sioial ounditions and acoial concepts Is fundamental to success in making conditions arrounding children burn out of wedlook approximate to those enjo yed by ohildreu of more fortanate birth.-Whe Industrial Busner, Toronto ( O anaida.)

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    2. Prialed Forms giving the apecifications will be supplied by this office. Sample articles may be
    seen at the Lord Harris Manicipal Marathi School Building (sitaated at Carnac Road) from the 30th March 19:0.
    3. The person or persons whose tenders are accepted shall have to make deposits of Rs. 2000, Rs. 200, Bs. 200 and Rs. 500 for Sections A. B. C. and D. respectively.
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    ## D. G. PADHYE, <br> Secretary, Schools Committee.

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    Orfee:-EMPIFE BUILDING, HORNBY FOAD, FOFT.
    Editor:--K NATARAJAN
    जi XXX.
    BOMEAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1920 .
    No 31.
    "1 will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest -I will not equivocate- 1 will not excuse, 1 will not retreat a single inch_And $I$ will be heard." Willian Lloyd Garrison in the Liberator.
    

    Euttre of Mesopotamia.
    The Indian Position in Africa.
    The Inter-Caste Marriage Bil1.
    Mrs. Besant on the Reforms.
    Reform Committees.
    Non Brahman Representa. tion.
    Dacca University Act.
    The Viceroy's Visit to Bombay.
    The First Indian Chief Justice.
    The Bombay Municipal Cor poration.
    Sir Sivaswami fyers

    Unpleasat Experience. The New Bombay Council. The Prime Minister and the Khilafat Deputation.
    A Second College for the Karnatak.
    Lala Lajpat Rat on Indian Women's Education.
    Jallianwala Bayb Memorial Fund.
    One on Them.
    Hinda Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.
    Christianity and Vegeta. rianism.
    Subedar Major Appavu Pillay's Girls' Sehool.
    Social Reformat Pittapuram.

    ## MOTES.

    The anmual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Reformer ", will be Rs, T-S-0 instead of iss. Strom the 1st April. For foreign countries it will be one pound sterting instead of tweive shillings as liereto. We have struggleit hard to avoid thes step, but it has been forced upon us by inexorable circumstances. The enhanced cost of paper atone is sufficient to account for the inereased subscription. We hope our subscribers will kindly realise our difficulties. All new subscripiions and renewal of subscriptions after the 1st April will be at the new rates. Attention is also called to our revised rates of aderertasemert. Those who are in arrears will please note that if they do not pay the arrears before the 30 th April, 420 they will be charged at the enhanced rates.

    Finture of Mesopotamia. It is announced that Mesopotamia would become an Arab State with briain 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 imits compatible with the security of India, but it this is not to be, downright annexation will be in every way preterable in the interests of the people to the creation of a Protected State. A Protected State invorves all the evils of foreign domination without the compensativg effects of such domination, and $1 s$, thererore, whully evil. Whthin the last lew weeks, we have had two deputahoos, it we may so despnate them, inthoducea by respensiblecitizens, bimging hariowing sturtes ol oppression in some indian states. These may or may not be true- -they were ceriainay incredibie-but the fact is significant. Such acts waud be unthmbable if the position of the ruier depended, as $1 t$ :hould, on the gocdwill of has people and not a toreign power. We mention this nere only to illustate our point regarding the absolute desirability, from the point of view of both rulers and subjects alike, of enther leaving them to settle their own affaits as vest as they can or frankito assume full tesponsi-
    ity 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 $\Delta$ frica 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 presidentship 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 feeing 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 increaso ing. 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, unavimously recommend that the Bill should be amended so as to provide that no marriage under it snall 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 possiblt moment, they recommend that, in view of the face that the Rerormed Councils are so shortly to be constituted, the further consideration of the Bill should be deferred till the new Legislative Assembly mects in 192r. Opinion seems to have been divided as to the proper way of dealing with the question of inheritance and succession, but, we think, the majornty 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 Singt 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 bad become law this session, we are not sorry that it is to be brought before a more representative Council. The expression of opinion of 50 many members of the Select Committee, all the Hindu non-official members, the Sikh member, and the Burmese member, canirot but have a great effect on public opinion. No Mahomedan member has signed the report.
    Mr. Eesant on the Reforms: Mrs. Annie Besent'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 ber 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 aud 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 saperfluous. Some Moderate leaders do not seem to be satisfied with a policy which would make them exclasively responsible in the eyes of the pablic for advising Government in the making of rules which aresure 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-end the Noderates would have been glad to have their expression ol opinion backed up by their Nationalist friends The shrewder Noderate leaders also feel that this obtrusive patronage of Government is not calculated to advance theirposition in the country and that Government would best help the canse 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-Brabman party in Madras has taken Lord Meston's award in the right spirit. It is, ol course, dissatisfied but it is not going to beat the air about it. It bas decided to work on the basis of the award but it will strain every nerns to capture every seat in the constituencies. That is what Dewan Babadur Theagaroya Ohetty adjured it to aim at, though it may seem strange that the party which professed so much fear of Braliman 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 acbieve 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 nonBrahmans win every seat in the Presidency thus dis. proving 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.
    Dacea University Act. The text of the Dacca University $\Delta \mathrm{ct}$, as finally passed by the Imperial Legislative Council and assented to by the Governor. General, is published. The omigsion of an important feature of the scheme, on which the Badler Commission had laid great stress, seems to have passed allogether unnoticed in the debates, which were of a most perfunctory character, in the Council on the measure. There was the less excuse for this over. sight, as one of the members of the Sadier Oommis. sion, Proleasor Hartog, in a paper read on the x8th December 1919 before the Indian Bection 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 bave recommended. I trust that the omission is only due to an oversight." W0 do not know if the attention of the Hon. Mr, Shaf, the Member in charge of Education, was called to Prolessor Hartog's remarks. Perbaps not, otherwise he would surely have referred to them in bis speach 9 and explained why the Examinations Board had lyon omitted from the official scheme. The Eon. Member, we are sure, would not bave 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 oniy by aking agaia sod yet aguin the qoostion - What does an examination meas it that it can to kopt from seclorisic, Is order wo ensare that exch queations oball not be forgotien, wo propose pow machinery, onew Examiantions Board, whow bexisest it will be to met me the soditors of the
    examination aystem and the wakefol conacience of the Univere eity in this matter; not an executive board, but an advisory board, with power to investigate examination rasults, statistically and in detail, and to publish for the information of the publio typical examination answers, Sach answers, I sug. gest, shonld be neither necessarily the best or the worst; average answers, and especially border line answers, just enabling a candidate to pasa, are what the edacated public and especially the body of University teachers as whole should see from time to time, in order that the exsct eignificange of a Univorsity diploms may he brought home to thap.

    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 institu. tions in the city.

    The First Indian Ohief 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 adminıstration. 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. Vasantrao 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 liclit's candidature seems to have been that His Royal Ilighness 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 scramble, 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 th rule, but it should be openly abrogated if it is nc longer to guide the choice of Presidents. This th Corporation had refused to do by a large majorit quite recently. Mr. Dabholkar has been for manj years a member of the Corporation, has has experience of the several duties..Which fall tc members, and will, we presume, make as ornamenta a figure as bis competitor at the receptions to the Prince of Wales. True, he has no handle to his name, being neitber a knight nor a Baronet, but "; breath can make them as a breath has made."

    Sir Sivaswami Iyer's Unpleasant Experience. A we had referred to Sir Sivaswami Iyer's unpleasan 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. Sivaswamy Iyer and Captain Cbilders in a railway carriage on the Burma Railway, we are authorised to state that the mattel 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 com munication to the Rangoos Mail and not, as the message implies, by irresponsible persons withoui 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 Jawn 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 opportnnity 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 io deciding on the Oval site. Impulsiveness is perbaps 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 bave 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 Goverament. 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.

    # $\therefore$ INDIAN SOCIAL REFORYER. 

    \author{

    * BOMBAT, APRIL 4, 1920.
    }


    ## - $:$ THE PRIME MINISTER $A N D T H E$ KEULAFAT DEPUTATION. <br> 41 2

    It ie adver safe to ussume the correctness of a telegraphic anmmary of an intricate discussion. Official summaries have to be treated with the eame reserve as anofficial despatches. The detailed account of the reception of the Indian Khilafat depatation by the Prime Minister in London on the 17 th March, iasued by the Government of India is, no doabt, a fair and accarate account of the proseedings from the official point of view. Bat until we are in a position to check it by reference to an equally detailed acconnt from the Indian Khilafat depatation, our comments on the official account are bound to be tentative and sabject to revision in the light of more complete information. We feel it all the more incambent on us to make this reservation as a pernsal of the official version is calculated to leave on one's mind the impression that $\mathrm{Mr}_{\text {, }}$ Mshomed Ali who was spokesman-in-chief of the depatation, came off decidedly secondbest in his encounter with the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George has been from many years the sblest debater in England, and recently he has sharpened, developed and matared his powers in contact with the beat minds of Earope and America. He seems to have exerted his great powers in the interview. Besides, be has the most recent and anthentic information at bis service. In point of nataral capacity. Mr. Mahcmed Ali need fear no comparison with any competitor. Bat he bas been in internment daring these five fatefal years, and his sonrces of information have been limited, althoagh the fire within him barns on that acconat all the more brightly. After making every allowance for this enormons 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 ont as well es possible by Mr. Syad Ilassein on the point of the independence of Arabia. Many who are in deep aympathy and complete agreement with the effort made to get the Prime Minister's pledge bonoared not only in the letter bat also in the spirit, felt that it was patting too a great a strain on Mr. Mahomed Ali to throw the chief reaponsibility of this woighty depatation on him before he had scarcely had time to recover from the effects of his compalsory isolation daring the last five years. All the greater honoar to him for undertaking withont hesitation this onerons pablic daty.

    - Writing on this enbject on the Tth March, we pointed ont that a demand for the restoration of Torkey to the state which obtained before the war, was as impracticable as the demand to blot the five disastrons yearn out of Time would be. So far as we can jadge, iatelligent and well-informed Indisn Mshomedans do not ask for it Aefor con-Mahomedans, it is obvioasly im-
    possible for them to believe in the face of the facta that Persia has entered into a Treaty with England and that Arabis has declared ber independence, that the consensas of Muhomedan opinion considers the re-establishment of the Tarkish Empire over all her old component territories to be essential to the prosperity of Islam. The official acconot leaves it ia doubt as to whether Mr. Mshomed All made saoh a demend. He is said to have made it in the enmmary of hia speech (though this is acarcely consistent with Wome of his admissions later) and the Prime Minister's argament was largely directed to show that this involved a differential treatment in lavour of Tarkey as againat Germany and Anstria which were co-belligerente with ber. There are good reamons why the terms inposed on Tarkey shonld bleas onerone than those imposed on Germany. As the Prime Minister himself admitted, the majority of the Tarkish popalation did not want war with Great Britain. Moreover, it is generally admitted that the Tark was a clean fighter nulite the Germans. If the Priwe Minister's pledge ia not kept in the epirit as well as in the lettor, it will be treating Tarkey with far more severity than Germany, the principal malefactor. We onght to eay in passing that the argament that Germany invaded Belgiom in the parsait of "a national ideal" and that, therefore, ber condact is less repreheanible than that of Tarkey which entered it becanse, being ander pecnniary oblinations to Germany, she could not belp doing so, seems to as to be a very curions one. It meana that a nation which wantonly wages war from motiven of self-aggrandisement, eaphemistically termed "national ideala," does rather a landable thing as compared to a poor nation which joins it becanse she is obliged to do so. The conrse which Belginm chose wan truly beroio and nobody woold think of comparing the condnct of Tartey with that of Belginio. But must of as will have to be panished if not to be hervio is to be conatraed into a crimer, and it is monatrone to wreak apon a tool, an accessory, at the worst, an accomplice, a sterner retribation than apon the priacipal criminal. The great reanon for dealing with extre conniderateness with Tarkey is, of course, as the Prime Minister recognised, that the Ottoman Empire bas for centaries been the centre roand which Ialamic memorios of greatness have cryatallised, and the Britush Empire, followiag the inviolable Indian tradition inangarated by the illastrions Asoka three centaries before the birth of Christ, respects the rejigiona beliefs of all its peoples of whom Mabomépuan form a large, loyal, and valaable section.

    We are inclined to think that the official anmmary . hes, withont the least iatending it, atsessed some of Mr. Mahomed Ali's incidental observations with a ${ }^{\text {a }}$ view to bring in relief the Prime Mininter's dialectical victory. Reading between the linen, wo are unable to thint that what Mr. Mshomed Ali and the Khilafas depotation asked for is anything more than the atrict falalment of the Prime Minister'e pledge and the Moolem gaardianship of the holy places of lislatm. I It in anfortuaste that Mr. Lloyd George shoald bave
    fonnd it necessary to appear to be on the defensive with a depatation which was really seeking only to strengthen bis bands in giving effect to his pledge. The Indian pablic abould concentrate on the pledge as all other matters are irrelevant. Is it giving effect to the spirit of the pledge to leave the Tark in Constantinople bat uuder the perpetual intimidation of foreign gans? Has this been done in Berlin or Vienna? Then, why in Constantinople? In our opinion, this is worse than driving the Tark ont of the city. Such a coarse will have the merit of utraightforwardness which the proposed one has not. As regards Thrace, the Prime Minister seems distinctly to go back opon his pledge. He specifically merftioned Thrace as a territory which the Allies were not fighting to drive Tarkey out of. Now he takes refuge in Census reports. Both, the Tarkish and the Greek Censas of Thrace agree, be says, that the Mahomedan population is in a distinct minority. This has nothing to do with the question. The pledge, as Mr. Lluyd George told the Hoase of Commons, whs ancorditioual. Asia Minor was anotber territory specitied in the pledge, and here, again, the Prime Minister seems to be hedging. It has been foand, be said, that a cousiderable majority of the population oi Smyraa was non-Tarkisb. Religiou is the test in 'Thrace, race in Asia Minor. As to the latter point, all dopends on what Mr. Lloyd George means by Turks. The Tarks ure a very composite people. In tho strict ethnological meauing, the name is upplicable only to the four million Tarks of auatolia. Bat these do not constitate all the Tarks us the term bas come to be geaerally anderatood. Accorang to Dr. Gibbous from whose article in Asia we quoted in a previous arcicle:
    Tuc dominant ciass ia Turkey has been recrnited through ceuturies trom will the asees of the Eiupire. Ila blood is as mavh Ohristion ma Mabumbiodan, and uwiug su the harem ay ictem there has buen au upportuaity lor tue developanent of any marked rooial characurnstio. Lu the I'rakieh aqmunionraliou anoeatry jounta for uething. Curishau or Jew may beoome Turk by protessing lisiam. One's origin is never hol's up againat oue e.d dues nut prejudice adraucentent....
     the unaque duvelofareat ut tue Utwman rystem. The way - dunnunat vlabs was created aud nas seen wasuaintd, neithor buuked uor fed by a dominant race, is wathout aua logy iu wodern history.

    ## 4 SEUOND CULLEGE FOR THE KARNATAK.

    The Stuate of the Bombay University at its lase $_{t}$ mueturg resolved by a majorty of 86 to 6 to atiliate the College proposed to be established at Dharwar by the Karnatuk Edacation Nociety, provieionally for throe years. The College will at present have only the two 1 utermediate Cimases, and its hwit of admis. sion will be a maximam of 100 stadents in the tirst year cluss and 50 in the second year class the Kiarnatur biducation Sociely, it may we mentloned, is -W Well-established zastitutiou nud has beed condacting a vory succesofal High School at Dharwar tor several jehra pust. The Society applied to the Syudicate 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 foand the University requirements regarding bailding, library, eqaipment and staff fairly satistied. It may be stated that the Society has secared the servicee of Mr. P. S. Katti, a Senior Wrangler of Cambridge ${ }^{\text {; }}$, who, besides, has had teaching experience in England, as Principal, and both he and several other members ${ }^{\text {. }}$ of the staff, will receive small salaries somewhat on the principles of the Deccan Edacational Society. The Syndicate Committee was of opinion that the financial provision for the College was not adequate ${ }_{\text {a }}$ but it did not press this as an objection to the grant of affiliation, as it felt that the new institation will be able to attract sufficient support when it was atarted. The only objection came from the Principal of the Karnatak College established by Governmen't at Dharmar two years ago. Principal Kawlinson thought that there might not be enoagh stadents. for the two Colleges immediately and advised postponement of the application of the Society for two or three jears. The Syndicate Committee, on the other hand, was of opinion that there woald be 300 stadents requiring admission into the first year College class in Dharwar, and that, auless the Government College could take op that namber, the University would not be jastified in refasing affiliation to the proposed College. The Syndicate enquired of Government whether they woald be prepared to make provision for 300 stadents- 150 more than their Uollege was admitting -and was informed in reply that Goverament did not expect that there will be need for such an increase, but should there be sach an increase in the namber of bona fide Karnatak stadents seeking admission to their College, they will be prepared to do so. The Syndicate thereapon recommended the Senate to grant the affiliation provisionally on the conditions mentioned above, in accordance with the recommendation of its Committee. Farther correspondence would have meant that the college coald not be started in Jane next, as the Senate does not meet till Jane.

    Sir Narayan Chandavarkar moved the resolatica in the Senate and was seconded by the Hon. Principal Paranjpyo. Both of them in their speeches explained the need of a second College at Dharwarand answered the objections that there would not be a sufficiency of stadents for two Colleges. Siace the Government College was started two years ago, the namber of High Schools in Dharwar and the neighboaring districts has increased from 1 2 to 18 and the number of stadents attending the Matricalation classes in these schools has doabled. Besides the 800 stadente in the Karnatak Schools, there are, it is compated, about 250 or 300 Karnatale stadents in the Matricalation classes in High Sohools outside those districts. Out of these 1100 stadents, about 385 , at a conservative estimate, are expected to pass the Sohool-Leaving examination this year. In addition io these, abont yU or 100 students in the first year elasses in the Dharwar, Poona and Bowbay Colleges are likely to be
    detained. Thas there will in all be abont 475 men qaalified to join a College. We bave oot taken into acconat atadento who, having failed in previoas jeart in the Matriculation, will appear for the exemiation this year. Inolading them, it is a very safe estimato to pat the namber of etadents who will be eligible for edmission to a Colloge at 500. Now, all of these will not seek admission. A proportion will drop off, and at a rough astimate, based on the available statistice, the namber of sach may be taken at 75. There will remain 425 stadents or 225 more after providing its fall quota of $\mathbf{2 0 0}$ to the Dharwar Government Coilege. If the Society's now College geta ita maximum of 100, there will be 125 still left who will have to seek admission in Poons or Bombay Collegès. Last year: aboal 150 Karastak stadents were sdmitfed ta the latter, bat the tendency is for thei number to diminish. We need hardly add that the Bombay and Poona Collegea will have no lack of stadentis in their first year classes oven 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 powerfal impetas to edacation and we are arre that the influence of the new College, added to that of the Government College, will soon create a domand for fresh Culleges in other towns in the Karnatak which has solong been allowed, educationally apeaking, to lie fallow. The Syadicate had no donbt all these considerations before it when it decided without dissent to recommend to the Senate the provinional affiliation of the new College.

    It is to be regretted that the Director of Pablic Instraction should have felt it to be his daty to oppose in the Senate the motion for affiliation. It is seldom that the Hon. Mr. J. G. Covernton takea up as attitade which is out of toach with the prevailing opinion in the Senate and the fact that; on this occasion, he could not persuade more than half a dosen members to vote with him, is, on that acconnt, the more aignificant. He had, to speak the trath, a very treak case. He was not in a position to challenge the figares adduced by Sir Narajan Chande varkar ie eapport of the motion. He coald only say that it there wes need, the Government College woald make provision for 300 first year stadents. He was not able to anower the argoment that, assaming that the Goverament College took 300 stadents, it was still in the intereste of that personal attention to individal stadents so mach desidersted in oar 'educational syatem, that there skould be two colleges taling one handred and fifty each rather than one taking three handred. It is the complaint of the Seider Commission that the method of "masslectares" is ansuitod to the stadents who attend Indian Colleges in the two Iotermediate classes. They have, therefore, gone so far as to saggest that these two classes should be constitated into a separato inatitation to be tanght according to the methods obtaining in High Schools, in classes of not more than 50 atudents. The Karnatak Edacation Society
    will charge the eame feen as in the Government College and they are prepared to give any other reanonable gaarantee that may be required of them to preclade absolately even the bare possibility of anhealthy competition. Under these oircambtadoes, at Principal Paranjpye pointed ont, the two inatitatione are sare to opsrate at a healthy stimalas to the raaintenance of each other's standard and efficiegery The Director of Pablio Instraction, referriok to the inadequacy of the financial reserve at prenent providod by the Society, saggested that they woald go to him (that is, to pablic fands) for a grant io a year or two. If they did, we can not soe anything wrong in it. They are entitled to such sapport as Goverament nanally extends to other edacational ingtitutjons of the eame class, and to ast for a Governantite grant is not the same thing as begging for privute charity. In one respect, Mr. Covernton was-nOt a usual thing with him-grosals vofair to the promos ters of the new College as woll as to the proposed staff. He repeatedly spoke of the scheme as devined to provide wort for the members of the ataff by group of men who wiah to do them a good tarn. Wo have no hesitation in saying that this was onbecoming a gentlemen in the position of the Director of Pablic loatraction. As Principal Paraojpye said the proposed members of the staff of the pew College do not anfer in comparison with those of the stalf of the Government College: and; we are sure, that some of them at least could have easily obtained admistion to Goverament service if they had not, in a apirit of nolfsacrifice, undertaken to serve in a private colloge on what is little more than a living waga in those dayn. The vast problem of Indian edacalion cannot be eolved anless handreds and thounands of edacated Ladiana come forwurd to serve the canse in the same apirit an these men.

    Lala Lajpat Rai on Indian Women's Education. Laia 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 dealn with the question of the position of women in ladia, and incidentally condemns the view that woman's education should be differentiated from man'h. He writes: "I see no justification for the belief that the educational neads of men and women are 80 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 wa are anxious to avoid.the mistakes of which we have been guilty in the case of our boys. If 80 , we should be equally solicitous to edacate 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 motbers, bat. women are more thas that just as men are more than affectionate husbands and good fathers. Just is a boy needs an education which will belp his complete development to manhood, so a girl needseducation which would help har complete evolution to womanhood. The same principle must gaide 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 shat our ideas of education are not sound. The woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, sesourcefuliness, initiative, courage economic independence and intellectual growth as man bas. The needs of the Indian woman in this respect are exactly the same as those of the westera woman."

    ## Jallianwala bagh memurial fund

    - We are requested to pablish the following appeal isened by Mr. Girdharilal, Secretary of the above Fand.
    In the lat session of the Congress held in Amritasp, it was namnimoualy decided to acquire the aite of the Jallimnwala Bagh for a National memorial. Thia bas since been done and an appen! has already been issued by the Committee朝pointed for this parpose for a sam of ten lace of rapees, out of• which ahoat five and a hall lace is the price of the Bugh to be paid to the owners by 4th May next. Failing this there is the danger that the proprietors may nut extend the time and thas the transaction will tall throagb, or they may demand atill higher price, as the value of the land hae increased very conniderably of late. In any case it won't be oreditable if higher price han to be paid for, and certsinly it «'Il be a national disaster if the Bagh is loat for want of funde.

    In order to schieve this end, the help and assiatance of every patriotic heart and well-wisher of the conntry is essentinl, as the collection of suoh a large enm of money is only ponsible if all contribate to the best of their power. It is bighly desirable from a national point of view to have as many subsoribors to this fund as is possible. Folly relying on your aupport, I request you on behalf of the Committee, to kindly send the highent amonat you oan as your own subsoription, and aleo to please exert yoarself in raising a large anm from your friende and zelations. May I aloo suggeat goar forming Colleotion Committees of inflaential ladies and gentlemen in your town, and after realizing big sums from likely persous, to arrange for daily collection of sabecriptions from door to door and from shop to shop. According to the manifento iesued by Mahatama Gandbi for observance of the Jollisamala Week, meetinge are to be held in all places on 6th, 12th and 18th April next, bat no hartals, I think it would be mach better if an entrance fee of Rs. 2 or Re. 1 and annat eight per head is fixed for these meetinge, which would result in a considerable anm being oollected. Fancy (meena) basers many be arranged for sale of auob things at the ladiea and gentlemen of yonr town way get ready ond offer for this funde daring thia week, and I am certain that these sales will fetoh a very large amonat. Hardly fifty thousand is yet autaully paid and you can well anderetand how streanons -fforts are neceneary to raise anch a heavy sum in so sbort a period. Pray do not take any promises. There is no time for these now. Actual cash pasmenta at once are required.
    Kiudly pay all the money you collcot to the oredit of Jallianwola Memorial Faod in any of the brancinee of the Central Bank of Indis, Limited, or the Panjab National Bank Limited, and inform me ecoordingly to enable the office to leate lormal reooipts. You will be glad to learn that in reaponse to the first appesel of the Committee in Felfoary ink, nome Englisbmen alao have sent sabeariptione for this luinda, and I truat a larger namber will co." a for ward to follow the oxample net before them.

    ## ONE ON THEM.

    A prencher conduoting a mission annoniced that he woold upeak the next dight on "Liars". The andience were requested to read up in edrance the 17 th ohapter of St. Mark.
    Next evening, belore opening, with pieroiug glanee, be isquired bow nany people had read the ohapter.

    A soore or to held np their hande. At which be thandered:
    "You're the very persone $I$ want to talk to-mere isan's any 17 th ohapler of St. Mark. "-Smart Once.

    ## HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

    The following Beport of the Select Committer on the Bill tu provide that marriages between Bindus of difierent castes are valid was presented to the Indian Legislative Oonncil on the 22nd March, 1920 :-

    We, the ondereigned, Members of the Seleat Committee to which the Bill to provide that marriages between, Hinduf of different castea 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 woold be deairable to limit the legislation now proposed on this anbject either ta the case of marriages between sab-castes only or to members of recognised societien who have declared in lavour of marriage reform. Some of us would have preferred one or other of these alternatives, but the majority consider that auch amendments would not efford an adequate solution of the problem before an and that it is necessary to legalise marriage between all casteg, enbject to the restrictions which we have set out below.

    Thongh the majority of as 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, tbe farther consideration of this Bill shotald be deferred till the new Legielative Assembly meets in 1921.

    We desire to record onr opinion that the Bill will need mendment 60 as to provide that no marriage under this Act shall be legal nalese, (8) both the parties thereto bave' attained the age of majority, viz., eighteen years, and (b) the interding husband bas at the time no wife living.

    With regard to the question of inheritance and co-parcenary rights in the joint Eindu'family, our opinions are more equally divided. Bat moat of us are agreed that in the cace of a marriage logalised nuder this Act there should bet an "unreatricted 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 abould be confined to separate mainteuance on the scale ordinsrily applioeble to the family.

    Some of us are of op inion that the rights of all children by - wife of a lower caste should be left to be governed by the ancient provisions of Hindu law; but the majority of ne feel that there should be no differentiation in this respect and thas all childran, whatever the caste of their mother may have been, should sbare equally both npon partition and apon intestate auccession.

    We are further of opinion that there ghonld be no right of adoption by a widow of a different caste to her haraband except opon his express authority in writivg.

    Eaving regard to the bsain recommendation we have made in paragraph 8 of our Report, we do not however think that anything would be gained by formulating apecifio amendmente at this atage, and no therefore return the Bill to the Oundil for further consideration.
    G. R. Lowodet.
    V. J. Patel.*
    V. S. Srinivasan.
    B. N, Banerjea.
    S. N. Roy.

    1K. Chanda.*
    B. N. Sarma.
    G. S. Khaparde.
    K. V. Ranganemy $\Delta$ yangar.

    MG. Bab Too. Menindra Chandra Nandy. Rempal Singh.*
    R. N. Bhanja Deo.
    G. M. Chilaarie.
    L. M. Chetterjee.
    K. V. Reddi. ${ }^{-}$

    Sunder Singh Majithid.

    The 17lh March, 1920.

    ## CHRISTIAEITY AND VEGETARIANISM. I.

    ## The Rditor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    8ir,
    Ai a aympatbotic rea jof and abbecriber to your paper, may I be allowed to remomatrate with you on the pabliestion of the lottor on page 868 of jour carrent number jant resoived !

    I do not write this for pablication, bat sek you to refer the latior to some member of the Charch Misaionary Society ia Bombay for forther information. Tbe only object of the writer appeners to be to hold op these miecionary ladies to the opprobriam of Indian readert who do not anderatend the fecte of the ences referred to in Chias. AI I aballenge joe to find in the whole wide world suy body of poople who, on the wholes are wore arneally ongaged in Social Reoorm than Christian
    Miveionary ledios, it in really a oovert attook on jour own cistars in God's work.

    I stis ia no waye connected with the Oharch of England or ony of ite mimionary societien myself, and differ from them on smaterial pointe almost as muob ea you would, bat that makes te foel that fairpiay should be ohown.
    I bolieve jou will find that if you inquire from the Chribtion Mincionary Socisty or any one acquainted with Chinese religions reate of the day, that the "Vegetarians" are a particular seorot eociety from whose ranks enpecinlly the Boyers were reoraited, the regatarian pledge being conneoted with some form of demon-worahip. Whilat not taking the life of animale, there wae no anch objeotion to the lives of men. And you know bow these recret societios ore at the present moment at the root of the social distarbances and oivil war now provailing in Chines where in nome parta the whole country is exposed to tarrorism from bandito and partien of disbonded coldiert, as well as contendiog troops representing the North and the South ander organised government of some sort.

    So that in enking the Ohinese ladies to break the regote. rise vow, there woald be a step towarde hnman solidarity and true eocial reform, and not on reprevented by Mra. Besant in this pre-war artiole exhumed by joar correspondent. Many Cbriotian mimionaries are vegetariane themeelvet, aud the sirenmatances in Chian seed to bo known belore they are aninuadvartod on in India.

    ## Yours laithfally,

    Joaypr TarLoz,
    ## Calcutta, 10th Fubruary.

    [The above letter was originally sot written for publicationWhea we requented Mr.' Taylor's perminsion to publish it, he wroce that we could do so after verification of his atatoments. We bave not beea able to do this, and we print it an the bert way of thaing more light thrown on the quentioan-Ed. A. A. R.l

    ## II.

    The Bditor, The Indian_Social Reformer. Sit.
    I en primed to se the way in which jonr Christion correspondente hare triod to juutify themselvee agoinst Mr. Lebberbaker Laximides who meant to do what was evidently - goed tara to the Indian Cbristind commonity. He groted
     rexpobability io greater doing that vory thing for the leat hananed yeert and trying to miareprosent oll thing: Iodian ac anch $a$ ponible? It is inded one more cme of not trying to cin the been in one't owt eyo, whilo trying to seet the mote in the eyo ol omeis opponent. And again, though the omen be ten quoded be extreme, do they not bring oat the trae
    opiris in which mach of the mixion-wark is onrried on 1 Is not the asme apirit prevaloat in India too !
    I once acted throagh the eolswat of this rery prper one of the miecionarite who had oballenged ane of my ilatemente whetber be conld ahow evec five por ceat of thoen oonverte who had come from vegotarian ontem remaining ragetariant to the ead, and be bed the oandoar to confens that partapa it was not poesible to may that oven so fow remained rogetarians to the end, I may go fartber and ask for one per oust, bat I am altrid evea that will not bi lound. to be trualf 1 bave oome corom innumerable convertia, bat I have thot found a aingle man 'who remained regetarian to the ond. The only persona that I found to the such wore a form women in a partionlar Christian home. I do beliove with Mr, Gopal Ijor that thare are come like him, eapecially in the sooth of Indin bat their number mact be inflititeimally amall. The hundrede of Chriatisas he is talking of are, in all tritbebility, the devoendante of thome Chrietiant who were converted bj Robert de Nobili and bis soonestora, They are vegetarians simply beonase they have kept thoir asote intect. May $I$ ask bim it there art azoh amogeg the Protentant mimione who have remained regetarians like bive for $s 0$ many jeare, and even their childron aflor them 9 I am alfaid be will not be able to show many ont of the Roman Catholic Charoh which was worked on casteolines, and whiob therelore maken it possible for the converts to retsia muob that is good in their pational austoms. At for the Protestant ajotem which in all probability makes it impowible for evan one por cent of ite vegetarina converts to rothin thie national beritage of theirs, vis, the belise and prootion of $\Delta h_{i}$ mona paramo dharma, is elande sell-condemned.

    May I aokfarther through joue boapitablo oolumnes, all thece converts who like Mr. Gopal Ijer may bave retsined their vegetarisninm for so long a period, to give their coatimony in this renpect as he has done, so that"othere too may find atrength to do likewise and non-Chriatiana ning know that to the a Christinn does not necosenarily menn to be ane who outa mest and driok wiue oe they think at procent?

    > Youre traly,

    Manilali C. Pariean.
    〔Mr. Manital wishes as to print the following outing from the Christian Patriot of the Gith March an part of bie Letber.]
    "It has been reportel in tome paport that Earopenc miso eionaries in Chins are iusiating that their eonvorte who bave been regetariens should eat flush. This does not come to as mas atarprise at all, lor suok caeos have not beoa rare in the past in oar own conatry. The eating of flosh, enpecielly beol, was pat before the woald-be aspertis the sapreme teat and argument of your Cbristinaity. It made it imposeible for the Hindu to go back to his own caste. It Tem baraing yows bonts bebind you. Thio woald acconat for the prejadice in. the minde of t :ndas evea now that - Hinda who beoomes Cbriatias hat done so to eat beol. Have we not heard of instancen of Elinda boye foroed after thair baptian to live dith the cosehmen or the batler of the miseionary and who, ration. than endare snech s hamilistion and eat the food prapared by them, have gone beek w) their cld cente and laith i It is grood to remember the cage advice of the Apootle Psal why said that be wonid rather ent herbe than cfifmed one of bie bretbren whowe conncience revolted agsinat fleab-eating."

    ## SUBEDAR MAJOR APPAVU PILLAY'S GIRLS' SCBOOL. <br> ( From our Bangalory Correupondent.)

    The cehool wee loonded ia 1872 by the iate Sabedar Major T.C. Appory Pilloy of the 86th Madroe Infantry which was
    located in the linea clone by, chiefly fur the benefit of the children of the Regiment and seciondarily of the civil populatiou in the locality. For the purpose of holding the school as well as the Upassna Mandir (i. e. Uinda Unitarian Cbnroh) which he had establithed in the Regiment, he constracted the fairly apacioun building in which we are assembled, with the anpport of the Military Aathorities who granted the aite free. Before bis desth, the fonnder who was an ardeat Brahmo (i.e. Protentant or Unitarian Hindu!, tranoferred the said property化 a Board of Trastees appointed by him from among the Members of the Brahmo Samaj, together with the attached dwelling hoases and bazarestalle a few yards close by, which he had constracted with the object of utilizing the rents therefrom for the parpose of maintaining the school. The nohool went on nainterruptedly for a period of 40 years but had to be unfortunately eloged temporarily in 1911 owing phifiefly to lack of lunds to meet the cost, the income from the endowed properties having dwindled with the departare of the Regiment occapying the lines cloas by. Alter a lapae of about 5 years, the management of the Trast was transferred to the Bangalore Oantunment Brahmo Samaj and the achool was reopened by that bods un the 12th September 1916 as a Iree elementary girls' achool for all olensen of papils who are composed chietly of the depressed clasees. The endowed proporties bave recently been somewhat improved eo as to bring a permanent jucome of Rs. 25 to 80 per mengem and the sohool building itself has besn improved by the coustruction of a oompound wall in front, atc, at a cost of about Re. 500 ball of which has been promised by the Ednoation Department an a grant-inoeid.
    The expenditure up to date (including the improvements carried oat to the bailding to the extent of Rs. 500) amounts to Re. 1,96\%-8-10 againat the receipte of Re, 1,006-0-10 or an excesn of expenditare of Re, 256 has been incurred.
    The number of olasses maintained are five, (riz. the first 5 ataudards) and the languages tanght are Tamil, Telaga and English. The number of papils on the rolls is about 126 of whioh more than two-thirds are girla and the remainder are small boys who find it oonvenient to attend the sohool In company with their sisters. According to commanities there are 85 high easte ohildrea aud the remainder belong to deprosesed olasses ; of the ohildren 36 are Chriatians and 2 Mrahomodans. About 18 are children of Military men belong. ing to 8 1at Piontera.
    lirom whit has been atated already, it will be ween that the nohool is in nood of farther finanoial sid. Ae mentioned in .the priuted notive for this meeting, the sohool is a monumant of the loyally, guneronity and pablio spirit of a gallant Indian noldier who roge from the ranke. Although not gifted with muol education himgell, he gave his all for establishing the sohool, in honour of tho Birthday of the late Queen Empress, with a vilum to impart education on liheral religiona linen to Indiau children irreapective of catte or creed, at a tinue when Tothale eduestion wus nut mach thought of by Indinna. With the ardent oxpectation of the institution being managed well and developed, be entrusted the endowneat property to a Committee, consiating ol gentlemen with broad viewn and progressive ideals. In spite of the long age of the inatitution, we bave not been able to proceed farther and develop this sohool into bigher grade. This is ebiefly due to want of deceseary lands to oarry on our work. Wo intend to open a pari-tine oluan for grown ap illiterate women, to encble than to devote their leisure bours in the day to the learning of 8 R'a, Hygiene, and some manual work, sueh as rewing, kuitting, ambroidsry work etc, lett those hours mould be mantad in ide and frivolous talk.

    It is now the tarn of the pablic to give an impetas to the school by liberally contribating towards the annual expenten, not only to masintain it but algo to effect improvementa by the opening of olaseen in masic, tailoring and such other, arts which may be useful to the girle in their after life. We have also to seek the help of the Mifitary Anthoritjes to obtain for the school the piece of land on the weet between the schong and the bazasr dtalle to be uned as a plajiground.

    ## SOCIAL REPORM AT PITTAPURAM.

    On Satarday, the 20th March at 6.80 p. m., I had the pleasure of witnesaing, at Pittaparam (Godarary Distriot) the remarriage of Sreemathj Sredevamma of Ellore with Steeman Tikkani Raghaviah Naidu (Ry. Sub.Ingpeetor, Nizam’ Dominions), a nephew of the Hon, Mr. Tikikani Balaji Row Naidu. Messrs. Pillarusetti Narayana Row Naidu, SabJudge, Vizagapatam, and Koka Sabba Row, Ag. Dewan, Pittapur Estate, iasued invitatinns for the ruarriage, which were heartily responded to by some of the meribers of the Aadivelama Commanity, from which the bride and bridegroom come, and hy some membera of the Brahmo Samaj of Cocana ja, Rajahmundry and Pithaparam.
    The marriage was registered ander the Civil Marriage Aet, and was eslleranized by Mr. V. P. Raj B. A. (Supt. Pithapur Rajah's Orphanage, and Regietrar of the Brahmo Marriages) and by Mr. P. Lakgiliminerayana (Sapt,, Veerasa-lingam's Widow Home, Rajabmnodry). After the fanction was over the guests were entertained to a cosmopolitan dinner, arranged by Mr. Koka Sabba Row, through whose antiring efforte and enthasiasm the marrigge was brought about. To his credit, it shoald be stated that be was responsible for the reclaiming of a belpless soal to a life of love and joy from life-long suffering and misery. I pray that thic example may lead to similar marriages iù tha Andivelañî commanity and in other Hinda commanities, aud that than many a poor sister mis be saved through God's grace and man's work. Cocumada,
    T. V. Susbeairi Row, w, A.
    26.9.20.
    P. R. College.

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    INDIAN:SOCIAL:REFORMER.

    ## Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 1920. No. 32.

    4 I will be as barsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; 1 am in earaest—I will not equivocate——l will aot excuse, I will not retreat a single inch——And I will be heard."

    Wichiam Lloyd Garrison in the Liberater.

    ## OONTENTK.

    Kfrd Sinha's Iadiscretion. Tise Press Act.
    Dr. Lankester's Letter. The Hon, Mr, Sastry and the South Atrican Deputation.
    Oood New if True.
    Elementary Education in Iodian States.
    Erratic Reform.
    India and Islam.
    "The Menace of the Reforme."
    The Object of the Bocial Conterence. *
    The Blind Reli ef Association, The Edinburgh Indian Aseociation.
    The Ranara District Con* terence.
    Christian Misnionaries and the Punjab Excesses.
    The Miniatry of Women.

    ## NOTES.

    Lord Sinha's Indiserction. Lord Sinha's position in India and England, as a representative Indian, is so bigh that the country is entitled to expect him to be a poweriul healing iniluence 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 ehour, ought to keep in view in order to promote th permanent interests of the country. Instead, Lord siaba 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 bis 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 judg. ment 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 hign 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 Sinian's authority, since it was found that the judicial saleguards under the Press Act, which he nelped to pass, were illusory, has not stood very high. His last extraordinary outburst shows that bis 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 bis lordship had read Sir P. Sivaswami lyer's address at the Moderate Conference held at Calcutta last December, he would have found that that very moderate Moderate went muct beyond l'andit Moulal Nehru in his comments on the Punjab troubles. And this is true of several other publicists. As regards the Khilafat question, again, bis 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 lite to see the lines of cleavage in Indian life emphasised and enlarged.

    The Press Act. In deprecation of criticisms of the reply of the Government of India to a question in the Indian Legislative Coungh that they did not intend to repeal the Press Act, $\begin{gathered}\text { at } \\ \text { dro- }\end{gathered}$ posed to consider Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer'spyodes tions for its modification, the Leader of Alvin and states that Sir Sivaswami Iyer's suggestionsmive ye it the nature of "some more or less drastic amen. ments to the Press Act which would have exdered it practically barmless." The Moderate Conferflice over which Sir Sivaswami presided did not term to take this view of his suggestion because it passed a resolution instructing its Oouncil to do all that'was necessary to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act. The Leader secms to suggest that Bir Bivaswami 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 a mendments which would have rendered it (the Act) practically harmless," the question is worth considering in some detail. Sir Sivaswami's suggestions were:
    The nanner iu which the Prese Act has been administered han bruaght into prominence the neeessity for a revision of is on radical lines. I am prepared to concede that the prorisions for security and lorfeitare woald serve a neefnl purpose in dealing with sedition more especially witb Bolsherism at our frontier, I am inolined to think that the deposit of escurity shonld not by demanded in the first iustance and should be oalled for only apon its being thown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forleitare also ohould be made consequential apon an order of the court to be obtained by the Local Governament on proof of pablivation of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfoitare are expressed in sach wide terns that it has been found that the salegnard of an applion. tion to the High Court is practically illusory. An amendment of the Act on the lines here suggested would remore a teenly felt grievance and is especialif necessary in riew of the need for sucoaraging the growth of a vigorona and honest prese ander 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. Lankesteris Letter: We print to-day a letter Irom Dr. A Lankester on "Cbristian 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 becaine violent only after having been fired upon by the police or military. As the Times (London) pointed out, the Hunter Commiltee was not a judicial tribunal and it could only examine such evidence as was placed before it by the officiais Indian opinion asked tor a Royal Commission but our missionary Iriends did not probably realise the importance ol that demand. The shooting at Jallianvala, 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 martal lav are less to bame than the civil Government which was responsible for calling them in, and even to eay 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 Cnelmsford and Bir Michael O'Dwyer will not make our sorrows less: they will only involve three more persons, their famulies and triends 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 triends 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 bimself to make a public statement of the circumstances in which he bad to decline to go as a member of the Indian deputaion 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 bis not accompanying Sir Benjamin, states that the political situation in India demanded his personal attention and so he could not go to South Airica. Our contemporary adds: "There is a teeling-justifiabie, we thinkthat 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 Ieelings in the matter. The opportunity thus offared of sending a first rate lodian political leader to South Alrica was a very fine one which should have been seized upon. The appointment of the Hon. Mr. Sastri was unigue, and was an indication of the change of status of Iadia in the Empire. What a pity the signticance of the event was
    apparently lost sight of $1^{n}$ We are sure that, when Mr. Sastry's reasons are published, it will be admitted by our countrymen in South africa that be was actuated by the very highest motives in denying himself the privilege of identifying thimself personally with a cause honourably associated with the names of Gandbi and Goktale.

    Good News if True. The Englishman gives currency to a report that the Secretary of State has postponed the introducation of the pnxiliary force Bill on the ground that it is ancons. titutional and illegal to conscript and to arm and train one community, the European and AngloIndian, alone. The paper adds that strength is added to the rumour because it is a lact that the Goverament, after insisting on the urgency of the Bill and declaring that it must be passed by April $x_{1}$ has now shelved the whole matter. The result is that when the Indian Delence Force cease to exish, as it must six months alter all the Peace Trealyes are signed, the country will be deprived of 40,000 men organised for internal delence. The Englishmana 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 irrication in this country. It is almost more important than the Reform Act even. We bave no doubt that the Englishman's fears are groundless, and that, before the lapse of six month's alter the signing of the Treaty of Peace, an equitable way will be found of utilising the services ol 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 take: the same view, they are called upon to agitate I To train only one community to arms is a menace to all other communities in times of excitement.

    Elementary Education in Lodian States: $\mathbf{A}$ statement placed on the table in answer to a question in the Imperial Legislative Oouncil, shows that elementary education is wholly or partially free in filty-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 (lor girls only), Morvi, Kapurtitala and Mysore. The States where it is both free and compulsory are Kolhapur, Limbdi, Pbaltan (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 educa. tion free in that state, which would be atrange it elementary education is not already free. We are inclined to think that the Government of India's statement in this respect-probably in others alsois inaccurate.

    Erratic Reform, a valued upcountry correse ${ }^{\text {in }}$ ? pondent writes: "A bout this time last year a notable intercaste marriage took place. It was registered under Act 111 of 1872. The invitations issued to guests showed that 1230 at midnight was fixed for the solemnization of the wedding. in another case, 2 a. m. was tiked. Now another reform marriage has been announced. The marriage will be according to Brabmotites and will be solemnised in a Brahmo Mandir. Tue invitation very strangely omits to mentoon the bridegoom's name. We can understand orthodox people and their ways. Bat 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 sidicule with fe public:"

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> BOMBAY, APRIL 11, 1920.

    ## INDIA AND ISLAM.

    Indingh relations with Greece and Rome in ancient times bive been the sabject of close stady. Principal Rawlinson of the Karnatak College some years ago bronght together in a aingle handy volame the main Peatnres of the early intercoarse between India and these conntries, as eatablighed bo the reaearch of classiral scholars. Mr. Benoy Knmar Sarkar has pablished an important work exploring the intimate interfonrse which existed in early times between India and Eartern Asia. India, China and Japan, he has ahown, formed a single coltaral group and was recognised as snob. Bat the relations from the earlient times between India and Weatern Aaia have remained practically noexplored. And yet there can be no doabt that here is a vast and fraitfnl field of research. The early interconirse between India and Persia has recently come into close acratiny as a result of Dr. Sponner"s theories on his excavations at Patna. Bnt even. scholars write and speak ar if India and Arabia first came into contact with the Arah conquest of Sind at the beginving of the eighth centriry A. D. The reason for this indifference is twofold. In the first place, until the recent wave of nationalism swent over the country Indian Mahomedans cherished the same.idea, and were indisposed to look for any leas dramatic origin of Indo-Talamic relations. The second reason is that the early interconrse between Arabia and India belongs to the bistory of Sonthern India, which is still very mach of a sealed book. To Mr. E. B. Havell belonge the credit of piercing throngh this goneral apsthy and indicatiog that India and Islam stand mach nearer to each other than is generally assamed. We have referred once before to his "History of Aryan Rale in India"* as the kind of synthetic Iodian history which hay been long and badly wanted by Indian thinkers and statesmen. Not the least important featare of this great work is the conclusive way in which it eatablishes that Fiadna and Indian Mahomedans are not strangers and aliens bat beirs to one common history, cnltare and civilization, "The conflict between Ialamand Hindnism," Mr. Havell writes, " was chiefly noblatters of ritanl, like the dispates of the Christian Chnrob. On bigher apiritaal gronads the Brahman pandit and the malla easily fonnd a modus vivendi, for India was motherland to them both."" Mr. Havell holle that the Prophet of Islam was not nainflueuced by Indian religions thonght. He cites from Alberaci, the Arabian historian of the eleventh ceatary, that "in tormer tiwes Khorasan, Persia, Irak (Mesopotamia) Mosal, and the comntry up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic." II points ont that in the seventh centary A. D., the psychological inflaence of Buddhiom ontside India, was less dependert apon its philosophioal teaching than apon the depth of the religions fervonr which the spirit of bhakti evoked, and


    that the example of right being and right thinking. which had been set by generations of the Baddha's disciples had been an inspiration to many religions teachers hefore the Prophet of Iqlam. He observes :
    The spiritnal impnlse of which India had been the centre for over a thongsnd yeara waz independent of dogmas and philonophies. It was hornealong the highwass of commerce, sen and lant, to the remoteat enrnars of Asia both in the east and west. And tbongh the echops of the debating halls of Irdis may not have ragonided npon the oosata of Arabis so clearly as they did among the hilis of the further Esas the doctrine of the Unity of the $G$,hbesd implicit in the theory of the One in Many was probahly as familiar to tha canel driorra of Arabian carsanas as it was to stndents of Chiak 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 Hindastan. "Finallv, ander Tarkish domination, the ensign of Islam because the crescent monn, Siva's how, which had been the symhol of India-' the Land of the Monn'—or of Talin's holv land, Arvavarta, agei before the Pronhet of Makka was horn.' In this connectinn the following nasarge ia intarating as, among other thinga, angqeating an origin of the name "India" different from that aqually accenter.

    India, gayn Hinnen Thasng, wnaknown an tho Land of the Mnon. He gives a matical exnlanation of the tarm. But India, or Aryavarta, belore the Bnt tha's time had heen known as the land of King Soma, the Mon, an i sonalled no acconnt of ite anpposed resemhlance in ehapa to the areacent moon, or 'digit' of the moon, a symbol long aftermarde ubed for the standard of Inlam.

    Even Mr. Havell, bowever, regards the Arab invasion of Sind early in the eighth centary 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. Radhakamnd Makerji in his "History of Indian Shipping from the earliest times," notes that in very ancient times India had trading settlements in Suathern China, in the Malayan Peninsola and in Arabia. It was, therefore, quite natural that when Islam roge, India shonld be the first country to which ite missionaries should turn. And it seems to have been the only country to which a parely religions mission was sent, thas confirming Mr. Hevell's view of the inflaence of Baddhism. The Travancore State Manual gives the following account of the earliest Mahomedan interconrse with India :

    It was probably in the begiuning of the 8th centary that the Mosleme uf Arabia saperseded the Greeky in their trade with the west coast of India. Their first arrival is olosely mixed ap with the tradition of Cheraman Peramal and hit conversion. This latt of the sovereigna of Keralam, no goes the story, was converted to Islam by the Mahomedan Missiunaries who visited bis const, and embarked with them to Arabia to see the Prophet in persci. On reaching his deatination, be was eo strack with the grandear of the Eaith and the enshariam of the believers that be immedistuly derpatched missionarien to bis const with letters of introdnotion to the Chiefs; one of them seat on his deathbed from

    Ziphef, wes Molik Bem Habreck, whe travelled from Orasganere to Qailom. Ele buils a moegue at the latter place, ectiled an e presober and endertook eeveral preaching expedi. tions is the meighboarhsod.

    Mr. Eavell deacribes at some longth how the Mahomeden conquests became the condaits of Indian thonght and anltare to other countries.

    It wa in Meropntemia, enpeoially in the glorions days of Earnnet Recehid (A.D 786 809), that the forndations of Earmenie calture were laid. The court lengnage, otiqnette, and literary cooomplishecenta were borrowed from the Iranian branch of Argan civilination, in the centre of which th. foundern of the Abhasid dyanaty had been aurtnred. But all the seientific elemente which formel Arabic scholarahip and in later times mode it famona in Enrope-philosophy mathematien, actronomy, and medicine-were in the eighth eantury borrowed direotly trom India. Through the Arab ocenpation of the Indas and the Enphrates valleys Ialam was enabled to tap the inezhaustible resources of India, apiritand and matarial, and to becone to agenta for their distritntion over the whole of Europe-a ralationship which continued to exis long after the outlying territorien of Islam in Europe had astarted their independence of the $\mathbf{K}$ halifate of Baghded*

    The link, however, between Indian cultare and the Arabs was aoon severed. The Arabs in Earope fonnded echools of their own. And thas it ceme to pass that Arab, or Saracenic, colture, and that of Mahomedan India became distinct.

    The Arabs never won for themalves a parmanent political tooting in Indi, not did the weatern School of Islam ever take any atrong bold apon the mentality or roligions leeling of the Indian Musaimant belore Eaglich temohara with little or no knowledge of Indian history undertook the direction of education in India. Fortanately for the British Raj Indian Musalmans in remaining true to their Iodian Mother have proved trua to themeloes.

    The meaning of this is that Pan-Lslamiam in India is the outcome of the teaching of English teachers with little or no Enowledge of Indian bistory undertaking the direction of Indian edacation. The responsibility does not lie with teachers alone. Administrators too have had their share. Everything whioh helped to loosen the hold of Hinda inflaonce on Mahomedan India helped to fasten the bold of Pan-Islamism on it. That the more far-seeing leaders of the two communities are now awakened to this danger, is dae to providential canses more than to an deliberate polics. That, how. ever, is digression. If Indian Mahowedanism has been ewiched by Hinda coltare, it, for its part, has coñtribated equally largely to the enrichment of that calture The late Mr. Ranade in one of his great addresses, delivered at a National Soc̣ial Conference et Lackuow, summed them op in memorable words. More importent, however, than all other contribations to the national caltore is the contribation of Islam to Indian national chareeter. The doctrine of Karma, it has been eaid, leads to fatalism. Bot fataiism is of two kiads: the active and the passive. If the Indian mind was prone to the peosive kind of futalism, Islam sopplied it with the true corrective. Ia the wordy of Gibbon:

    The Koras inculcation, in the mont ahooluto ceace, the tousto of fote and predeatinaton, which would extingnish both indinatry and virtne, it the motione of man were goverued by
     exelted the conrage of the garacene and Tarta. The firt companions of Mahomet advenced to batila with Rearlest ocnfidence : there in no danget where there is no chstion they wert ordained to periab in their bade; or they odrelate and invninerable amidat the darta of the oneray.

    Thas, it will be see that Indian Mahomedaniam bas given largely to Iadia while obe han gnined alsolargely from India. It in, as it is now, a etriking expreation of the gonnia of India and as anch the heritage of all Indians withont distinction of rece or neped. It is becsnse eminent Iadians, Hiudne and Mabonifiann, realised this in the part that there grow en the ipirit of comradeahin between them ovinced in 00 many battle-fields. Akbar, of conree, wan the Sovereign who songht most to consolidete this apirit, and with tre mendons noccess. It was in his reign that the prowemp and loyalty of Flindinstatesmen and generale extorted from the Mahomedan historian, Badsani, the exolametion. half in admiration, half in disgnat, "A Minda wields the sword of Islam !" The fact is that it was an mach his own sword as that of Islam that the IIindn wielded. If it were not on, he conld not have wielded it with 0 mnch elrect. The Khilatat qneation, from this point of viem, is so faras India is concerned, the resamption of the old inflaence which this conntry exercised in moulding the thonght and calture of Western Asia and throngh. Westarn. Asis of Eqrope.

    ## "THE MENACE OF THE REFORMS."

    a Timely Wabnina.
    In a character aketch of Culoael Josiah Wedgwood M. Po, in the A pril number of Modern Roviou', Mr. Nibal Siogh states thet be (the Colonel) is alraid that the exaggerated importance that the meacure (the Reform Acd) altaghes to Provincial Administration might menace the growing sense of nationality in India. He, therefore, waras Indians against divarsion of their forces froin National iato Provinoial ohanaela. He exhorts them to send their beat men to the Ladian Legialative Assembly whers they ohould ase the right of interpellation to keep the offivials in ae effective check as posuible. Wo are glad that Colonel Wedgwood bas called attention to this menace of the Rurfom schome in this conptry. It has alway been present to our minds even to the point of obsesaion. In fairness to Goveroment, however, it mat be caid that they have made no aecret of thoir object in easggerat. ing the importance of Provincial adroiniatration, previonsly they had exaggerated the importance of manicipalities and Loeal Boards, in the acheme of constinational refurm. The groand plan of the present reforms was containet in a mach-discossed paragregh of the deapatch of Lord Hardinge's Goverament to the Sscretery of Btate on the revision of the Partition of Bengal and the transler of the Iuperial Capital to Delhi, dated:56h Augost, 101L. It ran an followe :/

    The maintenance of Britiah role in Iodis dependa on the altimate supremacy of the Governor-Genetal in Conncil, and the Indian Connails Act of 1303 itseif vears testionony to the impossibility of sllawing matters of vitsl concera to be decided by majority of nonofficial votes in the Imperial Legialative Cunncil. Nevertheless it is certain that, in the cource of time, the just demands of Iudians for a larger share In the goverament of the country will have to be satisfied, and ch quantion will be how this devolution of power can be conceded withont impaiting the anpreme authority of the Governor General in Council. The only possible solation of the dificulty would appese to be graiually to give the Provinces a larger messure of nelf-government, natil at last India would conaist of a number of administrations, antonomons in all provincial affairs, with the Government of Iudia above them all, and possessing power to interfers in oases of mfoflorernenent, bat ordiancily restricting their fanctions to matters of I mperial concern.

    The phrases "melf-determinacion," "making the world safe for democracy "and so on, which the War bronght into vogue were not heard of at the time this despatoh was written. These phrases had, in view of India's co-operation, to be embodied in a polics, and the Declaration of Aagast 20th, 1917 wag devised. We fancy that oar readers have the sarne difficulty as ourselves in hanting ont refereaces, aud so we quote the relevant part of the declaration.

    The poliay of His Mujeaty's Goverument, with which the Goverament of Iadis aze in cumpietz socord, is that of the ineressing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self.governing instivations with a view to the prograsive realization of ref. ponsible Governmeat in India as an integral part of the British Dmpire. They have decided that anbstantinl steps in thia direction thould be taken as sosn an possible.

    It will be noted that this Declaration cats the ground from undor the assamption on which the idea of Lord Ilardinge's Guvernment in the paragraph quoted above, was avowedly based. It recognises the possibility of ullowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votea in the Imperial Legislative Council. And yet the Reform scheme of Mr. Montaga is in essential respecte identical with that foreshadowed by Lord Hardinge, thongh no reference to the latter's despatch is -made in the Montaga-Cbelmsford report. The only difference is a sarjective one. Lord Hardinge perceived in Provinciul antonomy a means of keeping Indian bands off the ark of the Government of India. Mr. Montaga finds in it a means of edacating
    1 Indians in responsible Government so as eventually
    Wo be able to control the Government of India. But motives do not connt in pablic affairs. Only measures do. The exaggeration of the importance of provincial adminiatration, whether for Lord Hardinge's reason or for Mr. Montaga's, is a menace to the growing 4. sense of nationality.

    We do not question Mr. Montagn's motives. Nor, in trath, is his soheme solely or chiefly responsible for the tendencies visible today in Indian polity. He had not a clean atate to write on, No refurmer ever han. All the aame, wo think, he onght to have taken Farning from Indian hiatory as to the danger of letting loose the diaraptive forces which were being
    gradaally bronght under control. Perhaps; he was too preoccapied with his Farliamentary difficalties to think of Indian history. That excuse will not avail Indian reformers. What do we see around as? The Inuian States are not be interfered with and they are not to interfere in British Indian affairs. The wofal 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 interacaste marriage Bill, several Mahomedan members laid down the strange doctrine that Hindas and Mahomedans shoald not sit, debute and vote on measares relating to the social castoms of each other. The time is not far distant when this principle will be sought to be applied to such subjects as edacation, sanitation and 80 on. In the proceedings on the Dacca University Bill, the debate largely tarned on commanal matters to the neglect of important edacational issues. Not only that, bat the Befect Sommittee itself was composed on the noderstanding that the measare coucerued only Beagal, and other provinces were not eutitled to have any opinious on it, The same idea may be ubserved at work in political and social meetinga. Tue stealy exclasion of the English laugunge in favoar of the local vernucalare is its wost prousueut symptom: States, Proviuces. Conmanities langange aroujts, are seeking a separate evolation each upart from tae other. Nationsl anity is no longer the watobword: popalar edacation bas bed come its serions rival. It is quite tras that the earlier reformers left popalar edocution too mach out of account in their ides of uational anity. Present day relormers, official and non-official, are, perhaps, mak. ing the contrary mistake. $\Delta$ middle conrse will, no doubt, be foand, bat it were to be wished that the conntry had not to make a long detone before finding it.

    Of one thing we may be sure. If India had been left to herself, her line of constitational development would have had no resemblance to the Montaga scheme. It would have occurred to no Indian statesmau, conversant with the history and the tendencies of Indian uational evulution, to conjare up a bugey in the shape of "responsible Government" aud then, by way of laying it, to invent asyatem in defiance of every political theory-the cryotallised experience of msakind. Theory apart, practical cunsiderations alone soggest that when you set about reforming an existing institation, you shuald begiu by reforming not its stronger bat it weaker parts. Now, the proviccial, especially the Presidency, Guvernments, are on the whole the saund. est parts of the Anglo-Indian system. The one main reason of it is that they have their head-quarters in centre where pablic opinion operstes on them. They are relatively to the Government of India in toach with the pesple whom they udminister. The Government of India, on the other hand, is the weakeac part of the Indian syatem. It ought to be the strungest part of it, for if Indian biatory proves one thing more then another it is that a otrong Central Goverament is the aure
    safegand of the country's prsaperity withia sad secarity agninst dagers from withont. Owing to the weakness of the Goverament of Iodia-its wooden, entedelavien character, to nse Mr. Montaga's own phraco-we have had in the last iwo years great canses for anxiety both in the internal sitaativa and the exteraal relations of the conatry. Taas mach be who rane may read. Aod jet, while the Proviacial Governments are to be overhanled ont of all recogniition, the Central Government is to remain not only untouched, bat with its arbitrary powers appreciably atreagthoned. And this is reform: The Iadian otater man would have proceeded in juat the opposite way. He woald bave overhanaled the Central Government bringing it within the sphere of popalar influence and popalar sapport, and coniented himeelf with minor changes in the abbordinate administrations. That would have acoelerated the growth of the sense of nationality while the present schsme is, as Colonel Wedgrood truly says, a menace to it . The work of the past one handred yeara will in large part bave to be done over again when after the experience of a few years the conntry wakes to the fact that she is progressing backwards, not forwards.

    The deliberate omission to extend the pribciple of popalar inflaenoe to the Government of India and the refasal to incorporate a Declaration of Bights in the Roform Act, are the two vital defecte of the achome. We agree with Colonel Wedymood that the best Indians should be seat to the Indian Lugislative Alsembly, bat we do not think that the prospecte of this belog done are quite rony. Farther, even if wo send the best men, several of the members of the Government of India have rodaced the art of giving evauive replies to $q$ aestions to a fine art. Nevertheless, the attompt shoald be made. Dlore than that we woald arge the importance of doing all we can to bring the Goverament of India iato the sphere of popalar control by an early amendment of the Retorm Act. It seems to be clear that, in the sphere of finance, some departments will nader the Act be altogether excluded from criticium in the Indar Legislative Coancil though each criticism is permitted at present. In this respect the Act actually deprives nod-uficial members of an existiug right. It is obviona that we cannot get the best men to go into the Iodian Lagielatare naless there is some more solid wurk to be doce there than making speeches which do not affect the fate of any meanare or reeolation. Then, se regards reproseive laws, the speeches made at the pablic meeting held on Taesday to demand the repeal of the Rowlutt Act and those made at an earlier pablic meeting to demand the repeal of the -Press Act, show a correct appreciation of the danger which these Acte constitate to progrese. All Indian political parties are agreed on thene two important maiters. The Moderate party are as convinced of the necessity of the repeal of represtive leginlation and the ealargement of the scope of popalar iuflaence in the Goverpment of Iadies, as the Nationalista. Wo trast that the Government of Indis and His

    Majesty's Government will moet the anited wishes of the Indian people, and thas ensure the openiog of the new order of thinge in an atmosphere of completi goodwill and harmong.

    ## THE OBJECT OR TEE SOCIAL CONEERENCE.

    ## (By Sla Narayax Ceaxdapariantion

    Though English edraction had gone on for nearly a hundred yeerm and the agitation for sooind reform and the Social Conference itself had gone on for thirty yeart, yet there were political roformers atriving for complete eelf-gevernmont Who atill kept on saying that cooial relorm was pot necoseary and that all that Indis wadad wat political reform in the form of complate evaraj ar molfgoverament. They atill maintainod that if awaraj wal granted social reform would be more ensily a000mplisbed than voder the present ciroumatances. It was neoesasry, therefore, that that argament chould be answored at the present moment when Indis was ontering apoa a new era and the new politioal reforms would give some power of responsible Government la the hands of the people. The objeot of the social reformers was to prepare the country effeotively for the real form of self government whereby power in the bande of thoee of their people wirald be used not fur the sake or iuterests of any particular casite, creed or class, bat for the people and the massee as such, and especinlly firr those who had been aubjeoted for contaries to social inequality, eocinl injuatioe and cocial degradation, as in the one of many, and partioumrly of the depresed classes. Just now people, who were speaking on publio platforms and in meetinge on domooracy and on "government of the people by the people for the people," forgot that democraoy was not a political but a aocinal force, because even if complete cell-government were wrested by them from what was called the bureauoracy, yet in politics, after all was eaid and done, political reform meant the exercise by a fow of power of Government over the people. Every one could not become all admiastrator; fow conld become oven votert, had a democratio rocial epirit, political reform was the exercise of powor over others, and aolece the pertona exercising the power roally inmpathised with and folt for the masces and.had a democratic social apirit, polition reform would lead to hardshipe and sufferioga and inequalitieo.
    "Inow
    Social roform, on the other hand, moant foelling thio barden of life, and in social roform overy individaal was invested with power over othors and made to eympathise with the lot of otherd, therefore a govers ment of the people by the people for the people " wifch was used on political platforms and which bad become a ahibboleth io these dayo, was attributed to $A$ brabans Lincoln as a political phraso, but Abreham Lacoln had borrowed it from Theodore Yarker, the real author ol it, whe was a cocial workor and a roligions reformore


    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 communitios that they must work to elevate and enlishten the masses and remove inequalities of those who were below them. Of what use was political power if in their homes agd in their commnnities they did not allow widows to marry, kept women uneducated, and did not reongnise 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 polities and swaraj would bring the democratic spirit was only partially true, because the democratic spirit foust 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 mide at present of the Hindu-Moslem unity, bnt 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 uee 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' edocation 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 ${ }^{5}$ bducation did not advance because of caste castome. 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 on'y demanded communal representation but insisted that the depressed classes, who were nne-fi'th of the popula. tion of India, should not be regarded for political purposes as Bindus because they were outside the pale of Hindu society arcording to Hindu social customs and religion. 'Then the Hindu po'iticians, who were for political reform but against social roform, 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 circnuntance and anotber 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 retorm 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 bad only begun and this beginuing 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 poititical 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 RELIE: ASSUOIATION.

    ## Tie Editor, The Ia $_{\text {a }}$ dian Social Refermer.

    Sir,
    Yon may be aware that an assciation called the Blind Relief Association has been started for over a year. The
    

    1. To explain (a) by lectures aided by lanterns and charts (i) by the issita ani distribation of handbills, pamphlets, books and otiler litersture to the pablic generally, the aature and ohyricter of eye diveases, a ad the precautiond necesary to av.ind them.
    2. To eit blition and belp hiopensaries, ete., for the treatment of eye diseases.
    3. To train up and exzag: astaff of helpers for the treatmont of eye disenses.
    4 To proficifeemshon treatment and other neeessary a Ristance to pers)us whare nuahle to pay for it.
    4. To belp persons who are totally blind or of deficient cye-sight to acquire literary and industrial knowledge and training, sud to help them in obtaining eaployment.
    5. To initiste, promote and advance measures, legislative or other, for eliminating as far as possible the causes of blinduess.
    6. In short, to takb all masaures necesssry or desirable for prentiag and carins blindness, and for ameliorating and improving the oundition of persons suffering fram bindoess.
    The Managing Committes consists of the following gentlemen who are inflential and respectable citizens and have the welfare of the blind at beart.

    Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, President.
    ,s Purshotamdas Thakordan, Sheriff of Bombay, Vice-President.

    $$
    \begin{aligned}
    & \text { Mr. Jelangir B. Petit. } \\
    & \text { Dr. B. P. Banaji. } \\
    & \text { Velji Laknamsi Napoo. "N. D. Chbatrapati. } \\
    & \text { " Lalji Govindji. Col, Spooner, Salration Army } \\
    & \text { ", C. G. Hen lerson; L.C.S. } \\
    & \text { Ahuedabad. }
    \end{aligned}
    $$

    Seth Ratansi D. Morarji, Hon. Treasurer.
    Dr. A. S. Erulkar
    Mr. M. N. Chharspati.
    Hon. Secys.
    Under the argaices of the ahove association we have pablished a parapnlet ealled "Child Welfare \& Infantile Ophthalmia' "writteu by Mr. ©. G. Henderson, I.C.S., the Cullector of Bijpur whin has done so much for the Blind in jurat, Ratnayiri, E. Khandesh and orher places.

    The Salvation Army at Ahmedanad has started a Branch and is treating eyeca-en thore ; similarly at Bijupar, Molvan, Vengurla, Chiplun, Ratnagiri and Nandgaon, nranches of this association have been startel hy the lealing citizens of those places. A smalleye dispensaly will soon be openet at Balsar to treat eye cases. The A-sodiativa also contemplates to a dertake the examination of the eyes of suhool-going child ren and inmares of uther institutions wita a view to find ont eyedefects and take remedial measures whenever and wherever possible. ali this means very heavy exponses and we hope you will, hy giving due proininence in your columns to this worthy cause, do all gou can to secare it financial help.

    I nay here giate for yonr information the fact that we have only aboat 16,900 (sixteen thuazand) rapees on hand. It is hardly enurgh to aret the expeases of the work already undertaken.

    We enciose by Bookpost our pamphlet to yon along with our letters of appeal.

    | Imperial House, | Yours faithfully, |
    | :--- | :---: |
    | Lamington Road, | M. N. Chhatrapati. |
    | Girgton, Rombay. | Abraham S. Eralkar. |
    | 81st March, 1920. | Hon. Secretariea, B.R.A. |

    ## TEE EDINBCRGE IRDIAN ASSOCIATION.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Sacial Reformer Bombaj.

    Bit:Is view of the dififiontion which the etaitenta is Indie have enenanterent in ohtaining ecocrnate information mgardfiag the onarmen of intraction given in the Uaiversity of Edinhargh, we well a in other Britioh and Continental Upivaraitien, the Edinburgh Indi•a Asaneiation bat for nome time peat taten the menonaibility of affreding anch information. Daring the War, for nhyims newnong this asefnd work hed to be wtonpan, , hrot onw the Ageociation hat great plomenra in ananmacing that it is nation in $a$ pration to give aueb help to anvone who may tom wiline to apoly to it.

    The ohjoot of the Aemnistion in Aning thin is not only to mapnis the fallent information menaring the coorsee of ataty, the astare of alimata, the ennditinns of life, and the extant of annual expenaf, ete., but alen to atrise in emot individan ones ato the deairahility arotherwine nt enming to any une Univerity in preferences to other contres of edncation. of late it h a hrcomes a settiod practice among the Indian atadente to flook to certan Univeraities if er every concenivable sabject and though in dining an they are ouly prompted by the wellhenteblisned prectice of tha pact, yet it is beooming clear every day that the steady and inoranging aggregation of etadents in these oentres in lending to the derivation of lest benefit and more barm than wet the cane bitherto. It is therefore eminently necessary that the atadent who deaires to go to theso orercrowded Univenitiea shoald obtain the fallest information regarding the edacational facilitien thera, and, in view of the great congestion thereic, conaider the advisability of going to other contres, aboold these be in no was iuferior to them; and the Ediabargh Iadisa Association is willing to afurd all this adrice.

    It muct be claarly anfentood here that, in andertaking this work, the Aseuciation is nut setting itself ata rival bro dy to the Advisory Committees which have been inetitated in come parts of Indic. 【odeed, sach work wae done ny individan members in the past and the collective official action started come jeara ago wes ouly dae to the nem conditions that had erisen in riew of the iucresaing namber if stadeats that wert, and atill are, coming to this entutry every year.
    And it is hardly necessary to mention that the Iadians rooident here are bent ouitod for this thest, as they olone can well estimate the requiremente of the Indian etadeute and their expectationa.

    All commanications should be eddreezed to the Hon. Secretary, Rdiabargh Iadian Anaociation, 11 'jeorge Square, Edinbargh.

    Yours faithfully,
    1I, Goorga Square, Edinburgh.

    > V. K. Parama Yajagam, Hun. Prisidelit.

    ## the kanara district conference.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    Sir,
    It is happy to note that Kanara hae beg on to abow some pighe of ith life; molong it ame fent asleep; now, to the clarion sonnd of doty blown ap ty ite sister districto rings is ite ears, is alowly rulte in ius bed, aod makea the Kionaritea bopifal by giving thear nome unmiatakable tokens of its awakeniag.

    The adraspages of bolding a district conference are manjIold; it creates, edaeares and enliyhtens the parbie opinion,
    and wakes the diatriat firmer and men anited in goting in grievances promptly redreved; and it is to the cetiofinotion of many that Kearrites have beran to leel the noonmity of a dintrict-onaferoece, and hove caken the prolimianty stapt to make it a anocess.

    Bnt I ame ofraid that Koaaritm will be Kamarite aed mo heller. I bope that all the weta and sabieete in Kíngy will atria every nerre to make the emforomen a sucoceidat aniertaking, etting sside the commanal prajation ragiag emong them. I apposil to mis Sormerth Goodearsamat, and Havik brethren to joia bande to lith an the aneglocted" dintriat Imm tha pitch of political and rocid dearadation it ham rearked. Tondav in not the time foe quarralling among oarvelven ; time has dawned when every Indias should show the onirit of eomperating; and Kanaritem eopeoiolly, If ? are known for their apirit of dianaion, aboald forg th tboif pro jodice of earte and orred ia making a anied allort to ploce their mother dietriot on the may to sooial and politiod reform. Yanne faithfally,
    8. V. Kanat.

    ## Cbristian missionalies and the ponjab EXCEsSES.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Roformor,

    Sir,
    At one nomewhat intimat-ly mequsinted with Mimionary hought, may I be pormittod to ofer a reply to the eritionami which you heve more than onee expresod meregerde tho reticence of the Miseiouary body we whole with relereoce to the Panjab oscurrences.

    I believe that this reticences has bad ite origin in one on other of the following considerations ,-

    1. The British conse of loir play"ed jautice whieh relages to pronounce upon a case while that oace is undor iaqniry by a daly conatitated tribunal.
    2. The ferling that in all history oheor sod sulforing is the ineritable requel of action whioh tonds to met aside the normal forces of law and order. It wia clear lor all to nee that passiune wefe being aroumed inas way which conld unly isune in couflagration. Martial lane ie not ciriliascion; it in the negation of civilisati, $\mathrm{m}_{\text {; }}$ acosescory though it ba, when civilustion faile. It invalres ithe piseing of powers and reaponsibilitios in the banie of eoldiere inatead of jadges. Thit meena inoritable risk of diapropertionste or irragular action. Howerer mach ne maty grieve orar the reanalta, it was the martial law which wes really respostible, rathor thas the iudividusl apon whom, not by bie own will, it toll ho adminiater that reartial ham.

    Int Indiaa politioiasilell we what they angzent en en alterastive to martiol lav, with all its terrible ancectointien and posibilition of excesa, whea oooe the eormal forts' of civiluation break djwnin an emergency. It they have rothiuy betur to propose, let them be very ceatioces an to ang metiun which may weaken thow forces.
    3. Far more than theve, buwevaf, the great ramos tis Misionary reticecen and the coes with whioh I woold ifers. tily mace ate myelt, a the atrong denire that ilthloling between rece and race may not grow to bitur hatrod bat be que:ched in hure aod matnal rappost. While wo deplore what hes happresed, we believe that the trae way to misigath ite coneequecces is not by clentornas reprotation but ny patient and lining cervise in ithe fatara.

    Wuth the riew, B.s, I cansor bas betiete you also would agrea.

    Hyderabad. Decoan.
    Toars aipocely
    \&forch 81,1929.

    ## II.

    Onr contemporery The Indian Social Reformer bas anch a reverent regard Ior all things Christian and ite editor io anch a true friend of all Christian miesionarien that we are quite sore he will accept our earnet diaclaimer concerning oomething that appeared in an oditorial note of the Reformor or March 28. Trying to find an exdanation tor the retioance of Cbristian minsionariea in India' concerning the Panjab excesaen, onr raspeated enntemporary baid:
    "It had long been in oar nind that the immense organisa. tions educational and philanthropie, which they have establighed on the bagir of large Government grants, mas be one of the reacons. We do not esy that any missionary who is at all fijethfal to Chriat, will onnaniously allow snch.a consideration \%f control, mnoh less not gnide, his conduct. But buman condract ia not alwaya guided by conscions motives."

    Lengthy onmment io nnnecessary, for we are quite certain that, neither conrcioualy nor sab-conacionsly, have miseionarien been influenoed in their 'reticence' on this terrible subject br anvthing relating to 'Government grantr.' We honestly believe miamionariea have viewed the happeniago of last Anril with a horror equal to that of Indiane and that their ' reticence' bas been entirely dae to the fact that the whole quention is oub.fudice. This is certainly trae of oarselvel, at it explaing ajco why for the present we make no comment on the Panjab Enquiry Report of the Congreas Committeo-The Dryanodaya.

    ## III.

    Dr. Niool Maoniool is well-known as a fair-minded British milssionary, whone aympathies are all on the eide of a righteons oanna, He presided at the Temperance Conference in Madras and has hoats of admirers among Indians. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Bombay Aoxiliary Bible Society, be made the oandid confegtion that "we are far to ready to aide with our olase and let wrong remain uarighted," This complaint was pointedly made by the Indian pablio atter the revelations were maid in connection with the Podjab affaireDr. Mancicol does not obrink from calling a apade a apade, for he observed in a direct and-traightforward monner, "We have far too much of the time-serving spirit. That is not the apirit of the Eible." We wish there were also other liberalmindod Englishmen to bring home this anpalatable trath to the Earopenn ajourners here. In the same apirit of perfect oundoar, Dr. Maonien proceeded to lay: I think that those who any that wo beld our pence in the matter of the Panjab divorders in a way that was cowardly, have justification for their oharge againat as." We wish other Britiohera aloo apoke oat their mindsan freely ou the anbject and thereby atrongthened the impreseion in the Indian mind that the British ense of jastioo is not and oannot be dead. All
    7 hunoar to Dr. Mecaiool for the balun be has sfforded to the lnocrated Indisa heart by his wordi of aympathy, in connege tion with a subject which occupien such a large place in it.

    > - The Bengalee.

    ## THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

    The $G$ wardian of Febraary 19, pabliahes the proeedingu of the discanaion on the above sabject at tha Convocation of Cauterbory :-Dr. Tomple introduced the Report (No. 894) of the Joint Oommittoe on the Ministry of Women. He wat in agreemonts be said, with the report now hefore the boase that women ahock not be admitsod to the pepijabibood find yet hile reasone seemed to himzelf not nearly etrong enough to anpport the vigoor of hie opponition, Either they, regarded the dieciplinary injauotions of St. Panl and the castoms of
    the Charch in previona agen as binding for all time, of that they were adapted for the times in which they were made, and conld be modifed to meat new conditions. He emphasised one of the paragraphs of the report, namely:--4 We believe that the great extension of the scope of women's activities, alike in ecenlar and religious matters, is itaelt fandementally the prodnet of teaching of Christ and His Charch, and id due to the gaidance of the Holy Spirit. " There was nothing no lamentable as to diseover any conflict between movements which plainly owed their real origina tion and their inspiring power to Chrintianity and the Charoh, and yet one saw this in many departments of life. $H_{e}$ concinded ty moving that the resolations appended to the report be considered.

    Dr. Sparnom Simpson said it fall to bis lot to make a minority raport. He confessed that he lound the feminist interpratation of St. Paul singalarly ansonvincing. To ine terprat the passage about women keeping sielence by aid of the passage about woman's prophesying was to interpret what was clear by what was obscure. The whole method was certainls nnsatiofactory. He had inquired of the ancient Charches and the Roman, Greek and Rassian were quite eraphatis in maintaining the truditional view. But he felt as keenly as Dr . Temple that they should extend women's work in every ponsible way provided they did it within the limite 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 inconsistant with St. Panl's nrinciple of sabordination, approves of their admission to preach or pray in any congragation composed of women or of children, and would welcome this extension of women's ministry as being quite consiotent with spostolic teaching."
    The Archdeacon of Berkshire called the attention of the House to the necond ohapter of the Firat Epistle of Timothy and asked was it right or wrong that the principle of sabordination, as stated by St. Panl, was based rut on temporary conditions, bat on fandameutal facts, physical and moral.
    The Dean of Liucoln thought they had heard too mach of rales as principles. Were they going to be tied by the leter, forgetting that principles lay bolow? In his riew, the rule of apiritual equality was plain. The question, "where is it going to stop ?" was always an obscarantiat argament. Haring given instances of the valued work of women in varied bielde of activity, the lean akked, was work for Chriet to be forbididen it proposed to. be transferred into a building whioh they oalled consecrated, and conld they roluse this work in a building dedionted to the very Lord Who was helping with Eis Spirit the woman onteide? The great mast of romen had no inteution of asking to be adroitted to the prieathood. Thuir good sense might be relied on to dram the line.
    The Proloontor then pat the Iollowing motion.:-
    "That the resolations appenled to the report be now oonsidered."
    This \#as agried to.
    After the midday recess the Honse was addressed by the Prosident, the Mombera of the Uppar H anso baing present. When they bad withdrown, Dr. Temple moved the firat of the resolatiuns appended to the report:--
    "That in view of the $\Delta$ postotio conching that women equally with man are meabsrs of the Oae Budy of Cariat, and ovetakera of the Huly Spirit, and in order that faller uas may be made in the Chareb's sorvice of the gifte and experience of nomeng thic Honse makas the following recom. meudntion.
    ${ }^{6}$ Thet ander conditions hid down by the Bichop of dioceve It aboald be perminaible for wossen daly qnalified and approvad by him to apeat and pray ia cooseerated buildiaga at erricen, or mestinga for prayor, of iantraction obher thas the regalar and apprinted emprione of the Charob.

    Canaon Sparrow Simpeon's amendment wee thea enbrait ted with the drletion of the worda of of sahordination."
    The Dens of Canterbary meoonded the amendment. He arguod that 8e. Paul'a tosohing mea decidedtr in farour of the old tradition. There were payohic and phynioal differeacee batween men and moman which might hovn led St. Paul to lay down this rale. It women had boocedimitted to Parlisment and to the Bar it wes becsace it could not be helpedprectically the only way to prevent riolonoe. He hopel the Ginse moald eot alopt the revointions.

    The Bishop of Woolwich considerad that an Canoe Sparrow Simpron went es for ar to wish to empowar women to praech and pray in congregatione of women and ohildron, he might go a atep farther and ivolude men.

    A quention was pat as to the exact meaning of Canom Simpson'c emendment.

    The Prolocator--IIt incladod the possibility of their spenking in a concecrated ehureb.

    The Dasn of Centorbrry--Then il that in the meaning of it, I withdraw from seconding it.
    Dr. Kidd (Warden of Koble) arged that for the aske of mainthining naity and order we mast reoognies the epiritual equality of women with men ; and Obrintisn women mast reoognice that anberdiantion of faootion was oompatible with noch equality.

    Canon Aitkes appsealed to the Finuse to do its best to make the miniatry of women as effective as possible.

    Canon Wood anticipatod a grests breach in the Charoh of Engiand if the proponale were adoptod.

    After farther disonasion, Dr. Eparrow Simpson and Dr Kidd intimated thair aillingness to encept part of the retelation with varbal alterations as an alternative to their amondment.
    The Dean of Ely boped the limitation would be adopted, and regretted the original reowlation did not go further.
    Several divisions were taken, and eventaclly, on the motion of the Dena of Casterbary sesonded by Canon Maynard Smith, the following amondmert wes adopted by 49 voter to 47 :
    "That, in view of the etaterienta of $\mathrm{St}_{\mathrm{t}}$. Paul on the suhject, and of the naiform practioe of the Churoh in the prut, it is not desirable to grant the permianion proponed in the resolatiod which bas beed befure as."
    Thie then became the snbstantive renolation, and $7 .{ }^{-1}$ adopted by 46 voter againat 45.
    The reat of the resolutions then dropped, and the Hoase adjourned.

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    Uganda replies to British Elatt Africa.
    Mr. Devdhar on Social Reform.
    The late Dr. T. J. Scott.
    Anr Eatern phrase Por a Wentarn lact.
    Useful School Books.
    Por Indian Students.
    The Poet': Messago.

    Millowaers and Workers.
    Social Reform Problems I.*
    National Efficiency and
    Temperanoe Reform.*
    The Reward.*
    What is Wroog with
    Christianity in Iadia?
    Dearer Newspaper.
    The Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

    ## HOTES.

    Uganda replies to British East Africa: The British East Aurtica ticonomic Lominiswon had damned the Indian settler as an immoral, dirty and altogether undesirable person to be got rid ot by any means. The contiguuus British Protectorate of Uganda nas also had an Economic Commission and the East African Chisonicle of the 27 th March quotes the following testimony from the report of that Commission to the goud citizenship ol the Indian. "The country owes much to the Indian trader, and we consider that a broad policy of tuleration should be adopted towards him. He has shown energy and enterprise and has assisted in the upeang up of the more remote districts. He is als., of value as an agriculturist and his activites "11 thi, direcition migut well be encouraned." Uai curiernpurary points unt that the blistury of the lusiall setuement and development in Uganda and ortisil Last Atrica is pracically identical dad that the Indiall coinmuniltes of the two protectorates ate not different peoples: they have opened up the couniry and been of vital necessity in its develupiaent 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 ol Mr. G. K. Devdiar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, at the Bombay Provincial Sucial Conlerence held at Sholapur, is a relreshingly outspoken utterance. We pitat the first part of the English summary of this able and eloquent address in this issue. Mr. Devdiar is a plactical worker in several field, of s.ectat service and hs enthusiasm espectally for all causes which cone m the elevation of woinen is unioumded. The presidential pronouncement at the Shuthpur Social Eivnterence will rank bigit in tise hiterature of social

    The late Dr. T. J. Scott. We are grateful to ${ }^{\text {" Mr. }}$ Willred Scott for sending on to us from América 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 syppathetic reader of this juurnal for many years, and desides his new year greetings which never failed to pach us, he wrote to us often friendly words of co dasel and appreciation, especially after his retiremfot from India. His heart was with India and ner peopled and India has lost in him a true and devout frieph and champion.

    An Eastern phrase for a Western fact: To the Hindu Messagu 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 Presst whose simultaneous presence is evidently nece.sary. to bring out the papar! Verily, nur Varnashrma dharma contemporary deserved better of its printers!

    Useful School Books. We have received a batch of books for scuool children published by Mesirs, Macmillan \& Cu. They are piloted in good lype, on good paper, the ihusirations are excellent, the general get-up leaves $n$ thing to be desited. They are well adapted lir use in schools. Their uames and prices are as 10 liuw: 'Indian Nature Myths by Slievon Uevi, price 8 ainnei' 1 evelupment of the British Empue by m. Piuthero, M. A. Revised edition Rs. 2., selections from Sanskrit l'oetry by P. V. Kane, M A LL. M. price Re. I, Picionial A iai of English History By E. J. S Lay 48 Piges, 12 daias, Midilte Scnool Composition by the Direct Henuod by L. Tipping, M. A. 12 annas, Macinillan's New English Readers Primer i, 4 annas, Sume 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. I 18 .

    For Indian Students. The Bureau of Education has publisied 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 waras Indian students that they should have at- the very teast $£$ lou per annum if they go to America or Japan. another point to be borne in mind is that afl teaching and lectures in Japan are given in Japanese, so that an lndian student should first acquire the lagatage in that country.

    ## THE POETS MESSAGR

    At a public meoting held last Sanday under thi suepices of the Stadente Brotherhood of Bombay, the renowned Kavi, Rabindra Nath Tagore, delivered- an eloguent and inspiring address which those who, heard it will not soon forget. There wes mothing priginal in the address in the rense that there wat comething in it which nobody had enid before The addrent wee not practical in the sense that by scanning its, contences you can find a colation for the honaing problem of the problem of the Conacil Hall or the problems presented by the echeme of constitational reform. Bat it was both original and practical in the only and the highest cense ip which an address of the kind caa be original and practical, namely, that it left on the minds of those who heard it a very vivid impression of the daty that is laid on every one of an to sherish bigh aima which reach beyond our personal intereste and not merely to cheriah them as copy-book maxims, bat to atrive with all our heart and soal and atrength to work them into the atructure of the society of which wo are mombers:This is the commonplace of moral text-books bat the original and . praotical factor in the poet's cadress wad thet the personality of the speaker, the oplentoor of his imagery, his earnestness and sincerity, ondowed thii commozplace. with, life. The akeleton which soaree the youth in 0 many text-books and cuermons was clothed witilfiah, its veine 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 kabindra. Nath is as all true poets are the prophet of hip age and conntry. It is not the function of the prophet as it in of the atateaman, the administrator, the political leader, to provide a working solation for the practical problems of the hoar. Not only that, bat nothing bat disester can ensure when the poot, the prophet and the great teacher, ateps ont of his uphere and andertaken to regulate popalar movemente. Instances of this arg not wanting in contemporary history. Society at a particular time and in
    a particalar coantry an assimilate an ideal only in a a partionlar form and to a certain limited extent. Tha renalt of trying to force an ideal in its absolate forim on a society which can take it obly in weak solations and amall. doses, bat been desoribed in memorable worde by Bärke in whom the vision of the prophet Fan combined with the insight $c$ en the statesman. And ouyot nobody who heard the poet's address eould have "reiled to see that his puiseant generalisations had a clone bearing on sll the fondamental isaices which andorlis the religions, social, edacational and political probleate of the hour. If the poet did not give as a key which will open every door, he gave as the steel from which we can forge such a koy for ourralven.

    The Poot's weanage consinted of a criticism and an appeal. He denonnced in burning words the treptal molf which, in the garb of patriotiom, would

    Keep India boand to the dead inatitalifon of the peat -ceste, women's sobjection, the rale of ure and woat. He denounced the anperficial view which, aloo in the gaise of imbriotien, tavile too woch of the ontward material aspects of weatern oivilization, and failed to set the inward aphritash impribe which gave it ite etrength ind immense energy. Matter is inert and all energy is manifestation of epirit. It follows on the feoce of it that the enargetic civilasation of the West is more spiritinal than the inort eivilisation which that of the Emat has. become. Many peoplo mistake Rabindra Nath to be prejudiced against Weatern civilizetion. No greater mistake can be made. He intensoly dislikes come of ite manifestations, bat no one has a truer and keener appreciation of its easentially apirt -i aal character than the illastrion Indian port. Weatern civilization in bot morely and not esoentially the exploitation of coloured races or the invention of infernal machines. The corraption of the bent is notorionsly alwayy the worst, and these are oorraptions of Western civilisation. What Weatern aivilication really and at bottom is, is the daantien quest of Natare as illastrated by the discovery of the Poles and the conquest of the sir, the queachless ardoas for trath as evidenced by namerous medical and acientific achievements, the anceasing atraggle againat evfl and wrong, disease and poverty proofs of which aboand on every side. When wo think of ita iavention of poison gas, we should not forget its invention of the Braillo alphabet.

    The Poet broaght this home to his sadience in manys ringing phrase and, white condemning in ecathing terme the corrapt developmente of this great civilization, he exhorted his young hearern to anderatand and act upon is inner apintual import. Bo of eervice to bamanity, be prooluimed, and hamanity will atand up for you againat the powers of darknose. Be trae to joarmelf, give of joar best, be not over-ansiona an to what you get in retara, above all, be gentio and atrong and matraid, and you will find ealvation for yourselt and your conotry and your people. With many of us who deory Weatoru civilination, it is as often an pot the atory of the fox and the sonr grapes. We wonld like to have all tho advaniagee of ite material and political power, bat aince wo havo. them not and are parplezed as to how we can acquire them, wo denoance them as anworthy of our wonderfal spiritanal civilization. As a matior of fact, the very-dependence of the Eact is proof that it has lost its epirituality of which vitality ahedo freedom are the sureat signo. No nation anbmita its nock to a foreign yoke no long as it is ponsensed by the fealing that it hae miscion and a measage to mankind which it mast accomplish and deliver, 9 ? die. The problem of ladis is altimatoly in the heart and sonl of Indian men and women. It will never be colved by extrudeous crutches. "Take ap your bed and walk " in, in effeot, the poet's bidding to his paralytic conntrymen. We can do so if we will to do patiently and peraictently. Aad will is the concomitant of deep faith. The root emase of all oar woes in that we have become a people of little faith.

    Foreign domination, economic, intellectasl and political, is a consequence not a cause. If we choald be presented with the fall apparatas of Government, the best and most argent ase to which we sbould pat it, is to foster and maltiply the well-springs of faith in ourselves.

    It is the Poet'a misaion to make handreds and thousands of bis conntrymen feel like himself. When handreds and thoasands of India's sons and danghters feal as he does, there will be a woaderfal trangformation vivible on the face of society. The transforming power of a great affection is not a theory bat a fact. We take the following not from a story book bat from the greatest educational. Work that has been pablished in our time, Dr. Montessori's, on her method:

    - fran $_{1}$ an inatitation for deserted children, there was one extremely ugly orenture, who had neverthelest greatly ondeared himbelf to a young woman who had the oare of him. This narse one day told one of the patronesseat that the ohild was growing vary pretty. The lady went to look at its bat found it very ug!y, and thought to herself that daily habit coon scocontoms us to the defeote of others. Some time alter this the nane made the same remark ac before, and the lady good-naturedly paid anotber visit; impreseed by the warnith with which the young women apoke of the obild, ohe was toached to think that love had made the apeaker blind. Severnl monthe elapsed, and finally the narse, with a trinmphant air, declased that henseforth no mistake would be posibile, for the ohild had undoubtedly become "besatiful." The lody, motounded, had to admit that this was true; the body of the child had actually been tranilormed ander the influence of a great affection. (The Advanced Montessori Muthod, chapter $I_{\text {t }}$ page 23).
    Is it a vain belief that the face of this great nation will be transformed hy the flash of freedom which is life, if the millions of her sons and danghters come habitually to feel as those prement felt at this powerfal lectare by oar great poet, Rahiodranath Tagore? Bombay is repated to be a place given over to materialism, bat the warmth and genaine cordiality of the welcome which all classes of our citizens extended to the Kavi, shows that she has a vieion of deeper things. No doabt some came to see the winner of the Nobel prize, the Indian who has won appreciation in Farope and America, bat not all or most. Eeperiully the jounger geberations have valued the Poet's personslity and his message as an abiding inspiration. In the years to come when the shades of the prison-hoase close around them, they will derive strength and hope and coarage trom the gracions memory of Rabindra Nath's presence and disgonrses among them.

    Ab, did you once see Shelley plain,
    And did be atop and speak to yoa,
    And did you speak to him again?
    r: Now otrange it seems and new!

    ## MILLOWNERS AND WORKERS.

    The dintribes in whiah some recent spokesmen of the mill owners of Bombay have indulged agrinst the Boubsy Labour Settlement Committoe and its Chairman, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, are the best teatimony
    to the effective work accomplished by that organisaes, tion which was called into existence in order to coordfnate several isolated efforts' to deal with the situation created by the strike of mill. workers in the beginning... of this year. That great philanthropist, $\mathrm{Mr}_{\mathrm{n}}$. Jehangir. B. Petit, in h's address to the Industrial Conference was very scornful of the "pseudo-philanthropists" who dyred to meddle with a matter which concerned the :-mill-owners. The eminent social reformer, Sir Dinshsw.. Petit, in a speech in the Legislative Conncil was equal-i ly contemptaous of the "social'reforinern" who presum- ${ }^{2}$, ed to toach mill-owners their daty to their, workert. And - now' 'that' vetoran' politician, Mrr. Rahimtoole ": Currimbhoy; has warned samateor politicians". to desist from atteripta in the' fature to, obtain for the 'grievances of mill workers.. equitable cons sideration at the hands of their employers. It is this modest task which the 'Bombay Labour. Sottloment Committee endeavoured to do as soon as it was formed., Ten or twelve days had pasied since the strite begant and there were ' no signs of the workers and their employer coming to terms: 'The mill-öwners had. complained that they had no formolated demands of the workers to consider. The mill distriots, were. picketted by the military and the police. The poblic was getting nervors and the prese was insistent in its . demands for an early settiement. In these circumstances, the Social Service League folt that"it was bound to take action and it was sooni joined by all the other small organisations whiohi had boén tat wort: The Bombay Labour Settlement Committee was Cormed with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar ne Chairmat!: The first'thing it did was to call meeting of the mill : hands at several centres with $k$ view to ascortaining ${ }^{\text {f }}$ at first hand what the workers' wanted done: Sit Narayan himself presided at the biggest of these meetings.' In this way a list was mado of the demands of the workers and this was forwarded to the Mill-owners' Association with a request that thei 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. Rahimtoolla said that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar asked for strike pay to be giveri to the mill hands on the ground that the strike was a lock-ont. 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 oxpressed approral of it or asted the Mill-owners' Association to accept this demand. The circumstances in whioh the strike began were nerratod by a mill 'worker at a meeting of the Labour Nettlement Committee held after the first reply of the Vill 0 wners' Associotian was received, and were embodied in the second representation without any reference to the payment of wages for the strike period. Mr. Rahimtoolla further sald that the Labour Settlement Committee did not advise the strikers to go to work. On the contrary, at a moeting held to consider the reply of the Mill-owners' Association to the first representation of the Committes; Bir Narayan ${ }^{\text {i }}$ earnestly spoke to the representative of the workers
    pointing out the bardships to their families of their continued abeonce from work: and implored them to consider the question deeply. Their nnanimous reply wis that they were prepared to-suffer any bardships. They urged that Sir Nararan should at once see Hia Excellency, bat be persuaded thenp that this shorild not be done wilhout 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 absance of the haman tonch between them that was rexponsible for the strike. He felt that the intereate of the mill industry are the interests not only of the mill-owners bat of the whole conntry, a.d that no solution of the labour troable shotld be adopted which would have the effret 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 eee that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar by his intervention did a distingaished service as mach to them as to their work-people. They would be gratefal to him instead of indulging in abnes which but recnils on those who utter it. Mr. Rabimtoolla's tribute tn His Exeellency the Governor and to the police and military authorities was thoronghly well-merited. Bnt would it be believed that the mill-owners did not originate or encourage the idea of His Excellencr's intervention which, as Mr. Rahimtoolla said, brought the strike to 2 speedy end ?

    Mr. Rabimtoolle and othere of his trpe will not understand if it was, eaid, that the intervertion of the Bơnbay Laboar Settlemant Committee was actuated by the highest considerations of homanitr. But there are other reasons which they ran not hit appreciata. No one who saw the spirit of the strikers will agree that if matters had been allowed to drift the workers would have quietly retarned. 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 pablicat an agency haring at last come on the acene which might be relied upon not te allow things to drift. That this feeling was very largely due t) Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's being Chairman of the Committe日, goes a ithout saying. Wo repeat that the worke's would nut have quietly resomed work if the Committee had, not been formed. They would have gone on till starvation stared them in the face. Perhaps, they woald have starved to death peacefally, but the sight of their women and chi'dren 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 panse to weigh their acte. They see red. The foundations of socety 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, bat the State works through haman beings. Solders and policemen ore of the eame flesh and blood as the workers thrown out of wort. It is all right for Mr. Jelangir Petit to denouince trados-anionism, bat if
    workert mny uot comhine by what right cas omplo yers do P We bave not the least doubt that the Bombay Lobour. Settlement Cnmaitteo, with Sir Naragag Chandavarkar at ita heed, by facilitating the vigorous intervention of II Exaellenoy, rendered a great merrice to the commonity. No one who is not blinded by passiou and self-interast can fail to admit that fiot. Sir Narayan and bis co-workers are not in the least likoly to be disoonraged by what men like Mr. Rabimtoolla may say or do. The-iden : is prepostorotatic On the other band, they are likely, to be monts strengthened in their sense of duty towards the workers wher reqrescatative bmplogers thow thersselver to be so deplorably indifforent to the spirit of the times. Mr. Rahimtoola repeated fir the handredth time the ery of the inefficient employer that his wor here are inefficient. Dapleix discove ed that Indian noldiora under proper guidance were the equale of Enropeana, and Clive put that discovery to excellent use. Eurapean employers of labour. In India have repeat-dly borne testimony to the high educability of Inlian labour with proper encouragement and under efficient guidance. We can quote a . number of such testimonies. If the Ind'an mill worker is a slecker, it is largely because the conditions under which be worke does not conduce to energy and effici-Dcy. After all, Mr. Rabimtoolla should remember that it is a bad workmon who oomplains of his tools. In the present atate of their heiplessness and illiteracy, it will be criminal negligence on the part of the State and the pablio to leave thase worhers to fend for themselves. That way madneas licm.

    ## SOCIAL REFORM PROBLEMSI.

    ## (Br Me. G. K. Difdeaz, M.A.)

    Takiog a rapid and impartial review of the aitnation we have strong groavie to be proad of our achievements in the past two generationa. Time wats when wo ased to be misrepresentet, caricalared, abused, and painted in darkest colours, for oar seal and enthosisem for eocial adrancement, by those who opposed it is the name of religion and country. They charged as with impions motives and boutility to religion. This campaign of hontile and anfriendly criticiem and vilification lost ite vigoar. The Time-apirit wes on our side. The operation of world forces, the spread of edacation ad arowing contace with wentern cirilisation and coltare, oleared the way aod largely helped to remove the obstacles in our path. The adrancing tide of oationalism controlled by rationalism, and the inoute seane of bmmadigoity and baman jusfice annerted thermeives. To order to jadge whether our canse has lost or gained, we zeed oot go very far. The bistory of acial progrese in Poona dariug the last toriy yeare will a ford ample teatimony to onr distiuct advauce in mand directions. Thongh Piona is a ceatre of many ejacational and liberal movemente, it has not get lost ite position es the


    monghold of conservatism and orthodoxy. I sball only instance foar. Take the question of women's edacation. If one remembere the active opposition offered to the opening of a Girle' High School in the heart of the city, one would be astonished to see the very harge namber of giris and women attending schools and the Seva Sadan classes. Poona claims today the three biggest inetitations in the country for the 'ducation of women and girls. These have become object-lessons, as is genorally recognised, to the rest of the coantry in this direction. Secondly, take the crael practice of chaving the bsir on young widows' heads among high class Brahmine. This has practically died out, and one sees a large number of young anfortanate widown freely walking in the streets withont being deprived of their precions bair. Third. ly , if you ro-call the days about thirty yeare ago, it was very common to witness married conples when the boy was aboat 14 and the girl aboat 7. Now you can oome across meores of strong young men determined to marry only after the completion of their edacation and acquiring the capacity to earn their living. Tens of anmarried grown-ap pirls are seen at schools where they learn to reeognise their responsibility and to develop their physical and mental oapacities. Fonrtbly the history of the apheaval in the orthodoz society over the cup of tea taken by edacated Brahmine at the hands of the Christian Missionaries in Poona abont thity years ago, is a very pleasing contrast to the large namber of high caste Hindas openly participating in socied fanctions attended by all castes and ereeds. When one thinks of the large number of women of all castes, inclnding the Brahmin and the Depressed olasses in Poona, that marched in procension to the Manicipal office to demand compalsory edncation for girls along with boyu and deprecsted the iden of firat introdacing hoy: adacation in the city at the neglect of the girl's, it was a qight for gode. Are not these sufficient ovidences and signe of progress? In the society as orthodox as it was baforel Is nocial reform as onpopalar as it paed to be? Are the seformera lesa religions today becsase of theic seal for social zeform! Thas it will be seen clearly that eocial reform is becoming the accopted areed of the edacatod and a necesoary attribate of patriotism or nationalimm in the honeat and traest sense of the phrase:

    ## Grbay Opportunity for Refoly.

    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 orban arean mostly, the trath of this criticiam mast be readily nccepted, because it was none of the fault of the Reformers, nor was it the inherent disqualification of reform. It was quite nataral. This piece of jost oriticism, howerer, mast lead ns reformera to recognise fally our reaponaibility in this matter especially when we stand at the threshold of a new ora of political reforman aubered in by the new Indian Reforms Act. III Majouty the Eing Emperor George V bas, by his graciona proolamation, endeared himeolf to na all. We mast gratefally ackoomiedge, farther, the
    arduons and disinterested labouns of Mra Montagn, the Secretary of State for India and the many Britioh statesmen and friends like Mr. T. J. Beanette Sir John Rees and others. We mast not forget our deep debt of gratitade to our distingaished conatrymon like Lord Sinha, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Mr. Bhapendravath Basa, His Highness the Age Khan whosebold and vigourones advocacy of our canse helped to shed a great lastre on the name of par conntry. They all laboured hard and succeeded ingivipg to our vast masses a great opportanity to work oat their real salvation and national destiny in shaping which political power is but a necessary important tool. This power mast be used by those who come to possess it, to the greatestadvantage of our people who have not come nuder the inflance of advanced social and national ideak. The creed of social reform is equal opportanity to all to rise to the highest statare of manhood and womanhood. Its methods emphasise self-determination in social matters, selfhelp and self-restraint. In order to work oat the ideal of national regeneration and social progreas all along the line, and not in parts or compartments, we must pat the trae meaning and scope of social reform before the people laying special stress on the need for all-round progress, if we want to secare true social woll-being and not merely political adoancement, which is bat a phase of it and not co-extensive with it.

    ## Nesd for Aotion.

    heformers 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 methcda of propaganda we had to pash the cane- of social advancement. Bat it was not enough. Many active reformers had to resort to positive or constractive plans of work to give a material shape to their ideas of recasting the sooial. fabric or social institations to sait the requirements of modern societyand secare jastice to mea and women all alike.

    ## Caste.

    Let as now take some of the argent problems of reform that still need oar earnest and continued efforts. The first and foremost is the all-pervading social institation of caste. Thin ancient bat degraded institation has worked incalculable mischiel in par society. It has torn the commanity to pieces and divided and sab-divided its interests and redaced to the lowest minimana the opportunities of wide social intercoarse and commanal betterment. Its watertight compartments have separated the important fanction of the commanity into narrow and selfish grooves. It has eaten the very vitals of the great Hinda race and sapped their social life. It has atopped the nataral flow of energy and vigoar into the veins of the nation, stanted nataral growth, and considerably narrowed onr ontlook. It is the worath canker from which a society can saffer. This institation has no paralled in the world. The differences it bas prodacod in the society and the nocial barriers it has raised have become permanent and have come to
    obtain the eanction of rellgion ae a condition of exictence, brought on by Divies dispenation. The distinctions of differences that are observed in other coantries or mocietien have nothing in common with Indian cacte. In England for inotance, we are told there are differences. Bat these are man-made and could be anmade by man. They have no religiona sanction whatsoever. These social grades have their origin in differences in wealth and atation in lifo But an coon as these are removed by those who laboar under them by dint of indastry, ability, caltare and onlighteriment, they vanich lite midt bofore the sung,

    - Unleas, thereforo, casto is done' away with or 'ita barriers are palled down. Indian progress will be almost impossible.


    ## NATIONAL EFEICLENCY AN D TEMPERANCE BEFORM.*

    ## (By fal Rav. A. T. Hoyflat, Bulsar.)

    Every trae friend of India is interested in the highest welfare of the conatry and is willing to do all in his power to bring abont greater aational efficiency. In doing this he most oppoee every agency that weakens and destroys the indastrial, 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 as consider some of the thinge or movementi that are belping to make a greater India.

    ## Edvantion.

    Edacation is the fondation for Iarger development aid greater progress of the country. There needs to be greater extension of the edacutional aystem in order that the backward classes may enjoy the blessings that come to those who are being edacated. There are millions of boys and girls in this coantry growing :ap without an edacation! There also needs to be greater educational effioiency. Many children who are now in sehool, for varions canses, do not get farther than the first or second standard. There needs to be more and better trained teachers, and, so far as ponsible, the canses that keep papils from achool, or hinder their best work while in school, mast be remozed-

    One of the canses that hinder the progress and development of edacation in India in the liquor traffic. Families and villages that are given to mach drinking are little concerned for the education of their children. A great many children mast be tept out of achool to help to make a living for the family, becaurethery tiave drinking parents. The money that should be ased to keep the children in sobocl is apent for liquor, and, in many instances, the father is made incapable for working becanse of heavy drinking. In Kainsea City, Kapsar, after the prohibition law was enforced and all liquor shops were closed, 600 boys and girls from

    12 to 13 years of age atteaded pablie echool for the firat time. Eighteen more tenchers had to be hired. An investigation ras made to find ont the cause of this sadden incresses it wres found that these childrea had to stay home to help to anpport the family because their fachern were drankards. Aner the ealoona were olosed the money they carned wont to eapport thoir familiee and the children were sent to echool. Farther mores the children of non-drinking perenta are foúd to be brighter and more capable of learning than the children of drinking parention Qaite often the childron of the falter also drink. 'Dr. MecNioboll of Now York, after a very extonsive inveatigution, atates $:$ - From 15 to 25 per cent. of drinkors, free from beriditary alcoholic taint, are dallards. From 88 poh $\mid$ cent, to 77 per cent, of the dencendante of a drinking anceatry are dullards." Again it was foand that of 12,910 childrea from prosperoas bomes olassed as dallard, three out of every four had drinking pareata; and out of 8,198 dallards from poor families, 17 out of every 20 had parente who aned liquor.
    from the above it is seen that in villages and families where there is mach drinking, the pareats are not awake to the peed of edacation for their ohildrea; that many childrea are kept from echool becanse of the drinking habite of their pareata; and that the childrea of drinking parente who attend sobool do not learn to well we the children of non-drinklog parente The sappression of the liquor traffic will romove one of the great obstacien to aniveral education in this conatry. Those who are in favour of edocation 'for the masses of Iudia will do what they can belp the temperance reform movement. Probibition will make posaible a more efficient edacmional ayatom.

    ## Moral Cplift.

    There can be no trae development of India withont growth in the moral ideals of the Individual and the nation. Gercoany had wealth, learning and efficiency ; but she was without moral ideals. She broke her agreemonts with other nations, defiled and tortured women and ohildren without moroy and became, as it were, a nation of thiovee and robbers! She forgot God and beoamo dranken and immoral. So along with intellectaal development and material gains in India, there must be honeoty in all business denlings, trothfulress and usefuinees in an personal and cocinl rolations; parity and love in the homo, righteoumene and justice with meroy in the administration of Governmeni, s closor brotherhood among all olasoes and a greater reverence for God and His Word. The agenolee and iosititulions that are working for thece ends deserve ther support of every true con of India, the thingt that are antagonistic to these ideals, he should oppose with all the strength that God has given hime.

    Drink is one of the chief cassen of national decay and one of the greateet hindrances to the moral and religions development of the country. The moral and apirital development of an individual who in a moderate drinker Is at beet greatly retarded, and those who are heary drinkers seon become morily bankrupt. One if the first things that a drioking man looses in his moral senuitivences. Some years ago the juvenile courts of

    New York Citif within a short time convicted ivix boys for burglary, two boys were fonid guilty of assault and -highway robbery, and three: boys were convioted of marder. "In each of these instanoes aloohol bore a xonspicions part in the fumily bistory. Hardlya day passes without its record of javenile crimes." Why is it that jails are becoming empty and the prison population greatly reduced in the United States? Becanse the liquor traffic, the greatest crime producing factory in the world, has been put out of businees. Religious workers and missionaries have found that dxink is one of theigreatest hiadrancen to their work. All who are concerved for the moral'and spiritual welfare of Iedie should pot neglect to oppose the drink traffic, because, its removal means the removing of one of the greatost diadragees to the ryoral regeneration of the conntry.

    ## Hralte.

    The ceath rate in this conntry is said to be twice as high as in England. Epidemics, soch as cholera, plague and inflaenze sweep over the land and carry off their victims by the millions. The deaths among children bofore they reach one jeur of age is alarming, and is of no amall concern to every true seeker of the wolfare 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 baokward clanses and ignorance among women of the propar care and nursing of children are some of the principle cajses of so much disease 'and death in the country.' What reiation has the use of liquor to disease and heaith conditions in India ?

    Doctors tell ns that the drioking man is not only more liable to be attacked by disease, bat eloo, when he gets influenze or some other disease, ha has leas chances of recovery, than the total abatuiner. According to the experience of the Earopean Absarance Societies, at the age of 20, the cotal abstainer bas the prospoots of living 44 years more, an average of 64 yeara; the moderate drinker has the prospeots of living 31 more years, an average of 31, Which is 13 years less than the total absatainer; and the heavy drinker has the prospects of living ouly 15 more years, -an average life of $\mathbf{3 5}$, which is 20 years less than the average length of life of the total abstainer. People who drink are more liable to diesase, and die faster than those who do not; sach is the observation and experience of soores of life iisarance companies.

    Again, drink is partly reaponsive for the high death rate among children. From the reanlts of an investi-

    - gation by Prof. Demme of Bern, Swizerland, of twenty families, of whom ten were temperate and ten intemperate, it was fonnd that out of the 61 ohildren of the tea temperate familiea 50 were normal, and of the 57 childred of the ten intemperate families only 10 were normal ; there were 6 diseased deformed or otherwise sboormal children of the intemperate families white the abnormal children of the intomperate familie unmbered 22; 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 inuocent children mast suffer becanse of tee sins of the parents. Drink is in league with disease and death g, those who are fighting the latter must also raipe atrong and determined hands againat the former.

    Indugtrial Efficienct:
    In this time of high prices there is great, peed of larger prodaction of food prodacts and other necesgities of life. This will do mack to bring prices 'down' and make living' more tolerable for the poor. Greater prodactive ability in the individual workman and greater indastrial efficiency in all mills and factories will bríng abont increased prodaction and tend to lower prices. Agricaltaral and indastrial edncation, more cordial relations and bettet cooperation between capital and labjar, also more efficieat organization will do a great déal to improve economic condition of Indis. Is drink an aid or a hindrance to the indastrial. efficiency of the conntry?
    Drink redaces the amonnt of work and lowera the quelity of work done by the intemperate, workonan. All will agree that this is true of the heavy: drinker. Bat the moderate drinker asually feels that be can do more work bs taking a glass of liquor daily. While he thinks he does more nork, carefal observatign has again and again shown that he does less work than the total abstainer, In other words ten total abstain. ers will do as much work as eleven moderate drinkers. In forced marches the soldiers who were abstainers showed greater endaranee than the men who drank. A correspondent wrote in the Times of India us follows on Prohibition in India: "I have had worke in many places; some of the places háve bèeñ a good distance from the liquor shop, others near by. The same men have gone from a "dry "place to one where liguor was within reash. What was the resalt-near the liquor meant irregular atiendance, many quarrels, men did things thay would not do when sober, they were less reliable and less efficient, earned lese, eaved less." Because drinking men are less efficient and less reliable than non-drinkers, and many indnetrial accidents are due to drink, scores of the leading indastries of America-inclading the rait roads-refased to employ. drinking men. Indástrial Prohibition came before national Prohibition. Besides, the drinking man after spending his money for liqnor does not have safficient left to properly feed and bonse himself and family and hence his work mast suffer. These are cuffigient, reasons why those who favoar indastrial reform and greater indastrial officiency shoold become ontspoken advocates of the temperance reform.

    Greater edacational efficiencr, bigher moral standards, better health conditions, greater and more efficient industrial development are eqsential factors in the moalding of a greater and a better India. Space forbids the mentioning of others. Just as drink is a hindranoe to the best work of the agenoies mentioned above, so practically every other ageocy that is working solely for the best interests of the conatry in hampered by the liquor traftic. All who hare the highest welfare of Iudia at، beart nill do well to join hands in a common cane against a common foe !

    ## THE REWABD*

    They made' mot mock of har geiogy the throne in the crow ied atreet,
    Thare wno litule aige of thiir koowing abe had' peased thoas on Finged fect,
    Thay hat hardly board of hor promence, or har high, rumelfial song,
    Tor the corect ill in the roddem bill of the victime themedree of wroeg.
     olared to tree,
    How, the glden tale. dimolone the thing thet mat alvaje be
    Slave atriving with olove, and coorning the word that rould blew them both,
    For the bitter pert in all eaving art fo the slave's owt olfish sloth.

    Bea over prophot spoiton againat the enthroned abree,
    That bie own beast was not broken by thooe whom be came to loose?
    They conld holp their oppressors rather than themcilven and their goode defend,
    For the world in alow, to rebake foe but ewilt to dentroy - friend.

    Where yet in the State or Fation that given not ite beat to thoee,
    Whe merit it indigumtion for more than ity opes foes !
    Or the charoh, though it prate of Jesas, which does not the Beriben prefor?
    For the eany way il to fawn and pray, and atifle the trathe that etir.

    Then wherefore the fum and flarry, or wherefore the shornt and the crosi ?
    Were it not an well to be morry, and leave the world to ite loss $?$
    What profit have all the martyre of all their belated fame:
    For their very praion in the later daja but hideth the Inter chame.

    What profit if The gain of, living, for nothing bus thio io lifo:
    Wholnowejot the joy al-giving dimenth in -bomic ctrife
    It - partaor Jet with the cattle, with lew thay theis calo content.

    - For a man must do something large and trae-or lail of of a man's intonts.

    And whatio there mone worth domy ther to dram to che daye to bo 1
    With etoadiot prow patrining sto quent of the ounmer moce
     conlencas?
    Fet the bighent gain in the moed of poing and the martyr in aill the Ifas

    They mede not mach of bet soing, mor mach of ing: high born song.
    Bus hare wrat the joy of knowiag obe had dared to dels the wougb ' $"$, ta
    And the greatet foy of loving, a lovieg by grad enmarred.
    For the beart of him in forcrer shis thet love in itut own mward.

    Ronger Wmiante.
    FHAT 18 FRONO WITE CERISTLANETY IN INDIA?

    The Editoc, The Indian Social Reformer,
    Mr. Manilal Parekhattompte whimeical anewer to this groandlen question in the Reformer of Norember 23rd. He mampe that comething in radioally wrong and that mimions. we now carried $0 n_{4}$, have blookid the way for she farthor epresd of Oheint's Kingdom in India,' and that there is not any, progrem. But if he would tedy mission roports, and tome of them eapecially, he wonld beoom aware of real nomerical programe. Before the iok on Yt. Manilal's maneto aripte was dry, oonverte wert poucing into the oburoh in one mionion the rate of five every bour of the gear. Aed the church in Christendom wan nover more sotive in dyanmie planniag for the rapid and complete apraed of the goopel inte the entire world Ae iatercohureh fedoration in oest with e all for $\$ 500,000,000$ for co-operation. It in lah that mothing but $s$ pure gorpel of the Prinet of Pemon an ane the world. All this may ceem atrang hplocination aud vary impreatial to man of Manilal's vinion. The oae greal sotive, leovening, illaminatiag, dyoamic in the world to-dey io the gospel al Obritt. Mov. Mr. Btidger mritiog of the ahutthe of nimions maje at is boing woren night and day arom tbe Aclastio and across the Paifie by greet ships bearing micaionarian going and coming, farlough followiog larlongh, alter siz years of earvice ; torth afor term; lenving mative laod, shildrom, mamories, time star time antil death ende that partionlar. shread ; erimson, gold, brown white; the grest shatile of Love weaves the fabric of ciervice aerose the ane ate the abipe come and 89, bearing oatbound and hombound mimioc arien to toreige filds.". Miesionarice know themselven to bo Ellisable and are ready to adopt and adept the beet mothode el cvargitiom, bot thoir ovaggelions matat be that of the Xiow Tcetamonk. Thay ers in all the world remoling and tembltes the at good newt of a mavation lrom tion cooording to Ohrimito oommand."

    The writer whone artiele is here conisurested evane to bave very eaperficial and grotengue ides of whet Chrianien in
     hue been caricalured, and devecrnted, in the pent, is Chrint and His word aupreme love to Gad and bov lor seighbour as for sulf. Thin in the Fatherbood of God and 'Brother hood it man now boing advocuted by tree rulormers in India, greuite grolotarionico bomphing deprosted by Mr. Muns
    ta L. Ycs, Ohriot is Christianity. Ho caid, "I am tho Bread of Lifo, " I am the way, Trath and the Liffo". It is a goapel tor at the poore," " the broken bearted,' ${ }^{6}$ the blind". Christ gave us the fandamentala, an epitome of all the law and all 'prophetio tenching-Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy hoort, coal, mind and atrength, and they neighbour as thyeelf. Evangelization of the poor is eridence of a trae gospol. The early propegatore anw thit. Tbue Paul: *You see your calling brethren how that not many wive stter the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are anlled " - Molishneens, weak and despised thinge of the world hath God ohoven to conloond the mighty," (1 Cor. 1 \& II). So James ". Brothren, bath not God chosen the poos of the world, rich in taith and heire of the kingdom "- -U ye reapect per. rons, ye sommit sin". Jese. 25.9. Ioving neighbour liko aell, is the "rogal law" i, e., Looe which is of the natare of God and the falifling of the moral lew, worketh no ill to the freigbbor." God's love is the type, "Brethren, it God eo loved ins, we ought to love one another." All this is the Christinnity of the Now Tentament and we must get our Christimaity there.

    As to great names in the past-K. N. Banerji, Nilkant, CKali Charan Banarii and the reat, time will aet in itu true quanpective names equal to these warthies. There are men ia the Indian oharen to-day who atand for as much if not more than thene grest men did. A single illatrtion is one of my former atudenta, Rer, J. R. Chitambar, M.d., who has been twice called to grest ohasuh conncilo in Americe and who has eddressed multiplied thonsande in namerous andienoest. He is now General Socretary of the Epworth League $i_{n}$ Soathern Avia. And all this writing aboat Cbristianity being proletarianized, denationalized, anglioised, as the wort of miesionaries, is gronadlens. Neither do wo want Clindaized Cbristianity. On the fandamental groand the missionaries are phesching the goapel in all the world, will commended. There oan be no Acistic Cbrictionity, althoagh habita and methods of mork in different conntries may find pleco. Mr. Manilal and other aroakert, muat take beart and work away for a world Caritianity-a rave brother bood. There osn be no casto, bat some sooial affiaities oana ond should exist. A natnral, selective affinity properly gaided in right. This will groap the community into matrimonial and neighbourly aseociarionsteading to a general, mental and moral aplift, Civilization is an erolation, that athas keepe lifting and groaping the beat elemente sad thas elovates the raoo. And all thie can exist with a subatantial equality add brotherhood. A beatifal equation is made by James, "Let the brother of low degree, rejoioe in that. he $i_{s}$ exalted, bot the riob in that be is made low."

    ## T. J. Scott.

    Dr. T. J. Seolt passed amay tod daya after this was written. It is the lat contribation of a grent and noble worl, whone heart wat in Indis. His son toand the manacoript on the tablo and venda it on to its dentination.

    Willred W. Soott .
    Ja1. 88 rd 1920 .

    ## DEARER NEWSPAPER.

    ## a

    The Nowopaper World the price of whioh it incrensed thit week from 9 d to $8 \mathrm{~d}_{0}$ given - list of mare than 50 nempapapers and pariodicale tbat have adrapoed thie yoar-in manay ances for the eccond time ajoce the beginning of the war. The joorad atatee that in view of the existing polp -bortage and the high and ineressing cost of papar, a gozeral inareace appean ineritable.

    ## THE SHEIKH-UL-LSLAM.

    The reported arreat of the Sheikh-al-Islant by the Illies exoked a strong.protest frous the Khilatat deputation in London: Indiars Mumalmans, it was stated, are already deapa Iy wounded at the arrest of their great divinc, Maulana Mahmood Hassan, in the aanctuary of the faith at Mecca and deportation to Malta. The following from an account of : riait to the Sheikh-ul-Islam in Mr. Charies Roden Buxton'm "Turkey. in Revolution (published by Mr. Fisher Unwin in 1908) dencribes the position of this Prince of the Moslem Church, and, incidentally, throses light on the relations of Bhiahs and sunnis in regard to the Caliphate.

    We were a party of aix, inoluding an Armenian gentlomen Who had known the Shbith-al-Islam for many jeare. We drove up to : bailding near the Suleimanjeh mosquo, * government office both in appasance aud ia lect. For what over else the Shaikh is or is not, he is certainly a member of the Government, bolding the portfolio of the Miniter of Publio Worahip. He does not ohange with the rest of the Minitrty, bat otherwise he occapies the same position, and at the opening of the new Parliament he walked in with his colleagnes, his long white robe and splendid yellow turbere contrasting atrikingly with the Civil Service aniform, gold embroidery and groen sabbes, of the others.
    " The conatitution of today," he began, altor the firat consplimenta had heen exchanged, and while the coffoe and eigarettes were being handed round to ns-c' the conatitutiont of so-dey is a difterent thing altogether from the :conatitutior of 1878. That wen a ohom; ite anthore did not mean it to leat. This is a reality. Toe people are ready for it $p$ it wiil remain."

    - But is a real conatitational goverument permitted by the Inw of Iolam?'
    - Permitted ! It is more tian permitted. The inn of Idem is more liberal than the coustitution iteelf.'
    - Then the influence of the Ohureh will be in its favoar ? ${ }^{\prime}$
    - Certainly. Oar law, rightly interpreted; is in acoordence with the principles of respresentative government. The wineot mea, obosen by the peopla, are to direct the raler, and if he rules without their consent he is going beyond hispower. 1 go further, and say that, now that this principle has boen embodied in the law of the conatitation, that lowe itcolf it incladed in the law of lolem. It becones. biading upon those who prolees Iolom. Especially thone wh, are called to lend, our wloma, are bound to help, activaly it carrying oat the conatitation. - . . . .

    Wo turn to the question of equality, the main practieal point at innes. Here, too, the Sheikh is firm and definita
    *Toe law of Inlam eujoine equality-not that the people crese
     but politioal equality, equality before the lan, we are bonult to grent.'

    - Bat does not bistory ohow that this equality bee bees grented bat celdom ${ }^{\prime}$ '
    - Yee, there in trath in that. In evëry re'igiun thare if the epirit of laneticism, and that fanaticism may be ased Cy - bad government, jant as it may be prevented by a good one. Ies, cartainly you may a peal to history. But "—nald the eyolide close up in that fente bat hall te'irisa sail, + - bore not we also onr appeal whistory $?^{\circ}$ i bave beard el

    Chriation sations patting their mptiven wo the oword I aliokt I have read comewhere-hove I gotimot the
    
     I keow is well. Every edigion bie ite fancien Theo cledo are rot diotsted by goap saligion: thay are aregraint, 1 know, to the pare apirit of Chrint And wes neomenary we not ing tbe imme of our med otory of smencioinan $?^{\prime}$
    The Chtiatias faterviewiss: ebange the rabjeot. We
     zelicete topio which one mont not parcue too fof, Wo wre haxione to know bie thoughts obout the great beroticel faction of Ialom, the Shishe of Perrin, "who bavo degireded the prose; cold thoiser of the Bmonit, and introdeced comeWhing of the union of the haman and divine tato their merence for Ali, and their pamboanto :moortaing for the ciech of Enomein.

    - All theme are of an' be replice cimply. © True there en disagreementy, but no deep gall dividen as, There is aron a mence ia whick our emmanion extende more widaly mill; a reare in which whotever eape C Cod is one; whomeever dividee aut the eevence into separate perrotan it - wrat believer.'
    'Wa are all, then, good Mcelems ?' mysear companion 'and tho. Sheith in ailent, neither denjing nor affirmias; reat with the mane olow emilo apon his hromid, dignilied face.

    Our compenion wanta to elear ap one point before wo gow The Shinhe are one with the sent of Iflem; bat do they meognin the Shaitb an thoir heid f . It in an ankwerd equention; bat. the Sheikh is equal to it. He in : diptomatist.
    © We do not think of ouob thinge,' be andivers slowly and shoughtlally. 'You mant remember that INlam in e
     We maribe ne escordotal power to the ministern of our ,Churẹ. Wia have no bieraroby. I may know mione then the ponrest believer, bat I am not above bim in asthority. .Wo; I am lord, neither of the Shiahs, nor of the Sannie.'

    The Sbeikh-al-Idam is the Minintor of . Pablic Warnhip. sontrolling, nominally, the exereise of all lorms of religinas srosehip, Cbrietien ot woll man Monlom ; thoagh the institation Af mell-governing Chriation Cbarobes hae robbed the, Iqumar gpert of hin daties of all rend importaboe. Secondly, ha is the afficin! interproter of the Secred IJww, which in, in atrict atheory, all her. He is a kind ol Land, Chanoellor Ia this erpocity it is bis bucinem to state the law when oalled apon todo ou; bo is a final, coupt of appent, in be wat in tbe saprente instenoe, the leading caee of the grant of the menotitution. This power of his in in theors very fermeechung, und extende even to. the deporition of the Snlton, if defiuite proofo are producod that ha in of ancound miad, af depraved character, or of onorthodiox opiniona, Bat then athe Suices himeolf appointe the 8baikh-al-Lalem; $\infty 0$ that. we mang socopt the crintenco of two powerp wot peandy porequal, but -ach cuperior to the ocher-any iden at which the imagination af the Earopeos borjer araggens.

    But is the Sbeikh momething more than in compried is 'atrece two officons ? It be an infalitible Popol Is bo the a heed" of Iolase, and il sa, ia what conee? Cas be go beyond the mero incerprotation asd decleration of the ham, and altar, of his own motion the bourve of goveroment? Onan be hiod the conveciences of the fritblal all ovor the Bricilem World $\boldsymbol{T}$ Theme grentions 1 do mot proteme to
     seigiven bolder ditho office

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    FIXED DEPOSITS.
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    U-1-11.
    Managre.

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    Branehen-Ahmedabad, Naytarl Meshana, and Surat Capital Sabreribed.........RI. 60,00,000.
    Capital Paid up $\quad$ of $20,00,000$.
    Reaerve Fund $\quad \therefore \% \quad 12,50,000$.
    DIRECTORS :

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    N. IGARASEI.

    Pots Eox No. 207, Hornby Rond, Bompay.

    1. NISHIMAKI. Manager, Calontica
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    Poat Bor No. 406. Clive arrest, Cakentte

    ## THE UNION BANK OFINDIA. LIMITED.

    (REGISTERED UNDER THEIINDIAX COMPANIES" ACT OF 1918.)
    At Bombay the Ith Novembery 1910.
    AEGISTERED OFFICE.
    9, MURZBAN ROAD, Fort, Bombay

    | AUTHORIBED CAPITAL | - | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $6,00,00,000$ |
    | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | ISSURD CAPITAR | $\cdots$ | - | - | $4,00,00,000$ |
    | PAID-UP CAPITAL | $\cdots$ | $\ldots$ | - | $00,00,000$ |
    | BOARD OR DIRECTORS. |  |  |  |  |

    Gir Hukameband Sarupchand, Kt, Banker, Iadore.
    Seth Bitaram Kisondayal Podar of Meters. Cbeniram Jesraja
    geth Dulichaod Ramkuwar Dalmia of Meart. Mamraj Ramblagat.
    Seth Kedarmal Bhuramal Ladya of Mesara, Galmbral Keder--mal.

    Seth Lachhmandas Harakchand Daga, Muaim of R-B Bansilal Abirchand.
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    It has beoa largely oned by Jain Temples, Maharajas Darbers, Estiss and Vaidyas: all over the country lor the Iat 75 ysar and is well knowa lor ite parity and genaipenc. 8. NARAEN © $0_{\rightarrow}$

    17-2-18
    21. Dumario Streets Port Boeliny.

    ## E Eadr's Beot Oraa. mont is a GIorioue Head of Yair.

    

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    # INDIAN:SOCIAL:REFORMER. 

    ## PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

    OMgR备EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT. Editor:-K. NATARAJAN

    - 11 XXX. HOMBAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 1920. NO. 34.
    "I woll be as barsh as truth, and as uncompromising as juetice; I am in earnest-I will not equivocate-I will not emounc, I will not retreat a single inch-And I will be heard." Wilhiam LLoyd Garrison in the Liberctor.
    


    ## NGIEs.

    A Hinds Afghan Envoy: As in the previous Afghan Mission to India, so in the present Mission now discussing the factors of an Afghan Indian understanding af Mussoorie, is included a Hindu, Civil Brigadier Nrranjan Dass, Director of Taxation, in the Ameer's Governinent. The Government ot 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 10 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 demunstrably represents Indian (which is preponderantly Hindu-Mahomedan) sentiments and aspirations. It a Mahomedan member had been added to the Indian Peace Delegation, we would have been saved some needless agitation. The autocralic 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 -occasiod for Badauni's lament: "A Hindu wields tho sword of Islam." At a social gathering at Messoorie 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 Alghan toleration.

    Iadia and Mr. Lloyd George: The Challenge takes such sound views on public questions that we are at a loss to understand how it come to write the paragraph io the issue of March 26th on Mr. Lloyd George's speech to the Khilalat Deputation. Our contemporary says: "Mr. Lloyd George addressed some very plain words to the Moslem advocates of Turkey in meeting with their delegates last Friday. He spoke of the ready earfar too ready in our opinion-wbich the Government had leat to India's piotest, but dechated that Indian
    opinion could not divert the course of justice. With that deliverance we are in bearty 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 religicusly, and which, in addition, are in habited 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 aspitations we have every sympathy, but'we do dot 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 an xious to impress on this 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 absured for the Prime Minister, as it is for the Challenge, to tell. India that "Indian interference in matters outaide India was scarcely required," after engaging Indian men and resources so lavishly on the various wart 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 'Behat: 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 Bebar are agitating for separate representation in the Provincial Council and Mr. Sárendra Nath Banerjee's paper, the Benga'ce, 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 bave been given not one but eleven seats. It will thus be seen that a grave injustice has been done to the Eengali 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 cosiderable number have worked their way into the totefront of the legal and medical profession. It is ide 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 beyter than allot to them at least onesent id efich divition. Tbe gengalis are scatiered in ell the divisums of the province and it is bug reeef end propor that they should be given at least sivi mats in the Candef to boneflled by representatives bailing 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 inconceiv. abte to us what special interests the Beogalis 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 forma cave by themselves, instead of identifying themseives with the people. But even more deplor: able is that this preposterous demand should find support from the Bengalee. Has our contemporary forsworn all its old associations with Indian nationalism? Well may Indian Nationalism exclaim :

    Ie all the conceel that we two have shared, The sisters' vows, the hours that wo have apent, When we have chid the basty looted tize
    For partiog ag-0, is all furgot i
    All achooldaye' friendanip, childbood innocence if

    Lord Sinha's Indiscretion: Messrs. Kamat, Dalvi and Gadgil bave 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 alterbative because the Bengalee whose editor, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, presided at the function, represents Lord Sinha to liave used the word 'cooperate' 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 be 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 Liberat 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 provitaces 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 distingaished authorities and is delrimental to a sound sytem of representation. The Cilizem, 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
    eniform rule for all India. "Residence an a qualification for candidates", says our contemporary, "is a thoroughly discredited principle and is parti" cularly unsuited to chis country at the present junco tare. The limited amount of validity that there is in the principle of residence is not likely to be forgotiten by the electorate evea 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 priaciple, which be bolds to be radieatly wrong, with the minimum of hardstip to the people. If wo 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 sometbing 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 casea in interpretiog "residence." The one fact that emerges clearly from this disquisition is that any formula which makes the qualitication real would bo 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 statesmanyhip and in a manner intelligible to men of plain commonsense.

    Minimum Wage Legislation: Oommenting on the introduction of Minimum Wage Legislation in Ontario, the Toronto Industrial Banner observes: "As a means of making effective Minimum Wage legis: lation, 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 auch boarda 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 ol the Commission are only recommendatory, but in the other States the decisiona 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 decisiona be made compulsory on employers. A flat rate per day should not be provided lor all employments, but separate boards should set rates of wages according to the cost of living in given localiticm. Minimam wage boards are a splendid device to give the most delenseless 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 hat no unions to upbold its interesta.

    Commercialized Vice: We owe an apology to Mr. D. Pant for the long delay in poblishing his letteri-r The fact is that we could got quite understand what it is that he fighte againsi. 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 dowa. This is a view waich has adherents acuong those who are utterly opposed to prostitution. What is wanted, they say, is better edacation and better social arrang:ments. Merely to penalise vice will ooly drive it anderground:, There is force in this view.

    ## INDIAN SOGIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBAY, APRIL 25, 1920.

    ## Mr. TILAK'S ELECTORAL PROGRAMME.

    ## Why Congress Democratic?

    We have received from Mr. Tiluk for pablication a copy of a manifesto of what is called "the Cougress Demogratic Party" enapciating certain geveral principlentend outliving a programme of work under the reform acheme. 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 Bemocracy? Or is there a "Congress Anforratic", or a "Congress Bureancratic" party frokn which Mr. Tilak has deemed it necensary to distinguish bis party? It is not consistent with the r rofrssion of loyalty to the Congress to adopt a coarse which saggests that adberence to that movement does not necessarily mean adhesion to the principle of democracy. The pullic is eutitled to know how far the contents of this mauifesto buve received the stamp of approval of the Congress, and how far it is a persound prodaction of Mr. Tilak, whioh might pass oft as a programme with the official sanction of the Congress, thongh it has not received sach sanction. It is hardly likely that the word "demooratic" has been interpolated in the title of the party throagh inadvertence or merely by way of sapererogutory emphasis. Another point on which the pablic will be glad to have an explanation, is whether it is intended to hring this programme into aperation immediately or fifty years hence.

    ## What is its Soclal Programme?

    The Congresn Democratic party, we are told, "advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilitits based on caste and cnstom. It believes in religions toleration, the sacreduess of ous's religion to oneself, and ohe right and duty of the Siste to protect it agaiunt aggrension." What precisely does this mean? Having regurd to the fact that the boundary line hetween nocial and religions custens is notorionsly indetermiante in this conotry, it is excueable for those who are not total atrangers to Mr. Tilak's marvellons enparity for sophistry in such matters to entertain live'y apprehansions as to the exaot parport of these senteụces. Dofs Congress Democracy believe in caste or does it not? It is viguificant that in the detailed programme in the manifesto, not a tivile head or measare of social legislation finds a place.

    Mure Moslem than Islak.
    The manifesto sapports "the olaius of the Nahomedans for the solation of the Kibilaliat queation according to Mabomedan dogmas, butiets, aud the teneta of the Koran.' A valued Mahomedan friend'u mordant comment on this is worth gnoting: "If Mabomedan dogmas and the Koran are the tests, the Kihilafat queation fulle to the gronod. These were settled in the lifo time of the Prophet several centuries before the Tarks establinhed themeelves in

    Constanticople or even in Asia Minor." Responsible and enlightened Mahomedans do not expect an international dispate to be settled according to the religioas dogmas of one of the parties to it-and that, too, a defeated party who eutered into a war in which be was not conceraed. They also recognise that nothing is to be gained by ignoring the changed conditions of the twentieth centary as compared with the tenth. All that they ask is that the settlement of the Tarkish qaestion shonld be sabstantially in accord with the Prime Minister's famons declaration two years ago. In this demand they have with them the strong sapport of every thonghtfal agd patriotic Indian irrespective of race and creed.
    a Strange Omission.
    The manifesto atates that it is the intention of Mr. Tilak's party to have introdnced in Parliament, "with the aid of members of the Labour Parts," a new Reforme Bill establishing fall responsible Government in India, inclading full military control, fall fiacal freedons, aud au exhanstive Declaration of Rights with conatitntional gnurantees. Meanwhile, it will work the Montaga reforms for all they are worth. And by way of sample, it offers a list of eleven subjects on which it nppesis for votes for its candidates in the ensaing elections. Several of them such as the repeal of repreasive laws, jail reform, retrenchment in -military expenditare, recrnitment of all public services by open competitive examination, free and compnisory edacation and so nu, are commonplacen of every political gathering. One of the most important reforms which the National Cougress has pressed forward uince it came into existence bue been left out of this list, ammely, the separation of execative from judicial fauctions. The list, nu doabt, does nut proless do be exhanstive, but to one who had un orgavic view of mimiuistrative reform could have ignored even ina much less exhausive list that subject which toachea the administration of jastice. The omisuiou id due, of conrse. to inadvertence bat iuadvertence in regard to sach an important question disuloses lack of perspactive and failure to grasp the tuudamontal principles of a sonad administrative systew. It may be said that the quertion does not lie within the competence ot Ministers. No more do some others prowinently incloded in this catalogne, such, for instance, as the repeal of repressive legislation, the nationalisation of railwaya, the creation of a citizen army, aud the permanent Ryotwari settlement of land revenae.

    Negation of thr Democratio Principle.
    This labt, and the coutrol of export fuodotuits by a tariff, are two original planke iu that Congresa Democratic platform. Did auybody evor hear of a permusent revence settlewant as a demucratic measure? The whole trend of demucratce legislation is to ingist ou the national ownership of laud and of the right of the State, that is, of the community, to a lurge share of the anearned inorement. Bat bere is a party calling itself by the fooble-barrelled name of Congress Denocratic which deliberately embodies in ite programue a policy which is the mont emphatio negation of demooracy wherever it etill
    oxiste. The lato Mr. Romesh Chander Datt, at ate early part of bis public career, coquetted with the idea of a permanent eettlement of land hat eventnally gave it np in favonr of the rational iden of long term eettlemeata, liberal allowance for the ryot's ipmrove mentn, nod ihefixing of a moderate maximor limit on periorlical enhancements. These provisions will give the ryot ell the relief he requires while safegaarding the permanent intereste of the nation. We can only explain the resascitation of this idea in Mr. Tilak's progratome an a device to eatch the votes of the igoorant peasantry withont any regard to political principles.

    ## Fiscal Quakery.

    The same observacions aprly with, if possible, greater force to the proposal of an export duty on foodataffa, Even in the most inteneely protectionist qnartere, an export duty is regarded as an act of oppression. The father of the National ayatem of Political Economy, Friedrich Liet, bas daid down that prohibition of, or daties on, exporis can only be thonght of as exoeptional things. If it is anid that the measare is recommended not as one of protection hat as a meane of redacing prices, the anower is that the present high prices are not the resalt of exporta from the conntry bat of the inflation of the currency in most conntries of the world inelading India. Farther, an export daty on foodataffs may bave the effect of a farther rise in prices, for foodstuffe are necessities and not lanaries, and the demand for them cannot be appreciably redaced by pntting ap prices. An elementary knowledge of economich is enoogh to show that en export daty operates in a totally different manner from an import daty. Apart. from theory, however, what will be the effect of an export daty on food-graids? For a jear or two efter levying $i t$, there may be a fall in pricea, thongh even this is doabtful, as graios keep. $\Delta f(e r$ that, there is sare to be a contraction of the area ander foud-crope, which will be given over to more paying ex port oropw. The exteusion of the ares auder tood crops ondar the stimalos of the export trade, operates as a valnuble staud-by to the conutry in times of acarcity or famine. The rains may fail or floods rise .in one part of the country, and the exprotiable surplus in the uthere natomaticalls fluws towards the nrea in deticiercy in preference to overseas markets. Aod is ludian, Democracy going to folluw sach a churlish, uot t., say iuluman, poucy ns w refne to fellow-matioum ite lood which they need and can pay lor, and which she can prodace beyond ber own neede?

    ## A Pulicy or Diseniting Isdia.

    :- The Tilat electoral programme reveals e grievons lack of constractive statesmanship. It does more. It shows that if the party which has adopted it, gets the control of national affairs, the beneficent, nation-buihling work which has progressed during the lest century, will be undone. We have called attention abore to the significant omission of measures to give effect to the flamboyant deolurations of the maniferto in regard to the abolition of social abnses and privileges. We bave pointed out the atterly undemocratic character of the propored land policy and to the charlatanism of the
    fiscal policy foreshadowed in the manifesto. Two othar itects in the programme deserve attontion. One is the declaration in farour of linguistio provinove. IFe aro quite alive to the adrantuge of haring one vernaoulur for one administrative area. But linguistio proviocos, that is, the ronstitation into a single province of all poople speaking the came vernacular, in other words, making language insteed of administrative convenionce the hasis of main administrative divisions, is an enti-national policy. If all Marathi-speakers, all Hindi-spoatirm all Bengali-speakers, all Toluga speakers, and so on, aro to be constituted each into a province of their own, the anifiation of India and a anitod Indian antion will becone the wildest of ohimeras. This is what the Tink programmeaims at doing. The sonnder policy, in our viow, is to havenmall sub-provinoes, say, of an everagh of five millions of population each, and each of these small sub-provinces shoald as far as:possible have only one vernacular. That is to eay, there will be three or four Marathi administrative divisions, two Gujarati, perhaps ten or twelve Hindi, three Tamil, four Telagn and so on. These, while securing all the adrantages of aingle-language provinces, will not lend themselves to the danger of linguistio provinces. Economic and other considerations will have to be taken iuto consideration in forming the administrative sab-proviness. We are not formulating a cut and dried scheme, but only indicating the ontlines of one.

    Underminina Enalise Education.
    The other item in the Tilak programme ham a close bearing on this. It is the making of the vernaculars the mediam of higher education. We believe that a good deal more than is beinz done might and ought to be done to rai.e the importance of the vernaculare in our system of higher education. But any attempt to undermine the pasition of English in that aystem will be fatal to national intereste. That the Tilal party onder the guise of improving the veramoalars contemplaten an attack on what frr want of a better term may be called English edacation, is evident. This is precisely what Lord Curzon was accused of doing and the Iadion pablic will remember Mr. Gothalg's fumous phit ippics against that polioy. We do not thiuk that the conntry will necopt from Mr. Tilat a polioy the suspicion of which roused it to vehement protest uguinst Lord Carzon. The manifesto clearn the air. It shows that the Tilak party-not the ('ongremthough it has assumed the name of "the '(iongrens' Democratic Party," believes neither in the priociples of the Congress nor in those of Democracy. The namn is evidently intended to conceal and not to roveal tha true character of the Tilak programose. The That policy is the quintessence of the narrowest kind of particularism. Wo do not think that the country wante back the rule of the Peishwas.

    THE BOMBAY ELECTORAL NCIEME.

    The scheme for the constitution of the Bombay Ingislative Congcil and rules of olection were publiab. ed last weok. The first point to be noticed in that no provision is made for the reservation of neata fire

    Marathas. The Joint Committee had left it for the consideration of the Local Government whether there shonld be any seate reserved for the Marathas in the same way as for the non-Brabmins in Madras. Evidently, a working definition of the term "Maratha" could net be found, and Government, perhaps, took the view that the franchises prescribed would secure for the Marathas adequate representation without any reservationj 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 odly. Nevertheless we think that the reseritvation of one seat each in the Satara, Poona, Nasik, Ahmodnagar, and East Khandesh districts all plaral cunstituencies, would have given ratisfaction to a large body of the p.blic withont 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 $A$ ssociation, 1 Bombay Mill-owners' Association, and 1 Indian Merchants' Chamber and Buroan, members will also be Bombay men. Thas Bombay will have 1: members in all The other urban constituencies are Al medabad, Karachi, Poola, Sholapur and surat. There is not a single urban constituency in the Nouthern division. A fairly good case exists for ussigning one seat to Hubli which is a rapidly growing city. l'be Mahomedan community will have in all 27 members, 5 urban and 22 rural seats. As between Sind and the Presidency Prüper, the members will be sind 14, the Presidency 13. It is true that two-thirds of the Muhumedan popalation in this Presidency are inhabitants of Sind, but the Hahomedans in the Presidency proper are the more advanced. We doubt if Sind can find so many as 14 well qualified Mahomedan representatives. The possibi ity of inviling candidates from outaide is prevented by the imposition of a special qualificution requiring candidates in a commanal constituency to bave - ordinurily resided in such constitnency for a period of six months " prior to the date of nomination. In the geaeral constituencies, the possession of a place oi resudeaie suffices for voters as well as candedates. We hope Parliament will sweep away the residential qualifioation in the case of all constitnencies.
    The European community gets 6 beata: 2 communal, 3 Bombay and Karachi Chambers of Commerce seats, and 1 Bombay Trades Assooiation seat. The European population of the Presidency - nambers hardly 80,400 inclading troops, and b seates for it out of a total 86 members representing 20 millions of people is in all conscience excessive. kven 4-the number recummended by the liovernment of Bombuy to the Soathborough Committoowould be excessive. It should not on any account orooed that number. The Bombay and Karachi Uhambers many elest $\geq$ togeiher or separatuly as they lin $\mathrm{a}_{\text {, }}$ and the Trades Association is sare to get one, if not both, of the Eiaropean sasts for its me "bers. Before leaviog the subject, we should recond our emphatia prutast aguinst exiendiug the defiuition of Earopead so ms w inciude persuns born or domiciled in the selt.
    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. Wo emphazise our protest especially in the case of Sonth Africa where Indians are not receiving haman 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 sents for them is not exoessive, 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 injustifiable. 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 distiuction 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 commanity, the labouring classes and the depressed clusses. We think the last three groups, should get at least 2 representatives ea:h. The 2 Sardars' seats and the one remaining representative of Earopeans, should be distribated among them. Wealso think that 2 seats should be reserved expressly for the Parsi commanity. They are sure to come in in sufficient strength through the city constituencies, but their great importance as a commanity in Bombay should be recognised by such express reservation.

    ## Dr. RABINDRANAI'H TAGORE ON EDUCATIUN.

    On Frilay before the last, the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, delivered an address on Education to an sudience which filled the body and the galleries and overflowed into the verandahs of the University Convocation Hall. The poet had a tonch of the influenza on the previous day, but he insisted on fulfilling his engagement and went throngh his address with all his accustomed fire and eloquence. The general principles which he laid down of a sound system of education, will comisand the approval of all thinking men. They were set out in the pictaresque 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 opinio山, was in depioting the resalts and products of that edacation in the darkest a coloura not marrant d by reality. With all its faults, our educational system has, in proportion to its scope and inuitations, produced substaninal results. unly the othor day, sir John Heaton speakiog from his
    many gearsiexperienct in the moffasil and the High Court Betch told en that, whetever olse it enight have hiled in, our aducational aystem has given the country an hoosest and able sabordinate judiciary. Wo may recent that it should be subordinata, bat the importance of eapable and honest judges to the State, is not to be anderrated. The system has dose more, very mach mora. To it we owe that the dry bones of India have become instinct with life.

    Them, as regards the medium of the English language, $\mathrm{D}_{\mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{s}}}$ Tagore's striotares overshot the mark. Nobody denies that the mother tongue is ideally the best median of education, but the conditions of the country have to be tikep into ecount. Taking all the circanastanoes into consideration, it has been long our settled conviction that no other language, vernactlar or classical, posesses the same adrantage to Indians es the English language from every point of view. The English language and literatare supplement our national culture at its weakest points. It provides the best medinm of interprovinoial commanication, 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 respocts 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 al ways be for the good of Indis 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 rolations-but wo have no such doabt as to the abiding relation of lydia to the English language. The evolution of Indian cultare will increasingly be through the medium of the tongue of Shakexpeare, Milton and Burke, the language which Rabindra Nath Tagore himself usee with an intimacy of enderstanding possible only to one who loves it. The present reaction is a paseing phase, as most reactions are. Uar educational system needs reform : all bystems do. Bat reforms thould take into account and carefully conserve the vital parts of the eurrent nystem. The m-dium of English is one of these.

    ## SOCLAL REFORM PROBLEMS IL

    ## (By Me. G. K. Defpians, M. A.) <br> Wоминно0D.

    The next bat equalis important question is the attitade of mind regarding woman. Wuman bas in all coantries, it is trae, suffered from dinabilities. Bos her lot in Indis is exceptionaliy aiserable oven to-day. The whole queation centrea roned our altitade towards and our notions regardiug her eapabilitioe and her right to participate ia the fall lite of the commanity. It is mover contended that Indian women are dall or ancultared. They have enoogh and to spare of the nataral intelligence and caltare that comes of religions life and traditions. It was coms-
    monly folt, a ad that view atill bolde good, that the aphere of wrman's influence shoald be restricted todomeatio datien, aed Natare had pot iatouded her to go beyond that ephere. The Reformere, however, reface to mocept this riew as being wholly correct. While thoy atrongly arge on the devotion of woman to home and children, and want to give har the best avilable edacationend colture to diecharge thone very faybotant and primary daties of a happy and progressive domestic life, thes 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. Thoagh the orthodoz view is gradanlsy veering ronad to the necessity of giving edacation to woman to beconie a deveted wife and an efficient mother, it is still chary to recognies the wiadom of admitting woman to fall citizenshipe Look at the position of moman in England to-day. Daring the last one handred geara nearly, manglaryo-hearted men and women worked very valisatly to improve her status and to secare for her the ordinary righte of citisenship. A systematic coarse of pablic edacation and free and fall opportanitien for work enabled women in that country to baild their capacity as valueble workera in all spheres of pablic asefalness as alao in domestic life, with the result that at the time when Fingland ontered the titanic atraggle and abe was compelled to aend all her joang men to the fighting line, she could do that becanase she had the women both young and old who readily came forth, to do the men's hardest jobs and to sorve and thas asve the conotry for which thoy were amply fitted by their previone training aud liberty.

    They made must oheerfally all posaible escrifices and underwent ungrailgingly the neverest bardghipe ia order to relieve men who were fighting for the salety of the nation. Thas fifty or sizty lakhe of women, bold and trae, andertook all zorts of takks some of which needed great intelligence, organising capacity, enterpriae, endarancesend daring. Their efficient participation in the ancoesufal and vigorous administration of the machinery of war, both at home and abroad, appealed to the imagination of the nation to powerfally that it converted to their canse the greatent of cheir opponi:' eote and made it posaible for them to aecure the rote for which they bed been atraggling for generations. Is brief, many stateamen proudly doclared that it was the women of Eaglind that won the great waf. It is literally trae, if elosely oxamined. India fortanately hat mot to engage in any great wap. Bat hat she not the need for sa army of social workers to toil in the varions fields of aational activity which is growing everyday? Aad the social reformer wanto womad to be trained in her responsibilitios by giving her edocmtion, freedom and liberty even of economic lite if there be need for its The sole crax of the position lies in the Indias attitade towerds woman. Wo respect her bat wo do not yet truct hor with larger powert and IreedoraWhereas the English people did erast her and. therefore, they reaped the fall bedefit of their trust. That is a valuable lesoos which we in India canoot
    afford to ignore. Several weetern thinkers are of opinion to-day that woman by means of ber npecial gilts and taleote is destived to play a great part in the ahaping of the world in the dear fatare. If we in India desire to raise woman to ber proper dignity and position, wa cannot do that noless we edncate her. For that parpose 1 would attach equal, if not greater, importance to the edacation of girls. Look at the onecemly controveray in Poona and the attitnde of thencertremista in proposing to make edacation compalsory for boys onty, postponing the gaestion of girls' fdacatiou indefinitely and making it depend apon conditions difficalt of achievement in the near fatnre. I praise the efforts made by women who agitated against this injastice.
    if. Untouchability most 90 .
    As regards the injastice done to the "depressed" elanses, I am of opinion that a religion or a society that tolerates sach palpable wrong to a large section of hnman beings needs to be vigoronsly parified. Look at $J_{\text {upan }}$ evee for this and see what she did in $1870!$ One million of her forty millions of popalation were living in a condition in Japan similar to that of the "depressed" classes in India who furm onesixth of the popalation. They were called "Ita" and "Hinins". Japan removed all traces of social ontracism and made them eqnal citizens with the Samari.

    ## Social Evoldtion.

    If we thas want to secare the best conditions for one people to fall growth, it will not be enoagh to effect an outwurd change. What is needed is the change of the inner man, the thougbts aud the ideas that determine the ontward form. In short, there is need for social evolation. In the words of Mr. Ranade, "the end (of social evolatiou) is to renovate, to parify and also to perfeot the whole man by liberaling his intellect and elevaring bis siandard of daty, and perfectiog all his powers ". If you read the book called "Rural Reconstruction in Ireland" it will be clear from the instance of Ireland how excersive importance attuohed to political gnestions tend to weaken the character of the people by makiag them less self-reliant and less efficient workers. The disproportionate interest in politics in Ireland created a diaproportionate belief in political remedies. Sir Horace Plunkett tells the atory of a peasaut in the west of Ireland who ceased Manting potatoes, on bearing that the Home Rale Bill of 1803 had become law. Spontaneons generation was bat one of many improvements in the natnral arrangemot of affuirs to be secared throngh this panacea. What nee was there in practical efforts when in any moment the evactment of Home Role might inangurate a new Utopia? Let as all anderatand the true siguificance of political edncation and political advancement. Nutbing coald be more dangerons than the belief that politice and politics ulone is the nolution of the trae national problem. No one would deuy the importance of the political problem in regard to India. But it has limits and it is the basiness of the aucial reformerd to set forth olearly those limitn.

    Pboblem of Nation-Building.
    The true problem of nation-bailding covers the whole task before the Refurmers, in the direction of social or national reconatraction. 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 sooding a message. When a stand is taken on that groand, our fatare programme of work mast inclade 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 ontlined a practical scheme of work to be followed all over the Presidency in view of the needs of the special classes. We mast establish Committees to continue the agitation to support the principle of the Patel Bill, to saggest improvements and also to formalate changes in the existing laws to remove the disabilities of women. As regards compalsory Primary Edacation for girls we can best realise the present disproportion by stating that the perceutage of boys of school-going aye to the total male popalation in the Presidency is 6.5. Whereas it is only $1 \cdot 18$ in the case of girls at schools to the total lemale popalation. All well-wishers of girla' edncation shonld be gratefal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon in getting the principle of compalsory edacatiou 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 uational investments. Those who opposed the idea on fuancial gronnds now, did scanty justice to the honesty of purpose wheu they ruthlessly criticised the oppouents of Mr. Golshalc's Edncation Bill. Lookiog to the line of argnments these friends resorted to, I am tempted to believe thut they mat have been bareaucrats in their past birth. The age of consent should be raised as the limit of marriageable age of girls bas gone ap. Homes shoald be established for widowe who desired to remarry on the liues of the oue muntained by the Boubay Sucial Ryform Association.

    ## Widowe.

    In the case of widows, huwever, who are not keen on marrying aguiu I wonld arge on them that, in the place of dowestic duties, they should audertake social service of various kinds for which suituble establishments like Seva Sadans, Widows' Homes, Vanita Vinhrame, etc., abuald be founded all over the Presidency. Mureover, for women who are reudered howeless, there shoald be Women's Homes, Refuges and Workrooms, as in Eaglaud and at a few places in India. Cousidering the appalling rate of Iofaut evortality in India, we should be gratefal to Her Excellency Lady Chelwsford for the most praisewortliy attempts recently made, and for holdiag at Delhi iu Febraary last, a Maternity and Infant Welfare Exhibition and to Her Excellevoy the Hon'ble Lady Llogd for holding a similar one in Bumbay. In the proper solation of this problem, a great deal of attention will have to be given to the training of Indisn momen as naraes and midwives; still it is also nectseary to eatablish in
    many placen Infant and Child Helfare Centree to give every kiad of advice and bolp to mothere I thant Her Excellency on behalf of this Conference for her most practical and nsefal efforts.

    Wasze-Chamity.
    Speaking abont the frightial waste of well-weant pablic charity in Iadia. I bave saggested methods of organisation and regalation on che lines of the "Charity Organization Society" of England. Oat of fands thas received moat usefal and charitable institations Jike "Orphanages," es Maternity Homes" and "lofirwaries " could be maintained by each district to meet the real local neede of the deserving and the helpless. and thas be self-contained. I call attention to the need for village sanitation and its systematio bandling by men who are keen on raral reconstraction and praise the action of the late Miss Florence Nightingale for leaving in her will a anm of Rs. 8,000 for the improvement of sanitation in Indian villages.

    ## Labour.

    Social Reformers in Englend and other conntries work for the syatematic improvement of the condition of the labouring classes. I hope that mill-ownera, Government and leaders of pablic opiaion will ancceed in securing one amicable and satisfactory settlement regarding the essential points concerning the moral, phyaical and material well-being of these classes. A systematic association with the work of sach concerns of a representative of the men to advise the management and appreciate its difficulties, if any, as is done at Port Sualight in Enghad, will certainly do mach good towards solving this problem.

    To lessen the miseries and hardships of the straggling middle class in big cities I saggest the adoption of principles of co-p,erative movements in meeting their needs. Housiug Sucieties, Store Societies, Milk Suciaties and Medical Relief Socieises could be attempted on co-operatives lines as there aro even in India today sach wodels actually working. In conclusion, I appeal to the pablic not to rest matisfied with pussing rewolatiouse Efforts alune, well-organised and intelligentiy parsaed, would secare the end of social weil-being. Let ns learn conrageunaly to combiue and co-operate for a common cause, be prepsred to saffer, believing that victory is ours in the end aud reat astivfied that we have done our daty in the misuloa of oar life which is $\omega$ work for the good of hacusuity.

    ## Ma. DEVDHAR'S ADDRESS.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

    Sir,
    Noticing the 1 reeidential address of Mr. G. K. Devdhar -at the Shulapar Social Reform Oonforence, you call it is. refroobingly ontapoken atorance" and eny "it will muk bigh in the literatore of cocial reform." Nobody will oidagree with jou when you tay that "Mr. Devdhar is a practioal worker in several fields of Social Service and his enthasisem, especisily for al casses whieh concera the elevetion of momen is nuboanded" But jut will admit that the m-rit of a preideatial addr. ob in $n o t$ to be mdjadged by the
    uothor's cathasicerms May I sak jobe air, to point ont in the whole coarme of the adirem ens sanatroctive ouggeation, any adequate referoce: to the hundred prossiag problems that have to be urgently taced or fe fect anything at all thet will give it a place among ueoful and informing eocial refurm literstare $f$ I have rand the address over and over ogein to find extroordinary merit: I edmit I have failed.

    Mr. Divdber congratalaten hiouelf that he is not living in daya when tocial reformers are cericatured or booted dowe. I ang glad that his earmentnees and practical conse ean 6ind paimpeded ecope for good work. Only I wish he Md not wesbed his time and that of hit eodiones and meadert by euperangatory reforencee to momen's edocetiong tonsurs of widaws, early marriage and such other queations whioh are bound to progrem is the proper dirmotion oven without Mr. Devdhar's leotare, Erery urgos quativn of cosial amolioration hat been omitied tha handled while evory eecondary matter hat been dwolt apon at length. It is plemaing, bowerer, to know that the eddrres is not an index to Mr. Devdharis enese of praction mocial refurm. I ahall atop bere for the prosent and time permitting an 1 with jour leave 1 shall Iteter araming bie addrese in detail to show where and in what meanure be has foiled.

    > Youra etor,
    > G. 8. Raghavalu.

    Bombay, 18th April $1 \mathbf{1 2 0 .}$
    [As we ateted in a lootaote, what we publish in an Eaglinh aummary of Mp. Devdtarle addreme which is ia Marathi. Our correapondent will Bod ac lack of practionl ouggestione in the Marathl original. As for hie sext criticiem, it depende on the point of viaw from which one looke at quastions whether they are to be regarded at primary or secoodary. In our view, all the quentione dealt with by Mr, Devdhar are of primary importance,-ED., I.S.R.]

    ## COMmErciallsed vice.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Secial Eeformer,

    ## Sir,

    I read and ro-read the artiole on "Commarcialized Vice" pablinhed in yourn of the IA Fobruary and I could not help exclaiming, " God anve us from our lriends."

    The auliject is ensy uifelation if you thite a preation view of it; bat jue are lont in the wildoruese if yon try to mive it by the method of "ifa," and en thene" It is a daggerone notinod which faile misernbly when spplied to evoial questione. The ouly connd maxim in ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{On}$ to the gane "-gu to she brothria, know come of theme girh, their mode of living, thair viewi on living, oultivale familiarity with the mombere of their lamily, ete., and you bave thea the materiale before goe to furm enpply echedule. Heving dote thet, try to furm a Demand. Schedales atady man at be jombiped anjmal ponseraing sha eosnmalated peesions of eanturive enguired from the sime of the expalaion of the First ['sir Irom the garden of Ytien, ounsider the irreaiatible netare of devire when men aimply becomes a dummy, the eoneciesce, in atilled and the brain does not work. With theow, fortes gnawing at hin beast acd with aot anongh meant to marry what is he to do ? It is no good bebbling ouf ou gelfreatraiut." In the sphere of realities, is in better $\omega$ give a, atrong curb to imagimatios.

    Aa everuge man (mind you an average man lorme a vory very large proportion of humanity is iceapeble of is (Reatrainl). Bo cowee bask the eame quention, what is the to do ?

    Thoagh ITenure meant every lad ;to bave s lata, yet the present Ecomomic atracture of socicty cansot silow it fo there in ouly coes reply to the quentios "what in be to do ?".

    Either he should eatisly bimsell by 'snatching' pleasore from lamily girls or be ohould 'bay' pleasure. Surely the firat will ondermine anciety and bring sboat the collapse of the family inatitation, while the latter does no harm to enybody if the bogera pereintently keep in riew the good old principle of Caveat Emptor.
    To appeal tu legislators to make this bnying and reiling of pleasure illegal is to minnnderatand the whole question. If by a mere atroke of the pen this 'eale' could be deolared againgt law, why should it not be argued that this legialation wil' bpurate an a restraint of trade? But those who have seta this 'lugalised vice' conferring boon on miany a girl who wonld have ancounbed, had men not an ouilet elsewhere, know fall well the volue of this vice.

    To illegalise this vise would mean jeopardising the honor of every girl and therefore the legal machinery shoald not ef pat in motion to "stifle" it. W bat the legislatorg can du and mant do is to change the oneadided legislation, that is to eay, tbe same law should apply for the woman and the man who enter into a contract of pleasure. It is obvionaly wrong to put excessive restraint on the sellers of pleasure and nut on the buyers of pleasure. In this case, it is not the anpply which creates a demand; but the demand which creates the oupply. And therefore we should chirfly concentrate our attantion to controlling demand. This is exactly what the writer on "Commercialiád Vice" in yours of the 1st February mesut when she ased the expression 's been mopping up the floor instead of tarning off the tap." And here it muat be borne in mind that the complete turning of the tap is an absurdity and what we can do is to leasen the wastage hy the aid of the Noble Science-the Seience of Medicine. It is beter to forewarn the people and thas foremarn them aud therefore a policy of preveation shoald be adoptad rather than that of cure. And this can be done by reading human nature. Man wanta 'gratification' and being an intellectual animel atudies fature by the aid of the puat and thas realives his inability to bear the strain of 4 an ondiosa shain." He eeeks his "prey ' and natisfies himself by paying in a oivilized eociaks and by force in a barbarous mociety. Take away bie right of baying pleasore, he will get it by persaasion or by force. The soaring high prices act an a deturrent on marriagr, nad so to maintain the prity of tha married life markel girla are nueded indispensably. And that it is why I agrese in toto with the remark quoted, vix, "It has been said with justioe, that it it is true that prustitutes muat exist in ordur to preserve the parity of other women, then they should be given a highly honoured place, as one who waorificel her very self for the good of society.'

    If this ides could ouly be preased on the legishators, then the avile arising out of the Commeroialined Vioe will end fur "the vice of secrecy (which) stampa this vioe as shameful", will to torn aud men will view the thing right. How truly it is anid, "evil raroly astumes sach inveterate and pervertiu; form, at when it ie shruaded in obsoarity and veiled by a o. Hypocritioal apparance of innocenoe." Let thin vice be expmeed to daylight, let the lree air play on it, let it floarish in open quarters, let there be periodical medional examinatious of girle who tho will exercise great onation in selecting their - mater for a night '; and this vico will bo transmuted into - alrcing forirese of the monogamous sociaty.

    Newember is is orly in the dark atreete that the bacilli of ovil attain thoir fall growit; and that "Liberty is atill the hert remedy for the temporary axcesses of liberty."

    In ordor to contrul demand, a definite programme chould be Inid duwn on Sex-Euucatior. Tee fullowing programaue taken trom "Sra" by Geddee and Thomeon would be foand nsefol.
    (a) Developing of motor fectivitien, (b) Developing all forms offeducation which fill the mind with nob!e examples, (c) Teaching thst Sex is a sacred thing and not a shamefol thing, and (d) Teaching botany and natural history and thas making clear that "For him to whom sex is impare there are no flowers in nature."

    In order to increase the marriage rate, Sax-parasitism muet be leseened. If women can supplement the family income by legitimate mesas, there would be a corresponding less burden on the earning member and more of home comlorts.

    I have here entirely kept out of account the following :
    (a) The swerving from the right path of the married eonple: hasband and wile both;
    (b) The • bachelor's (?) and 'msids' (?);
    (c) Widows and widowers, and
    (d) Unnatnral vicea.

    Remember legielation against Commercialised Vice will fail as mieerably as it has failed against nanatural vicea, and moreover it will awell ap the ranks of seducers.
    The Pujjab Agsosiation Club, Lahore. 14th Febraary, 1920.
    D. Pant.

    ## THE CONGRESS DEMOCRATIO PARTY.

    ## A Manifusto.

    We have received the following manifesto from Mr. B. G. Tilat for pablication:

    The Congress Democratic Party, as the nanie denotes, is a party animated by feelings of naswerving luysity to the Congrese and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratio doctrines for the solution of Indian problems and regarda the extension of edncation and political franchise as two of its best wtapuns. It adrocates the rernoval of all civic, secular or social disabilities based on caste or castom. It believes in religiuns toleration, the sacreduess of one's religion to oneeelf and the right and daty of the State to protect it ogniust aggreasion. This party snpporis the claim of the Mahumedans for the solation of the Kbilafat quertion 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 canse of bumanity and the brotherhood of mas-kind, bnt demands entonomy for Indis and equal status as a sister-state with every other partner in the Britifh Commonwealth incladina Great Britaio. It inaists apon equal oitizenship for Indians thronghont the Oommunwealth and elfective retaliation whonever it is denied. It welcomes thu Loague of Natious as an inatrament for eoforcing the paace of the wurld, integrity of atates, fredom and bonor of nations and nationalities and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

    This party emphatiosily afserta the fitness of India for Ree preaentative and Responsible Goverument ant clainas for the peuple of Indis on the prisciple of eelf-determination the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and deternining the most appropriate Constitntion for Iodis. It regards the Montaguo Reform Act as "inadequate, ansetisfactory and disappointing " and will strive to remedy the defect by introducing with the aid of the menubare of the labonr party and other aympathisers in British Parliament at the earliest opportunity a Now Reform Bill for establishing fall Responaibie government in Iodie incleding fall Military cuntrol and full fiscal freedom and an exhanstive declaration of rights with constitational gaarantees. To achieve this object it contemplates and recommende a resolate and ever.
    getre esmpaige in Iadia sad is the comptries reprevented on the Lompue of Natione. In chis metter che perty's retolword will be $\#$ Edocate, Agitate and Orgasine."

    Tbis perty proposen to work the Montegue Reform Act for all it in worth and for acceleratiog the grant of foll responsible goverament, ead for thin parpoee it mill, without beaite tion, offer cooperation op regort to constitutional opputition, whichover may be expodient and beat ealcalsted co give offect to the popular will.

    Apart from the foregoing aines and pribeiplen, the party pletform will contain the following phants but it doee cot profese to be exhaustive so

    ## Inpatalo

    1. Ropeal of all reprecsive legialetiona (a.g. Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arme Act etc.) ; the introdaction of trial by a jury of one's own countrymen especially in eaved of uffenoes against the Slale; the abolition of rigoroas imprim enment for such offences and jail reform with the view of placing offendert of all claseat on a par with similas offenders is Great Brituin.
    2. Seoariug for the labouring claseces agricultaral and indaetrial, a fair share of the fruits of laboar, a fair minimam wage, reas mable boart of work, decent house ecommodation and adjostment of ralationship betwees eapital and laboar on equitable basis, and promoling organisatiuns soitable for the parpose.
    3. Control of the export of foodetafie aud other necemaries of life by tarifir or by othor methode with a view of reduciug the price thereof and conserving sappliet.
    4. Promotion of Swadenhism and Development of Indian Industries by oll reooguised wethode iveluding State eabsidien and pretective tarifi.
    5. Nationslisation of railwaye and regalation of railway tarifis by legialation with a view to ancist indastrial development and to abolish privilages and favouritien in their working.
    6. Retrenchment firat and foremont in every department enpecially in the Military expenditare and tazation when imperative or desirable but taxation graduated eccording to the capscity of various clasees, corparations or individuala eo that the lurden way be proportionste to the meaus or wealth of the taxpayer.
    7. Creation of a citizan army, oflicered by Iadians, naval, merial and military eduontion; conumianiona for Indians in afl smilitary sarvicen withons reial discrimination.
    8. Reoraitment of all services by open competitive ex* asinatione in India.
    9. Promotion of national unity by snch menna st the extablishment of a lingua franca for all India, betterment of relationa between followere of different religions, and especialIg A Hinda Moelem Eutente.
    10. Readjostment of provinces ou linguiatic basia

    ## Provimolal.

    r.- Imimediately peciuriug full popalar antonomy for the pruvinoes.
    2. Permanent Ryotwari ectilement oa the basia of an eqaitable saressmant.
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    4. Abeolute probibition of Veth, Digar and Sarbarai.
    5. Education through the vernacolorime high an pomiblo.
    6. Fres and compuleory edacntion withoas distinetion of sez and special contributions and ireromed granteinaid
    from state farade to Maniciplition and Lood Boarda to carry ort this object immediately.
    7. Restoration of Village Pawehejats with adminiotrative and judiaial pownt.
    8. Abolition of driak.
    9. Extention of the franohive without ex dintiaction.
    10. Saritatioa apoa a ajocomatio bacia andor a miaiator of health
    11. Oarryias orf of departmental riforman elveedy rours ciated and approved by popalar opinion a g. Agrinylumed development, extention of irrigetion, the cooperative nowo ment, Indostrial and Technical Edocetion suitable to the needs of the country-morgenised anedioal relinf and enconrager ment to indigencas ajatome of aredicine.

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    ## NOIES.

    Indians in Burma: We commented last week on the absurdity of the demand by Bengalis domiciled in that province for separate representation in the liehar Legislative Gouncil. We heartily associate ourselves with the following forcible observations whichappeared in Young India, edited by Mr. Gandha and publisised 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 Mahome. dans, But when the cry for communal representation comes trom Indians iu Burma, the absurdity becomes ciminal. We uuderstand some Indians oi Kangoun have pleaded for communal representalion in the Burmese Council to be formed under the retorms. We do hope that the demand will be withdiawn belore misclitet is done. The burman will have every iight to resellt any such separate treatment of Indian setters there. We are in Burma as guests of the liurmese for their and our mutual gnod, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be nur first consideration. As a friend conrectly 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 rigbt to enter the Bumese Council, only if they by torce of abllity and service can command the Burmese vole. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims in India which are against our interestc, 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 knowiedge of lacts, a strong feeling is growing among Christian Missionaries as to the unchristian barbarism of the Punjab excesses, and we trust that means will be lound of communicating this to the authoritics 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. Eosworth Smith's conduct moves him to indignation. The following deposition is taken from the Congress Sub-Committee's volume of evidence.
    ${ }^{-6}$ The statement of Gurderi, agad 40 gears, of Manianwala, Tabsil Khangah Dogran, Distriet Gnaranwalas-

    Oue day, duriug the Martial Law period, Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the males of onr village of over 8 yeara at the Proca Dak Bungalow, whish is some mill.e from our viliage, in connection with the investigations that were golug on. While the men were at the Bungalow, be rote to our village, takiug buck with him all the wowen who met him ou the way oarrying food lor their men to the Bangaluw. Reaching the vilage he wens roond the lones and ordered will women to cormen not of thit honses, himself forcing them ont with aticks. He mate ue all stand near the vil'age Daila. The women folded their hands befure him. He brat some wilh bis aticke and apat of them and uoed the fonlest and nust unmeatiouble langnage. He hit me twice and apat in uny face. He forcibly nneovered the facen of all the nomen, brashing aside the veiln with his own atict.

    He repoatedly called ne she asses, bitchen, flies aud swine and eaid : " you were in the sume bede with your bnsbanda; why did you no: prevent them from going out to do mis. obiel? Now your atirts will be looked into by the police curatables," Hegave nien. kick alao aud ordered ne to andergo the cortare of hulding our earo by passing oar arma ruund the legs while being bent duable.
    This treatment was meted out to an in the absence of our nou who were away at the Bungelow."

    The Government of India and University Reform : The Calcuita University, has. addressed a strong representation to Government deprecating piecemeal legislation with reference to the recommendations of the Sadler Cominission, and requesting it, first, to have an estimate made and tue lunds provided before undertaking legistation to give effect to their proposals. The Registrar, writing on behall of the Senate, observes: "The Commissioners have recommended that the existing Colleges shourd be brosen up each into two divisions; what now constitutes the first and second-year classes will (with or without school classes allached) be traniformed 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 acadennc grounds desisable, and whetber such partition may not mean in many instances the abolition of the third and lourth gear classes. The Benate wish now only to lay stress on tho fact that the Commissioners themselves have pointed out that this will completely
    dislorate the finances of every existing Institution, and they have furnished estimates, necessarily very rough, of the sums which will be reguired to eflect the transformation. It is iuconcervable, in the opinion of the lenate, that any responsible public anthority (ualess it intends to destroy saddenly the present system) can embark apon 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 Bengalec 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 Mabaraja said: "The position of the Edu. cation Budget so far as Government is concerned is by no means satisfactory, and I lear it is golog to be more unsatisfactory, when the financial settlements, arising out of the reforms are a fart accompli."

    Total Prohibition in America: The January number ot 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 antialcohol movement, she says, has proceeded for 145 years along perfectly clear and definitely marked lines of purposes. Brietly the stages are these: Opposition to drunkenness; moderation or abstinence in the use of distilled liquors, tollowed 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 traftic ; 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 opinicn are agreed that the alcohol question should be one of the first questions to be taken up for reiorm in the new Legislature, Miss. Stoddard's article is well worth reading as a bistorical 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 Bchool 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 Caicutta 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 Bengales writes: "Five years must be held a sufficientiy iong period to judge of an experiment. The verdict of the public is that tailure is writ large on the whole institution, which the Government has gratuitously fastened upon the taz-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 ol an institution which serves no usetul purpose whatever. More than a lakh of rupees has already been thrown away and it is nether 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 iruit. The boys who are oeing educated in the school bave sofar become neither Gish, nor flesh nor, good red herring." Why then is the institution to lave a prolonged lease of existence ? ${ }^{4}$

    What is Teuth ? Tbe Indian Witness, Christian Missionary journal published in Lucknow, usserts in its issue of April I4th that "the boasted union of Hindus and Mahomedans seema more fy the imapination of its advocates than in the actuat re. lations of these communities. Both are divided among themselves on the questions at issue and are not likely to agree, ${ }^{m}$ On the other hand, the Harvast Field, also a Missionary organ, published in Mysore city, observes in its current number; "Among progressive Hindus the Christian as well 2s the Mabomedan is welcomed in all that pertains to the progress and prosperity of the fatherland. $\mathbf{A}$ marked change has taken place in the relatikns between non-Christians and Ohristians." The difference between the two views can be explain. ed only by a difference in the angle of vision. It is curious that the Lucknow paper should issume the role of doubting Thomas, considering that the Congress-Moslem League compact-a landmark in bistory-was arrived at Lucknow which is also the home of Maulana Abdul Bari who shares with Mr. Gandhi the honour of bringing the HinduMoslem understanding to its present stage.

    Eastern and Western Civilization: In bis letter which. we print today Mr. Badanand 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 quo. tations from our previous articles show that we are not inappreciative of the deeper aspects of Indian calture. Then, as regatds his objection to the statement that all energy is manifestation of the Spirit, this is surely an idea familiar to Indian religious culture. Siva bas histerrific and benign aspects. The Gita demonstrates that the cosmic power is both deatructive 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 remarik. able discovery of silver lode near Tata's Ironand Steel Works Lid., an Associated Yress correspondent who interviewed the Managing Agents of the Universal Ore Crushing Oo. was able to obtain the following furtber interesting particulati The Silver lode bas been found in the Singhbhoonf district, nine miles from Haladpor, Bengal Nagpur Railvay, aboat 167 miles from Calcutta. Mesera T. M. Dowling C3. Managing dgents of the Universal. Ore Crushing Co, hope to ger to Calcutta 2000 oz, of silver to start with early in May. The output will ba increased every week-and it is anticipated thít R3. 45,000 worth of silver will have beea 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 Uaiveral Ore Crashing 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 Ministéa at San Remo art 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 $\Delta$ sia. 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 bo 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-Mabomedan 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 againist 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, perbaps, 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 aguinst 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 wellknown. that Lord Chelmslord's Government fully share the Indian point of view and have done their .best to persuade His Majesty's Government to io. likewise. Mr. Montagu has also fought lor the full recognition of Indian sentiment in regard to Tuikey. In these circumstances, the Government of India's action can only mean that they feel that the case has gone against them and are tabing precautions against any upheaval of public feoling. So long as there was a chance of their strong representations on behalt 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 an. nounced. 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 AIghan Amir, childish though it be in. its bumptiousnesg; is a disquieting factor so far as the illiterate masses of Indian Mahomedans are concerned. In a recent speech, the Amir told bis 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 bad 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 hind that it is extremely unlikely that there will be any appreciable strain on his proferred 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 labour ing, not without effect, to steady public feeling which is, undoubtedly, uneasy. Precautionary measures ate necessary but repressive measures should be avoided. Repression is not prevention but pro vocation ; 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 trast that the Government of India will not proceed further with repressive measures. There are forces at.work which, if left to their own unembarassed 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 enthosiasts 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 ite non-Mabomedan friends and sympathisers. In the best interests of Hindu-Mahomedan unity, which we value as much as anybody elise, 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 ol arging upon that body that non-Mabomedan 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. Oor object should be to create a worldopinion 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.*

    Wo have reoeived a booklot entitled "Bolsheviam, the Dream and the Fact" by Mr. Edmund Candler. The anthor seys that it is the parpose of his book to answer the following questions : How did the Bolshovits come to deserve this name? What did they cet out to do ? What have they effected? What would happen to us all it they were able to bring about the world revolution at which they aro aiming? How is it that the saner folk of the countries they have rained 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 anthor who profesees to answer questions, will not fail to see that some of these questions are excellent illustrations of the logical fallacy the classioal example of which is "Have you left off beating your mother ?" We commend this pamphlet to our readers an being on the whole a fair-minded prosentation of the official view of the great social and politioal phenomenon of our timen 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 Bolshovist ideals as liberally as he liked, was bound to find that in practical working they have been hideous failares. Hence the sub-title "The Dresm and the Fact." Now, every one knows or ought to know that the Tsarist regime in Rassia wat a byword for antocratic tyranny and corraption quite as bad as if not worso-beoanse more efficient--than that of the Sultan of Turkey, though, for reasons into which we need not onter here, the latter got all the abuse and the former was an honoured ally of Ropublican France as well as of Imperialistic Germany and latterly also of constitational 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 culled Kerensky whom the Allios hailed an a great deliverer, but who seems to have been the modern connterpart of Rienri. Kerenskips rogime was overthrown by the Bolshevits under Lenin. The Allies thereafter subsidised Koltchat, Denikin and other anti-Boishovik lenders. For several months the world wes fod with messeges of the impending final triumph of these leaders. At one time, they were just on the point of taking Peirograd. At another time, Moscow was within an ace of falling into their hands. But these things did not happen. What happened was that the Boloheriks


    were able thoroughly to beat their onemies masiatac though (or becanse) the huttor wave by forcigy powerth Then Mr. Lloyd George, that wooden fally inspired Britiah statesman, diecoviered the truth: "You can't fight an ides by atool and lond, you can't crash Bolahevism by foroe of arms." It in all very woll for a paper statsoman and atratogist like Mr. Candler to write that "eargery might heve asved the body politio (of Rasiaste ouly the Allien had sioned the opportanity to opernto at onco." It wha e groat mistake and, ncoosiling to all nccountry it was against Mr. Lloyd Georgo'r betior jodgmont, that the Allies, and Great Britain in partion. lar, andertook to bolator up Denikin and Koltahak. Mr. Candler dopicta theee mon as great idealinte who fillod because they were not well-vorved in thagrts of politios. 二e History will judge them an persons who nought tho help of foreign gold and foroign gune and foreign troops to dictate to the Ramina people the form of Government that would be beat for them. We confess we do not soe the consistency of thow who can find no language too strong to denonnoe Lenin, as a traitor on the assumption that he had been bribed by Germany, bat who see no wrong in Denikin and Koltchat being sabaidised by the Alliee. It is but fair to Mr. Candler to any that ho is not one of these. He has the candour to acknowledge that Lenin wat an altogether different type of a man. He नrites:

    But wo must give Lanin his due Nune of shee imprese siona of the man and bie motiver are correot. He bolioved is himsolf and his anose. $\mathrm{He}_{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{m}$ a ainglo-minded, fanational idealiat with as imprectionble ideal. Ae for bie pecifeiam, cime has proved his iron will ia war. He made tarme with Germany because pacee at the noment wee cesentiol for the intrignee by wioh be was preparing for see great olem wer. Lemin for the momens aerved Germany, bat it would be the grentent mictake to think of him atool in hat haod, as notning mure than a corrapt agent auborned by she love of gold. Leull used Germany and her gald bat be had as love lur ber . . . And in the ead the triaked Garmany by ondermining the morale of her Army and preparing the way for her collapee. Tne poison with which the Germens treacherongly infooted Rumis chrough Lania reselet apoa thenuselren.
    If it in true that Lenin prepared the way for the collapes of Prassianism, he did a great cervice to the Allies who were intont on doing the ame thing. And it is true. Goneral von Hoffiman wae reported to hisve said that Fooh might think himsolf the oonquoror of Germany if he liked, but that the real viotor over hor was Lonin. The fact is that Bolshovism is not the favier tion of Zenin or auy man. It is the inezorable produot of the economio ayatem which dooms the millions to a life of ill-requited toil in order that a few thoumnds may rovel in luxury. Germany was not the only country where this eystem exieted though there it was workod with German thoroughnoes and became comothing of a fetich. The Allies, wished to win the war and yed cling to the eystem which culminated in the war. This is impossible. Yoa cannot control ;cosmio forcos acourd ing to your own convenionco. The war was one of nations outwardly, it was really a war of ideale. The commen people whe gave their liven in thomands and millions
    would never consent any longer to slave for the profiteers whom the war helped to doable and treble their fortanes. Bolshevism is a drastic remedy for a dangereas disease. Neither capitalism nor commanise is the true solation of Europe's economic problem. The Allies are finding this out for themselves as regards capitalism. Lenin bas been doing the same as regards bis commanism. The distinguished American publicist, Mr. Norman Hapgood, has an informing aricle in the carrent number, of $A 8 i a$-which is a Russia namber-in which he honestly attemp,ts an estinate of the Lenin regime ' ${ }^{\prime}$ pothing extennating nor aught setting down in malice." 'That he does not believe in it hiwself, goes without saying. $\mathrm{He}_{\mathrm{e}}$ is glad that the Allies have changed their polioy and he observes that Lenin too bas gradually modified his. He poi ts out that Lenin is 4 practical man as well as an idealist, and he will give up mach to have his experiment continued. Here are some oi the moditications Leuin has adopted auler the stross of practical consilerations.
    Crmmonisu denies the right to land. Bat the pasamita demanded land. And they got it.
    Cunuminam denies unasual rewards for direutivu ability. Tuday the Suviet Covernument in offering large ealaries to Disiled tucinical induabial directora.

    Commannam denier private exploitation of resoarces. Tre Suviet Guvernuneut bas uliered yrent concesaiuno to capitalists in r turn tor aid in bailding railronds.

    Communiam wonid place industry ander democratio control. The comamiaties of tequorant peasante and workmen that wok over factorien in 1917 and brought ebaus, have been anpplanted by okilied technionl directura.

    And, finally, comburian wonld nbolish a boargeoisio. Bulsherisu, iudeed, swept away the old bourgeoisie. Bat today, new ohas of property holders has already aprung into being.

    Mr. Hapgood traces the " nationalisation of women" story to its orgin, and shows how, knowing that it was fulse, it was utiised 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 utrocities, the reader who wants to know them in their true perspective, should read Mr. Candler's book and Mr. Hupgoods article together. The latter admits there wereatrocities. But while Mr. Candler calls the leaders fieuds in haman form, Mr. Hapgood observes. "That brigands were at large in Russia there is no doubt, that their power became greater as the situation becunse worse is clear; but to charge the original Bolshevik leaders with low motives is simply to prostitate oyr own minds." Wo shall deal in another artiole "nich,that part of Mr., (funder's. pamphlet which relates to Iudia.

    ## THE PROBLEM OF MISSIONS IN INDIA I.

    ## (By thie Rev. Wilbor Beenner Stover.)

    In the discnssion of the question of Missions in India, which bas been introdaced into the Indian Social Roformer, there is mach that can be asid od both sidea, in the anging of which, the greatest
    frankness and candidness is essential. Mr. Mauilal Pareth is to be commended for the frank and candid way in which he hue approached the sabject. It is one that very greatly iuterests missionaries. It is interesting to all relormers, to all who seek the higher welfare of all the peuple in the laud, to all Cbristians.

    I fearme mant all agree that the namber of proletarians is too great. Ot simple hangers-on, even one is too mang. The word proletariat is French, with its given meaning : "The iudigeal class in the State." luancient liuman nuage it meaut "A citizen of the loweat elass, who served the state, not with property bat only by having children; hence, a common persou." The propurtion uf cumwon peopld who imake op the Curistiau Fold, und who louk to the Missiou for promotion is ton great. All know it woald welcome any saggestion of an adjastwent leading to a more iudependent life of the commuity, both temporal and apiritaal. The ntter need is the only excuse of the missionary for becoming often too helpfal to many of those by whow be finds himself surronoded. He eodeavors bonestly to get something doue. He is here for work. He is willing to work. He is no stranger to sucrifice, though ho rarely ever speaks of it to any bnt his most intimate friende. When he finds biwselt surronaded by people, the great majority of whom are the common people, what else can be do but preach the Guspel to them, even as to others? Ii he fail to do su, we could hardly be said to walk in the foolsteps of the Master, of whom it was said " the common people heard him gladly." And when we admit that the greatest uumber of cuaverts come to the Charch frum the commun people, we admit a trach cowmon in history from the time of our Lord Jesus autil now. And while this is trae that the largor namber 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 jer cent of the comion people who do the same. Per ount of coarse, is reckuned ou the commanity fram which they come.

    We mast admit that very ofien when a man becomes Cbristian be materializes. By this I mean to say that he begins to thick more of waterial things than be formerly thongbt. Formerl), very often it was not his part to think, bat merely to do the work assigued to him. Now he thinks, aud becumes a better or worse citizen, acourdiag to circumatances. The blame for this sort of materialization mnet be thrown not so mach on to the state into which he bas come, as on to that from which he bas escaped. In the asme way taany persons from certain Czar-ridden oonntries come to America and developinto anarrhists -and America is the best conatry in the world !

    We heartily endorse the remark that a true Church of Chriet cannol be formed winhoat saffering aud eveu martyrdom. With a Chriptian Chnreh in a Cbristiau land, it is different. There ideals are different, they are mach higher. But in a non-Chriatian land it is true. Over and over does the missionary tell his people " The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the

    Charch." Frequently doen the preacher impress the words of the Master, If I be lifted op, I will draw all men anto me." And I have this hope for myself, and this confidence in the Iodian Chriatian Commanity, that if the severest test ahould come, even as it has come to mang othere, that very very manyshould make the anpreme eacrifice, and give their lives as a witness to their faith rather than deny the Master and live.

    Again I take pleasarein finding mach to aphold the soandness of the Hinda heart. To accept trath and reject any caricature of that trath, to accept a bigh standard of ethics and refase to compromise that standard, to put little value on a tradition that has nothing to recommend it bat the fuct that it is traditi sual, these are characteristics of soundnesa of heart wherever fond.

    Bat 1 fear I maut differ from ony brother who expresses the thought that no more great souls are coming forward to openly follow Christ as in former dags. I think this opinion is dangerously pessimistic. Greatness is not ascally ascribed to men antil late in life, after they have proven themeelves, or evea after they have passed away. I confeas $I \mathrm{em}$ optimistic in this as in ether matters, for 1 incline to the idea that when this age has passed away, history will show its great minds es in any other uge. When Jamea G. Blaine died, men asid that the last of America's great statesmen bad passed away. Bat 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 bat feel that $I$ amfattering him whan $I$ bay this. I do not mean it as fattery. The gruat men of the preseut time will be koowin in the years which are to follow, and no age passes withoat developing a modest abare of thea.

    The marriage question among Christians is purely a persoual watter. If the contracting purties are well pleased, others usoally are. Doubtless there are exceptions, bat I have never personally known or even heard of a case where a miesionary pressed a convert of high caste to marry a convert of low caste. If such an arrangement be made by the volantary choice of the purties concerned, and they are mentally well adapted the one to the other, the missionary will uot likely olject to the wedding, bnt he has ueither reasou nor need to plan such adjostmenta. What we missionaries woald like of oar fellow Christiaus, those who come from high-ceastea are, not that they shoald become like low casto coaverte at all, bat liat 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 fleah diet, the brief of the whole question, as viewed from the Christian standpoint generally, is anmmed ap in the words of Scriptare : "For the Kingdom of God in not meat and drink; Lat righteoasness, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

    ## CIVIC BIOLOGY.*

    Messrs, Clifton F. Hodge and Jean Dawson have in their boot named "Civic Biology" (Ginn and Con, Boaton) analysed man's daty in civic co-operation, in Health problems, for greater prodaction, for the conservation of forest resonrces, for the stady of birdes animala and insects and for the protection of sach as are friendly and for the extermination of those enemies of mankind like rate, mosquitoes, disease Bactoria, insect pesta etc. and for the colture of Bees and insects friendly to man. One wondets whether anch a systematio adoption of Civia Biology will be poasible in this conntry.

    In Indis, we are suffering enormons losses-in destruction of nataral renoarces, in anfraifful labour in damage to property, in preventable disense, dad to lack of proper civic organiastion. What the authorp, Messrs. Hodge and Dawson, aay, apply with particulur force to India. "One ignorant or oareless momber of the commanity may kiadie a lorest fire or cloar a waterahed that will cause a water famine over an extensive territory. He may permit insecte or ven min to breed, or allow fangi and banteria to grow, that will canae great damage to property and disease ana evea loss of life among bis neighbonrs." In Amerisa, rats are said to cansea losa of 500 millions dollara annaally. The loss on agricaltaral prodacts and household properties cansed by insect pests is entimated at 1,500 millions of dollara annaally. We can easily tiwagine how many times more mast be the loas in India whioh seems to be the favoarite home of rata, iusects etc. The lose in India dae to white anta and ruta ulone can be pat at crores of Rapeen. While we tolerate where we onght to control or exterminato anch iujarionn forces, we talse no steps to save those apecies of graut value in birds, in game birds, in animula and iu plaute and trees.
    The time lane therofore come in the intereats of the body politic to create in the mially of the yonoger generation a spirit of kean enquiry and reeearch into the thiagn ronod ns. Lat therefore youns boye develop their own hobbies anl stndy a few typicel problem: that affect the life of the oommanity. In the book, we are given illastrations of owo boys raising their own crop of basheli of nuts like walnate etc, of a boy having killed 10,211 flies. in a day, and again of a normal schuol class surveging masquito-breeding places and collectiog snonquitoen. We have olteu read in the Aunerican papers of boyo. compating to rear the latteat pix or the moish mille-yiduling cow or the most woolig sheep of raide.* the largeat namber of fiait io bis gardea. In Iadis sach thinge are atill to bo. Let therefore the yoang men take to the stady of anch problems. Iu the words of the anthors, "copy into a note-book the* ${ }^{*}$ names of all the birds, insects, fivhes, tregs aded so ots which you want to otody. Meke observatioa thronghout the year, the atady of hebitats, the straggle for lifo as seen in dense wood, the migration of birds aod recognition of trees, birds and common planta." The main laboratory for this coarce is the oat-ol-
    doors-the yard, garden and orchard, streets and roadsides, pastares, fields, woods, streams, lakes, hills end swamps (I might add, sea coasts)." Thonsands of interesting things are happening ont there all the while and it is there the stadents mast go if he woald really learn his lessons,". And then there are the in sects with their larvae and papae dealing deatruction to man, fraits; trees, etc. ; Thas we find the book is teeming, with saggestions on birds, bird stady, tree atady fond civic forestry, on froit and nat trees, and herbs planting, on the Biology of agricaltaral producu tion inclading cown; sheap and poultry and honey-bea caltare and on the problems of Fish and Fishing. Likewise, we are given saggestions regarding the mosquitoes, flies, rate, fangi, suimal parasites like mites and ticks, and on the destraction of poisonons reptizes. Most of these have already beet adopted in Amorica by goang and old and, as a consequence, they have not only an" Arbor Day bat "also an Apple Day and a Bird Day. The anthors saggest even a Fishes Day. There is no reason why we shoald not bave auch days for the calture and protection of plants, trees and Birds. Some Governor or Governor's wife. who is keen on any of theae problems, can call for a Day to be fixed for some such beneficent parpose on a wide-spread acale. It is time wh have an Arbor Day: when all woald plant trees, That Day might inclade the planting of timber trees or trees for adorningone's garden or landscape, of fruit trees and plante and might inolade sericalture and Honey Bee onltare. A Cattle Day might be started for cows, balls, sheep; horses etc. Likewise the Fishes Dayd' Why not a rat Day or mosquito day?

    There is no other of way of arresting the indifferenoe to the destraction of nataral resonrces iof trees, etc. and of enthasing people into following some asefal tastes or hobbies. As has' been said by J. A. Thomson in bis Introdaction to science? " From then"s first emergence, perhups, the herbs and the trees, the birds and the beasts sent tendrils into' his beart, claiming and binding Kinship." The State too has a daty to porform in this matter. Instead of hampering and ainoying people by baving tree taxes, and by inventing new taxes, life percolation tares, it can borrow a leaif from the ways of the, Canadian and U. S. A. Governments, "The National Barean of Forestry and your State Forester print a namber of praictical balletins and forestry, leafleta, which may be obtained gratis or at coat. Thene will give directions for gathering, atoring and planting, different tres segede and evon yonng seedling trees. may be obtained: tivin State or (in Canada) from provincial departmenta: of forestry. Since the planting of trecs is an ispportant public soroice, States ane beginning to pass laws coompting land so planted from tasation. Massau shussolt and New York axempt for thirty fio yoare all lands on which not fowor than twelve hundrad trees ars planted to the acre. (ltalici mine).

    It is to be greatly hoped that in the' new Era of Ednoation, arising whether' as a résalt of the Sadler Commiasion or of the Rolorms, the young men will : be trained in the field of nataralistio koowledgo and
    reseurch and ampls scope and encoaragement will be afforded to them. Is it too mach to hope that, at least, in the University of Beriares, situated as it is on the lovely banks of Mother Ganges and commanding as it does a wide area-thanke to the manificence and generosity of H. H.Ther Mabarajah of Benares-a apirit of anch scientific enquiry and reasarch and" of healthy rivalry aud cempétition to raise cattle and gróm tress and stady insects or birds, will prevaik amonget its votarien ? All throngh India, tanks and ponds are there waiting for fish cultare and stady of fishes, lakes waiting for yoang and old to boat, and rom and to angle for tish, our wealth of bird life and insect life waiting to be preserved or stadied, hillsides" and plains waiting for tree planting or pasture raising; valleys for frait trees growing and our vast sea-shore: for the stady of aes lifer. 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 opportanity occars, he is fond of cimbling up hille and hillocks or rowing in lakes and that he has observed, though on a amall scale only, the ways of birde and ants-which last bave afforded him congiderable amasement.
    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-Debra-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 fitty injured. Particulars of the accident show that, she ran into the rear of a goods train standing outside Mewa Newada station, four stations : beyond ${ }^{\text {I }}$ Moradabad at $2 \cdot 30 \mathrm{~d} . \mathrm{m}$, on Monday morning. The passenger engine was badly damaged and one brakes and four third class bogies were smashed and burntw The casualties are estimated at about 107, yiz. 50 killed and about 57 injuted. They include one brakesman killed and one fireman injured The driver "scáped: "A preliminary inquiry "took place on Monday,

    The Triple Anniversary of Buddha: The Mahabodhi: Society celebrates: to-day (Sunday the zad May 1920, ) the Holy Baisak celebration of the thrict sacred festival of the 2544 th - anniversary of the Birth, the 25 ogth anniversary of "the' Attaioment of Buddhabood and the ' 2464th anniversary of the Maha-parinirvana of the Tatbagata Sakya Muni Gautama Buddha, at the Theosophical Hall, College Square, Calcuttae

    Repatriated Emigrants: $\Delta$ Government of India Press Note 8tates : 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 \& Bu "sutlej" arrived from British Guiana. at Calcutta on December 21st conveying 867 repatriated emigrants. The S, 8. "Ganges" arrived at Calcutta on March 7 th cbinveying 871 Indian emigrants from Trinidad: The Fiji: Government reporte that 960 emigrants have applied for repatriation and that a ship has been chartered which, was expected to leave the Colony in March. No definita news has yet been received from Jamaica or Surinam, and the Government of India are making tarther enquiries in the matter.

    RHOVINCLAL SOCLAL OONFERENCE - SHQLAPUR

    ## Bmositizozs

    1 The Provincial Socinl Conferemoe mit till heta is ind pight of Satarday the Brd of April 1920 Attar sha .procidentina udidowe throw reoolations were pat trom the chair and opanimopaly, carried. Tha first repolation recorded, the deep morrow of the Conierence at the death of Wody Chandavarkar, Tho hed groatly helped the women't morement in the coon. try. This reolations weo perod. in, dilence, the whol amombly atardinge The mocond renolation thanked " ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ in Majoets the King-Emparoc, Mr Moneage end Lard Sinh' For
     tor the prometion of woinl kelorin! The third reoolation approved of the $\Delta$ mritmar Coinfarence Resolution which simed at widening the ecopo of Social Programi in all directions.
    sit Abomiot or Cissur
    ${ }^{8}$ The toarth revolation, yhta way morgd bl goo Bahadur Re Re, Kale of Satari, vies an followitur

    4 In the opinion of thic Conlorence sthe inatigution of osate ir' detrimental to mocial molidity : and anational progrein, and therefore it argee alt io make everg iendenvorit townde the aboliftonifor T
    Reo Behadur Kole in a Ter Forale omphoiend the neges
     thich whe rexpoterible for ce manat erile. Ma, M, $D_{0}$ Altaker.
    
    
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     carroid wn.
    
    
    
     - Committoe contiating of the following gentlemen bo appointod, with power to add to sheir aqmber, the Searetarice
    de the Nakosil Sociel Oonforence boing ax-afioio noombere and the Secretarion of the Cumanittee; Sir Narajace $G_{9}$ Chadararkar, KL. (Chairman) the Hon. Mr. G.E. Parelh Mr. K. R. Jayatar, the 'Hon'ble Prinoipal R. P. Paranjpol Mr. K. Xisuanjan, Reo Babidar RE R. Kols of Satara, uod Reo Babadut Ramenbbal Nilkenth of A hmedebod.
    
     the opinion of thit Conforeves wis mont effective mitody of
     of unterathability mit crande in the Foy of thoir ceoinh enomat and intalleotent progrom.". Mras Beoant; in moving thit repolatiors maid that is tha Madrac Prepidenoy. Whery abo Lived, and eapocially on tha, Weat Conits the tratment gives to the momborn of the Doprowed Clesuen Tree rury abyeting Many of the pablio roads wore gloaed to them. If any membor of the Panohaina, pomanaity hipponod to poes bj a pablio rond by ignoranoe or ovarights ho wea anbjectad, if Vary barah ireatiment ac the bande of the cooolled bighat
    
    
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     is is the Cannail or fin oar Toomaner wort al pablio nutility wo eboild sinet thomese brothois and ther iand, then ooly ouns Eurk of pulticiol rogenamation will be amoothly corriad onit

    - The apeaker was loadly applauded when oha Inishod beto upeoh h.

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    $\therefore$ Ms Jamaedir Drarknden meooded the ropolation mhioh wee anadimonely carried.
    $\therefore$ Alini at : Drura on Woxim.
    Fi, Fat wank of time'fbe lolliving rmolntione were pas from tha Oheit mad erriod, with ecopmanaioa :1
    $\therefore$, dea That in the apipion of this Conlorpeon morn liberal and edequate facilition abould be sivere to girle and matenen. lor their pigher odacetion by the metebliahrauaf of daglo-7pion nooviar 8opoole ppto the afth meiodard at tha bedquartare of the diutriot, sud additionad bigh cohools in promalame
    
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    ## Whers Canauts

    . $\mathrm{S}_{n}$ That in the opinion of thia :Conlotopoc ibe proment matbode of charity choold be improred aed abe momag. ot proment weated is iending sad capportiag the idie and undenerving beggan aboald be wilined to atars in orey
    district towa on an organised baris choritable' inatitutionit
     finfirmaries to provjde for the neede of the really helplese and meedy mection of the popalation, et

    ## Pboplonitda amd Labout.

    In view of the work thast is contemplated to beq organised by the National Social Oonference all over the "country by
     reform, the Conference resolved that, associations should be atarted in varioas distriots of the Presidency ${ }^{\text {a }}$ to helpt in the propaganda of eocial reform.
    i. 7. Ihe Oonference tesolved that in view of the pregent ind growing nurest among the laboaring classes it atampty should be made by the employers of labour, Goverament and leaders of pablic opinion to bring abont a satisfaciory selptlement with regard to the following argent needs of "Jabon're (1) Elours of wort, (3) sarronadings of work, (8) boneing' (4) wiges, (5) teohnical education, (6) honre of child labour and their edacation, (7) hoar of women labous and their apecial needej (8) compensation for fijuries end partioipstiond in profita, (9) mann of improviug thair health, (10) ddequat e fecilitien for sporto, phaqioul ozercise and onlightenneat and social life, (11) eatabliabment of a providen fand, of penaion, (12) cooparative inistitations for the redumptione of old debte aud the supply of chenp capital and rolenn and good foodutaffo:

    - "enuant. A Crild Welyane.

    8. Renolved that Her Exoelleácy Lad' Chelmilord and B. E. the Hou'ble Lady Lloyd deserve the best thanko for their mont praisuturthz ofiorle in edaćating publio opinion rogending the monne of Imfant mad ahild melfars fur whioh they
    
    
    
    
    
    
     Thi Editori Th Irdian Social poformer, ad 3 at
    
    
     bat the Beverds condemasion for oar morillheptitade in the
    
     the hilt whether it wat he brethd oivil mathoritian thitl were
     If we wore liviug penougat the peuplop fors the iont ot cha
    
     'ourn consemptible igneranoe, and inaction. And we are bloodguilty da that wh haver by ous ailence condoned the arimen coinoiltted in the Piajaba:-
    at But the cillerioe oftit the Amritaar mansmore in not to my miod es antounding' an that orer atrooitias such an thooe
     thtaiduary apoke but, und Mr. Andrawi who doprinol live In the Paujab, and eomatingionariod, phomed ajmpathy with ${ }^{j}$ tha poople. But oni Kody"wan "dijont' "a againt mpadine gtanniag vilugoth, thriabiug solowl boyd choeen at randomy
    
     dune owuld aroid bia daty of making ingnirion and protestlug adanat suoh orimes, especially if he bolonged to a tree nation himedl.

    The plea has been advauced that the brotality suved a greater confagration and so many lives. It may have done so for the time being, but I do not believe that brotality ever get was really even expedient in the long run. Germasny has not proved it so, nor Tarkey. But even were it expedient it is none the less evil, and no missionary ahould excuse it on sach i groand. True, in the New Teatament, We are told that judicial and judicions murder to save other lives is wise, brit it is Oaiaphas and not Obrist that asye so ; and the adoption of his principle erucified Christ.

    I believe our silence in this matter has crucified the son of Ged alresh and put Him, through ne, to an open shame.

    As to the panishment of the arch-criminals, your attitude as voicing Indians is right and noble, bat those of us who beleng to the race that is gailty mast use our best endeavour to wipe the stain from onr shield, and to ondeavorir to exact buch paniohment as may serve as a deterrent for the futuro.

    Kodeikanal,
    Youra ifaithfully,
    22ad April, 1920.
    A. G. Fragem.

    ## IS WESTERN CIVILIZATION SPIRITUAL ?

    ## ": The Editon The Indian Social Reformer,

    Sing."I yield to none in my apprecistion of the energetic aspect of the peatera oivilization maspecially its greatness notively dopinant in eooial and politica! life and in ecience and arta: : I am also ouly too painfally conscioue of the present-dey inert aspeet of the Indian civiliastiou. And forther, 1 do feel with you, that,' as y'cu observa in your thonght-provokióg srtide on 48 the Ppetia Mensage ty in the Paformer of the 18th inplain o ${ }^{4}$ t the neot ennee of all our woes in that wo have be come a people of little faithe. (Italisa mine) Foreign doi mination, economit, yutelleotad and political, is conequenery not daniés that boing so at fhe present time when ia the domain of Indian politicn, we holl be pasaing from mage, af unors oritioinm to ond of soine responsibility; the problem, of the relative value of the 'westeru had, Indiant' oivit
    
    
     presefudey sobadition of eledia isith)lite acompanimenta af
    
    
    
     Jadiun calcare; chiord iof itu dand forning to suit rodern a come
     ie the ac culcaral auperiority of the dominatius powor enid ib
    
     Eituer the olaim to oultaral enporiorisy of the weatinitiog
     to India, antit ohe ha pubmitted to the procese of atoing
    
    
    
     that raoial zaligions and politicat caucts are at the botom rot the stamptes it the cultaral coilqneet of India. si Addiff in the poitanit of tho phationd of political tiberty whioh the 'Reforgit egking may boom to promise, wo fail to make Indian oulture


    the esamard of our mational progreas, whell only be tbe envitting ientromente of denetionaligation of the people and ear conatry. The living foren of Indian cultare monoggt the meneee of Isdia who torm the major population, in epite of its lack of ostentationt manifetations, is 0 throbbing with Gpargy that decedet of loreige rale beve ctill failod in forcing
     coly sare tools that can offeotivaly, though slowly, holp io tho peat's caltaral conquent of India.

    To retura to the question bf relative ralue of the weatorn und Indian civilizations, my tank in made easy by agroement betweon an on the question of the oupariority of apirital loroe to meterial torce The fandarental characteriatic of a apiritmal civilization is it onthromenent of the ideal of earvioe and esoritios athe lav of Being and the repadiation of all idens of colf-aggrandivement in whatever form. It it no oxaggeration to eay toat India is the ondy hand where thit ideal of efrtibu hay beve and contimase to to diviag force in its rinay walkn of lifer. Life whe tanghi to be regarded and hat coome to be regerded at: misaion of eervice and cearition an the true waye of worship of the Lord of the Divins Self, the gool Etriven after being the attainment of Peaces ad Gond-Will on earth. The moceptance of thft ideal itwelf would sccount for the absonce of energetio manifeatation in India moneladea compatition or the etruggle for existenee. Whish inderties most of west's enprgetic sctivities. The mere leot thas a civilization is energetic in its expression is ao critorion of its opirituil ebarsecter - Even brale forot, at lor inetance, mili tariem, is energetic in ite expreasion. To concede that all thingn shat are energetic are epiritual is alin to snbecribing to the fallecy that, "all that gliuert if gold.*. Judged by the oriterion of its harmony with ita religion-Chriat's Gonpel, the weotera civilization certainly cannot ley any olaim ta $y_{1}$ be opirital, for it cannot be denied that irrefizion is one of the chief coukers that is eating Into the vitality of the went, If weatert eivilimation is to be judged by che fruit fit ham borme, it is difficult not to agree : wlh Mr. George Peol'n gtatement (the Futnre of England "169) that in Eicerope History and Homicide are undiatinguishable torma, sod that the tuifoldiug of the Christian religion in the weat hea beon un'dnparulleied recort of fighting'snd tlaughtod aiming af worhily triamph orwithethe'great Eociologias Mry 'Benjamin' Kild'e approving comment fpereon shat. nivilization ham now Yet arrived, for that of the weet is co as yet scarcely, more than glorified earagery. But blondehed in not ell.' For it is nneoiling. ind nnhoneat whet oompated with some thing which have. gout on in pesos ${ }^{\circ \prime}$
    Ta digrums hare e litale, I have many a time aked mywolf the queatiqu, if Chrint comen, pp eacth; again, whore, Fill ho find recognition and goceptanoe $\boldsymbol{q}$ M anower hai "been, decidedly it the Ene"t Ae regards the Weat's eftitade, though the tualogy is not on all loura, I oannot help taking for ite naswer, what the Rev. Fathen Bomard
     Ohriat" sopplicable to my aueation. The Reve. Fother, Frote 8 -
    "Some ond has doserved thas ir Cbriat "should "riona "the" threshold, wo should kneel down and revere tim but let me edd, if Me, Epetain's horrorjin bronse ware to opring intolife. and appear io a roows, 1 forsone should. fly from is in deand and diagont lesi perhaps he might pick my pocketo or worse do come deed of violence in keeping with his Bolaherik appearaces.
    Oa thia, you rightly oborrved, in 'yout intervating and, inetrective artiols on us Ats is Religion" ${ }^{n}$, in the Reformar at 25 Maroh:
    " Sarely if Christ came today, Eg would not be loand in tho dratring room which the Rev. Father denoonoei' with' ouch knowledge und zocoptance but Iń Indis, Egypt'ot ijut
    
    
     prond to exbibit in bar silon"
    E. Eindly forgive the, 81 mon doing you an mjuction: But what similarly your cool yemen for, eonfining niywle to yoas. erticle on the croetic Moenge " is mot eo memoh the bencty of spiritual enltart which the weotera civilisation in lsaking at ita chiel charseteriatic but the banaty of meterial from whioh the weet in ita' onergetic apect preents. I reoognise sha
    meed for Indiats anitailation of the energotiomels bettormapeot of the wettere eivilisation bat the grovad wort of ell prose rew in Iadia mont be beoed colely on Indian culture alome

    Before conoluding. I murt aleo take eroeption to your eaying
     ofver mot not the tory of the fox ind the mour grapoi. We woold like to have all the edraltage of ite material and political power bat sieo we have thom ent and are perplezed
     worthy of opr wonderfol apiritaal aivilisation ${ }^{\text {" }}$

    The wettern civillastion in ita precent groenly méterialiatle form stinds self-condemaed and dow not need the Indian of join in the outery egainet it., Thare is is tow temotion agoinat the allegiance to material power, ith the west whieh' is are to gather momentam with the adranoe of timen, Let na not, Iadiang, in our reaction agoinat the inartia and the stoth of ourt commit the mistakn of "hitohing onf (Iadian't) wagon "to the waniog atar of wetiora matetinlitio oalt thieb in trand to be nividal. Indie mant make bes chaice between the apiritach and maborialiatic; onltarems Her own eplture is a epiritanl ont and che meesage she hays to deliver end the miseion ahe has to perprm, are, as, they, ought to (0, spiritual is charactar. And the cooner the Englinb-aducated Indiant reoggnive this tho betcer; for thior ehey will be workiag in mermony wiln and eot is oppositioti on the groat dynamio power that in in. thet bends of the meges of Indis to whom, Sir George Birdpood pays, the decorving tribate of bolng othe oenkote "In which lndian cultart is preeerved in itn parity, 'Lut ni, for goodness' salke, oatgrow our 'erlitele laitb "and realiad ial ott heart of bearti ow the pewer of Trath (true zaltare) that is fu'- the 'hande of' great c. mamen of our jocuntrymen and nee ift mall for the glorifioation of God and not for coll-aggrandimomantai",
    B. SADAEATD

    Bombny, 21at April 1920.

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    ## OONTENTH.

    Eng yhmen in India and the PG̛jab Excesses.
    The Dbarwar College.
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    ## NOTES.

    Englishmen in India and the Punjab Excesses: General Dyer of Jallianwalla lame bas had ta resign his command. He told an interviewer in England that
    it was his "horrible and dirty daty" to give order to fire at Amritagr. If he had done wrong, he ahould be courb-martialled. Instead he had been ordered to go, although he had not been told to reaign hir commission. While the anthoritien were twelve months in deciding shout bim he had only thirty eecondn to decile at Amritan. He declared that every Englishman in India approved his aot and emphasied that if he had not fired, his little force woald heve been uwept away. He stated that the Hunter Commiasion consisting of three (lour ?) white men of whom one had no knowledge of Indiand three Indians.had apparently condemned him. He onnadered he naght to have an opportunity to defend himsilf.
    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 Com. mittee, 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 sell-pity that he says "he had only thirty seconds to dscide 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 walt 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 lact there are several others who do not approve of it and our complaint has been that they had not spozen 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 lurther on this painlul matter. Our contemporary wrote in its issue of the 6th instant under the heading "A Libel":

    Brigadier. General Dyer is reported. 10 have declared that every Englishman in India approved bis act. This is alie. Wo have met no Englishman in Indis, official or non-official, who approved his act ; on the contrary wherever this tragedy has been disensed, in whatever acciety, we have heard: nothing but losthing of the horrible siroumstance which has linked the alanghter of the Jhallisnwallah Bagh with the name of an Englishman. Wa have not met a singto Engliahmain or a single English woman who does not feel a eense ffipire removable shame both at the tragedy of the JhallianwallahBagh and the excesses which were cominitted under the martial law regime in the Punjab. Brigedier General Dyer eaya he should have been given on opportunity to defend himself: nothing said in condemastion of his aotion sorpasees, or conld aorpasa, that whioh he has said himeelf. We ardently wish that the Punjab distarbances conld have been coasidered as a whole, with all the facts, co far as they can be gleaned, before $n \theta$. But Brigadier-General Dyer bae himself mede that impossible by his attempt to mielead the Britiab public in anticipation of the pablication of the report. To allow his statement to utand withont immediate repudiation might be to aesociate ourselves inferentially with it; that we will not do, partoularls in jowtioe to the large oivele. of Englishmen and Englishwomen who equally reject his declaration with scorn sud anger.

    The Dharwar College: We are glad to learn that Government have accorded their approval to the resolution of the Bombay University af. filiating the Dharwar College.

    Non-Mahomedans and the Khilafat Question. Relerring to Maulana Sbaukat Ali's declaration that whoever is not with him and his co-religionists of his way of thinking is against them, Mr. Kamanand Chatterjee, the much respected editor of the Moders Revice writes in the current issue of that Journal: "I do leel lor Turkey and the Moslems. I have never sought and never received any titles from Government. I have never sought election to any legisla. tive Council, nor would do so in future, though I have been pressed to do so. 1 have never been an offict-eeker. 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 Khilalat agitation fails. I do not belive 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 ripht, would it be expedient, would it be safe to tacitly lay down the principle that, whenever the men of any particular laith felt sorely aggrieved by anything done, or left undone, or contemplated by the British Goyernment so much so as to resolve to resort to mon-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 hy the aggrieved sect ! I think not. Such a principle
    might land us in great conlusion and endless intersectarian misuederstanding. squabbles and worse. It would also beg great tyranny.........The advice to give up posts in the pollife 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. Bat a resolution should take all contingencies into account. If Indian Moslems and nod-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 saleguarded; for an upheaval of fecling which is sure to accompany the steps recommended in the resolution, may probably unihinge the minds of many Indian and non-Indian persons who are not angelic in charactar. Has such thought ; been taken ?"

    Mr. Horhiman's Externment: We can hardly think that. Mr. Montagu is discharging his constitutional responsibility as Secretary of State when he telle the House of Commons that' the Government of Bombay passed the order of externment on Mir. Horniman waid that they may keep their order in force, -sourfar as he is concerned, as long as theylike. The appeal to the House ol Commons to trust Sir George Lloyd, whiose popularity in the Bouse is very evident, is not an argument. Mr. Montagu ought to take the rese ponsibility upon himself if he agrees with the Governmeat of Bombay; or if be 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 wate zery objeotionable auswer, that was given, the other day by Mr. Montagn to the queatione pat by Mr. Ben Spoor and Colonel Wedgwood ahout Mr. B. G. Horniman's deportation. Not a particle of justification has mo far heen made out for that tyranical act and every. tinse an atteupt is made to explain it awny, a Presh vanse for offence in given by the authorities. Tbe Goveruor of Bombay nnduabte odly deserves greas credit for the qualities of skill, sympathy and sbility which he posecmese in ample measore, But Sir George oannot of conree be given a carts blanche and his general repatation cannot be allowed to cover individual acta of maladquinistration which mast under any decent eysteni ol Gárerament, be ecrapuluasly ecratinised. He cannot escape the responaibility for his acte, and it is mischievone to seef to save bia from jast criticiem and condemantion in the House.

    The assumption that Mr. Montagu took the line be did in order to save Sir George Lloyd from criticism, is 'hardly correct. Mr. Montagu really sought to shelter himself from criticisin under Sir George's reputation with his late colleagues in. Parliament. This kind of cover, hrwever, seldom. avails except as a temporary expedient The Governor of Bombay may well complain that he is leit exposed by his constitutional superior in a position where he cannot defend himself.

    The Residential Qualification: The Citizen, the wellconducted new weekly journal of the Liberals of Madras, gently rebukes us for overlooking in our comments last week con its articke on the residential qualification, the distiaction bet ween requiring such a quallification 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 justifi* able in the case of voters. It seems to think that until the qualificstion is discarded in the case of voters es well in Earope, 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 Cuicen that such devices have beenfruitful sources of litigation in the past. As, however, our contemporary calls lor a precedent, we are glad to lurnish one, though we are not sure whether it will consider Canada as well qualified to furnish precedente as fyrope. The Industrial Bannef of Toronto, received the week before last, commenting on some impending legislation in the province of Ontario, observest..

    Working men and working monon gonerally will, be planed to Inow that they are not guing to be deprived of their Pranobies because econumic micestily forces thern to move from one electoral distriot to muother just bofore a Proviacial election. In the peath thonande of the workere of therefion rince heve been dinfranobieed beoanee they had monfl into eow oleotoral distriot and theif namen did not appemp on the potere' list in that diatrict. The condition of roting was that they mate stay in the distrist whore they wore regietored. Thio wam abmulately imponible in eace of miverth, railwaynes, and other workers, and the Labjor oandiates were the obiel loner owing to the defective legicletion. The Aot will aloo provide for the: taking of the votes of sitimene invalided in our hospitala, and in many other waye will eerve the intereste of domocracy toe greater exteat than the prenent Eleotions Aot.

    A Moderate Protest : Criticising the policy adopted by the Goverament of Jodia and some provincial governments (but not Bombay) of selecting exclusively from the Moderates their advisory committees relating to the Reform Kegulations, wo observed that thoughtful Moderates did not appreciate being mado 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 Sarbadhicary, Mr. Y. O. Mitter, Mr. A. Suhrwardy and two other members of the Com. mittee 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 8cheme, 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 wa re never placed before the Committee she recommendations of the majority of their Committee bad 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 Beogal has queer ideas ol co-operation with non-officials.

    A Disingencuoss Plea 1 Sir Joyagon Hicks cannot be congratulated co his reply to Mr. Bennelt's just protest againist the policy of repressing indians ous of East Alrica. He writes in a letter to the Timps that if India is to have sell-government, she mu;kit least permit it to the other members ol the Empite. She will soon be free to make rules with regard to the influx of say, negroes from Zambest to Bengal and Bombay, but she cannut claim to dictatea different policy to A'rica. British East Alrica bay declared in favour of being a white land in a simital way to Australia and New Zealand. Tbe dishonesty ol this reply lies in implying that negroes from $Z$ ambesi have declared in lavour of Britioh Eas Alfica being a white man's land. Would India be free to declare in lavour of being a brown man's land which no white sman may enter? Are Indians negroes from Zambesi ?

    ## INULAN SUCDAL REFURMEK.

    BOMBAY, MAY $9,1920$.

    ## PROGHAMMES.

    ## Mhe. Thlak's Missfins.

    The Tilak programme haz been swept ont of the field. There has been virtually no answer to our criticisms of it. The Mahratla of Poona, while protessing 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 orain. The Bombay Chronicle likewise concedes all (ur 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 liombay Chronicle, we may call attention to a few facts. The charge of personal antipathy cannot Jie against this journal which, not withstanding longstanding differences of opinion on social and political questions, went out of its way to deprecate criticısms 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 itemin 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 assess. inents. 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, tiax 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 bis political leader by this naive ad. mission. We hope that the ryots will take note of hip mabashed 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 tas on their non-agricultural incomes. They consended 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-stufls, it is no use arguing with a correspondent who rather prides bimself on his innocence of economic doctrine. Still, he might
    have remembered wat the aliny in Mesip atanta 45 . almost entirely Indian, that it would have hid to bed led if it had remained in India, fand that it is a pooc 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 atmy wilk not thank Mr. Tilak for this propsal, if his cominentator correctly represents his intentions.

    The Madias Manifestoso
    So much for Mr. Tıak's programme. Siace writing on it, we have come across some other programmes. Cbief 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-ladiz Home Rule League, of which he has accepted the Presidentship. It is interesting to note how thre Madras Provincial Congress Committee deals with the question of land revenue, in view of Mr. Tulales: offer of a permanent settlemant to the ryots. We take the following from its manifesto :

    A very importaut item in the Congress programue will be
     The Cungress Pariy will seek to give all raiyatwari ownema statatory aud judical protection, to make tho deas suad of sate State on land detiuite aud place it ander atatawry coutruth It will cousder it as oue of its most important dutiee to gives abbstantial reliet to the amaller laudholder by muterially lighteuing the barden he has nuw 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 question: 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 mational fuo the concerns in which they stand for the promotion of cordial relations between Hindus and Mahomedans. Weare sure that thoughtful Mahomedava leaders will appreciate the difference between the well-weighed statement of Madras Congressmen and the wild promises of the Tilat manifesto. The Madras Congress Programme refers in the same judicious spirit to the question of bigh prices. It says=

    Realising the extreme hardohips and privations whicher the abnormal rise in the price of all artiales and partisularty of the necessarien of lifo, inflicts apon pour peopiso who form the balk of the popalation of the conatery. the Congress Party will seek immodiate msasuces for tha investigation of the canses of the rise and for the applicntion of effeotive remodies for romedying the evila and alleriaties the affleringe.

    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 freedone in contrast to participation of power as being the leading idea of its policy, and refers in this couneetion to a leading article which appeared ia the:

    Eatormar soins weeks back on the autithesis Xtcon India, II Keiant's paper, is inclined to be conlemptuous of the Madras. Nationalist Associa. tion as a miluhio'jom growth, but Mis. Besant's Bational Home Kúle League was uut the product ala long evolution, and in Midras, especially, politiciand require 'o bs reminled of the futility of the poticaling the kettie black. The Citizen of Madras commenting on the Madras Nationalist Asocciationss progranme, resents the suggestion that the Lidenulicare inore Iur puwer than freedom. It obseives $x$
    
    
    
     3) Eacopudiete ny o veair, un their pit to prijedive the
     beliave ghm froenton coald iv eesured gradasily by atiliaiivo the oppatamitise giren by the det.

    The first seqlemen if the passage quoted above loes not seem 4 g bit inw it, the tast, uutilet that pass. Oar contempoiary forgcts that the treedom that is asked for is nothong new, that it was enjoyed by the coantry not quite filtern jears ygo when there man taik of iespoustule Guverninent. It is a strange doctrine that under the Riform Act we shoold gradualiy secure what, without ir, we were in the full enjoyment of in the lifetime of those who are not as yet arrived at middie age. The Madias Nationalists could not have locked for a more thorough justification of their attitudt. That tober Medras Liberat League's programme, so far as it goes, 'is a model of its kind, goes withou: soying. The League counts ainong its memberi many of the most experienced pubtic tonen in the province whose ouly delect is that they do not seem to raplise that it is at last as much necessary to under. stond and altempt to met the point of vitw of the more advanced politiciaus among us as to understand and seek to co-operate with officials in promoting the interests of the countuy. We especialiy commena she part of the proprammerelating to education as being the soundest ol any in the manilestos we have bern noticıng. Thę Mandas Liberal League will give a large place to education in its programme. It will misorabe fros elewentary adocostivn from the berioning anit alie inatrodicition of conipaleory ed acotion atith all practicable sugerd to the aircumatances of the parenta as acon ae ench. atip mey be perimitied by the anpuly of traived reactoit and aximble, though wot seodionily coatis ba.ldingo. It will - preart the intrudactium of cunpulocty elementary ednoaciou as abo opition of looal bodien who may be eatiatied that oour.
     higher edeation $\infty 0$ ast to bring it wirkin the reach of very Prer and mato iu more pracical will abo chais atention, in athe aphame of nighes edecuion, the neel for the creatinn of nen Univertitioe ea the liuee of the modera Universition of 33ghed aed eapeoinlly for the establishmant of one in. the Fibeibern Cimas will be recogrined. Medionl, Engineering min highar teohmied edecatiun will bave aleo to be promoted.

    ## Me. Ganditis Exctolicalo

    We welcome Mr. Gandhi's entry into the arena of practical politics. Politics, of course is no new feld to hire in South Alica be lought for the sights of

    Iodians in a manner which drew the attention of the whole world to their wrongs. The conditions of the problem are vastly difterent but the problem itself is: not essentially very different in India, In South Africa, Indians are a small comnunity wedged betweeathe powerlul and prejudiced white population on ont side and the backward native Alrican population on the other. This position constrained theminto unity and Mr. Gandhi was able to direct their political energy into the chanael of his choosing. Yi India unity has to be evolved without the help of such extraneous pressure as was a vallable is South Alrica. Britisn rule is, of course, agreat unifying forco; but uf late, as we have had occasion more than oncerecently to point out, it bas somewhat forgotten its anssion and given ita support to movementa which. lave the effect of enccuraging the fissipasbus tendencies which lie so near the surlace of Indian social lite. With tue insight Mr, Gandhi bas perceived that what is most urgenily needed is the multiplication of unilying agencies among us, and the bridging of the gult between the educated classes. on the one band and the masses of the population on the other. The statement which he has issued on his assuming the presidentship of the All-India Home Kule League is an encyclical rather than a programme. A position of isolation, whether splendid: or squalid, has like other mundand things its udvantages as well as its disadvantages. $I f$, 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 testiag one's views. on the touchstone of life which; alter all, 'ts the trua test ol their sound aess. Every great leader must servo a term of probation alone with himaelf but unless die emerges from bis retirement to give to the world the Iruit of his contemplation, his isolation is without aim or purpose. And, alter all, Mr. Gandbi's position in Indian public life has not been one of complete isolation. He bas no doubt not joined povements which have for their object the extensicn of pontical rights, his practical bent of mind inclining him rather to approach politica through the avenue of actual, acute, grievances. In his present manifesto be has ratber launched into speculative fields, and bas laid before the All-IndiaHomeRuleLeague four main objects for the advancement of which be proposes to use tbat organisation. These are Swadealin, Hindu-Mostem unity with special reference to the Kaulafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the lingua. - franca and a lipgustic redistribution of provinces, O ge may not accept Mr. Gandhi's special views of Swadey shi $;$ we have had occasion not long ago to point of ut some length that the implications Hindu-Moslein 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 futuse will depend more apon its own merits and upon the needs of ${ }^{\text {b }}$ humanity than upon the protests of Indians; wa hold that the conditions lavourable to the acceptance. of Hindustani as the lingua franca of India, existed. in mach larger measure under the Moghul Empire than in Brish India when all the omens are in lavour of Englisb becoming, as it has done to a large extent alreaoy, the common medium of educated

    Indians all over the ccuntry; we consider the princíp'e of linguistic provinces as thoroughly antinational, and we showed in a recent articie 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 matter:, therefore, we differ more or less from Mr. Gandhi. But we recognise in them all the central priaciple of unity which gives these four apparently unconnectod topics coherence-unity as between the different races of India, unity as between the masses and the educated classes. The' bne point overlooked in this fourfold programnte is the vital need to India of looking beyond herself-the great eruth proclaimed by Rabindra Nath Tagore that Indigemust live for mankind if mankind are to respect Indie.

    ## BENGALIS IN BEHAR.

    With reference to our paragraph entitled "Bengalis in Behar" in the Reformer of the 25th April, Mr. Mathira 'Nach Sinha, Secretary of the Bengalee Setllers' Absosiation, and High Conrt Vakil, Paina, sends us a coatting from the Behar Herald of the 24th April, which, he says, will belp us to see the quention from the point of view of the Bengalees in Behar. The gist of the Behar IIerald's oontention is that "in no other pait of India has the Government placed, on linguistic and relfgious distinctions, any considerable section of its sobjeots under so many disqualifications as it has unfortunately done the Iengali-speaking residents of Behar." The religious distinotion, our contemporary suggests, is with reference to Mahomedans in whose oare no differentiation is made on accoant of the provinee of their origin. In other words, a Mahomedan has the same rights and privileges whether he 2 Native of Bohar or a Native of Bongal. In the case only of Hindus a diatinction is made, unfavourably to the Bengall, iu the matter of appointmenta in the pablic services and in that of admission to and facilities in eduoational institations. These are the two specifio grievanoes, mentioned by our contemporary, though there is a general allegation that politically-minded Bubaris look upon and disoriminate aguinst their Beagalee countrymen domiciled in the provinoe as puliens. The Behar Herald in a sabsequent issue, commenting on our paragraph, puts the matter in a nutshell.' Says our contempogary :

    The question here in not of the Bengasees forining a oave by theancelvae bat of oertain dominant olames of the proviuce f tryipg wo dobar them of all oivio rights and trenting them as i aliontion That is atyranoy whigh no olen of peoplo, whatever 1 thoir atrongth or advanoement will tolorate, and so long an ithe tyrenny peraiste we ahall be narring the forom of I dieraption,

    The Nodern Revielv for May also bas an editorina inote with reference to our comment. Our valued $i$ contemporary, however, prefaces its statement with the important doclaration that its objection to neparato representation is so strong and deep-rooted that
    if the bonse of our anoestors and of ourselven ath our own domioite had bean sitacted ia the adminiotration province of

    Behar and Orisen, not only woold we mi hopr elased ac agi aled lor such rejrupentation bot even if giyen the righe: we wozld not lave exercised it.

    In the fire of such an emphatie declaration, its sabis. sequent arguments lose much of their, furce. Their. purport is that the bulk of the Bengilees, in Behar ans Urissa are vot immigrants from Bengal, permapent owe. temporiry, and that their presence in those 1 royinea ine due to the administrative accident of the Pengalee dis-. tricts of which they are natives baving been incloded in the territories comprising Behar and Orisgan. In ocher words, they are in the same position as the people of Northe Kunara in this Piesidency, which till the middle of the last century was a dladras district. In sapport of this contention, the Modern Review quotes from the hassCensus Report of Bengal, Behar and Orissa as follons:

    In Beiar aud Ociosa it (Bengeli) it apuken by y,z95, ioow or 6 fer cent of the total pognalation, the border dítriate ef Parneis, the Sunibal Parganas, Maibluan and Binghumuen. accoanting for over niuesteuthe of the tutal nauber.

    In another part of the Report if is'stated that. the. number of Bengali emigrants in /Brhar and O.issa maza only: 165,000 while those from the latter' provin. es inter Bengal were eight times as many and nam each $1,262,000$.

    This aspect of the questivn was not present to ma when we last wrote on it. Bat we cannot see that in makes any difference, though undoubtedly 11 shows sheren the Bengulees in Bibar and Orissa are not troutal an they are entitled to be in all respects. The respectem Editor of the Modern Keview is, as we have seen, of thes same opinion. As regards the fwo specilic instanoen. adduced as proofs of the policy of differentintion againge. Bengalee citisens followed by the $L$ cral Government, the first, namely, preference of beharis in the pablic services is, perhaps, actuated by the sime reamon us that on which preference is shown to non-Brabening. in Madras and to Mahomedans elsewhere, namely, thak. they form a relatively back ward section of the compunity requiring special eneouragement. Apart from that; we are unable to regard exciusion trom the sothordinate posts in the puolic services as a serioss or a real disadvantage to advanced commotinities. At them same time, we think that the intidions distinction mades against Behari-Bengalees in éducationsl institationes. is nothing short of a scandal. Edroational iustituriong. especially those which impart higher edacation, ahouth. be open to all comers on their merits, even if they be nafnatives of the province or even of the country. Edecention has everything to gain by sach troad-mindern liberality, while placing restrictions on admiesiones (except as regards numbers) is deli, erately to lower educaunal standards. A resolution brought some years. ago in the Bomjay Legislative Conacil to pace a himize on the number of stulents from other provincees adaistecte. to the Engioeering College at Poona, was'defonted i, y am large majority and the attempt has not boen repentod. there arestadents in our Colleges, Arts, Law, Medriven Cummerce and Engineering, fromer all provinues ar they are absolutely on the sappe fonting as regader. scuolurships and yrizes as Bombuy imodenta He. coumond to the Goverament of Behar and Uriem thas* example of Bombay as 0 ase worthy of imitation. Hest


    #### Abstract

    mosere shat mationaliots like Mr. Hagan Imam, Mr. Sotidamada Sinlis, avd others will gladly tant therir sapport-indeal. we think, they should athe the initiative-ito got the present asrrow folog ta chis res, oct rudionlly allored. That is ste Hine in whob, wo thiak, Brhari Bongalees theld go to work, and not in asking for apecial rop, re. madetion in the Legirlative Cuancil. From the practical pint of trew too, they nould derive nuadrantage from haring fiva or halfa-dozen memt ors in the ('ouncil. By merting with and through Behart leaders of light and Zadiag, they will o: aure not only for the literary olurses luat fur all Bepgaleee the goodwin of the Leharis. Whila; by sdopting the line of separa: representition, Ahey will antugonise them with the result that they will to able to achiove nothing, as thi ir representatives are care 20 te voted by the indigenots mijurity. The changer will theu be thut the hanaful of Bengaleen in the Conncil mis be forced ty their position to segk the. eupport of officials ag inst the popalar party. It is the putt of windom and foresight to aviit gettiog into such a porition at all costs.


    ## THE PROBLEM UF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES* 1.

    ## (By Sir Nabayan Cigandatariar.) A Pulitioal Phoblem.

    I have heand and read it suid that this problens of the depressed classes is a religions problem aud chnt, aberefore, my Government which interferes wilh it depiris from the priaciple of religious neatra'ity. The'cry of " religios in dauger " has become a cutcherg in Iudia to prevent all bealthy progress. In the present cise as in other custe it is a hollow cry ruised Hy the tigotig of vestid interesta. The probleut of the depressed clusses $i=1$ essentially a political pruAlcm; aid it cannot cease to be that merely be, uase semehow religious considerationg have come to be ciavolved in it. It is a pulatical problem becanse it concerns vitally the iree rights of ciluzeoship of the Lepressed'classes. Fur, what are the civil disabilities iangoied for centuries ou those clakses in the wawe eand under the pretext of reigiou? On the givand of autouchability they have been excluded frow mablic roads mud atreeta, public markets, appearance in Conrts of juatice, pablic temples and other places - of worship and ent loy ment in public offices. Now, these are all righte of a civil natare and no religiou anght to be allowed to prevent their exercise by nuy hamin boioy. Nearly thirty yeara ago the late Geueral Buoth, Coief ot the Solvatjon Army, visited Hudia when the Indian Natioual Congrena waty in -aesion. 'He rias so toached by the degradatiun to Which the drpressed claneve were baljegeted that he acent a wiré to the Cuagrese to take ap their canae. Tue Cungrese replited to tim that she gutetion wae zeliyiow, "Los' political, and ihas thérefure it did sui evacio tithia'its aphere an an entirely pultient organi-
    


    forced the Coagiesa to admit in eceoneo that the prod blome ie protitical aud afeote the righte of the depros.? seil classes as citiseus. In 1917 the Cungrate. adu.ited the problew intoiis programie of resold. tiong for the firut time becate a largo mans mestiog" of the depressed olmasee over waich. 1 pirvinded as Bumbay dumauded that by a lotter addreatod to the President of the Coogresu. Mr. Müutaga was ihen in Iudin 10 jadge aun irame a activine of reupuasible (iverumeut. That was a pajchulogical wument and
     depreotel claseen, Last jear, the Cougrevin owphained by a resolution the need ut elovitiag the bialus, of the depressed classer. It is becpuns. The problew. is pulticmatinat the Britisú Guvorniment in dudis. aod sume of the ludian S.atem, Lave taken it upta right
     Syueitisu and wore partucularly uader Lora Wihiog-
     the aepreseed clapses. Mhatary cateery tuve vuce mury beat thruwa ofen to them eud the mamberm ot the depressid cinsey oufplited vuring tha lust war Lut mit incolotivetable humber lur the Army, in tue hour of the Exapiro's seed. Thederprement ulase tegimente have sougthin all the theatrea of the war asu miquitied themselyce creditabiy. Cue Bombay
     uepresoed classen and mangurator asjacom of opecial
     haif experiallure grant to buasen muskiag tur the
     highly educated member of the clana Prolemour lu oum of its Culteged. An a direct peatit of the Bombay Guverameni'y recommeadation, aums moil of the depressen clansea Lave been appulated meabiere us dutrict aud lucal luarda.

    ## Tue Madras Gupernmasto

    Let metarn now to the work of the Goverament of Mudras so nolve this politucal probiem. is is is the Madras l'residency, in che Travautore and Cuchio States tiat the couditivi of the depressed elmatia ham betu more acutely degraded mat intuman than in olluer pairis of duan. stuack by that, the Guvernment of Madras in the earig sixites of lant cuatary devoted its actention to its mupliorabion. When the lata Dir T. Bladhava kio weut lo Travancure an Dowat, the braisu. Bealdent, aupporied absungly by the Maurnis Guverumieat prenaed bitu io aucury in the deprened clasers in the simio the urdsumery sigice of bumauily aud cilizeurhip. I uave had sofuvgli the
    
     publinhed innkend of belug pigevinitions a prey 10 then sull moth. The literary grace, ate aunle onutio mente, the farsigited acalesmmushiyg aud Britith tover
     sad the leters of the Brinto Hesweat of Travaucute and of the Meurne Giovernument of tume thine wake it
     in the Jiberal pency of tho Malsme Guterument 'abd
    
    
    and the late Dr. Dancan ás Director of Pablic In-- straction of Madras kept on pressing the argenes of the problem on the lagging attention of Government. Since Lord Willingdon aesomed the reing of that Government he has bronght the problem to the front, given it a new life that its political character demands. He has nomioated a depressed clases gentleman to , bis Legislative Conncil. He has appointed a special officér $t=$ onncert measares 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 edacation of the depressed classes.

    ## Indian Princks.

    Whe of the more enlightened Princes have actively taken up the problem. The Baroda State's Compalsory Edacation Act has bronght the ohildren of the depressed classes in life with those of the higher canter. His Highness the Mabaraja of Mysore, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolbapar, whose recent address pleading for the rights of the depressed classes deserves to be widely read, yonr own Mabaraja awho has opened pablic 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 religions and sociai. It is a political problem. The right of the depressed classes to free access to publis - schools, public roads and streets, pablic markets, courts of justice, pablic temples, \&c., for its enforcecment by Government depends on the same groquds of political expediency on which suttee, thuggi, dharna have been peualised by the State as offences in spite tof religions considerations.

    ## Ruligion not in Danger.

    But evenasa religious problem the cause of the depressed classes is the canse of the Hinda religion. - That religion in its best aspects for centaries has been straggliug to elevate their snoial and political condi*tion. Buddha adnitted their members as his disciples on terms of perfect equality with bis disciples from the higher castes. Shri Shankara fell prostrate before ,a Pariah and eaw God in the gaise of a Cbandula in a. dream at Benares. The asints of the Bhakti school admitted Mahars, Chambhare and Pariahs into their fold and fonght hard for the depressed classes. And now with the litheraliaing forces of the British Goverament the problem is leaping to its fall light.

    ## A National Problem.

    Thanks to that Government, it has become emore;than ever before an all-India problem. The caree of outoachability prevaila to this day in all jurte of Iodia. It is not mere notonchability. Il is worse than that. While all of the depressed rolasses bave been for. centaries notonchable, some tive been anshadowable, some anspproachable and nome even anseenable by the bigher castos. And this degradation has been imposed by these sastes of Hindn sooiety on ono-fith of the total 'popalation of thair own conatry, race and creed, on - 30 per cent of the Hinda popalation of Iadia. Ont of every ten Hinda, three are treated as beyond the the pale of decent hamanity!

    ## 'THE PROBLEM OF MISSIONS IV INOLA II'

    ## (By tier Rev. Wilbob " ERENNPR Stophr.)

    And the question of sin also arisess, and the xelation of the Mission to the poor man - who commites the deed. It is an old question. To draw the line between .justice and mercy is a delicate matter. Yat every Missionary and every Preacher of the Gospel is called apon sooner or later to do it, and sometimes freqnently. One dare not wink at sin. One dare not forget to the mercifato a discipline that exalto righteousness mast be maintained: If there is no different attitude towards sin after one arcepts Christ, there is something wanting. Sin is sin, and whatever right stepa can be taken, not forgetting to be mercifal; to show the sinper the exceeding sinfal natare of sin; to keep the Charch pare, to pata preminum on "keeping free from sin, it woald seem ought to be'taken. When those who are gailty are manly enoagh to confess and make good the wrong donde, they asnally find among Christians a warm' and welcome right hand of fellowship. The relationship of master and servant is likewise an old question. The servant shonld serve his master in a way worthy of a good servant, and this service not only to those who are good and gencle, bat to the master who is harsh and demanding. The master on the other hand aboald not despise bis servant, because before the Lord they are brethrea. Paal sent Onesimas back to his master, with the apology that now he had become a Christian, kindly receive him in service once more," bat as a . brother. A little brother, no donbt, bat a brother nevertheless. If I way refer here to my own experience, I may say that I bave on varions occasions seat men back to their masters, or persarded them nut to depart when they were aboat to ran away. Mure than that, through an Aid Society, I have leat men money ta help them pay their masters according to promise; and not neglect to 'do 'so. On the other hand I have helped mea to get oat of the hands of masters and money-lenders who were from year to year getting the pdor /fellows into tighter quarters, from which they coold not possibly extricate themselves. It is a mistake to think that missionariéa as a body have set themselves ' to violate any teaching of the New Testament Soriptares.: 'Sappose they would do so, or sappose they had a mind to do so, the Caurches at home woald not tolerate for a day sach missionaries on the field. And some of these charches in ather lands have so good a conscience on the master and eervant $q$ question, that long yeara before Guvernment mada any law with respect to slavery they decided that no member shonid hold slavea, and if they had slaves they shorid set them free. . Failing this, sach members would be ao longer held as member.

    Again and again do we preach'ther words' "Prove all things, hold fast to that which isgood."" Whether a thing ia English or Japanese or Fudian is not the question in my experience, bat whether it is good. Hea it been proven? What fraits grow on the trees? I have been thinking that missionaries, especially of
    late jears, have lacked nothing in praising the good traite of character they fiod in non-Chriatian peoplea; also in seeking oat and marking excellent teaching in non-Christian books. Bat I certaiuly think it unfair to missionaries as a clase to depreciate them because of the record of certain German missionaties in Iodia. They might as well say all Etatesmen are rascals becanse of the unfurtonate record of recent German statesmen or say that honesty and iutegrity have disappeared from the world becanse thone traite were sadly lacking in Germans of late years.

    In summing up, I might say that the correapondence has maintained two polnts: first, that the present misaionary system tends to prodace weaklinga only, and second, the remedy is boycott. I am not sarprised at the latter, for it is the spirit of the present time to bosoott what does not appeal to us. Bat what brought the system? Was it not to afford a place of refage, where persecation coald 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 syatem has served its time. Perbaps some other eystem has greater merit. We would all like to hear saggeations for something better. We are all ready to see something better which proves anccess. Wo are planning for agricaltaral schools where perhaps every stodent may be required to work in the field as many hours as he sits in sehool each day. We are talking of indastrial schools on the same line. We are arranging for inter-denominational Girle High Schools and Boya Training Schools. We want the achool or the plan or the agatem which will lead our people in the most rapid manner possible, to become a self-sapporting, self-governing, and self-expanding Charch.

    We bave not reached the ideal. Meanwhile, what shall we do ? I look upon Mr. Bryan as a great American, bat one who made a great mistake when he reaigned his high office of Secretary of State becanse President Wifeon wonid not agreo with him. Thera is, I think, a better plan than chat. Ae followera together of the Lord Jesue Christ, we muat work out together the problem before ase It is a great problem, it ia inviling, it challengen all my strength. I must need associato mymelf with othore Who also accept the ohallenge of the problem. Unlees 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 otheri on many pointa, I agree witin them on many more.

    After all, it seems to me that it is not the system specially. Which is to blame, nor jet is saccess-assured by anj system. If we Kive close 3o God, and maintain a oympathetic relationship with people, we are sare to be anccessful in Cbristian cadearodir. Sympathy, my brethren, sympathy and affection for one another, of all who love the Lord and seek to follow Him, this is the ninquestionable need of the hour.

    ## madras nationalist assoclation.

    We have received eopies of the programane of the Nationsliat Porty of Mredrae to whick we reler in our leading articie. The followiag introdnction is prefixed thereto :

    It is mot desirable, even it it were poseible, to makt complete doenmentary ay nopeis of the eltitade of asy political party on all admioiztrative eod leghlative quentions that may befaken op in the foture, It in enougt to deat wish the imeodigke futore.
     matters, and the former propone to take op for olation, firsh thoe queation on which thes have isid greatent atrecs and to thich they have ampationally differed from the Moderake.

    The formala that ean beet expreec the diatinotion bele ween the inanediate programme of the Nationaliats mat that of the Moderation in the one enggevted in the paget of the 1ndian Social Refurmor, vit, Freedom v. Powur. Tbe Notionalists consider freedom of person, and of prem and sesooiation me the easential primery requinite, and couceqnently more' important than partioipation of political power, es jong as the Central Covernaueat entirely, and the Pros vinoial Governmunta in all vital mallera cuntiaus irresponsible.
    The mational will heving already with practioal manir mity expressed iteelf in respeot of the legiaintion reqaired for aakegaarding such freedom, the Niationalista oungider that these mattort choold be preseed forward firat and dieposed of, before new political isance and corresponding veated intereate acourt thomacives and befort new purtio arive and complicate the aituation.
    The Moderalee have no conatraotive programme with regard to "Ircedom" legimation. They simply eoek to divort atcontion Irom is and offer what they deem a oongtruetive progranme on otber mattert, only leably rafersing to the formef now and then, the mestive boing to aroid e coofliot with the Bareaucraoy. The Bureaveraey $100_{\text {, }}$ will patamally be inolined to manist bhia diverciun of attention, by oven now placing before the country anch bille at involve new ineneme. eo m to divide the people into partien and deatroy the precont unanimity in regare 'to the vital queetione affecting the freedom of pernon and proes Ealamey aloo be to framed m to reader the Nocionalint programme extramely diffonde. Yet the Rrationaliots will parsue shair pech andeanted.

    The apeoisi progroment herein akocohod ous tad the ancomalal waging te the backles insolved oppeas to be mough work and more, toe the imandinte fature

    As regarde the apeoial progranme of the Xationaliat party is the leginlatusi, is is appraboedel thes the Moderimat if retnrned, will ser sake the tuponsiblity of immindiately initiating sooh meactaree and disdertake the mocemery eone
    
     Yiationalicte, it they do aet ao bedy metively oppoen if ".
    If may to thought that the Xetionaliot progromme hase aketched out doee not come enciruly whin toe pros. vises of the proviscial leginatase However a dues pesend
     have come powers is thees suctcors alijeof to provions eanotion, the aking lor which by revolation moald bring up the innoes eloerlf. Moreover, the eonatry ehoald act allow iteclf to be too maneb obowsed by the prowest diviaion of fanctions. The reters of Xationaliste to all the proviscial councila will greally atreagtben agitation in Eugland aod India, in rempeet of all mathars whorsic
    agitation ban to he strenuonsly continaed notwithstanding the present Reforme.

    The latent realations of the Cungrens conclasively show that it is the general opinion of the conntry that nune bat Nationaliate ahoald be returned to the central Indian legislature. Tbia being so, it cannot retarn a different party to the provincial conacils. Such a coarse wonld greatly weaken the hands of the Nationalists in the central legislataro. It wonld be anicidal an their predominent existence in the provincial legielatare is absolutely essential to the carrying ont of the programme berein bet oft in consonance with the leelings and reqnirements of the people. Even in the central Givernmente, the atrength of the Nationalist party in the provincial conacila will toaterially allect the policy of the Government of India, especially in regard to the exercies of the extreme powers of certifying or vetoing measure adopted by the popular party.

    The Central Council of the Nationaliat Association confidently expect the electorate and the general public to k sppreciate the programme herein set out in which are placed in the forefront those measures which relate to personal liberty, and liberty of apeech and of pablic meeting, especially in the light of the kuowledge acately broaght bome to us by the hiatory of the Punjabatrocities, proving bow wesk and delusive is the law prevailing io this country in relation to the protection of our primary rights. The Council earnestly and confidently appeal to the country to epara no pains to olect only Natioualista as the people's reprenentatives.
    T. I'pakabam,
    C. Fijabaghavohabiar.
    C. Rajagopalachar,

    President. Secretaries.

    ## MR. GANDHL'S MANIFESTO.

    It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of ny life for me to telong to an organisation that is purely and trankly political. But after carcfal deliberation and consultation with friends I bave joined the All-India Home Rale Leagre and accepted the office of its Prevident. Some lrienda yhom I consulted told me that $I$ ahould not join any politioal organisation and that it I did, I would lose the position of splendid inolation I eojoy at present. I conless that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the asme time I felt that if I was accepted by the Lesgue as I was, I should be wrong in not identifying myaelf with an organiaation that I could utilise for the udvancement of the canaes in whioh I had apeoialized ood of the methods which experience has shown me are attended with quicker and better results than those that are nagally adopted. Before joining the League, I endeavourod to ascertalí the opinion of those who were ontaide the Prenidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in anoh oluse contsot at with oo-workere in the Bombay Presidenoy.

    The oncues relerrod to by me are 8wadeshi, Hindu-Moslem Unity with special ieferenoe to Khilafat, the acoaptinnoe of Hindastani as the lingua franca and a linginistis redistribation of the Provinces. I would engage the Leaguẹ if if ons carry the members with me in these ectivitien no that they cooupy the largest part of the nation'n time and attention.
    , I frealy conlera that Reforms take a becondary placolitimy * cobeme of national reorganisation. For I feel that the motivi. sies obonen by me il they could bat aboorb national energy, Foald bring about all the Reforme that the moat ardent oxeremiste oan over deaire, and me fer an the deairability of full coll-govera ment at the earlieat ponablo moment is concerned 1 yield to none in ing desire to hasten our progrosa. And it is becance I feel that the progreen towarde aell-goverument can be beat accolerated by developiug the activitee I heve mentioned that I keep them in the furefront of the national proe gramme. I shall not treat the All-Indie Home Rale League as a parts organisation in auy seuce of the torm. I belong to ao party and I wiah to belong to none bereafter. I am
    aware that the constitation of the L-agae requires it to help the Congress, bat I do not consider the Congress as a party organieation, even as the British Parlianirnt tuongb it coutains all parties and oue party or other dobininating it from time to time, is not a party orgaination. I shail ventare to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for sll parties to appeal to the nation with a view to uoulding its policy and I would endeavoar to so moald the poling of the Leagne 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 uncumpromisiug truth and hosesty in the political life of the country. Whilet $I$ woald rot expect the League to foliow ma in my Civil Ditobedience methode, I would strain every nerve to m ake truth and nou-violesce accepted in all our national activities; Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Governments aud their measares. I do not wish however to develup the theme any further. 1 would rather let time solve the many quistiuns toat mast arise from the hald statement I have made. My purpose juct now is to demoustrate the propriety of may action or the trath of the policy. herein adumbrated put to tatie the members of the Leagne intw my confidence und it invite criticism of the programme herein set fortn and any saggestiuns they may wiah to make for the adrancomant of the welfare of the League.
    M. K. Gandil.

    ## PRICE OF NEWSPAPERS.

    Much promineuce is given in the French newepapers to the serious position of the Press created by the shortage of paper. Tine Matin atates that a large nuaber of newspapers sre chrestened with extinction. It points out that the price of paper has increased ninefold since 1914, and that the limit has not been reauhed by eny means.

    Some time ago the Press Office was formed with a view topooling and rationing paper according to circulation, but aeveral of the leading newapapers relused to enter the cumbine, so the hurean is about to be diseolved. Newspapera mast now fight their own battles and many of the lesser dailies and erening papers are expected to succumb. Oher newspapere are doabling their pretent 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 manitesto, the Indian Messenger of Calcutta shrewdly observes:-m 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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    ## MOTES.

    Sikh Representation in the Punjab Legislative Council: ilie process of baggliog into which communal representation has degenerated has not been belter illustrated than in the representation of the Siklis to the Government of India which has provided to 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 thair numerical strength, but also to representation on the precise scale adopted for the Muhomedans. The Bikhs went on to urge that the Lucknow compact (which they expressly repudiated), gave to the Mabomedans of Bibar and Orissa (who were nearly in the same numerical proportion to the total population as the Sikbs in the Punjub) 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 taised in their case to 33. They proceeded to indulge in a little bit of bazar bluff. Theysaid that, witbout communal represeatation, the Sikhs could by their voting streugth get i4 or 15 seats in open non. sixislem constituencies and inat, since commual electorates debar a community from participating in general electorates, they would be sheer losers and not gaineis by the adoption of communal representation unless they were given at least 15 seats. The Governinent ol India, in their reply, puint out that Io seats represent a proportion in excess of the numerical strength of the Sikns, that any further adjitiun to the number can not be made without ualarly encroaching on Hindu representation, and add that, if tha Sikhs seriously think that they will tare better without communal electorates, Goverainent will be glad to revise their scheme in the light of that opinion, "it being understood that - the resultant delimitation ol the conslituencies will. be made only on grounds of convenience and equality of size and nut with an eye to the electoral
    advantage of any community." It remains to be seen what the Siths 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 relorm which involves palpable injustice to them, is bound to fail. If the Councils do not in their composition fairly represent the tfective 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 sfrict proportion, both as to number and ability, to those of other communities. The newspapers will create and propagate the pubic 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 Exropean Association and Gzneral Dyer : We are sorry to see that the Dombay Branch of the European Association has seen fit to address what is in effect a remonstrance to the Tinmes of India against its outspoken repudiation of General Dyer's claim that everyEnglishrnan in India approved of his action at Amritsar. We do not know what other nationalities besides the English, the Eurcpean 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 opision of Englishmen as distinguished from other Europeans in which category our late eneinies, the Germans. cannot be refused $a_{1, \text { diace. For the rest, the }}$ European Association Overlooks the iact that we bave General Dyer's own statements beiore the Hunter Committee and that no one could put a vetter complexion on one's actions than their authof. : The Secretary, Mr. Cameron, writes to our contemporar): "Witbout entering into the merits or demests of General Dyer's reported statement t:s the Daily Mail representative in England, my Committee thuk that comments on the lines of your leaderette in question are apt to give a lalse impression to the pubtic. My Committee, as representative of European interesis in this Presidency, consider any such comments or judgment on matters of public interest which arestilt sub judice may piejudice the mind of the public betore the evidence of the Hunter Cornmission is before them. My Committee think that all reasonable Indian opinion will agree with them that until we have the evidence belore us, no responstible individual or public body should commit themselves to a judgment. English justice has gained lor irself a fair naine all the world over, and my Commistee subinit that the bulk of Eugitshmen in ladia wilt as heartily depiore the opintons expressed in your leaderette as they would do any similar atteropt publicly to approve of a matter which is of geat

    Problic importance and which is still sub judice. When the evidence is before the pablic, both Englishmen and Indians will doubtless speak their minds. Until that time British justice demands that the pablic do not sif in judgment on a public servant be he Eoglish or Indian." The Times of India's prompt and emphatic repudiation of General Dyer's preposterous claim has had en exceedingly happy effect, as also the letter from the Rev. A. G. Fraser which we published a fortaight 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 Cbrist 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 belp them, sends us a communication from which, we gather, that the grievance of the women there is that they are freated 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 offeoce punishable with imprisonment for a person to "seduce or have illicit connection with any woman or girl previously chaste and under the age ewenty-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 bis control or direction, or receives her wages or salary directly or indirectly from bim. Proof that a woman or gur has on previous occasions had illicit connection with the accused shall be deemed to be evidence that she was not previously chaste." This amend. ment, says Social Welfars, 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 Khau has received a cablegram from the Eon. Mr. A. M. Jeewanjee of Mombasa, one of the East African Indian delegates now in London, stating the interview of the delegates with the Oolonial Secretary, Lord siliner, bas not heen satisfactory and fearing that, notwithstanding the strong efforts of the India Office, the questions at issue may be decided against Iadians. It the Imperial Government allow this to be done in delerence to the interested clamour of a section of the white men in East Alrica and against the publicly expressed convictions of the best and mot experienced Englishmen in that Crown Colony, is will give canse for wide-spread discontent and aesebtment in this country. All political parties in ludia should send a combined representation to the Imperial Governments 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 cays 6A Murders and outrages in Ircland grow mort terrible every day. The vendetta agaiost the police is becoming intensified. The Lord Lieutenant and the executive officers are virtually prisoners in the country they are governing. Tbey are only abla to leave their retreats in armoured cars. The situa. tion 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. Ifypdreds go unrecorded. The loyalists are 80 terrotised that they suffer in silence. The Sinn Feiners taily told courts and inflict sentences. A number of corrospondents confirm that the situation of the loyalist beggars description. Numbers are fieeing the country. Meanwhlle forty-two bunger strikern were released from Wormwood Scrubbs yesterday and thirteen from Cork Gaol."

    Frecdom or Power ? Dommenting on Athe manifesto of the Madras Nationalist Association, the Servant of India says the literary subtiety of this journal suggested the formula "Freedom versus Power "tor the purpose of distinguishing between the standpoints of Nationalists and Moderates. The distinction, as a matter of lact, 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 ol rights in the Relorm scheme on the ground that he would have no limitations on the power of the Legislature, marked the Moderata party as the party mainly concerned with participation in power.

    Sis J. O. Bose's Researches ; Dr. A. D. Wallar F. K. A., Director of the Physical Laboratory at the University of London, recently wrote to the "Timas" suggesting possible sources of fallacy in Professor Bose's demonstration of the growth of plante by means of the crescograph, and his letter was followed up by another, writien by Professor Bayliss, F. R. 8., who suggested that Prolessor 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 physio. logical change and not due to the effects of heat or physical phenomena." la response to this suggestion Prolessor Bose agreed to have his crescograph set up in Professor Bayliss' laboratory at University College and invited Professor Etarling and Prolessor Oliver of the same College and Lord Rayleigh from the Imperial College of fcience to be present at the demonstrations. As the result, evidently of this demonstration eight Professors of Uaiveraity 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. Nanjundayga: We much regret to record the death of Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya M. A., O. L. E., for many years first member of His Highness the Maharaja's Council and the first ViceChancellor of the Mysore Uaiversity. He was frequent and valued contributor to this jouragh Public life in Mysore is much the poorer for bis losta

    Indian Deiegate to Inter Allies' Conference s-It is understood that Bir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy is to be one of the non-official delegates to represent India at the forthcoming Inter-Allies' Financial Relation: Conference to be held at Brussels.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBAY, MAY 16, 1920.

    ## BOMBAY REVISED REGULATIONS.

    In thef 'egalationa poblished by the Government of Bombay :olating to the franchise and olectorates for the new sroviocial Legislative Conncil. A revieed version If them has been pablished, and we notice two important changes. The one relutes to the Dardars constituencies in the Deccan and Gajarat. In commenting on the two seats reserved for these constitaencigh, 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 Surdars-mo that these two constituencies were parely Government creations. This anomaly has beeu songht to be removed in the revised regulations by adding to the Sardars in the two divisions, peranns who are "sole alienees of the right of government to the payment of rent or land revende in respect of an entire village sitaated within the constitnency." This to some extent removes the objection we had raised, bat it still remaine 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, bat if there is to be a separate constituency for the bigger landholders, the right rale is that proposed for Sind, namely, all land-owners who either pay, or are alienees of Iand assessable at, Res 1,000 or any less or greater sum, as land reveune.

    The necond ohange in the revised regalations is retrograde. In our article on the draft regalations first pablished, vecalled attention to the difference in the residential qnalification prescribed between communal and other coustitanncies. In the case of the latter the candidate has to be a voter in a constitnency aud the qualification for a voter is that he shoold have a place of residence therein. In the case of commanal constitnencies, however, a speoial qualification was introdaced, namely, that the candidate should bave ordinarily resided in such oonstitaency for a period of eiz monthe prior to the election. We pointed oat, with special reference to MahomeI dae conatitoencies in Sind, the hardahip whioh this involved in finding saitable candidates. The revised regolations make the aix montha' ordinary residence applicable to general as well as commanal constitu; enajes by an ingeniona device. This is a definition of " commanal constituoncies" inserted in the revised $i$ regalations. A "commanal constitaency" is defined I as meauing a non-Mahomedan, Mahomedan or Earopean constiteency. The Government of Bombay mast - have been at its wit's ond when it thought of incladVing not-Mahomedan oonstituencies among communal constitnencies. The phrase "commanal consititaency" has acquired a fixed meaning in Indian constitational
    terminology as a constitnency exclasively coufined to voters belonging to sésingle commonity. it it so used in the Montagi-Cbelmeford report and Southborough Committees' report. The Government of Bombay force it, for reasons which we can bat dimly gange, on non-Mahomedan constituencié consisting of Hindas, Christians, Parais, Jews; AngloIndians and, in fact, of all commauities except Mahomedans and Eropeans. Wo trast that the Secretary of State and Parliament will strike ont this illogical extension. "Ordinary residence of six months in a constituency" is the residential qualification in its most absolate form. We bad thought that the Government of Bombay was disposed to be more liberal, bat 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 farther scheme in the Times of India. In it, commanal constituencies are styled general constitnencies instead of, as in the previons draft, commanal being incladed in general constitaencies. We also notice a mention of Maratha conatituencies. The pablic have not as yet been told what these are to be. The whole thing seems to be in a state of confusion. Parliament, we trost, will be able to evolve some order out of this chaos.

    ## REPORT OF THE CHEMICAL SERVICE COMMITTEE.

    One of the saggestions 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 towarde their fall economic utilisation was to create an organisation to under-. take research add analytical work. It was suggested that the Government help which the country wanted for the advaricement and creation of industries shoald be given throngh the medium of chemical research institations in the conntry, Professor Jocelyn Thorpe was appointed President of a Committee in which Sir P.C. Ray was the only Indian member. This Committee has jnst published its report. It is a very carefully prepared State docament, drawn in a very liberal spirit. Bat it is to be regretted that the committe has approached the whole sabject in a very prejudiced and biassed frame of mind. Tbat chemical research is seriously wanted in India for development, of her industries -is true bat that it could only be done by a Government organisation-the Chemical Service-was a conclasion which conld not be accepted withont 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 ohemical sivice" that they have no hesitation in recommendiny the creation of the service. The eo-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.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBAY, MAY 16, 1920.

    ## BOMBAY REVISED REGULATIONS.

    In the Reformer of April 25th we noticed the draft regalations pablished by the Government of Bombay relating to the franchise and electorates for the new provincial Legislative Council. A revised version of them has been pablished, and we notice two important changes. The one relates to the Sardars constitnencies in the Deccan and Gajarat. In commenting on the two seats reserved for these constituencis, wo pointed out that there were persons who were quite as important landholders an 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 parely Government creations. This anomaly has been sought to be removed in the revised regalations 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, bat it still remains a question why these " alicnees" 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 east in this Presidency, bat if there is to be a separate sonstituency for the bigger landhoiders, the right ale is that proposed for Sind, namely, all land-owners who either pay, or are alienees of land assessable at, 's. 1,000 or any less or greater sum, as land revenae.
    The second change in the revised regalations is retrograde. In our article on the draft regulations first published, we called attention to the difference I the residential qualification prescribed between ,mmanal and other constitaencies. In the case of the latter the candidate has to be a voter in a consti-
    ancy and the qualification for a voter is that he
    1 have a place of residence therein. In the case nmonal constituencies, bowever, a special qualifi-- was introduced, namely, that the candidate
    id have ordinarily resided in such constituency period of gix months prior to the election. We 3 ont, with special reference to Mahomesstituencies in Sind, the hardship which this $\boldsymbol{i}$ in finding saitable candidates. The revised ions make the six months' ordinary residence le to general as well as commanal constituoy an ingenions device. This is a definition of ummanal constituencies" inserted in the revised golations. A "commanal constitaency" is defined a meaning a non-Mahomedan, Mahomedan or Enroean constituency. The Government of Bombay mast ave been at its wit's end when it thonght of inclading non-Mahomedan constituencies among commuaal constituencies. The phrase "commanal consiituency" has acquired a fixed meaning in Indian constitational
    terminology as a constituency exclasively confined to voters belonging to $a$ single commanity. It is so ased in the Montaga-Chelmsford report and Southborongh Oommittees' report. The Government of Bombay force it, for reasons which we can bat dimly gaage, on non-Mahomedan constituencien consisting of Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Jews; AngloIndians and, in fact, of all cummauities except Mahomedans and Earopeans. We trust that the Secretary of State and Parliament will strike ont this illogical extension. "Ordinary residence of six months in a constituency" is the residential qualification in its most absolate form. We had thought that the Goverument of Bombay was disposed to be more liberal, bat 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, commanal constituencies are styled general constitnencies instead of, as in the previons draft, commanal being incladed in general constitaeacies. We also notice a mention of Maratha constituencies. The pablic 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 obaos.

    ## REPORT OF THE OHEMICAL SERVICE COMMITTEE.

    One of the suggestions of the Industrial Commission was the appointment of the Special Committee to inquire into the desirability of baving a Chemical Service for Incia. Indian rescurces are not fully developed and the first step towards their fall economic utilisation was to create an organisation to undertake research and analytical work. It was suggested that the Government help which tho country wanted for the advancement and creation of industries shonld be given throngh 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 bas jast 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 biassed 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 scem 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. Bay's note of dissont that very high authorities in the country, both Indian and English, are strongly opposed to sach a service.
    the bigher custes, according to this political leader, are excmpt from that impossible condition of wholeeale saintliuesa! !
    fic the fifteen years ance the fonndation of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India the sitaation has remarkably improved. As a result of the vigorous educational and propagandistic activities of the society there have sprang up hondreds of schools for D. C. 'children. All Manicipal, Local Board, aud Government schools have been practically thrown open to them. As a result of the activities of the D. O. Mission more than 2000 depreseed classes children are being instracted in the Society's own Schools in the Bombay Presidency and thousands are onder instraction in pallic schools. Frow the schools and hostels of the Society handreds of bpes have gone out and are earning their livelidood as carpenters, painters, tailors, mechanics, teachers and clerks, in different places in the Presideucy. 'Ihe Theosophical Society's work in this connection in Mudras has been a fraitfal one. The education work of the Brahmo Mission of Bengal to the depressed classea-the numo is now changed into Brahwo Missien to Backward Classes-has ancceeded lin carrying the light of knowledge to thonounds of Natuasudra homes. This class of the depressed atands on a focting of its own eveu among those classes. l'bere are many naivernity menamong them. Sume ocoupy very bigh and responsible Guvernment posts also. They may filly be terwed backward instead of depressed, a name whici they rightly resent. The Arya Samuj, especially in the Paujab, has improved the social and religions soadition of lakbs of Meghas -the deprensed clueses of the Puojab, by carrying on the wort of Shuldhi or Purification among them and raising them to the statas of the Aryan. What the Mysore, Travancore and Kolhapur and Cochin states have begun to do for the aplitt of the depressed clasbes in their territories is mater of very recent history. The result of their work will be watched with the kenest intereat by all interested in the elevation of these classes.

    ## Shlf help.

    The depressed classes thus awakened to a sense of their degraded condition have not been slow to make liefforts to improve it themselves. Thas they have atarted uuabers of small and large institutions among them. They hold meetinga, carry on discassions, and pass resolations ; and although there isa good deal of thik, it is not altogether withoat offect. Daring the lagtesficeen geara they beve started in Bombay at loust foor newapapers, and one in Hyderabad (Deccan), thred of which, though ahortlived, havo helged to create an awakoaing among them to no little extent. Public Sympatay.
    Some of the higher olasses too have not been slow to give their aympathy in an anstinted manner, to this national oause. All gonvine men who count for anything in the country, who regard politices as only a branch of roform have come forward, for one reason or another, to help institutions started to promote the welfare of the untorghables The Indian National Congress of 1917
    under the Presideney of $\boldsymbol{k}$ tion, calling upon Indians 4 achatility under which thos
     untouchability Conference "he under the distinguished "piesi Rao Maharaja showed in an uamis conscionce of the bigher classt the grave injustice to which consel they had sabjected the depressed s vinen several political and social conferent ; i.ve met and passed resolutions on lints of the Congress with the result that a large number of the untsuchables have attended these conferences as delogates-a thing un-. heard of, nay even undreamt of, just a few years ago.

    ## The Nbw Reforms.

    The coming political reforms assare to those classes commanal 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 tie demand for educated men of these classes to serve on the reformed councils increases the supply of them is bound to $b$ : greater. The sense of respousibility and dignity which will thas be oreated among the fepresentatives of the depressed classes is. sure to result in a rapid and healthy growth of edncation and social uni polit:cul status of this loug neglected commanity. Whatever the effycts of the new political reforms may be, it may safely be predicted tbat withis a few years hence the phrase "depressed ulassus" wi.I become meaningless and will fail to describe adequately the position of the classes t, whom it is at present applied. I'hat il consider a great ache vement for a true Ludinn nationality, due to the Montigu-Chelmsford reforms. Truly a new epoch opens for India's people, not for Indiu'd castes, if only because the classes hitherto igaored are onableu tu find themselva on their own legs.

    Solution of the problem of cintouchablitity.
    While there is ao doubt whatever ithe pulitical emancipation of the untouchables will result in tho betterment of their social and economi:al coudition, this speed of theír all roand progrese will be considerably accelerated if the problem of untouchabiity is tuoisled as whole and not in a piecemeal manner us is being done now. The policy of startiog separate Schools for their Children suould now be given ap. Such schools do more harm than good from the larger and national point of view. They only assist to parpetuat, the oondition which it is the object of the Depressed Classes Missions to remedy. Upening hustela fur reaily capable and persespering yonag weu and gitla of thie untonchable commuaties und taniag them there as misatonaries to work for tho uplifi ut their trethren is another sure means ot suproviug iseir elevatione Guverument and bodies working lor the uphitiol uutouchables should give acholarshass to deatring stadente to go iu fur sucoudary and higher education. The very sight of educated mou and women in chese comanaities will be arieat inooutive to ulhera wo take to education. Ta anfortauate tededeacy
    observable amoug edncaled and weil-to-do men of this olass to keep aloof from their castes is fatal to their progress aud shonld therefore be given ap Vigorona attempta shoulid be made by miasious to the depressed to improve their social and religions condition by means of puraume, lecturea, birtanas, lantern lectarea, and temparance and purity propagroda. These Missions nbonld fostar aud encourage the spirit of self-help and artive comperation omong them. Social gatherings and dinmers in which members of the depressed afasses can wert on terime of equality with those at that biahter chosses should be frequenty arranged. The problem, thongh it has a prolicical aspect, is reully like some positicial probiems a socio-rtligions oue, and it khomsi be the ain of all wurkers to show both hy precept and practice that they ure in earaent aod their sympuiby for untonchables is not due to the desire to make nse of them for seifinh eude. The teuchior of Buddha, Namdeo, Takuram, Chaitamya aud other religions seers should be not only preached to them b:ar likes Eknath aeted apon. Aboveall, if there is an exhibiv tion of thorongh sincerity and ative co-operation and not of were verbal patronage on the part of the educated classes to their Jowly born brethren, tne solution of the nostonchatility problem will bo an easy one and will not take luns to achiere nnecess. The problem is of a very loug standing and it will tax the capracity and patitnee of both the higher and the antonchable classes to bring it 10 a sutislactory eud. Letall, therefore, who believe in the priociple of the tatherhood of God and the brocberhood of wan work strentonsly and hand in baud to achieve the end Which certainly is worth all the troable they can take over it.

    I cannot condade withont a warm acknowledgment to Curistian missionaries who buve been the pioneers of the movencnt for the elevation of the depressed elireses since the udyent of the British in India. Iast but not least of all, I express our profondi sense of gratitade to His Highness the Mabaraja of the Cochin State aud bis Dewan for haviny harnessed themselves to liberal solntion of this national protlem.

    ## RANDOM NOTES.

    It waf feared by those competent to express an opinion on the subject that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission might almost get broken on tho rock of linanco. That this is also the opinion of the Sauate of the Calcut'a University is evident from an Associated Press telegram whioh states that in the courso of a pointed note to the Government of India tho Eenate insists that tho cost of reconstruction, both initial and recurring, should be ascertained wi h some a pproach to accuracy and saggests the appointment of a committee to investigate the financial aspect of the sebeme propesed. by the Government.

    A veteran publicist of Madras often used to say that the elementary teacher of the aided Schools gets loss pay than his syce or cool. This eaustic remart of his has
    had the desired result, for $011 e$ is pleased to know that the Nalar es Committeo has generously rocommended that Rs $3 \cup$ per mensum shonld be tho mirimum pay of a fully qualiliot teacher in an elementary s.hool. Une other interesting reco umendation of the said Coumittee is that University legreas shoul.i not be p:osoribed as a standard or pissport for the pur; ose of eatry inio Govornment serviss. If this were to become a genoral ruis in the Mialiad Presilency, the veterin puilioist reierred to alove would havesiorola a other victor; from beyond the grave liut 1 fiud that two of the lndi:a members of the commiteo hape writion separat. 11 ,tcs dissenting ironi this conolusion of thoiv colleagnes.

    Thero sems to be agreat spiritual awakening umong tho teachurs of elementary Schools in Lnglind. the boiloning concluting remariks are takon from an extract fiom a loading Whgliti nowspaper :-m. The religion of the teacher is sponitneous in dinglad; it has grown up uabeeded, unvalued. like Christiauity in its rrime; its power, alce diy great, is not hona even to those who exercise it ; but it is maising the best of our future. It unay be tinat out of our elementa $y$ schools real religions art and ritail will ariso ; already they are charches of a Eaich peculiax to the modern world, and one which gives it its best hope of excolling the past ; a faith in the young as beings, not vials of wrath, but children of God for whoin we desire a better chance of realising thoir diviaity than was given to us." Incideataliy, let ns Indiaus we a litite moro earoful in intire lefore indulging in such swesping remurks as tho bast if "spiriutal" and the $W$ est is " materialistis."

    Mr Stithaim, a much iespected officer of the Madras Educacioual service, speabluge t.e olbor day under the ansplees of the 1'oor schoons society startel by Mr. S. Sreonivasa lyongar, poisted out that firms and factoriea siouid furm a vaiusbie sotree of assistance, financial and uthorwise fur the npieep aud spread of night Bchools. He give his own exporience as a student of a night school and "cooly" in a go-ahead paper manatactury and printing firm in Fngland and said that that firm uniutained many night Nohools to impart education to its employeos. When he became a "cooly" (very fow Englishmen in ludia, by the way, speak so Ercely in pablic) after he left the university in a big firm in England, what struck him most was the passionate desire of the labourers to uplift themselver as fur as eduoation went.

    The Madras Government is to bo congratulated on its selection of an energetio Labour Commissioner in the person of Mr. Paddisou who is reputed to $k: e$ a very sympathetic civilian keenly interested in the elowntior of the Depressed Classes. He has since pablistied: comprehensive and nsuful sarvey of tho Depressec Clusses who are officially divided into (a) A boriginal anc hill tribes, (b) criminal tribes, and (c) Untouchablen The question of the amelioration of untouchubles is , machlarger problem than that of either aboriginal o.
    eriminal tribes. They form about 17 per cent of the ; ontire popalation 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. Fr. Andrews to Palghat, the gate of Malabar, in the course of their South Indian tour lafit year. While driving through the town with a stadent, 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 retarned 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 isind similar instances of untoaohability are indeed painfirl and distressing reading. It was Swami Vivekananda who first in the course of his wanderings as a monk called Malabar "a hage lanatic asylum."

    But, unfortunately, the demon of caste untouchability is not confined to Malabar. It las invaded even the most unexpected quarters. An instance in point is the Madras Brahmana Child-widows' Hostel. The Inspectress of Schools, of oourse an Englishwoman, in charge of this interesting educational experiment was "specially summoned by the Viceroy to explain why this hostel was oxclasively reserved for Brahmans." Her brief answer that child widows young enough to benefit by secondary education existed only amongst the Brahman community is far from convinoing. At any rate it has not oonvinced a large body of self-respecting nonBrahmans of the Madras presidenoy. What the nonBrabmans object to is the obvions injustice involved in the expenditare of the tax-payers' money on an hostel " exclusively reserved for Brahmans." Mrs. Drysdale's " brief" answer to the Viceroy's question is anpther illustration of your contention that English ladies, as officials in India, are more prone to bureaucratic whys of thinking than many a bureauorat among the Englishmen in Indian service.

    The present writor rememhers New India's oharactoristio outburst when the Reformer ventared to remark that the ory of "National" education is oue of the ahibboleths of the day. In making an appeal for fands the high priestess of the "national " education movement says that with the ohanges made in the Heform Act. placing Education in the hands of Indian ministers, the attitude of the Society (the S. P. N. E.) ta the, Uovernment mast be necessarily altered and that whirm co-operation seems likely to take the place of aloofnest on one side and suspicion on the other. We. veloome this remarkable prononncement as a first inatalment of her herlthy and significant politi•o-educational "climb-down."
    N. L.

    Ait The annual inland subscription of the "Indian Social Rajormer" will bo Rs, 7-8-0 instead of Rs. 5 trom the 1st April. For forsign countrise it will be one pound storling indtead of twolce shillings as hoveto. All nevo subseripions and renewal of subscriptions after she 1st April will be at the new rates. Those , who ars in arrears to whom rominder cards are sent on the Ist Mlay will please note that if they do not pay the arrears before the 30th May, 1920 they will be charged at the inhanced rates.

    ## CERISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE PCNJAB EXCESSES.

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

    Sir,As a miasionary, I am gled Mr. Prmer has apoken oat. The Panjab happeninga have given missionaries grave cearching of heart. Many have sofruined from expressiod, becanse the matter may be sapposed to be sub judico, pending the Hunter Report. Others are impressed by. the pasaionate conviction of Earopenns in the Pajab that Amritsar was a mangacre, which prevented a masserere, whigh woald baye included Indian Christiane :Remembering the ferociong excesses of the mob, one cannot dismiss this conviction as unnataral, even though one does not share it.
    Neverthelesa, whatever the Hunter Report may'say', some thiugg bave become clenr. Maesacre if the only word in the English tongue which fits what ocearred at Amritsar ; ite callons requel, of a fieid of maimed hamnaity left anterded and anthought for, will distress many of as as long as memory remains.
    Some miseionaries have spoken. I have asid what I could, in two numbers of the Methodist Times; bat this will reach hardly fifteen thoasend readers, auless other papars see fik to quote: I know that other proteste are preparing. Bat miesionaries deel, hamiliated by our disorganisation and our separation trom'each other, which have prevented us from apenking as a body.i It was in colamity during the War that we bad na means of expreasion. It in a greater calamity now.
    

    > MR. TILAN'SMANEIESTO

    ## The Editur ${ }_{3}$ The Indian Social Reformer,

    ## 8ir,

    Anent jour leader on "c Mr. Tilak'a Electural Programme,", permit me to point out the anconscioas injatice whigh you do Mr. Tilek aud the party with whion he in ansociated in Yudian politioes. With ald his fadits, Mr. Tilak in a , leading Congreseman, actively, engaged in, its acuvitien and, any reflection on him mast necessurily reant on the Congreas party. But at the game time, 1 ; promite jon my curdial agreement wherever any refleotion on Mr. Tilak is well-merited, tor criticiem and that of a healithy and aympathetic character, oaunot bat be productive of good. A pablic man most be thick-skioned, if he wants to lead a pablic life and do auy aselal work. Pereonally, I caanat help feeling that Mr. Tilak's manifeato doen not rise above the level of a party politional atant.
    To retura to $M_{r}$, Tilak's manifesto, $I$ shoold have thanked jou eincoraly, it jou have attecked it, on the : fallacions beaio primpiplea andarlying it, instead of comonatrating joux poners of criticiser on the queutions of detaile. The manifento ia the wakost from my riowpoint mot, no mooh in in partionalars an . 14 its principles. But here, I chall confine myself to pointing out the inatancos of unjuat. and oarping and not healthy eritisiman in your leader.
    Firstly, en to goar objeotions to the nomenolatare of tho party being Congrem Domocratic, an by implication, diapur ugg the demooratic aharecter of the Congress, the critioism comea with ill-graoe from a meaber of the Liberal party, the leading lighta of which are sooedors from the Congrens, simply beonase they cannot have thair viema coappalcorily socapted by the Congrom an ith view. Mp, 8arindrapath

    Bannerjes, the dogen of the modiratee speaking on che oocesion of the larewall party to Lord' Sinhi in Caloutte, took the pablic into his confidesce and that of the Moderate party ond said that the remeon why he End other moderate did not attend the Amritear Congreas and the Bengel Provincial ConYeronce this year at Yymensingh, was 'that the organisert of ihe Congrese ind Conference did not underake to promise the soceptance of the Moderated vie' of Reform Aot and other public qiestione My reply to your enquiry an to whother tbers is a Congrese Bureancratic "or a * Congress "A"utooratio" perty, from which it is necenceiéry for Mr. Tink to distiogaiah himetl, is in the affirmative With ill fespeote to many men good amongat the Moderate party. I mast cay that the Moderaces who are anti-Congreas ind still all the same olnim to be Congreasmen for parpose of coutruversien, mast anawor so the label of the "Congrees Aatocracio" alina " Bureanoratic party."

    As regarde your erikisiame on the cooid programme, the attribution of marvalloas capacity for sophiatry to Mr. Tilat, ill-becomes a member of the Modempte party, though not in your permanal or journalistie eapasity, for an a Mudernte yon live in a glase house and mere tone-throwing ane be played by eithar eide. It does not tend to the parifiamion of pablio lite se call into quastion a publiciat's permonal motiver. I weo nc aightmare as you beem to do, in the etatement she Con-grame-Damocratic party, "adrocatee the removal of all civic, sesular or social dimbilition besed oh onsta ald coutsoms It balioves in religions toleration, the macrednem of one's religion to onesell and the right and daty of the State to protect it from aggression." The meaniog is clemr. It means chict whils the party will atrive to abulish the'rigiditien and soverities of cante aytem, it shall not halp to enthrone the tyrany of the right caste ajatem. There in much in our cante ajstem that hes got to go but, thers is also puah in one religions castoms and practices that deserve to be retained.

    Ae to your next oriticism that the manfento is *tmore Moslem than Islam, permit me to point out that all that in meant to 'be cooveyed by the maniferto is that Indian Mohamedane' religioweantimente ahould be reapeoted in any ireaty concluded with Toricey and hothing more. Ail that the pyrty esks in, fan jou yourself patit, w thet the ectiloment of the Tarkich question should be cubstantially is accord with the Prime Ministerm famown techantion two yearn iggo". Tour criticism is on the face of it too furfotohed to redern reforation.

    Ais regherd the omiacion of all mention of the refperation of
    
     the party's usofalneas As regards your criticisme of the
     Byotwari entulement of lond irevente, both hre mabjecte on
     Oonuidering the ovarberdased charnctor of the procent-dey Inad roveneve pocklemente in Indie, which impoveriabee the -xjot beyond any hope of reeuperation, apormamemt ryotwaf enttoment in the immediate future should ko loog way tomards alloviating the atietrees of the coatrol of axport of fucdatafia and has also the momerits of beiag a dratie romedy required to moeta dractic aituation ia our comitry. Mr. Tilat then he eppaks of rediatribation of provicom on a lingaisuic besis, doen not imply bo tions at making langage the baris of cosin anministrative divisiona. Sibce jon are not formalating a ent and dried mbeme yourvelf, why yot give the benefit of the eame privilge of indieacing the trond liaes of policy to Mr. Tilak sloa. Ae regards madermining of

    Englioh odocation, them arie, fithy opiniong tirouggor fist went lor thi tunderaining of Englist vdeation that W Waracolar idremtion, whiob the polleg of muking Egoglist fotigh het wroughs in this eotiviry
    Bombay 27th April $\mathbf{1 9 2 0}$
    8. Sapamall :
    [The teyformer belosgh to did party. It it aot geoponifule
     or do. Por the reat, we do mot deny that thersingay be differeacee of opiaiod. We merely atated what we thought bl mome of the pointe. Ed.T.S.R. $\}$

    ## OOMMEROLALIZED VIOR. <br> Tho Editor, The Iadian Social Beformer.

    Sits
    I orave the hospitality in a thort apece of your colemab for thit following few linen.

    Mea it weithot angel not brate, but in bim, there aro both. A rised roform is behieved by whening the divinity, the hugel and by ehecking the brate, the bacortuelinge fa litu. Every reform, therefore, is it double prosest of ednontion and acimpalaion of eduontion to call forth that is mubll and ibesutifal ia himen and logiolation to oheck and to ourb what 16 beeor in hime This n true as regerde the commurdialised vion, sall regarda fine evil of drints hidroation is a alow prowem of development. Edinoation deu do therefone rary litile good vo thume unfortugati viotims of oqmadraialised vice, with Whom anstom has become other mintrep, Only thome vietime driven to this agly inatitate sither by loroe ar by bad sireame abauces oan be sared by education and by frieadly halp and Mdice We unaut mave them aill, oyon though wh wilh it,
     that thin ogly ingtitato does nof gap freph rearatity. Wo main ntady bow and where thee unfortuate girla are reornited. Priminy Eddontion hould be made compaleory in thúto 'pirin tur 'girla 'Bocial Rafurmars ehonld eanate
     quite gevetsery. No prostitrite ghould be allowed bo bay, or keep protege. "No tonn of a woman dhould be cillowed
     that tuio inatiterto should really disappear from our country, wo inust endesmine it by thopping this freah redraiting.

    The tage it ste case with, she 'initituty of Sadhuginid Bairagia. How and where they reorait amall boye ahould be Gist atadiod, 'Primary Edtaction shoald be made oumpainory. Pablio opínion shorald be areated againith this ovil Bat logination is grite nevevery. So boy should peallowied to
     be cadine of en, bo mej to into thine order when be , 'wetait the uge de uicarntandiug-
    
    
     - obild.

    If we are sedly petriots tre mast meo that oo child falle a viotim to ofither of sheat inabitationth

    ## Tirdea, Bombey, <br> 27-41220.

    

    ## IMDLAN RIGHIS IN EUKOBA

    Conquered Enet Africement romamed Tangenyiks Terribry-is beld in joint poncesion by the Alliem and Great Britaia exesciset mandatury powort of adminiatration. Thet in not to coy thet it coenpiet a plece in she Britinh Empire cimilar to do. $\mathbb{R}_{0} \mathbf{A}_{\infty}$ or Ugoada, or an Ofown Oulony; it cannot be caid to be part of the Bricich Eropire ath. It is
    necessary to recapitalate this well-anderetood poeition because acsording to news frum Bakoba, the Adminintrator and local political offioer there appear to be exercising powers in excess of those which should be contemplated in a mandate. They propose to nove the Indian Bazaur in Botobe at the Indian expense from its old-time and present site alter the pattern mgationed by Prof. Andrews in his adaptation to African attairs of the Biblical story of Ahab and Naboth's vineyard. The Bazuar, of eome filty shopasurrounding a large and wellkept squere, occupies an elevated position in the town, and one so denirwble that Earopeang have cast covetons ejes on it. The Adminiotrator, therefore, has expressed the intention of taking the place from ita lessees and occupiers, and reserving it for Europeans, damping the Indians npon another site. This alternative site is a papcel of low-lying nabealthy awamp Land which lies between two rivera-sruly agenerons offer ! The cost of the ramoral, to come out of the pookets of Indien shop-reepers, is estimsted at $£ 30,000$. The cost to them in danger and sicknesn on the new site selected for them will be greater, for haman life cannot be estimated in mere terms of rupese or the new coinage. The Secretary of the local Indian Association wrote pointing oat this barden apon the commanity, nome of whom, sfter atruggling through lean yebrg of war, are too poor to finance the removal of their shopa, and the Adminiatrator replied in a letter, not receding lrom bis position thet the bazaar shonid be shifted, bat promising consideration of the points raised. In a further lettor the Bearetary anggeste that as finances warrant, the abopkeepery will put ap better baildinge on the plute they now oceapy, providing that their sites be made freehold. The Administrator's answor to thic reasonable proposal is not yet to hand. Menvwhile we would point out to H. E. that it is the admirable practice of Great Britain in victory to respect contracte entered into innocently by ber eobjecte with the fallen Goverument before oocagion arose for war. This Bazmar site, we believe, wat leased by the prasent Indian oocapiers from the German Government long before the war and when there was no shought of war. The then Kaiser in an interview with F. H. the Age Khan, in the jear 1900 wiobed to make it a condition that Indiane settling nuder these oiroumstances in Gorman territory nhould become German antjeotu. Thia proponal wat direotly refased by the Aga Kban, and the Indians of Bukotamest Bezanr shops are largely owned by Momban merohento-rotain to this day their citisenahip as sabjeots of the Britinh Empire. These facte are reoorded in the Agn Khan'/ book "India in Tranaition." Even did Britaiu bnjuy full possersion of the land canguered from the Germans her polioy would bave beap respect for areas in it held by British aubjoots, and wo can leas conceive the anthority of an Adtainiatrator noder mandato to alter that polioy. Germais themeslvea, so ourrent gossip ranit, have been in dicen bllow do tosurn to their ex-German holding now in Bitisit bunde. What then of the British Iudians at Batoba? -iEAat Afrioan Chronicls, Nairobi.

    ## THE FIRST KANARA DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

    The Secretary, Kanara Listriot Conference wires as Collows from Karnar under date 15 th May - Sir Narayan Chandararkar, President-elect of the first Kanria Dis:rict Conference arrived here. Received entbosiastic ovationa along the way from Habli to Karwar. Carried in grand procession through tastofully dororated streets amidst bande mataram oheers. Before. inpersing Sir Narayan thanked vast concourse in stirring Konkani speeoh in the Market Square. Great onthusimam provaila in town. Sitings commence to-day afternion."

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    ## Vol. XXX. <br> BOMBAY-SUNDAY, MAY 23, 1920. <br> No 38.

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    William Lloyd Garrison in the Liberajer.

    ## CONTENTE.

    The Awakening of the Karantak.
    Tbe Reformer'a Heresy,
    'rbe Janmabhumi's Candour. Preedom or Power?
    Sir Narayna Chandavarkar in Cochia.
    Influence of English thought ou Indian Women.
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    Educntional Developments in America.
    The Calcutta Coroner on Ray Driving.
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    The Bombay Cbild Welfare Exhibition.
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    The late Mr. Napjundayya. Time to Speak.

    ## MOTES.

    The Awakening of the Karnatal: The Karnatak Districts ot the Bombay Hresidency, which had rather been lelt out of the main currents of eIndian thought and life, aro awakening to the need of bringing themselves abreast of the Presidency. Within-the labt three years, iwo 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 so show that the Karnatak is fully resolved to rise to the height of ber oppurtunity. The lirst Kanara district Conierence was beld a few days ago at Karwar under the presidentship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, himsell a native of the district. The first Karnatak Conference was also held this year at Dharwar with Dewan V. \%. Madhav Rao in the chair. Both these Conferences were according to all accounts a great success. The central idea of Mr. Madhay Rao's presidential address was the formation of a British Karnatak Province by putting together Coorg and the otber Kanarese speaking districts of Madras and Bombay with Dharwar as capital. In our opinion this would be altogether a disadvantage to the lianarese speaking people, It is the example of the neighbouring non-kianarese population that has stimulated them to the recent public activities. AFart trom that fact, the first question Mr. Madhav Rao's proposal raises is, why are the Kanarese speaking people ol Hyderabad and Mysore to be left out of the grandoise scheme? Is it that they do not need the benefit of the linguistic province or that the lingustic province will be no good to them? Is Madbav Rao prepared to support, if not to inaugurate, a movement on the pari of these people to throw in their lot with the new linguistic province? The socond point is why should it be assumed that in the districts in which hadarese is spoken at present it will continue to be spoken always? Mr. Madhav Nao, doubtless, knows that there has been a struggle for existence among competing vernaculars and tuat, us a consequence, some vernaculars bave been able to extend tuerr area of prevalence at the expense of otbers. Take the caso of hamarese itself. At a Bombay Consultation dated January 35, 1670, 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 Junmablumi, 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 beresy in recent years except the Indian Social Reformer?" We have advocated a good many heresies which those who opposed them in the past bave 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 belpless 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 Jammabhumi, however, deserves credit tor its candour in staung its reason for the "linguistic province" idea which, as we bave 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 lingwa franca, in our contemporary's view, "will ere long disorganize Indian natronalism and make India the outhouse of England." It adds: "Weshall never consent to make Iadia the boadslave 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 Un'ted States has not become an outhouse of England nor her "bond-slave"
    becanse it bas adopted English as the national language, Take the case of South Airica and Canada, both bitingual dominions. Or take"the case of Wales, the illustration emploged by the Calcutta Universities Commission. We never said that the vernaculars should be neglected. Oo 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 Jamme: bhemi is evidently enchanted by the existence of two thousand castes and as many handred 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 seetbing cauldron and a new, a uniform, a made-id-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 representa. tion, to Brabmin-noa.Brahmin controversies con. ducted not exactly in cultural terms, or to BeharBengalt, Andora-Tamil, Telugu-Uriya, MadrasMysore, Gujarati-Dekhani amenities. Unilormity is not colouriess, as our contemporary seems to think. The sky is ualform 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 contemp srary, "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 gajded 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 Lincola thought that the State could not permit it without bringing desolation on itself.

    Preedon 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 Revolation. The Cilizes of Madras not only repeats the mistake of its Poona avatar, the Sorvant of Indin, but in addition preens itself on the unanswerable character of its objection. "Our unanswered, and, as we consider it to be, unanswerable objection to this facile phrase," it writes, e 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 Laberals are credited with trying to wrest from ar tuwilling bareancracy represents, in our humble apiaion, but 80 much Freedom gained for the country as a whole, in view of this misconception, let us requote the passage Irom Acton which is an unanswerable answer to the Citizon's selfcomplacency. "The purpose of all Continental Governments, framed on that pattern (the French. Republic of $\mathbf{y 9 1}$ "" wrote that great bistorian, wis not that the people should obtain security for freedom, but participation in power." The Cisizen points eut that fifteen years ago we had the deportation reguilation of 18I8, and asks if, in view of that fact, we would still say that the freedom we ask for is but the freedom we eojoyed a decade and a balf ago. But the deportation regulation was an obsolete thing:I years ago, and we certaialy wish it will always be 80.

    Sir Narayan. Ohandavaskas in Cochin: Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was invited to preside over
    the Pulaya conferance in Cocbin. We reprinted thy Presidential address in the two last issues of the Reformer. A correspondent writing to the Indenw Messenger of Oalcutta gives the foliowing intereating particutars of Sir Narayan's menorable visit: "Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of Bombay was escorted at Shoranur by the members of the Calicut Bratima samaj and they alighted at Ernakulam falway station by the mail on the ist instant. lhere was a large gathering awaiting his arraval. He was garlanded on alighting by Sadnu Sivaprasad and was received by Kev. Petros. B,A., B.D. and the Devan leshlar of Cochin State and was taken in a Government motor car to the guest bouse where he stayed. $O a$ the and be presided over the Pulaya Conference and read out an instructive speech lor the social ameliorayan of the Pulayas. A Malayaiam transiation ol it was rendered by sadnu Sivaprasad, sentence by sentence. Mír. Rama lyer and Mr. E. Kaman Mienun also spoke at the Conlerence. A Pulaya boy was given Ks, to by Bir Narayan for reading a pacm. alter the passing of resolufions a grand prucession of 5000 Pulayas and other respectable gentlenitn bead. ed by Sir Narayan Ohanjavarkar marcoed through the probibited streets up to the gate of the Fuit at British Coctin he spoke on Social Service on Monday evenigg; it was well attended. He was followed by all Brahmo Iriends and the Dewan Peskar as lar as Shoranur and he left for Bangalure on the $4^{\text {th }}$ amidst cheers and heart-felt prayers tor long life and prosperity."

    Influence of Eoglish thought on Indian Women: Sir lineodore Morcison delivered receatly an address on the influence of Enghish thought on. Indian women. In it he said: "Modern India bad received two characteristic ideas irom kinglish literature namely, the idea of treedom and a new conception of the relation between the sexes." Commenting on this the Indian Messengor remarks: "Bir Theodore reads Mudern Iodia aright when he says that the idea of freedom and anew conception of the relation between the sezes are two characteristic ideas imbibed from Engligh literature. The infuence 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 laith in the bealthy influence of the educated Indian women, the Indian reformers have striven hard tos the spread of female education in the country, As large numbers of Indian women like Iadian men are brought under the infuence 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 Childs - $\mathbf{A}$ Reuter's telegram statess TGis House of Commons by II7 votes 10 g , passed the second reading of the Bill providing for the registre. tion, at the time of birth, of the alleged fathor of an illegitimate child. The former will be required to confirm or disprove his paternity and in the tormer case, he will be required to submit an offer for tho cost of mainteanance 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 maximumafiliation order is tixed at forty shillings a week. Mr. Neville Chamberlan, introducing the Bill, said that the infantile mortality among illegitimate children was 201 per thousand, compared with 90 per thousand children born in wediock. The Home Secretary objected to the billo He sald that Government hoped to establish a Committee to consider legalised adoption in Great Eritain.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    BOMBAY, MAY 23, 1920.

    ## THE PEACE TREATY WITA TURKFY.

    Oa Saturday the 15th instant, the Government of Indis poblished a sammary of statoment regarding the terms of Peace with Tarbey. We give below the principal conditions which have been commanicated by the Allies to Tarkey so far as they relate to her territorial possessions,
    (1) The frontiens of Turkey will be at already denarcated. and where necesary revied by a Boundary Commission to be created. According to this delimination Tarkey will ioclade the Courtantinople sector of Thrace and all the predominantIs 年orkish arean of Aein Minor.
    (di) The right and title of the Tarkish Government in ciיmutantinople will not he offected, bat the right to modily this frovision will reault in the event of the failare of Turkey laithfally to fafil the 'Tresty.
    (.) A Commiasion of the Sitraite will have authority over all watert betwenn the Mediterranean moath of the Dardsbelles, and the Black Sen mouth of the Bosphorns, and of the waters within three miles of each of these mouthe; also on thie ahores to enoh extent as may be necessary. The duty of the Commisaion will be to ensare freedom of navigation in these waters in pesce and war.
    (1) A subeme of loeal self.government will be drafted for Kindiatan, inolnding provision for the protection of Aseyro. Chaldesn and other minorities. The League of Nations will decide later whether Kixrdistan should be granted independence of Tarkey, if it he proved that eeparation is desired lig the majority of the Kurdieh peoplu.
    (5) Ceriajn portions of Sinyrua are formed into a separato mitit to be arlministered by Greece. The enzerainty of 'larkey is to be contluned for a period of years till the alihuomous State of Smyrus decides its own desting.
    (G) With the exception of the Constmatinople seotor IVatern Thrace is agded to Greece, provision being made. for for the local self-government of the Town of Adrianople.
    (7) ('ertain portions of the Armenian Distriote of Tarkey are added to the exinting :Armenian Republio, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in certion diatrict being referred to the arbitration of the President of the United Stater, whose decision will be final thereon and on any alipulation regarding Armanion acoess to the sea.
    (8) Syria, Memopotamin and Palestiue are provioionally recogniad an independent Statee, subjeot to administrativo ailvioe, and absistanos from a mandatory Power nutil such as they areable to atend alone. The mandate for Syria liss beypentruted to France and those for Mesoputamia and Palestine to Britain. The mandate lur Palestine will inolade pruviaion for giving effoot to the dealaration of Novumber 8 th . 1017, regarding the eatablinbment of a national home lor the Jewish People.
    (9) The Hedjas in reoognieed at a free and independent Slate. The Sherif of the Hedjoz andertaken to ascare free sind ong acoess in Meoos aud Medina to Mualim pitgrima of all conatrien.
    (10) Tuskoy relinquiabes all rights and titles over Egypt, tho Soudan and Cyprus.
    (11) Turkey recognisen the Frenoh Proteotorate over Moroceo and Tunta,
    (12) Tarkey renounces ber clain to cerisin islands in the Aegean,

    To this snmmary of the Peace terms is prefixed a message from His Excellency the Viceroy to the Mohomedan people of India exthorting them to aceept the Heace terms ' with resignation, ............oc......... and fortitude" and tc keep their lnyalty towards the Crown bright and untarnished, as it had bean for so many generations. There is no doabt that Iord Chelmsford keealy feels that the terms of peace ahonld be as exacting as they are. His Excellency no doubt speaks of these decisions as being "in fall accordance with the high principles which have been applied in the Peace Settlement of all other Powers latels at war with Britain and her Allies." This, of conrse be was bound to do in loyalty to His Majesty's Guvernment. Many people, in a position of more freedom, may gnestion both the statements. Prof. Keynes in his book on the Peace terms with Germany has shown that the principles which they illustrate are neither bigh nor creditable to the Allies. And, notwithstanding the elaborate official statement appended to this summary of the Peace Terms with Tarkey, we ventare to think that. the Tarkish terms are even more anprincipled than those of Ger. many. There is nothing in the German Treaty corresponding to the distribation of the territories. of Tarkey ander the gaise of Protectorates ard Mandates and so on, to varions Earopean natione Who cannot and do not intend to assimilate with the popalation of these territories, and whose object, therefore, can be only one of exploitation. These pablished terms leave the ead impreasion that the high professious of the Allies at the commencement of the war had no root in their deeper conscionsness. Nevertheless, we hope with His Excellency the Viceroy that the Indian Mahomedans will accept - - Dot these termembut the situation created by them with forlitude and determination to retrieve it as soon and as much as possible. T'he one Mabomedan State in Earope has been sent ont of it practicully bag and baggage bnt we do not think that Earope on that acconnt has been made the more sufe for Cbristianity. On the contrary, the nations of Earope seed to be in high revolt against the essential doctrines of that religion. We shoald look forward with moch bope of saccese to an Asiatic propaganda in Europe comprising the great traths of religion. These, after all; may prove to be the salvation of the Enropean Continent which nominally professes Christianity, bat really wor ships the Mammon of wealth and power.

    ## COMMUNLTY SERV1! 1 .

    ## An Appeal to Indian Cheistiang.

    (By MRo J. N. Singe.)

    Let us begin by defiaing Commanity Service. Cummanity Service is an effort to seek the good of one's fellow men in uplifting them-it in eocial eervice of the bighest typre. George Eliot lus suid, "Imprtant as it is to organise and direct the industry of the world, it is more important to organiso and direet the
    leisare of the world." Maeterlinck observes, "It is the way in which honrt of freedom are spent that detormines, at moch as war and laboar, the moral worth of laboar." This is the key to Commanity Servico. Its object is to bring people together ia bealthy recreation and friendly commonion, to make them underatand one another and be mataally helpfal to the common canse leading on to a common goal. In Commanity Service, mental, phyaical and social developments are sought.

    Wo have seen how in the war zones where Commanity Service rendered by varions institutions and individuale has created a bond of goodwill towarda one analher, irrespective of caste or race or creed. Hiadas, Mohammedans, Christians, Sikhs, all mingled logether, both in work and in play to an extent never dreame of before. This was because there was one common goal in view-the crashing of the Pransian heal of Militariam; which had become a world wenace. It was higher than the skies, it was wider than the seven reas, ; nay, it was deeper than our pocket-books. It needed co-operation to overcome the danger.

    In Amerioa the War Camp Service bad an army of it own, which incloded 2,700 trained workers and aboat 60,000 volanteers, andg leaders, clab managers, committee hastlers, charch workers, Christian Findeavours and Epworth Leagaes. One Sunday evening the writer was asked to speak before a Christian Endeavour Society whioh entertained soldiers'and eailors every Sundey in New York City. It was the most splendid bnuch I had ever come across. On enqniry, I found that these young folks visited hospitals, prisons and the East side slame of the grest cosmopolitan city of New York, where Italians, Poles, Lrishmen, Rassians and other people live. I had many opportanities of visiting similar places during my stay in America.

    - There are fifty different races in New York. The American Commanity Service has opened recreational centres for these foreign-born citizens, edacational chasses, and their ohildren are allowed to mingle freely with the Americans. They share their amosemente and participate in their social life. Clabs are formed to bring them together, dramatic performancea and lectaras given to which the parents are also invited. There is wide difference between the parents and the children. The latter speak fine English while their parents are anable even to asy "Yes" or "No." The American people have a great problom. before them of edacating these races and caltivating in them high ideals of national life.
    Christ, onr Master, says, " How can you love God whom you have not seen, if you lovt not your brother whom you have seen ?" These words bring back to memory the picture of the New York slams where so mach of this commanity work is being done. Great men and women live with the poorer clasees and are therety able to help them. They find it easier to meet the neetis of these poor people by so doing. Empiòjusents. are secured for thoie people, cheaper housen "wheré they ean live comfortably, Y. M. and It.W. C. A's opened for them, not to speak of
    oharchen, co-operative eocieties, ote. Every one ol thene :eocial tervice workers feele that it is his or her daty to help these peopla.


    ## Ninds or India.

    At the present moment onr Motherland is passing throagh a very oritical period of tranaition. The younger generation is thinking of high ideala. It is also a thing of our glorions past, our ancient civiliantion. Let as encoarage them in these thotghta. Bat, the question arises, does India not need angthing? The answer is, yee. To-day as nation, Ye are certainly not perfeot. We need to de velop in many direationa. As Mr. Gokhale once said : e'There is work enough for the uost enthasiastic lover of hit conatry. On every sido whiehever way we tara only one sight meets the eje, that of work to be done : © ${ }^{\circ}$ d only one cry ia heard, that there are but fow faithifl workers. The elevation of the depresed clanses, who have to be broaght up to the level of the rest of one people, naiversal elementary edacation, co-operation, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry, higher edacation of momen, apread of indnatrial and tochnical edacation, building ap the in" dastrial atrength, promotion of closer relationa butweon the different commanities-thees are some of the taks: which lis in front of ns, and each of them needs a whole army of devoted miesionaries." That gives in a nutshell what India reelly neede now. What ato we doing to aplift oar coantry? Do we adequately realise what a grave question we have to colve in this problem of beggary 9 Thonaznds of helplese men, womea and children are crying for holp. Ata we doing anything to make their lot more endarable? We, who call oarselve: the followert of Chrial, certainly have a great deal to do. We should not be content with just preaching the gospol of C'hriat. Let as think seriously how best we can solve some of the glaring needs of our conatry.

    ## Metrons of Work.

    In Commnaity service, it ia necessary to organime clabs, recreation grounda, eocial rooms, classes, lectaren, concerts, etc. Evening classes are needed to educate the poor in differeat directions, Games, concerts, soeials, lectures on sez and social hygieas should be held whorever possible. Pablic meetinga ard always great centres of edroation; woexchange idean while listening and talking. Wo shoald collect all possible literatare on the above abjecta and place it within the reach of all classel. Trecer the Y. M. C. A. and similar institations are doing: their atmost in most of these directions, bat their barden is already very hoarg. Iet ut give them oar help ungradgingly in any way that wo can.
    Let us follow the ideale of oar great pationab Puet, Rabindranath Tagore, whome motto is " Plain living, high thiuking."

    Ob , God, give us men and women of sach noble aspirations, to whom it is a joy to serve their Mothorland, Jesus was a man of the common.
    people and he never deserted their canse. Can we afford to do so?

    God, give ne men. A time like this demande.
    Great hearta, otrong minds, true hith and willing hande Men, whom the lust of offioe does not kill ;
    Men, whom the apoile of office onnnot bay;
    Men, who possem opinion and a will
    Men, who have honour, men who will not lie.

    ## the league of liberal braimins.

    ## (By $a$ Non-Brabmin.)

    A leagne of liberal Brahming, as they call it, has been brought into being in Madras. The very idea Ifaderlying such a league is absard and revolting wo the non-Brahmins. It involves the assumption that the Brabmins are soperior to the other commanities and that the other commanities evince a desire to be taken into the Brahmin commanity. Social reformera in India want to demolish the highly artificial and irrational caste aystem, while the leagne wants to perpetaate it. Social Reform aims at the education and elevation of the backward classes, and its altimate goal is the reoognition of the equality of all commanities. It is not a lip recognition that is wanted but a recognition in acte suoh as inter-dining and inter-marriage. A aecessary preliminary to sach a recognition is the edacation of the commanities who ars lower down in the social scale. There is no denying the fact that the Brahmins as a class are more edacated. This is accoanted for by the fact that for ceutaries they were the repositories of learniag in Iadie. It is not because the other commanities have no braina. Their edacation began only mach later. There are several commanities that have made wonderful progress in the past few yeare. The Nayars and Thiyyas of Malajor are instanoes in poinl. They are, or will soon be, in point of edacation on a par with the Brahmins. They have also bagon to assert their equality with the Brahming- Uther commanities that are in a backward condition are making rapid progress and before long the caste aystem, which has ever duw . beoome highly artificial, will cease to exist.

    Bat this leagae bodes ill for the fatare, If this leagne were to encceed, which I am sure it will uot, in converting high-minded and caltared men of other commanities in Iadia, it woald bo the greatest calamity that woald befall the nation. it would mean the removal of the best men of those commo. Ifities and their consequent weakening. These men will bo despised by those commanities and they in their turn will natarally lose their sympathy for thuse commanities also. These converts thas transplanted into the Brmbuin community will soon acquire their projudices, their artificial ideas and standards and the cleavage betweeu Brabmins and non-Brahmins will over widen. But these are imaginary fears. Fur no self-respecting nou-Brahoin will sapire to thin onviable positiou or brook the impudence into which thene Brahmins bavd betrayed themselves inspired, of

    The deed of Iudia is not for more Brahmina bat fir
    less of them. Ayain why dn it:ey add inentr i., injury by the conditious they have, liescribed for wimiosion into that commanity? How are the nou-Brahming who eat flesh and drink liquor worse than the Brahmins who do the same? Let them not troable themselves aboat this imaginary grievance of the Non-Brahmins. A better occupation for the Parishad will be to parge their own commanity of these andesirable elements. I have known several Brahmins who eat flesh and go to liquor shops and drink in open day lighte The Brahmins who have fallen into these evil habits are worse than Parayas according to Sustras. Why don't these men follow the sustraic injunctions and excommanicate 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, parity, wisdom and belief in God "may be the inborn qualities of one man. So alay a man may be lacking in initiative and may be fit only to serve by his inborn nutare. Men of these different types we see everywhere. Bat when we try to classity and label them-one a Brahmin, another a Vysia and a third a Sadra-even on this rational basis, we realise its impracticability. If it be the iutention of the Dharmic Brahmana Sanga to classify the Hindas on this rational basis of the Geeta, let them first of all pick out the Brahmins in their own commanity. We don't want to become Brahmins. This condescension of "the gods on earth" is most silly and an insalt to the non-Brahming:
    I believe it is mainly dae to the nou-Brahmin movement of Suath India that social reform looms so large in the political programme of some of the Nationalist leaders who are knowa to be exponents of the Varnasrama Dharma. Perhaps it may be only a stratagic move to gain non-Brahmin votes. I have always regretted the attitade of the non-Brahmin leaders of South India in political matters. The nonBrahmin movement has come to mean anti-Home rule movement. This attitade, I believe, is dae more to the hatred of the Brahmin leader than to want of sympathy for the Home-rale movement itself. This attitude has alienabed the sympathy of many nonBrahmin Nationalists, in fact of the whole of the youuger geueration of non-Brahming from the nonBrahmin wovement.

    The feur of the nou-Brahmins, that political freedom will put power in the hands of the Brahmins and that they will abase it to promote commanal interests, is the caase of the contention that social reform must precede political freedom. This is an annecessary lear. Granting for the sake of argament that Brahwins gain power and that they abose it to promote their commoal ends, we mast be prepared to accept the lesser of the two evils and to fight these, tendencies oat as we Gght against the present bareancracy. So let the non-Brahmins make common cause with the Nationaliste who work for the emancipation of Iudia from political serfdom.

    I wish that the Brahmin politicians who nawillingly reveal their caste prejodices conld sobordinate their
    commanal interesta to the higbest good-the good of the people. The love of your ewo commanify mank lead you to love other commanitien as well. A Brabmin aristocracy is as naneating to the people as the Britioh oligarchy. So Brahoin leadera, either give ap your caste prejudices or at least keep silent on questions of caste. A leader, to deserve the confidence of the people, mast be conscientions, disciplined and self-secrificing.

    ## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICA:

    Seventy-five institations of higher learning in the United States are appealing for popolar sabscriptions so that they may moet the expense of enlarging and improving baildings and other facilities, made necesaary by the great growth in attendance, and the expense of inoreasing salaries of instructors, which in many casea have not been raised proportionately with the cost of living. The aggregate of all the contribations sought is in excess of $\$ 200,000,000$. The methods ased by the institations in their campaigns for fands is in many cases similar to those of the Red Cross Libarty Bond, and other war "drivea" the committee in charge allots to certain cities and districts the quots of the total fand that the local workers should etrive to obtain, the size of the quota being determined by the number of alamni, the sise of the popalation, etc., of a district. Meetinge are held, reanion dinners of alamai are arranged, many letters are sent, and a conslant stream of articles is sapplied to the daily press.

    Five of the largest institations in the countryHarvard, Princeton, Cornell, Northweatern, and New York University-are engaged in campaigns, and the total sought by, these five oniveraities alone is $\$ 70,700,000$. North weatern seeks $\$ 25,000,000$, Harvard already bas promisea of $\$ 12,000,000$ toward her desired fand of $\$ 15,250,000$, Cornell's goal is $\$ 10,000,000$, Yrinceton desires $\$ 14,000,000$, and New York Uaiversity has set $\$ 6, \$ 50,000$ as her minimarm. Boston University wants $\$ 10,000,000$. The University of Pittsbargh 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 campajgning for individaal fands of $\$ 3,000,000$ each.

    Although Colambia University, of New York City, has annonnced no plans for a campaign for fands, her President, Dr. Nicholas Marray Batler, has intimated that money might be songht for the completion of the inatitations building programmes. Two of Colambis's assuciated inetitations, Barnard College and Teachers College, are appealing for fonds. Toachers College seeks $\$ 3,000,000$, of which $\$ 1,500,000$ is to te ased form new library bailding, and the Alamnae Committee of Bernard asts $\$ 500,000$ to complete the $\$ 1,000,000$ endowment fand.

    Sams songht by the amaller and specialized instito. tions rage down from the $\$ 8,000,000$ songht by the Massechasetts Institate of Technology to the $\$ 10,0 \mathrm{CO}$ to be raised by Fordham Univeraity of New Yoris

    City for a momorial to ite gradoates who perished is the Tar. Joiaing, too, in the campaigns are some of the momen"s collegen, inclading Moant Holyoke, Brya Mawr and Smith College. Phillipa Exeter Academy and Andover Academy alco are on the list
    Three of the inatitationa that had planned olaborate campaigna for large endowment funde received jarge eame ander the will of Henry C. Frick. To Pridento a wes left $\$ 10,000,000$, Harvard received $\$ 5.000000$, and $\$ 5,000,000$ aleo wat bequeathed to the Maces. chasetif Instituts of Techoology. Massachunette "Toch" also hae recoived in its onmpaign promises of large name from T. Coleman da Pont, the ammanicion manufuctarer, on condition that apecific additional sams be sabeoribed by others during the camprign.

    By far the largest sam is songht by Northweatern University in Chicago. Her goal is $\$ 25,000,000$, inclading $\$ 10,000,000$ for new boildinga and an endowment fand for their maintenance. Iateaded expanaion of work is to be covered by a fand of $\$ 12,000,000$, and the remaining $\$ 4,000,000$ is to bo ueed in carrying on the present carrioulame. The scale of professors' puy at Northwestern will be inoronsed.

    The recond inetitation on the list in point of amount sought is the University of Pittsbargh The aampaign. managers assert that their campaign for $\$ 16,000,000$ is a quiat oontinued queet." This year it will ask for $\$ 1,500,000$, with $\$ 1,000,000$, each jear thereaftor until the goal is reached. For general ondewnent 83,9:5, प00 is to . be used, with $\$ 2,200,000$ for now buildinge. The alumni abso are seeking $\$ 300,000$ for a building of their owno
    Third on the list is Harrard, with $\$ 12,000,000$ already subscribed toward its goal of $\$ 15,250,000$. One of the aims of the oempaign was the oreation of an endowment fund of $\$ 18,0 \cup 0,000$ to provide an anamal income of $\$ 600,000$ to increane the pis of all proleseors. $\Delta \mathrm{n}$ increase of 20 per cont already is in effoot, and an additional 80 per cent, making a total inoreace, of 50 per cont, will be grunted when the ontire fand of $\$ 15,250,000$ is made up.
    Harvird intende to sot aside $\$ 1,000,000$ in a mobile fund, "to be kept unpledged to meot opportunition which arice for special work for the obtaining of ex. ceptional teachers." .The toncome of a similizy fund in to be ased " for malaries of tenchers in the Dental sochool, 80 per cent of whom are now anpaid." $\Delta$ diditione to the staff of the departanotit of ohomistry will use op the income of another million, and $\$ 250,000$ is to be uist for salaries of instructore in phyical education. The univeriity also has pointed out the noed of $\$ 1,000,000$ to complete the fand for the Graduate ischool of Fducation, and $\$ 1,000,000$ for now ohomion labora. tories.
    When the bequest of $\$ 10,000,000$ to Princeton wat made by Mr. Frick the campaign for $\$ 14,000,000$ lagged, but it regained its impotas when campaign committoes pointed out that both cams were needed to carry ont the plans of the trastoes. The origioal estimate of the needs of the anivenity, made before the death of $M_{1}$.

    Frick, called for $3: 4,100,0(1)$, lut it was decided to ssk in tho campaign only for $\$ 14,010,0$ ov. To the end of Jauuary the subscriptions were $\$ 4.610,0150$ or about 31 m .2 pr cent of the entire fand. This fund will be put to many uses in the universily, and $8.00 \cdot$, 1 CU will be get agide to cover iennediate increases in the pay of the members of the reaching staff.

    Aocintensive cumpaign to raise $\$ 10,000,000$ for Cornell will begin soon. Half of the sum is to be pat iuto a genoral endowment fand und the other balf will be used for increasing the pay of professors. This city's
    
    Another campugn for $\$ 10.0: 0,000$ is that of Boston ULiversily, if will use gij, 1000 , lue for general eadowmeat and $4_{4}, 10,000$ for new 1 uildings. It is the last of the larger endownent fund campuigns and probably pill notsta, int-nsive work antil the llarvard camyrign is out of the way.
    N: н. м.

    The Calcutta Coroner on Rash Driving: The Coioner al Calcura has been modulging in a bit of much-needed plain speaking on the rapidly growing rishs in big cities of peaceluit citizens and their wives a ad chiidren being murdered in the public highway; by reckless drivers of varrous kinds of vehicles. In the cousse 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 molull, sipped and had his skull smashed. The Coroner disbelieved the conductor's evidence and remarkud that "it. was a matter of common knowlelige that there was a tendency on the part of taxi and liam car disvers to drive tuo fast, especially when the traffic was not heavy." The edo oner went on to aild, says the Indian Mirror, that these accidents would cease only wuen people took we law into their own hands and lynched the culprits who showed such a supieme distegard for human lives.

    Proposed All-India Students' Institute: We wel. come every increase in the number of all-India movements and institutions. It is with special pleasure, therefore, that we notice that at a Conlerence, attended by iepresentatives trom all Provinces, and hetd in the Calcutta Town Hall in December under the presidentship of Mr. N. A. Dravid of the Central frovinces, 11 was resolved that an all-India Students' lustlute be established. The centralidea, we learn from the prospectur, is to have self-con. maned orgallsations in different Provinces and fresidencies will bianches in the districts wherever possible. Sucta urgathsations should have their own constitutiull hand uffice-bearers and the work should $b=$ condin ted un haes suted to the requirements and resouices of each locality. It is also proposed lo lave a cential organisation to empure coordinallod among the oiganisations thrt ughout the ccubliy. To assist this will be stated, as roun as puesible, a forinightly journal deveted to questions aflecting the interests of Indian studelits in the count'y and abroad. We wish the movement success.

    The Bombay Child Welfare Exhibition: Her Excelliaty Lauy Likigd pesiducd ala meeting on Thussday at which the repett of the operations of the Bumbay Child Welluie Exhibtion was.iead, showing un addilion ol over numa lakis of rupees to the fu ids of the movement. TI is highly successful resul, is due largely to Her Excellency's great capacity or oiganismtion and zeal for the children. Ite Frime: in the Pearl Nickiace Lollery were ako drawn at this function.

    ## EASTELR AND WESIERN UIVLLIZITION.

    ## The Editur, The Indian Social Reformer,

    Sir,In writing on "Is Western Civilization Spiritaal ?", appearing in the Reforner of the 2nd inetant, my chief olject wat to dram pointed attention to the fact that the Indian problem which the coantry has to solve, it it is to occupy a asefal place in the comity of nations, is maialy caltaral and not pulitical or social, an the terms are aned to denots the pres nt day reapective movemeate in the conatry. What I plesded for aud what I still wist tu plead fur is that wailu we shall assimilate the euorgetic aspect of western oipilization, we shuuld make Ludiau callura the basis of all progress and refuso to implant in an ancongenial boil as that of Ludia tue ex,tiv plant of materialism, which anderties the whole stractury of the west.

    It is on that accoont, that 1 deliberstely pat it in my article tuat you are, for all practical purposes, ideutifying tho ssate of iuertia tuat is the preseut day condition of Ludia mitu Ludiau cultire iguoriag ite esseatial and deeper aspouts. White watiug 1 was cunscious of the faet that your exact wording was "the euergetis civilization of tho West is iuore spiritual than the inert civilization which that of the East has become" and to be previse relicd fur my atatemens sut ou that partivalur pabagog you have quoted but en the whole teluuar of the anticle, eapreially with referenca to Indau caitare, It I rovert agin to the subjec', it is beesuse 1 wish jou to face the lesau in its entirety, whica bas a practival value in the preseut-atuge of our profrose, aud say wather the Ladian problem is nut mainly calcural and the efforty of policioal ant govish reforwiere whoald not be to rebabilitate Indian caltare to suit wuderu conditions. White nus anappreciative of tuy deoper aspects of Ladiau catcure, [am aftaid, you are uit prepared to make it the basis of progress.

    There is a wide-spread mistaken impreasion that to rehabilitate Indian caltare ie, as it was effectively put to me, to learu to live on two aname or notitiay a day, thas is to lapse iuto atage of iuertia, making virine of a vice. Bat that is nut su. Priestoraff, bucial tyranay and poverty are no nucre the aspecte of ludiau civilization than tho invention of divbutival onginies of destrnution is the aspert of western oivilizulion. 'I'he Gils waich you opprovingly cite as an authority, laya down that nut onily men atual not odeupe trom aution but they should with strong body Berving mind dhall give up theic mortal powers su worthy aut not seekiug gain. Aution as the watuhmurd uf Iudian religion and it argee us to unake Love (aud all triod Love is anseltish, and it caunut apply to the love of uar owa self, whictr is eeltiali) the motif force of all action, whild the west does not make it the motil lurce of actiun, but is grosely indip:daaliotic.

    If Iudia has a message to doliver and amission to periorm it is in the field of Religion. Thers aan be no merit in Iadia trjing to specinlise iu materialistic progress as Weat has doce when the Weat (and the World) needs most the soothing bulas of Religiou whicica alone can barowoise the apparantly selfcontradiolory cointrastea the oosmic puwer presente in ite manilertaniona. Oanou Buatrlay Benson writit! $B$ in the Consomporary Rerioco many jasis ngo sammod op the need of the wist and o! five century when he aid: "Tne effect of civilization (wotlert) has basa enormone to etin alat bumada deii e. Great es nep the benefite of civilization a they eer allended bj this lorm dable cirsatin ur oo that to manclutars
     revalt in the ecanamalion of dispontont. Now it esomet evident that asarchy bae followed ia the wete of soid and policical chang: whieb have had the offect of withdrawing large ecetiont of the prople from the infaence of roligios. No doabt there are many vender cies and conditions making for anarchy bat sarely the groat parent canse to which all the reat are subordinate in tha disappearance ocer largo arens of civilized areme of the raligiows basee of morulity. We do not realice the magnitute of the peril. Trediffaced material coutorth of eociety throwe a vall over the aloer that is eatiug ite vitals". (Italicy mine). rbic ines witheu over a duade ago Then the weat hat not unted the frticof itu philospohy of materinliom as the war has ripened jato. Thea Boleherimm ham not convalsed Ramie and threstened to corvise tine reas ol Earope and $\Delta$ tia, as it now thratana to do. DJ we non at leant realime the naggaitaie of the peril that threntene west imminently at this very moment and that woald cortainly be at oar door elso, in all ita forms. Oar suoestors freed religions thought and we heve a wonderful religion. Ia the wett sooioty alway had froedom. Both hare to beneft by each other. They will have to be supplementary to the eniture of the oliher. But $I$ mast sepeat it in a saicided pulicy wo are puraning when we ran after western inctitutions as the bagen to mould oar notijasi lile. It is oaltarai suicide whith is worve than bonieide. I have faith and hopes of the masaes of my cuantrymen. But I foel deapondent of the edanated classon, I am myerl one of them, and so are many of ab, but that is no resoon, we ahould be wanting in the humility to recogaie the fanlt in un. This artiole woald have served its parposes, il is easses intro apeotion in the minds of ite readora. Let ue thiuk at $\mathrm{r}^{6}$ really ona and we shall be baved. I am for liberty to think and aponk, for liberty in dreen, lood and marriage and in orery otber thing no long as wo do not iujars othert and are biñcere and earnest.
    Defure conclading permit me to point out that I do not deny that all euergy ia monitutation of apirit. What I deny is that all energy is spirital. It is tene Shira which it oulys asnonym for oosmio power has both terrifig and benign mase the. Bat once the conmis power is babijat to liwitations of apirit and matior, it has to be vierred ethically. Bumbay 5.5.20.
    S. Sadamaid.

    ## THE LATE MR NANJUNDAYIA.

    Mr. Nanjandaysa he'd the first place in onf acodomion world, not ouly by virtue of the hooorre he had obteined from the Univerelty, but also by reason of his wide and deep converse mith the master- inde of the tro hemispheren. He was traly a echolar to the end of his daye with a pasajun for books aud with an luburn partiality for the delighta of the inder realme. French at well as Sanskrit, literatore as well as lam, philoeophy as woll as fiction, economies and politice 06 well tan ethuography and rociolugy, in fect, all brenches of the ot hansanities "t received his glad tribate and gave him in retura that elevatel and comprebenaive ontlook apon lifo and its problems which diniogrished him on markedjy from she rest of our clita. Mor was he an intellectal hedoniatparaniag the shapolesecrations of thoughe and fincy in order to evede the living enigmat of the warid-althongb one cannnot help wishing that the conditione of life hed been such as enuld have drama oat ing fre from a miod isj welfiuformed and to cosmopolitan in its interenta. Be it soled, at the ceace lime, that he conld not the the literary impator who will go on spianing jera exdlembly mever couabling bime coll about the meed fur thoughtestuf.. He resognized the claim that the mothar-songue bee upjo everf edocated man, and wrotd thy first beut on letter-writugg, tho first treatise on
    

    1u Kasuada. Thowe, and bis parisa perlia adireoses and papers, besiden the othuograptioal sketshes abow that hite dove of bouke meterily part of his love of the l.ribs mang asd that he read ouly in order to be able to intirnots cuberes. His wee no ill-digered lantaing end be bed, inleed, tow tiat a eetase of hamear to degewerate into - pedent. Ha ano
     outer thinge-showe that be tum on iodepeadeut mind and one that wat kealy alive to all the inplicatione and tideussues of a theury or as mament 2 ha bouklet is foth of of inceresting obeervations on our preseut day political und evoial condinuns, and thay show thab --susuervative we he opparel to be-ae bal nut cloned hic ejes againat the many duleots, both glariog and reiled; of our uativual charuoter and institntiont. Ho duald hot fill zo zematuber that epary question may hare iwu or muft oliep, tha be was as judicims in ohoosing worda es in forming opioious. In the dumian of pare bellee lettron, his obiel work it a anall rulume uf irans. lasiona iuto Eingliuh of some eleot posan of Viutur Hagan cieupeteat jadyen bave prononnoed it a oresitable perivit manve ; and the message of enligttened resignatiou and land inspired calm beld furth in "Tcare in the Night " wan.t have deeply appealed to Mr. Naujundayse:
    c. We have in our hearta the darknest of hate. And the light of love.

    Bifige eternally abowe ite fase double, Bud and good, ice and fire;
    Man teele all at onee syirit pare and flesh dull;
    The gnaring of she earthly worcu in the widus of darkness,

    And she kiss of God.

    - .

    The tree Etarnity lipes without top and without route, Is brancbet are erory where, mear to the woful, remolitug To the grand gulded atar,
     Bat the branoh Danisgit tombre vegetati in.

    Fille the manafirgtied.
    -
    Let no no more doubt, bat believe and fulfil the ompae Ut our laith, hemble, eouriug, distrected.

    Let as be the jminease Xea."

    > -Tue Karnatukia, Bangalore.

    ## TIME 10 APEAK

    Fur varioni ressong, Obriatian miesonarine bave rofrained from expreatiog their fooling regarding the puajab atruiliew. Among these romons was the leot that they ary bert, uct to iuterfery with politicel questives, bat to teach and exempify ethe Ubristivn roligion, The angseatiun that, at many of their jnatitutiona receive governtubat granse, shereluas they relrained froma apecking stivir minds, is outran an it is anjome f'rubmoly mont of them have awoited the repurt of the humetr Csmmiation, wbich, for ecius reacul, bat nut g of boem publisbed; though they wera peised by the bintiuge uf, tee Dab.Commiatee of sho Indian distional Oungrem.

    Some miationaries, howover, ase cetiopuket, eapecial! Wfe ManNical and Dr. A. G. Freser, who are prutealing is tivel soperest termasaiags the retiveng of ,uizsistatima aud she wrouge they chuald condomn. Nuw thet General Sjer lat atternpted, in Loud m, wodefend mis eundoet, and has cisind shat his action "orres approved by avery biaglahungs in India," no intelingont Conititian ene be ailent. Traw, the erioio mant Lure been great ead may have joncificed zbe proclamatius of mastiat lam; bot dud is warragt the orser aud bratili in
     that bach mothode ca'y reeniced in a reaction mpoa the perpotrmert and sa egravaion of theis loe. It in evidenor: however, of iublumanis, perticularly in stw
     ralas bagty cearen be goesch Ma it es we mppreceste tie
    
     somjred 工h Isdoan Witaces.

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    > D. G. PADHYE,

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    SAFFROX
     Darthers, Hakiam and Vaidym, oll pext the conquy fat ibe
    
    8. NABAEN $D_{0}$
    $17-2 \cos 18$
    21. Qammum Sireet fort thation

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    DIRECTORS
    The Hou'ble Mr. Lalluhhai Snma/das, O.1. E., Chelimea
    Sir $\nabla$ it halden Damodar Thackerney, Bi.
    Raj Rotas Shoth Maganbhai P. Hatiobak!! Nogar Sboth Bnioda.
    Sheth Mesilal Revadea, Vadnegar.
    Reo Bihadaf Gaajiira R. Nimbalker, Bar Sobhe, Baroda Stef.
    Bhaskerrao Vithandea Mobta, Esq.o Adroonte, High Co Bombey.
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    R. R. Shirgnotar, Naib Snhhe, Bernde State.
    A. N. Datar, Accunateat General, Beroda 8tat:.

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    Fhe Bank andertakee on behalt of its constitaenta she mife antoody of Sharey and Beoaritien aud the oollootion of dipi. Beode and Taterest thereon; it also uadertakes the enle and protohatbe of Gormentent Paper and all desoriptione of BLoet af modarate oharges, partioniars of whiob nay be bearat on application.

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    ## THE

    # 1 <br> INDIAN*SOCIAL*REFORMER. 

    # PUELISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING. 

    OMce:-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT. Editor:-KK. NATARAJANE Annual Subscription (inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling-
    Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1820. No. 39.
     excuse, I will tot retreat a gingle inch-And I woill be heard."

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    Women't University Settjement.
    Andhra-Uriya Problem.
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    ## HOTES.

    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: ${ }^{4}$ Transition from the old way to the new is fraught with danger. Power will be given betore 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 oi 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 deticiency 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 Bebari-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 re. coguise 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 Bebari-Bengalis as "a persecuted minority." We pointed out in a previous issue that one of their two grievances, that relating tor scholarship:, is a real one, but that hardly justifies the imputation of "persecution" against the nativer Bebaris or Government.

    In the same vein of self.pity, the Herald proceeds tat lament the downfall of Behari-Bengalis. It writes $=$
    In all that conotitates a benlthy and progressive mational lift, the Bengali-speakiag Beharis are steadily lasing whatever: ground they might bave aspuisel at one time. There ente very fem of then now of any note in the geld of politica anfis social work. This demoralisation is the direat resalt of the persecution to which they are saliject. Behar is iadebted tey them for macig things, gooi and great. Ag luvers of ther province and true nationalista, we cannot wateh withoute: emotion this deterioration of a vast comasaity nambering se many as the population of some of the amalier Europeation States for the sake of whum we went to war. If the procese: of disintegration il allowed to ran ita fuil course, it will be: disastrous to the best interests of the conntry. The queation is not one of a fem posts moreor a fow posta less in clovernment service. It is one which tireateus to bring about the: political annibilation of an iesportant limb of the esmanauity.
    We are fairly sure that the Herald takes am unjustifiably gloomy view of the outlook for its constituents. As Bacon observes, men who have achieved a certain position in lie, are apt to be envious towards new men when they tise, " For the distance is aitered: 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 optiodiliusion of our contemporary's caused by the proyreis of the Beharis who have hitherto been behini the: Bengalis in education and public spirit.

    There is one passage in the Herali's comments whichgoes to the root of the matter. Our coateraporary writes :

    So long at we keep np the division of Iadis into prom viuces, we do not see how we are introdnoing enything not it we provide for commanal representation is prosincial ${ }^{-}$ councils. The provincen are more or less separats raciel or linguistio units. There are many thinkers who would gas as far an to corry ont the linguistic ond racial disision of. provinees to its ntmost logisal conolucion. Whothar thin beo right or wrong, it in clear that the lower we go duwa theo ruings of the administrative ladder, the groster is the atcentime we fad paid to lowal and seotional iuterests. There mast bas in all coriatrieg, mach more so in a coultiaent like Iudia, aman - ondlest numiler of thoes jarring and conflicting po in interetar True atatoemanghip lien in allowing than foond diccoria to by


    #### Abstract

    matrived and masted withiu the fuer cormers of the partientor -ne comerned. If the Biharern Hiadi-p peltiag or Regrebopeakiaf, ave over to tole their proper plece in the zana postonahip of Iedian sativanity, they most prevent zhempelves with ibeir differesees conpromiond, or kelt behind  the chese mane to a veane icr metuliog thees difrereaces whind in the prevent case mast be the proviscial conncil.

    That is precisely where we differ. Provinces seght not to be racial or linguistic units. Everylhag inat lends to make them so, should be strongly resisted as laying the axe at the root-cl the sacreal ideal of Indian unily.


    - A Christian View of Linguistic Provinces: We are eot, aher mil, tue sole oppunents of the tantastic scheme of singuistic provinces. The Standard (Madalask the ably cunducted organ of the Indian Roman Catholic communily, takes the same view as ourselves. The Koman Catholics are the most conservalive section of Indian Christian community, and our contemporary's opinion is, on that account, the epore signiticant. The Standard observes :

    The Keranaka Conference in typienl of the morement if seastion which, so we pointed out lent week, wete as a drag anpon the progrese of Iddia. Hore it an ascembly of Indisa politiense athing for the inatitation of a Karuatake provinue which woaid inciade oll the Kenarese spenking people of the manthert frum the practical dillicalties e.g. the fact that a legege propintion of Kaunere apentiog people are to be found in the sature suate of Mysure, the polloy of dividing ap Iudia inte eliugajatien proviucen is distinelly renetionnry. In the elmesic land of inkernal dirisione, the statesman-like pedicy woald te to limat and neatraline these divisiont an mech se prombie. Cute in bad enougb, bat it on the top of it wease wh hare proviaces aud the peoplee of Iadin divided - If Irom aneb ather by lingaistic barrient, the antional onity an Ludia mays beoome more of a drenna than ever belore. What in manated is to make the people of ladis forgot as mach as poosible the d:fiereuces hat ix et among thent. The division ef Incia iute singnisicic provinceat ia the bett way of remiuding preple of those difereanut and of giving these a longer lease of life than they would hare it heft upen to the oorronire inflanenem that wurt for progrem.

    Indians in Burma: We ought to say that we enturely dissent from the views expressed by Mr. Desikachari, a High Court Vaki of Madras, domiciled at Kalaw, Burma, in his article which we pablish in another column. If Indians are in Amarma as fellow-citizens and not as exploiters of the people of Burma, they should be content with terving the common interests of Burmese and Indians alike without seeking special representation for themselves. They must encourage and foster Turmese leadership, instead of seeking it for themsselves. We regret to bave to say that the reports which we hear of Indians in Burma is not always too the credit of the motherland. We entirely agree with Mr. Gandbi that India, which gave her religion to Burma, will not tolerate any exclusive or melfish dealing by Indians by way of taking advantage Wi the relative backwardness-which so often means -o more than lact of worldy wisdom-of the people of Barma. Mr. Desikachars's view that Indo-Burmans anst command a political status in the province through the Legislative Council in order to establist mordial relations witb the Bormese, is fallacions. Fedians are more likely to seck social fellowship - ritb Earmans if their own political states depends an the goodwill of the Burmese Mr. Desikecbati speaks withous intending it, the language of the White exploiters is Africa, At the same time, we Foie with him in protesting agaiost invidions Pifferentiation aglinst ladians in Parma.

    Random Tall on Education: Mr. S. Srinivas Jyengar who recently tesigned the Advocate Ge nesalship of Nadras, to befree to enter politica is a publicist whose utterances deserve atiention We are sorry, therefore, that bis epeech at thi Ganjam Sicdents' Confererce, as reporled in it Hinam, sexms to have been characterised b some landom statements. One of such is hi confessicn that be has ctanged his mind abcu the position of English in our educaticna system. His present view is that it should bi made a seccnd language. As Mr. ljengar tolds a the same time that a scund kncwledge ol Englist in estential to Indian studente, we put him the follow irg question: The vernaculars have been secom languages for years, and notwitbstanding thi advantage they enjoy as the languages spoken bj the students in their bomes, it is complained thal they bave not received sufficient encouragement How does Mr. Iyengar expect English as a second language to be taught even as well as the vernacularis are at piesent ? We sequire clear-thinking in education above all thinga.

    Reservation of Maratha Seats. We publish in another column Sir John Heaton's awaid 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 io Bombay city, and one each in Thana, Poona, Ahmednagar, Nasik and Ratnagiri Districts, all of which are Maratha centres. The eighth seat with go by rotation to Sholapur, Kolaba and Vest Khandesh. The interesting part of the award is the withholding of such reservation of seats in Satara, where ine Marathas are in a large majority and in East Khandesh where they constitute a large proportion ot the population. The award, in our opinion, is a just and equitable one, and adda greatly to Sir Jobn Heaton's high reputation for clear-headedness and impartiality.

    Women's University Settlement. We strongly commend the appeal published 14 another column for lunds to provide a permanedt Home in Bombay for the University Settlement for Women. Many women students in the Bombay Colleges, who coints from the moffusil, find a congenial residence in the Settlement, without distinction of race or creed. An institution such as this is an urgent necefsity in this city where none of the colleges provide hostels for women students. We hope the appeat will meet with a ready and generous response.

    Andhra-Uriya Problem: We call atiention to the suggestive article winch we reprint Irom Humanily (Berbampore) The effect of the Uikal muvemeni un the relations between the Andhras and the Uriyas of Ganjam, is deplorable. At the same time. It behoves the Andbras in Ganjam, as the more advanced community, to act on sne motto of noblesse oblige.

    The Poor Schoois Socicty, Madras: This Society. whose report tor 19 Ig tas Deetu received, seems to be doing excellent work it conducts a Day School and 22 Night Schools in Madras and its suburbs, bae organised tectares on sanitary, religious and social subjects and is actively associated with the Boy Scouts movement. A pleasiog feature of the work of the Society is the co-operation of pertons of alt castes aod creads in all its various activities. The report states tbat the Society is contemplating the establishmeot of a small colony for Paocbamas onder the support and gaidance of its President. Mr, S. Srinivasa lyengar.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> BOMBAY, MAY 30, 1920.

    ## HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ON THE PUNJAB EXCESSES.

    ## Thi Extivan WAy.

    The Commone resolved that acquisitions made by the arme of the State belong to the State slone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate auch acquisitions $\omega$ themenelves. They reeolved that this wholesome rule appoered to have beon aystematically violated by' the English fanctionaries in Beogal. On a sabsequent day they veat's stop farther, and resolved that Clive had, by meanes of the power which he posesesed as commender of the British forces in India, obtained large anns trom Moer Joffer. Here the Commone stopped. They had roted the major and minor of Bargoyne'a allogiem ; bat they shrank from drawing the Jogical conolusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive bad ebued his powert, and sot an evil example to the serrenta of the pablia, the previous question was pat and oarried. At length, long after the aun had sinen on an animated debate, Wedderbarne moved that Lord Clive had at the came time rendered great aud meritorions murvioes to his country; and this motion passed withont a division.-Macnulay's Eissaj on "Lord Olive."

    Macaulay goes on to contrast this English way of dealing with its delinquent instraments of Empire with that adopted by Franoe in the cases of Laboardannais, Dapleix and Lally. These men were disgraced, hamiliated, and they died of broken hearts. The Commons of England, on the other hand, Macaalay adda, treated Clive with that diacriminating jastice which is seldom shown exoept to the dead. "They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed oat where he had deviated from these principles; and they tempered the gentle censare with liberal ealogy." It is recorded of Bismarek that he once observed that he had wasted many years of his life by believing that the English were a great people. This mast be the experience of many persons who take the Englinh at their own valuation. They have great qualities: bat 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, jadged by intelleotnal, moral or spiritual standards. And, if the facta were analysed, it will be seen that these qualities have not contributed to their greatneas any more than the spots on the ann oontribate to the effalgence of that luminary. The verdiot of the House of Commons on Lord Clive's adminisiration, has been extolled by Elphinstone as "worthy the best days of Roman Senate.". And this is quoted with approval by Arbathaot who holds at the same time that "the fraud upon Onichand was not only morally a crime, bat, regarded merely from the point of view of politioal expediency, it was a blunder of the kind which, if it had been oopied in after times, would havo
    deprived our Government in Indis of one of the main sources of itn 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 coniradictory beliefs in matters of religion. The Oriental, on his part, is at a loss to anderstand how Englishmen reooncile 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 motio, as traly illastrated by Calvary, was that the anfety of the State "was the supreme law. Indian history, as written by Englishmen, is full of instances of Indian Genorals, who did precisely what Clive was convicted of doing, being branded as blackmailers, brigands and freebootera. Bat Clive himself ranks in their pages among the great Empire-builders.

    Lacking Courage of Conviotions.
    This somewhat lengthy prelade has been necessitated by the anxioas desire to impart as littlo bitterness as possible to our comments on the desputch of the. Seoretary of State for India, Mr. Montagn, embodying the conclasions of His Majesty's Goverament on the report of Lord Honter's Committee apon the distarbances which occurred in the Yanjab and other parts of India in the early part of last year. One is not bitter becanse the Ethiopian cannot change his skin nor the leopard its spots. It helps one in the same way to remind oneself in perasing this extraordinary document that no more is it possible for a British Government to get over its inveterate tendency to compromise with orime in the instraments of its imperialism. Those who like to do so may appland the practical good sense of the fiudings which, while laying down general principles in ancompromising langaage, not ouly refrainu from applying them in the two cases to which they ought pre-eminently to be applied, but actaully goes out of its way to indict irrelevant, undeserved and pulpubly forced tribates to the two men whose moral, thongh not technical, reaponsibility for wrong-dqing was greater than that of any of their sabordinates and instroments. This despatch is conspicuonsly laoking in the coarage of its convictions. The only courage it exhibits is a sort of perversion of that quality in antagonising the almost unanimons verdict of Indiane, partially voiced in the minority report of the Indian members of the Hanter Committee, regarding the administration of Sir Michael O'Dinger and the incompetence of Hia Excellency the Viceroy. The falsome bribates to these two offigial spersonages is the fy in the ointment of Mr. Montaga' despatch: one wonders however they got into it, They are not ouly atterly irrelevant to the sabjectmatter of the despatch, bat, in the light of the severe censare implied in the offcially decoruas paragraphs on the feataren of the martial lsw administration which havo been most denonnced by Iadian opinion, they may seem to have been written by Mr. Montaga with his tongae in his cheek. This, of coarse, is not to be expected of His Majesty'a Secretary of State, and oar
    conjectare as to the occurrence of these tribater in a
     zorniplimentiry to theobjocta of thoti, the thateome one Who oundof hedenied, pemoed theme stibated and Anig thew at Mr. Montaga drith the injatectiols that, he - ight eny That he lited da to the eccumionces, it whe Panjehy bat that he abould tee chat theotiswere otaggide in at soché part of hio pronotucemeats rem it :to
    

    - Lord Chellusford in rot $x$ big biough siatesmanto be at the helm of Indian affairs ip ame of severe crisis sach as we have had to pain through, bat bo iọ arery loch of him an Thoglish gentloman, and wa. doubt , his lordship woald oare to regand the afoll :cenflomen cormally oxpresed in him at it end, as exoheratiag trim Ifom the tevere tensare, implied in the body of the deapatch, of the messares of his tovernment aid the tristaken-miscondact 1 of comé of his principal sabordinates; and as relieving him from the daty which anch censare would havo laid on him had it atood alone. In our opinion, the expression of the fall confidence of His Majeaty's Government in anch á context çan bave no serious significance. This is clear from certaid passages in the despatch, which strike a note of peremptorinese nnusall in commanications from Whitehall to Delbi. Hia Majenty's Government in forming their conclasions have, not thought it their daty primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties apon them, bat rather to prevent the recarrence in the fatare of occasion for blame or regret in similar circamstances. This dives not mean that blame is not to be apportioned to individuals or that they are not to be vieited with penaltien for their misdeeds. The duty of aeeing that the disapproval of His Majesty's. Government of certain orders and panishments are nnmistakably'marked by centure or other action which may be necessary, is expressig and emphatically laid upon "Loid Chelmsford's Government. We think, and His Excellency himself cannot but feel, that this lask can be bettes diacharged by, Viceroy nuembarrassed by ang lachee of hie own in dealing with the distarbances of lant year.

    Gimeral Dter, fiet Minos Hero.
    His Majesty's Goverament do not mince their words in condemning General Dyer's actions at Amritsar and they approve of the order of the Commander-inChief dismiesing him and declaring that he in unfit for further employment in this conntry: In our opinion, jt is a mistake to prese for any addition to or enhancement of the paninhment meted ont to the Geaeral. True ,his, offence was heinoul, but hie 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 Hanter Committes which anfortanately. for himeelf the -General has since momewhat sried to glow over, he frankly explained what was in his mind in acting as he did. We eay that Sir Michael O'Dwjer's policy and that of the Viceroy, were primarily responsible for the idea $b y$ which the mind of this soldier of dictle jadgment, was so powerfally obseseed. The General's conception of the sitation which be fend himestf in, and od the rights of. she Indian anojects of His Majesty, with whpm he had to deal, were not his original inventiuus, bat weie ciearly sborbed from
    those who were placed in the highent positions in the
    

    The best prook of this ia 'Sir Michael O'Dwyer's approval of tho Jamian mala masacre without walting té Lóow' the partionldre of it." We are sare thás sif yicheef woald have thonght twice before akking bil Private Secretary to
     that he bad above him a Ticeros who would can him atrictly to account." In "fact, Lord Chelmatord ble himself pabricid dealared that he had let it bi knowi to Local Governments that bo woold bapport them in all their measares to deal with the distarbances of lase " jear. Hid Majesty' Government abase the English langpage when they apeak of the impresaion of Sir Michael O'Dryer being eet againet edocatoul Indiass an having" beer " edgineered ". If there Was any "dengiosering: it whe done by Sir Michael himself how by the vialent aprech Which be delivered in che Imperial Legislativo Conncil and foz which the Vioeroy ped to apologiee for him the noxt day. Une has only to go into the Panjab for a fem daya to realise that it is che nearly unanimons conviction of Indians of all creeds and shades of political opiniou that it was Sir Miohael O'Dryer's fized policy to crush out todependent pablic life in the provinco. (The Government of Indir virtaally admit thie when they observe io their deapatck to Mr, Moalagn that Sir Michael O'Dwer wished to exclade political agitation in order to facifitate hie recratíng and war-loan campaigna.) In the faed of suob a singalar oonsensan of opioiou in to province where religions sed sectional aleavages are severe, the deolaration of His Majesty' Government is not entitled, and ought note to carry weight with the pablic in Raslabd. Howerer, Sir Miohaol O'Dwyer's eareer in India is alosed and bat for the ancelled-for, inappropriate and irritating encominm paseed on it over Mr. Montaga's signatare, we should not have cared to refer to it at at all bere.

    The Viozroy's Regponemblity.
    Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration that spread the embere of the discontent in the Punjab which the pessage of the Rowlatt Aot, in the face of atrongly naited Indian opposition within and witbont the Legislative Couacil, and by an entirely Toglish voling majority, fanned iato a flame. If the Rowlatt Act' had not been passed, or if it had been passed in a form which beroared for it a modicam of Indian anpport, there would bave been no distarbances, of if there werd nome, they would have been of a vantly less serions character. Lord Chelmeford's obatinaoy-that of weak man $\rightarrow$ ho dare mot recogrise hia mistake-wes responsible for the form and manner in which the lot wan pasped. Even siter several monthe, the Government of India had not, at the time of their writlog their despatch on the 'Hanter Committee's' report, diocovered who wae reaponatible. for handing orer the situation in Amritar to the sboolate sway of General Dyer. No atronger proof of the aleckness and incompetenco of an adminiatration can be imagived.

    - THE NETV ROMBAY ELECTORATES.

    Last week'n Bombay Government Gazelld printe the draft riee and regalations Which have been Bubmitted for the saseliun of the Seeretary of Stato-in-Coancil, relatiog to the constitation, functions, and procedare of the Bombay Logislative Coancil, the

    Indian Legislative Absembly and the Council of State. Those for the Bombay Legislative Conncil 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 elcctoral qualification based on receipt of anges. This applies only to Bombay city and includes every one who is in receipt of a monthly ryage of not less than Rs. 40 on accoant of ecoployment as a manual worker in a textile factory withio the city of Bombay. It is impossible to understand why men getting the same wages in an Ahmedabad mill shoald not be given the franchise; or for that $y$ Duatter, why textile mills shoald be singled out for this distinction ; or, indeed, why a man earning ks. 40 by any other form of laboar shoald not have the satue privilege as that accorded to manual laboar. We quite auderstand that the line has to be drawn somewhere, but it is quite as easy to draw it at nome logical point than at an illogical one. There is no special virtue in proceeding on lines whose ouly distinction is their arbitrary character. It cannot certainly be claimed that a manoal worker in a textile factory earning wages to the extent of Re, 40 a month can be matched in electoral capacily only by a manaal worker in other factories or a nod-manaal worker in a textile factory and in other walks of life, who gets an income of Rs. 2000, the minimum assessable to income-taz which is the only other qualification based on income. It is to be hoped that the Secretary of State will see his way to sabstitute for this rule another less palpably inequitable. The rale as drafted seems to make the wages franchise depend too mach on the discretion of the managers of textile factories. This is a point which should be looked into.

    Two other pecaliarities of the Bombay rales are (1) the requirement of six months residence in a constituency for candidates and (2) the freedom of the voter to accomulate all the votes in a plaral conatituenoy on a single candidate. We have protested against the residential qualification as retrograde, and we can only repeat it agaid. We refer in an editorial note to the reservation of eight seats for Marathas. It ehoald, however, be noted that the draft rales provide that no seat will be reserved if the constituency is already represented by a Maratha nember or if there is no Maratha caldidate. The meaning of this we take to be that if a Maratha candidate gels in the ordinary way, there will be no second seat reserved for another Naratha in aog of the seven plural constitnencies. The Matathas may got all their eight seate in the ordinary coarse. In which case there will bo no reserved seats. This shonld be made clear by sabotitating for the pbrase "already represented by a Maratha member," some formula which would leave no doabt as to the case of a Maratha member elected in the ordinary way at the same election.

    Ot 102 elected members in the Legislative Assembly (the lower or popular chamber ot the new Iudian Lefislature), Bombay will send 10. The electoral qualiticatioua are payment of iand revenue assessweut to the awount of ks . 75, or of income-tax, for general constitnencies. The large class of owners and
    occopants of hoases in the large towns are altogether left oat. The Jagirdars and Sardars get the franchise on the same terms as for the Provincial Legislative Coancil, and so do the Earopeans and the Indian Merchants and Mill-owners. The Oniversity and the Bombay Cbamber of Commerce are left ont. The non-iuclusion of the latter is of no moment as the two Earopeans elected are almost sare to be members of the Chamber of Commerce. The non-inclusion of the University is a grave injastice to the edacated classes who, after all, are the moving spirits in pablic life in any conntry: On the whole, the franchise for the Legislative Assembly is conceived in an illiberal apirit. The 16 members from Bombay in the first Indian Legislative Assembly will include 7 non-Mahomedans from the city and districts, 5 Mahomedans, 2 Earopeans, 1 Iodian merchant, and 1 Mill-owner. There will be 33 elected members in the Coancil of Slate, of whom Bombay will elect 6 in the following proportion: non-Mahomedans, 3, Mahonedans, 2, and the Bombay Chamber of Nommerce, 1. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce thas gets direct representation in the second Chamber of the Indian Legislatare, whereas the Uaiversity 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 amonat of H8. 2000 , or of income tax on an income of Rs. 33,000, or past or present (nonoofficial) membership of a Legislative Conncil, presidentship or vice-presidentahip of a City Manicipality or diatriot buard or the titles of Shams. ul-alama and Mahamahopadhyaya. The University should, we think, be made a separate constituency sending its own member. The Fellows will have absolutely no ohance amidst the eight other categories.

    ## THE INDIANSIN BURMA,

    ## (By Mr. P. C. Dreikachabi b.a.,B.L.)

    It is an irony of fate that our leaders, however eminent they may be, proceed to condemn, in strong and nnmeasared terms, certain movements and organizations without getting first-hand knowledge of the prevailing conditions and withont taking pains to stady the problems demanding immediate attention. Tbis tendency in our leaders is all the more regrettable as there are interested people always on the look-ont to exploit the possibilities of sach condemnatory atterances by our eminent men. One is tempted to ask Mahatma Gandbi whether he stadied the conditions of the Indians in Barma before atigmatising the demands for commnnal representation of Indians in Barma as a criminal absardity.

    The Indians in Barma are in a pecaliar position, Which can only be thoronghly anderatood by a long sojoorn in the province and by intimate association with Indiuns in varions walks of life. It mast not be nnderstod that there is an Indian problem of the type we have in the British Colonies. At the same tume no pains shoald be spared to invite the attention of the Indiun poblic to the existence of an Iodian problem which, it not solved at the ontset, threatena to assame serione proportions menacing the cordial and brotherly relationship between the Barmans and
    the Indo-Bormans. Of late the cry has been raised by the Barmans againat the Iado-Barmans and a tendency is discernible in Burman advanced circles to work out the principle of "Barma for Barmane" in euch a way as to create a feeling of dislike towards the Indian. Closely associated with this movement is the agitation for the separation of Barma from the rest of India. The political, military and financial considerations againat the separation and isolation of the province are patent to every thoughtfal mind and the agitation for aeparation may be dismissed as chimerical withoat forther comment. Bat the psyabology of the minds of the leaders of the movement ought to be taken note of in dealing with the Indian question in Barma. The Indian settlers in Barma are described to be the greats of the Barmese and if that view is accepted as the correct one, there is no other alternative for the Indian settlers bat to leave the province in response to the wishes of the leaders of Borma who have raised the cry of "Burea for Barmans", a cry which savours of the anti-Asiatic cry in the Colonies. It is inonmbent on all the Indians and Burmans who have the welfare of Barma at heart, to start a connter-movement with a view to inspire a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood between the Indians and Burmans. This object cannot be attained anless the Indo-Barmans command a political statas in the province commensarate with their strength and importance. Unless the Indian ettlers in Barme are assured of a place in the Coancils of the province, they are not likely to be treated with consideration by the Barmese leaders onder the popalar regime to be gradaally introduced in the province. Barma is a sparsely popalated proviace with immense possibilities. The country has to be opened ont and withont a large inflax of men from other places it is not possible to work op the industrial and agricaltural resoarces of the coantry. Oar 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 queation looked at from the Indian point of view. 'Ine Iadian eettlers have been indaced to come down to the proviuce in the hope of receiving equality of treatment and for several years they have had nothing to complain of. But of late yeare when it is coo late to retrace their stepa, 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 rale condemoed to a lite of accoantants and minor ministerial officers. It is incambent on the Government, which has induced the Indians to enter service in the province by holding out prospecta of equality of treatmeat and opportonities, not to mar the careers of Indials in eervice by introdacing discriminating conditions by written or unwritten rales as regards the encouragement of Indians in eervice. it mast also be understood that the Indians are an important commanity in the province and the benefits of service onght not to bo denied in fature to the cons and dependants of the Indian settlers who may seek nervice ander the Government or pablic bodres.

    The Indians have got a atake in the conntry and the interests of the trading and the banking Indian commanities ought to be properly safegnarled. It would be criminal folly to be carried away by fictitions considerations of putting on appearences of unity or by paendo-political or tumanitarian platitndes. It would be in the interests of both the Barmans and the Indo-Bnrmane to agitate for separate representation of the Indian commnnities in Barma. If the Indians do not demand adeqna'e. representation, they moald find in the long ran that they are exposed to the riska and dangere to which an alien commanity, withont political recognition and political safeguard, is exposed ander a popalar form of Government in their adopled conntry. Barmese leaders will do well to remember that there is no vital conflict of interesta between the Barmese andy the Indian settlers and any separato representation of Iadians on the Cennails would be a monrce of very great strength to them in esponsing the popalar canse, in demanding a more popalar form of Government and in striving for the early attainment of the goal held ont to them by the memorable prononncoment of the 201h Augast 1217.

    ## social mefork in ganjam district.

    In mady respecte Gapjam is backward Distriot. Lic popalaitun is rent in twaia and is segrogating into iwo osmpe whose hostility is on the inoresss because of raoe animus. The Telazau (Anihras) and Orian (Utkalo) of Ganjam livad together for centarion in love and amity. It was in 1903 thas an agitation wan atarted for the amalgamas tion of the Oria portion of Ganjam with Orisan proper. Ever since then the two races drifted apart. The movemont could very well have gone 00 without one people learaing to bate the other. But as comebody observed, politioal life in impossible withont importing paseion into it.

    How to kill thia race animus ubould engage the earnent attention of all Ganjam Social Reforaurb. Aasong contribu. tory esases may be meationed (1) Oompetition for appointmenta, (2) Guverament patronage and (8) race sopariority.

    Beiore the edrent of the Uikal Movanuent, we had in this Datrict in offisial circlem the Brahaia and non-Brabmia feeling orcated or rather fanned to flame by come Neda Shirastadarn. Wa ased the exprestion ${ }^{\prime}$ rather fannad $\omega$ Game 'because even before the advent of Naida Snirestadars there had been the etanding policy of Goverumont "Preference given to NonoBrabmina." Alter itho Uikal Movoment the Non.Brahenin movement hm been on the decadence at the Government had to encourage a more beokward people, oven the Orias. Taere in one ugly leatare of official petronage which is, canaing mach hast buraing. Telagas are compelled to learn Orin, bat Otian are not caked to learn Telogn. Where thare are two languagen it in but tair that the people are aked to learn both the languaget. Goverament ieflaence ahoidd be folt both waye.

    The head and front of she Oria's griepavee agalnat Telagas is that the latier are arrogant and low no opportacity of ingulting Orinsteorery tara by oalling then low aivilize edo Each rave has its own merite, peculiarities, evers angularities and no good is eerved by any particalar race claming eaperiority of oivilisetion. The Uikal movemens has dove one great good to Ganjum Orias, It hat eprend Eaglian education suong them more than evor before. Women are kept behind yurdbe. In mattore of sooial roforse on anch questiony as oaste, early marriege, compalsory widowboxd, the politieal agitatore are nor edacating the peblie miad with liberal idean,

    Now turaing to acoial reform among Telagus of Ganjam, it in gratifying to obterve that come god work hat beet dune. Gacosar wok the lead is midow aurriage morecmeat. The firat brahmin to marry a widow was from Asks. The firm ggitetura in the eause were from Meamalkoada, irbe foremont agitator in the ecoial refurm eathed even 10 thes day haila from Gamarar Vivioion. Mr Kopergam Bamamerty of Aaka Who ben beer melociating with the evoid refurm eario oves since ite inoeption is the distriot hate reconty taken a provis
    cal step and that of a radical nort by marrying a widow who had beens Christian for 25 yearh. Three young men of prominent honses have married girls who attained poberty and of these three two are barristern. A goodly namber bare gone on foreign travel and one of them is an Oria Zomindar. There is also one intercaste, one inter-racial marriage, Much groend bas still to be ovvered. "Varasulks ", the prectice of buying bridegrooms in the marriage maritet ia as had as ever. Compolsory widowhood is raining many jonng widowa.-The Mumanity, Berbampore (G).

    ## 6. DOMBAY PRESIDLNCY INFANT WELIFARE SOCIETY.

    ## Furst Subpa Tasea,

    The promolera of organized Children's Welfars in Bombay having first, and with notable success, concentratel npon the task of mecuring the essential pablic support, are engaged now gop the necessary preliminary ateps toward eatablishing their working machinerg. The Infant Welfare Clommittee has When meeting as required, and already important prsctical meaeares bave been adopled. A meeting of the Infast Welfare Committee was beld at the Secretariat on May 20 th, thore were present: Her Excelloney the Hon, Lady Lloyd in the Chair, Lady Reed, Dilehad Legum, Mrs. F. S. 'Taleyarkban, Bir Tomalji Nariman, Dr. Sandilands.

    Afer reading a detailed report from tho Siclection sub. Committes on the qualifications of verious candidates for the poat of Saperiniendent of the Bombay Infaut welfare Centres it was decided to offer the appointment $t$ ) Mrs. Rosselet. Mra. Ruegelet ia an Absociate of the Royal Sanitary Institats London, holder of an bygiene Diploma, and a fully trained Nurse who bas been leaching and Naraiug in India for the last seven years, and is at pregent engagsd in the Arny Nursing Bervice at Nowshera. This lady is to proceed at onice to Eugland in order to etncey the latest Iufant welfare methoda at lirut baud. She will retura to Bombay to enter upon ber daties in the autamo.
    The Committee is meanwhile making arrangements fur acquiring new premises in various quartern of the Oity, providing an adequate nnmbercf trained Indian Wurkers for the ireab Cuentres, and perfeoting the framework of the extendpd scheme, so that all may be ready to start immediately aftur the arrival of the Superintendent. The funds coilected will moanwhi'o be secarely invested by the $H_{o n}$. Treasurer in consultation with the Commities's finaneial aivisera. Details as to the investments will be published shortly.

    ## THE CHILD WITHOU'I PLAY.

    Plenty of room for dives and dens (glitter and glare and sin 1)
    Plenty of ruem for prison pens (gather the criminals in l)
    Plonty of room for jails and courts (willing enongh to pay )
    But never a place for the lade to race; no, never a place to play.
    Plenty of room lor ahops and stores (Mammon must have the best!)
    Plonty of room for the running sores that rot in the city's breast.
    Plouty of roon lor the lures that lead the hoarts of jouth astray.
    lut nevor a cent on a playground spent; no, never a place to play 1
    Plenty of room for soloole and balle, plenty of room tor art; Pleuty of room for toas and balte, platlorm, slage and nuert.
    Prund is the oity-a be finde a place for many a lad to day,
    But she's more than blind if abe fails to fiad a place for the hoys to play.
    Give them a chance for innocent aport, give them a chance for fun-
    Better a playground plot than a court and a jail when the harui is done
    Give them a obanoe-il jou etint them now, to-morrow you'll have to pay
    A larger bill fur a darker ill, 0 give them a place to play. Dennia A. MoCanthy
    in the Social IIeljare, Toronto,

    ## UNIVERSIIY SETTLEMENT.

    ## Appral, yoz Funds.

    May we bring to yonr notice the neels of the University Settlement which has bsen working in Bombay eince the year 1806 ? The Settlement sapplies a hall of residence for women stadente of all races and creeds who live together Fithin the onity and equality of a Cbristian home. It is run by a atafi of British Collage women who share the lives sid interests of the stadents in their charge. The Sottlement als) provides a centre where Indian and Eaglish ladies can meet for friendly iutercourse, lestarep, masical evenings, etc. The members of the Settlement ataff give lessons in English, piano, violin and fine arts and all fees earned thas are psid into the Settlement Fands. Tha house which the Settlement no present owner and unless permanent premises can be obtained. the hostel work of the Settlement will have to cease. This means that a namber of woxen students, averaging 25 , attonding the Grant Medical and othar colleges, who have so far lived in the Settlement, would be withot hostel accommodetion. If tha present shortage of accommodation in Bombsy is taken into consideration, it will be seen huw argent the need is,

    Until permanent accommodation can be obtained, it has been decided to carry on the work in two flate which have boen obtaincd in Rebsch Street, but thia means a rental of Rs. 1,025 per mensem from Jane and such an outlay cannot be coutinued indefiaitely.
    Will you help us by contribating liberally to the following objeots:-1. To secure a house in whith the work of the Sittlement can be permanently oarried on and increase the funds tor its upkeep. 2. To complete the fuad which has been started fur a holiday house for women etadents and other Indian lad:es at Jahbordi, where nearly two acres have keen giveu by Government for this parpose. Tais land is in a beantiful situation near to the sea and there is an nrgent need that funds for the building shonld be collested as speedily as possible owing to the great difficulty experienced both by s:adents and other Iudian ladies of moderate means in finding holiday accommodation.

    The present appesl is issued in the hope of raising two lakhs. All dunatious or subscriptions should be saut to H. H. Comlurt, Esq, Hon. Treasurer, at the 4 Timee of India Ollice," Bumbay. We, the undersigned, appreciating the value of the work which the Seltlement does in Bombay, earnestly ask for your help.
    Signed :-
    Llay Procter (Chairman): Erelyn O. Gedge (Warden).
    Lilian Reed.
    Susan D. Brooke.
    Alice Crump.
    Nancy Clayton.
    Kathleen Tultuch.

    Susie Sorabji.
    G. Maharaj Singá

    Ruby Navalkar.
    dileea Tibbatts,
    Eidith Maustiela.

    Manoramabai M. Medhavi.

    ## RESERVATLON OF-MARATHA SEATS.

    ## Sir Joha Heaton'd Awabd.

    The accompanying award, given by the Houoarable the acting Chiel Justice Sir J. J. Heaton, who was appuinted to arbitrate as to the namber of easts to be reserved for Maration and allied eastes in the Provincinl Legislacive Connci; is pablished for general information :-

    I Leard the yarious gentlemen who appeared on the 27th April.

    ## The ficto I have to deal with sre-

    (i) it is decided that the Marathas are to have eerlaia cente reserved for them ;
    (ii) the word Marathe inclades all the Castes or Clasaes enomersted in page 143 of the Sonthborough Committee's Beport, and may, I underatand, inclade mome othere also,

    I am not required to exprese any opinion on oither of shees mattert.

    It is retiled that in certain constitaencien the Maratha Candidate who obtaina the largest aumber of voten ehall be elected, whether or not the rotes he obtains are enoagh to entitle him to eiection in the ordinary way. My task fit to determine which these eonatituenoies art to be

    There is before me list of the constituencirt and the number of members for each, -some sre single, some multiple constituencies.

    The determination to allot to the Maratha a certain representation is a device or abnormality, a variation from our iden of a normal election.; It is. neceseary, I nuderstand because of the ignorance of the Merathas, their want of power of co-operaticn and their susceppibility to ontaide influences, This is assic assumption, nomething I am not at liberty to. question. A device is uselen noleas it in effeotive. In order to be cffective this device must secure for the Marathien a subatantial reprecentation on the New Coancil. I decide that eight eeata is anhatantial represe atation.

    But it is not ouly a devicp, it is an experiment end should, therefore, farnish clear resolte ; so that in the fature election arrangemente may be made in the light of ascertained facte. not of mere conjectare. For this purpose I decibe that it is deisirable to leave to absoluteiy free clection maltiple oonstitnency in whiche distinct anpjority of the popalation in Maratha. This will test the basic asoumption and show whether the Maratias are ao incarable of co.operation as is assumed. For this parpose I select the Bitara District.

    It is also in my opinion desirable to have normal electious in another multiplo conatituency where the Marathas are a large propotion, bat not a msjority, of the popalation. Fur this parpose I select the Enat Khandesh Distrist.

    I therefore decile that there shall be special Marathe representation in the following constitaencies:-

    | Bumbay City North | . 0 | ..4 | One representative. |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | Bombay City Soath | ** | -4 | One | - |
    | Thena District | ... | . 0 | One | m |
    | Poons District | - | $\cdots$ | One | - |
    | Abmednagar Diatrict | - | -.. | One | " |
    | Nasit District | ... | ... | One | \% |
    | Ratnagiri District | .-® | $\cdots$ | Ore |  |

    I hia leaves one seat still to be provided and this mast be from aingle member constiteencies, It will be interestingand useful to watch the tffect of this arrangement in sirg'e momber constituencies. I decide that at the firat election, the. Sbolapur Dietrict shall relarn a Maratha; at the eecond election the Kolaba Distriet; and at the third election the Weat Khandesh Districts Aftar that there will te a Parliamentary enquiry, the reaslts will have been observed and there will be material by which to regulate the elections of the Intare.

    > (Signed) J. J. HEarom,

    Arbitrator.

    ## TAR NEW AGE.

    The May-day of Laboar is the hayday of promive. There are among at atill the quasi-contanted and the long-afifing who will see the banoerafiging in the an nuar wind and the euber erowde marehing past, and tuen . little pearithly to thoir neighbour at luah : " I can't think what wore thone Trade Uaioniate want. Thoy've g* wagen up oo bigh yon can't afi and to employ mon. I wanted a little job done the other day and ...." We all tond to grom a listle oont sarrative in our aneodotaga, and the orlinary min has beon not anteasonably pertarbed by the industrial ohane ensaiag on the deolaration of world-wide pemos. If we atent atill and watch only the present soene, wo repine aud do nothing. But if wo look beok and furward, we nee a morement which sweeps as on with the olamsy sarge of e orowd in motion, and evon thoagh we ore no allegianog to the Labour Party, its* ${ }^{* 1}$ May-iay is a reminter that we are moviog on to new world.
    There was an olf jdea shat has sorved many a sober and faithful generation, and it pistared each nation as a tonement bailding Fith many etoraya bat no atsir oase. Eaoh lamily lived eisher on one levol or anther, and all its naighboura must neede be on the same level. The bibes were born by chance into the uppor, middle or lower fisurt, and moul lad thair friends and make their life within the restriotiont of their leval. It eesms foolish in these latter diys to unfer a cell-imposed lose of freedous and cornpanionahip. Bat the brewer bad bis fisor, and the brioklager another, and the batler lived between the twu and respeotad himeelf fur boing differant from buth. B) aconstoned did the worll become to this voluntary ieolation that contentiont begane a virtue, and progrean was a parallal crawl along the diffioult levele that never aret. The "estationg" in li'e becama torn mini. It seeme diffianls now to combine this pian of life with the old atory of fish. memen and tay-gathere and tentmie kare, bat the hamen miad finde it aatier to eccept the eathled conditione of averylay life and diaturt a gospel to fit them than to alluw the good nawt of an ideni to break down in an instsnt the walls of entabliahed nociety. There wat a brave and simple ppirit in the old timse that did momething to esmpensete the world lor the bagger and iajastive of tia life of limited opportonity, and in our comfortable momenta now we are heard to murmar 'sthe morld weut very well then."

    Bat Moy dey bringe nammer, and we treat the apring of the jear but ohabbily if we do not liston to ite mesange. The new iden that blowe about with the benners, sid is trying to make iteell beard in the harah voicen of the speskera in the. parke, is the open promice of tha worll. It looke lor 's land . of equal opporinaity, whete the babee ere born on ous level, bat may reach way other levol, where puverty obill not handicap merit and ability. If sll men have a living wage and a desent boure, if education holde open the dose as. wide to the cananal worker as to the more fortuante citizan, "? then it mitters not where ths babe was born ; the promice of life is bef re him. Eqiality can mever be atteinod; it would be a dull demert of modicerity. Equal upportatity is the idesl. It in far amay but the very denira for it bringe it nearep. Lifs will never be easj; it in atill to be a climb from eredle to deak and degt to chair. There will be losses and atambies, and we ehall ametimes folecr and ank ourcolves the donbting quentions of litule faith. 4 Wes it really wise to make edecestion so free and general ? Shoald all these people have the vote $\mathbf{F}^{\circ}$ But the new ideal ohines atill along the tracks All the childram of Gol abould have a chanc: to know the rieben of she lifo He hae given than

    The gates awing open very elowly, bat the child of 1950 is to bave hia chance. We ard committei to the material framework of life. His lather is to have a living wage, his mother to rale over a bonse of apace and sanshine, he himself is to explore the tressares of kuowledge. The tranaition from the old way to the new is fraught with danger. Power will be given before perapective bas be3n sttained ; there will be a sudden rash and a blind retreaf. Honest hearts that are short cl laith will try to pat back the clock and close the gates, but nothing in the end can stens the coming of the new age. The Charch has tanght as that we are all children of the same wise Father, and osnnot any longer be a separative force. She has amakened to the cries of those who ask for Lite, and will teach them for how mnoh more they ahould atraggle than wages and hoases alove. The age of equal opportanity shall bring her autold gain. Too long bave the clergy been a caste, exntio in their parieh, thiuking in levela, tenacions of the past. She will gain a priesthood from the highwuse and bedges and all experienes shall enrich luntininititrat $n$ ans. The Charoa is now to be the head and luens of this new hope and May-day one of the dags whon ehe shall remind us that the world moves on to haights nutroden and all men are to be as one flock with a single shepherd,

    The Challenge-Lond)n.

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    ## GOONTENTKE。

    A Plea for Perspective.
    Which of That?
    The Anti-Asiatic Movement is Africa.
    indiáne in South Africn.

    - Unynot fix the Responsibility?
    A Courageoue Utterance.
    Unenfranctised Uatouchab'es.
    The Hyderabad State Bocial Conference.
    A Polltical Paralle!.

    Satyagraha.
    The Khilafat and Nos. Cooperation.
    Voluntary Repatriation of Indians in South Africa.
    The Women's Movement in Turkey.
    An American View of the Turkish Queation.
    "A Woman's Point of View." Decorations.
    To My Son.

    ## MOTES.

    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 guccess to an Asiatic propaganda in Europe comprising the great truths of religion, the Tribuse (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 apward evolution of bumanity. What is the vital idea for which Asia stands? Olearly it is the eupremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. Turkey, as representiog Asia in Europe, must hold the same idea in an - Intensive form. If the Turkish Empire has ceased to be, or besn incapacitated Irom being, the vehicle of this great idea, Asia (and Turkey) must devise a more effective means of fulfilling their world missiod. And would not the great act of converting Europe to religious truths, by the most effectively practical way, securfing freedom and political security in Asia?

    - Which or That? The Madyas 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 Miniater coid $1-{ }^{\prime}$ Nor are wo Gghting to deprive Tarkey of the rioh aud renomned lands of Asia Yinor and Thrace which are predominantly Tarkiab in rece.' 1that which qualified tho wholo pledge. Mr. Lloyd George was not aseerting, at Mr. Yatab Hasan made him eseerts that Thrave wat predomiuantly Turkiob in race. Obvioualy, the Prime Mininter limited the pledge to those portions of Throoe whish had a Tartish majority in the popalation.

    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 bas 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 wonld use. Apart from that, does the Mail think that pledges by a British statesman to a large section of His Majesty's sobjects 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 Chan-
    cellor 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. can palliate.

    The Anti-Asiatic Movement in Africa: We are often assured that the movement to exclude coloured races from South and East Alrica is not due to racial or religious prejadice, but to purely economio 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 otber in South Africa. The East African Chronicle quotes the following from the report of the Honorary 8ecretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Cyril Bardsly. An unnamed missionary in Uganda is cited as saying:

    Pan-Alrioanism is not very lar off; the soegd is already eown; and thea the eternal problem vill aesume tortible proportions, unless the native hae an edacation which will build ap charaoter and not furn out a baba olase sooh ai is osusing all the tronble it India. Ethiopianism is coming up steadily from Sonth Alrioa, Mohammedanism is atriving to come down from the north, and both in preotice, if not theoretioally, are anti-white.

    Before the South African Commission on Indian grivances, Mr. Viervagal representing the Transpal
    Church, referred to
    The dangor of Mahomedaniem opon the religion of the people. When Mohomedenism tool a hold smong the people it Was almost imposiblo to do successfal work among them mininly beonus the Asiatioe were co lax in their moralas The experience of the miasioners was that not only wal Mabomedaniam gaining grouad among the nativen bat it wall furthering Eshiopianian. Fiaally be denired to emphasise that the antional exintesece of the whole white people wae
    threatened by the Indian menece.

    Most impartial persons will think, on the other hand, that, from the point of view of coloured races, the Raropean menace is a very real one, while the Indian and Ethiopian mearace to the Ruropean is remote, it not fanciful.

    Indisas in South Africa: We deal in a leading article today with the recommendation to encourage mivoluntary repatriation * among Indians in South Africa. The following very pertinent comment thereon of the Hindw (Madras) will be read with interest : "In the brevity of Reuter's cable, it is difficalt to guage the significance of the interim report of the South $\Delta$ frican Commission recommending that the Union Government should facilitate the retarn 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 contiogent on the possibility of employment in India. $\Delta_{s}$ 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 Hanter Committee, of the arrest and sabsequent 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 siz 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 evi. dence that the responsibility rested solely with the head of the Government. We refer, of coarse, to the case of Mr. Manohar Lel. In this case it wal 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:-
    uThis rather beldted offer on behall of the Tribune whioh han so stemalily worked to ereste a spirit of opposition to anthority and contempt of Government adrice appeass to havo been an cot of peohbandi. The writer and the editor of the Tribunc have been arreated.

    ## M. F. O'DWras."

    This note can leave no room for doabt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that, so far at least as Mr, Manohar Lal is concerned, be owed his persecution solely to the love which the late LieutenantGovernor had for the Tribune."
    A.Courageons Uiterance: The way of the reformer is proverbially bard. The patriotic Dewan of Cochin, Mr. T. Vijiaraghavacbarya, is parsuing a strong policy in regard to the elevation of the depressed classes whose position in Malabar and Travancore is, perbaps, the worst in India. The intrepid Dewan has thrown open the public scbools 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 pablic bighways io certain localities. Ortbodozy is up in arms against bim. Brahmins and Nairs resent the inroads on their time-honoured privileges. Thd Dewan made a powerful speech at the anniversaty of the Cochin Eshuva Bamajam in which be explained the policy of the Cocbin Government. He ponated out that the Government bad adopted measures to promote the well-being of all classesNambudris, Nairs, Christians and Mahomedans, Ia the case of the depressed ciasses, special efforts have to be made because of the extreme backwardness of these classes. There has been no new policy, oaly a steady insistence on the practical application of the long-recogoised policy of equal opportunity for all the subjects of the Naharaja of Cochin. We ought to pay a tribute to His Highness for tbe support which he is so Ireely giving to his Dewan ta his liberal policy. In the course of his eddress, Dewan Vijıaraghavacharya said:
    I have beea meked : What is the motive of Gorvrameal in parsuing this polioy ? My only motive is to gate Cochin roeily great in the ejoe of the oivilis d world. : wiah to be abie to tall a visitor to Oochin, like Sir Narayall Cbandararkar, for inetancen that in Ooobin there is "u tair field and no faroar."1 I do not wish to be obliged to conceal from bim shiage which I fool omnaot rodonad to our oredit, It my objeot was only that of eelf-gration fiontion, 1 coold find it eoonar by letting the daprowed olecees alone. Nuadmiaintrator who valuen his preose of miad or quiet life will take up the question of the dopromed claseet hero. 1 know vory woll that if I loft il alono, evorybody-that it, everybody who it artioalatewill be happy and I shall be happy too. Bat I feel that in not the way to sarve Coohin. I fool what in to be eought are not the paceing intercoice of the bour bat the permanent prosperity and greatnone of the Blace. And that ena be done only by louting evory clasa and com manity ries to the lall statare of its aneabood.
    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 Uatouchables: The Wast Coast Spestator (Calicut) observes: "The Local Gov.

    ernment have catalogued only the Cherumas and Pariabs of Malabar among the " depreseed classes" for representation in the Leginlative Council. This is certainly in ignorance of the cosstitution of the depressed classes of this diatrict, Pariabs and Cheromas constituting ooly a minority, There are the Kanakkans, Kulladis, Panans, Paninof and Vettuvens who very largoly outaumber the two communities enfranchised, and these have to go without the vote, although there are many to our knowiedge who owin property. (We suppose that they will be enrolled in the generalelectorates. 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 Legislativo 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 Conierence: Mr. D. P. Nandekar, BA., Honorary Secretary, Hyderabad Social Conference, Nanded, writest "The Hyderabad State Social Conference will hold its annual session at Nanded on zoth June 1920. Mr. Wamen Naik of Hyderabad has kindily consented to preside. all well-wishers of the 8tate are cordially invited to attend."

    # INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. <br> BOMBA Y, 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 difficalty in tracing the broad lines of its progress to what it is at the present day. Prior to Lord Carzon's viceroyalty, whatever the practice, in theory Englishmen and Indians were equal sabjects wilh the single daty of promoting the good of the conatry and ite people and raising them to a level with the self-governing peoples of the British Empire. Lord Carzon initiated the doctrine that Englishmen in India, whether officials or non-officials, were here to ; expiyit, and the lndians' role was to be exploited. It I has been explained that Lord Carzon ared the word "exploit" in a different sense from what it is asaally anderstood to mean, and there is no need to question that explanation. The point is that Englishmen were divided off from Indians, an aotive role being assigned to the former and a passive one to the latter. Lord Carzon, however, realised that Euglishmen in India coald not fulfil the role assigned to them withoat the help of a section of the Indian people. He tarned to the Mahomedans, and his Partition of Bengal was a nove in this direction. Lord Minto, confronted by the agitation againat the Partition on his arrival in this conatry with no policy of his own adopted and accentuated Lord Carzon's policy by proposing commanal representation for Mahomedans in excess of their namerical strength on the groond of their "historical importance." The Secretary of State at the time was Lord Morley whose studies in historical sabjects had endowed him - with a prescience not readily appreciated by the aportaman-Vicerog. Lord Morley warned Lord Minto in vain of the short-sightedness of his policy. ' He $n$ rote (we underline the prinoipal sentence):

    Frorgbody warno ua that a new apirit is gruwing and apreadiag in Ludia; Lawrence, Cbirol, Sidney Low, all sing the amae noug : "You caunot go on goveruing in the same epirit; jon have got to desl with the Congress party and Congrean principlen, whatever you may think of thous bo eure that befors long the Mahometans will throw in their lut woth Congressmen againat you," aud so lorth and so forth. That is what they all ory uus. (Revollectione, II, pp. : 8 \& 174.
    Aud wben, later, Lord Minto complained that Lord Monley had oonceded to the Mahomedans more than whut bia Guvernment bad proposed, Lord Morley impatiently told the Viceroy: "I won't follow yon again into our Mahomedan dispate. Ouly I respectfally remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first sturted the M. hare. 1 amm, convinced my decision was best." The modification of the Partition gave a shock to Mahomedan sentiment fod on the idea that it was intended for the special benefit of the commanity. Tuen came the Bulkan war, the acqniescence 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 lastnamed episode had to a large extent restored Mahomedan confidence, which had been shaken by these incidents. So mach so that when the war broke oat our Mahomedan countrymen were scarcely less enthasiastic than other Indians in sapporting 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 constitational reform. Large expectations bad been created. The appointment of Lord Chelmsford, with very little previons record of statesmanship, to saoceed the great Viceroy who had his training in the spacions school of King Edward VII., was a disappointment. Lord Chelmsford andoabtedly meant well bat he lacked the personal prestige to enforce his views on the Government in Eogland. No word was aid for long months aboat the reforms. The pablic disappointment was accentauted by Lord Peutland's foolish action in interning Mrs. Annie Besant. The sitaation was becoming dangeroas. The Secretary of State had to intervene and order Mrs. Besant's releane. The announcement of Augnst 1917 followed. Mr. Montaga personally came to India and the " joint report" followed. The introdaction of the Reform Bill into Parliament, however, was anfortanately delayed. Meanwhile, apoa the Indian pablic waiting in expectancy of the reforms, the Government of India launched the Rowlatt Bills. At any time, these Bills would have roased opposition. But the strength, solidarity and vehemence of the opposition actnally roased by them, were largely due to the time wheu they were introdaced, and the manner in which, they were apoken to particalarly by Sir George Lowndes and Sir William Vincent. The Moderate party, like the Moslem Leagae in the days of the Partition, had been formed with the object of sapporting the Montaga-Chelmeford acheme against the combined opposition of the Home Ralers 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 Panjub, unsettled the programme of the Moderate party, obliging it to incorporate an addendum in the shape of severe condemnation of the Panjab excesses in its general programme of co-operation in sapport of the Reform Act. The Hanter 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 rales drafted by the Government of Iadis ander the Reform Aot have not teaded to consolidate the 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 evolation of Indian political conditions in the space of twelve months, the whole field left clear to him in regard
    to the views thich he expressed to a Reater representative on the docamenta recently pablished relating to the distarbancee of lat year.


    ## SATYAGBAHA.

    When the Bowlatt Bille were before the Legislative Conncil, Mr. Gandhi, we think, was carrying on hin propaganda in favoar of handloom-weaving and a simple, atrenaons life in the Madras Presidency. The Kaira famine remission campaign had come to an end. He had finished hie laboars in Champaran. We believe that the first Ahmedabad Mill-hands' strike had slso settled itself on his intervention. This jouraal of Mr. Gandhi's activities does not protend to accuracy, as we are not so sare about their chronological as aboüt their psychological sequence. No doabt, he expected that the Indian non-official members' anited protest would make Government panse in their determination to see the Bille throagh. No doubt, he expected that il it failed to have that effect, these members wpald adopt the most striking way of demonstrating their opposition by refusing to be parties to its final passage. It was a lamontable mistake that the non-official Indian members did not leave the Cunncil in protest. Had they done so, the Indian Momber of Government would most certaiuly have resigned at once. Sir George Lowadea and Sir Whlliam Vincent might have persisted in their overbearing attitade, bat the Viceroy woald have been impressed by this combined protest. At any rate, His Excellency would have felt it his daty to commanicate with the Secretary of State before procteding farther. The Secretary of State confronted by the noprecedented ovent, woald have advised reconoideration, aud in case this was not accepted, he would have placed the question before His Majesig's Government. It was the anfortanate failure to adopt this constitational procedare by the Iudian nonofficial members that opened the way to the later extra-constitational developments. We have heard different versions, toore or leas anthentic, of why the non-official members failed to act in concert. It is no good retailing them at this atage, bat we are of the opinion that even if one or two members ehrauk at sue last moment from the prospect of giving up their seate, the rest ought to have acted iudependeanly. Mr. B. N. Sarma, it will be recalled, sent in hie resiguation only to withdraw it, perhaps, becan o he fonad that nobody else promptly followed his example. Some other nembers resigned later bat the psycholugical moment had passed aud the vacont seats wero daly filled ap. Mr. Gandhi, we think, was first moved to interest birself in the Rowiatt legisintion by the impotence exhibited by the non-official members. He felt, no doubt, that it was his daty to do something to retrieve their failare to rise to the ocoasion. More than that, he also felt that if some peaceable chaunel was not provided for the pablic teeling which had been exagierated by the defiant attitade of Government in pashing throagh the Rowlatt Act, it wight be led iuto objectionable waye by irrespoasible weu. Events have shown that he was perfectly riglis. The only place where Satyagraha was really
    tried was Bombey City. Here it wee appliod in 000janction with oivil disobodience which, by the way, does not etand in any inherent relation to it, and it is admittod on all hasde thatit cameont of the tent anseathed Mr. Gaodhi personally anperiatended ita operation in Bumbay. In Ahmedabad, the newt of Mr. Gaodhi's anexpected arrest threw the machinery of Sutyagraha oat of gear ; connsola of violence lemporarily prevailed, bat Mr. Gandhi's presence was enongh to quell them. In Nadiad, there was no quimation of the Satyagrahast all dor in the Panjab. The mere shoating "Gandhiki jai" by the mob, does not aignify that it wea actaated by Batyagraba priaciples.

    Those who complaia of miarepresentations of the Rowlatt Aot, ahould not misropresent Satyagrahan The Indian minority of the Hanter Committee has failed to appreciate the true signifisance of the priactry pla as moch as the Eharopean majority, and with lesa excaso. We make a distinction, at noted sbove, betreen Satyagraha and civil disobodienco. Satyagraha will be a strong force on the side of Government if Government recogoise and respect the feelinga of the people. It antagonises nothing that does not antagonise trath. If Gavernment had anid to the nonofficial membera: "Gentlemen, the information whiah we possess tella ne that wo mast have this Bill. Bat you are the representatives of the people, and we feel that we ought not to override your auaalinons opiosition. Although it will be taking riske, wo aro prepared to do so because you, the responsible spokesmen of the people of lndia, asy that this Bill is not necessary. But you whll reslise that this caste a great respousibility upon you avd your constitanenciee. And we trast that if, anfortaautely, events ehonld tarn out differeatly from what jon thiuk, you will give Government all the sapport it aeeds to deal with any emergencien,"-the whole conatry woald have reaponded with enthasiasm to sach confidence and considerateness. The peopla mould have felt that the daty of smppreasing ansechism had become their owa. Instead of this Rowlatt Act which, according to a very high authority, will actaully make detection more difficalt than ever, wo would have had every boase-holder ị the conntry a volanteer operating against anarchiste and anarohism. Satyagrabia moald have been a force on the side of Governcmeat bocnane Government was a force on the aide of trath. Is not the Rowlatt Act a violution of the well-recogqised priuciples of enlightened legislation and, to that extent, is it not a forice tending to ondermine respeot for Isw? Sarprise has beos expressed that, "while the" Hanter Cowmittee reporta and the Goverament of India bad enlarged on the evile of Satyagraba, the Sccretary of State't despatch is sileat sbont them. The explatation to our mind is simple. The British Government, as it is, has been evolvod throngh a longcoatinaed process of 8 stjagraha. It cananot mell denounce the priaciple which actaated the Baroos at Rannymeade, Pyo and Hampden in their protest against illegal exactioss, and the great fonaders of the Uuited States of America. All the power which Parliament, and a British Ministry at its exocative
    orgen, possess toduy were obiained by methods of Satyagraha. Satysgralis is the pnrsait of trath. A Goveraraent which louks upon the pnranit of trnth as wrong, had better mend its vixion. Civil disobedience, as we eaid, is a differeut thing It was a mibtake to bave incladed this in the Sitju ralis movement us aniodependevt item, enabling many who did not mindersland Satyagraha, to start on a misaion of tuere Isw-breaking. But as Mr. Gundhi himself has acknowledged this and las declared that civil disobe. ance is not an iutegral part of Sutyagraba, there is 310 ueed to dwell at. lengih np̣nit.

    ## TIE KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION.

    It is necessary to begin this article with a re-iteration of our position in regard to the Turkish question Bafore doing that, we shoald briafty state what our own religions position is. We are Hindo dissenters-Protestane Hindas, in the plarase coined by the late Mr. Jastice Ravade - who bold the great and profoand religione calture of Hindaism in reverence wibuut subecibing to its dogmas as to revelation, custe and so on. Uar attitude 10 other great religions is precisely tho satne. The dogmas of Mahomedanism aud Christianity are nothing to $u$ end their central tratbs areall that matter. The Klilafat is a dogma of Mahomedanism the great central message of which is the Fatherhood of Gud and the Brotherhcod of man. The world never stood in grealer need of this mighty truth than it docs to-dus. The sucred daty of proclaiming it is laid in a special seuse upon those who are professing Mahomednos. In their proper diacharge of that caty, the whole of hamanily is deeply interested and will welcome every ellective altempt on the part of Islam to spread this, its grent Gospel. Bat whon it is asked to aphold the Khilufat, il righty aske, Has"the Khilufa't in the recent past becn faithfal to its great and sacrid trust? A good deal of the story of Tatkish misgovernment of subject races is, no doubt, the oatcome of prejadice, bat nobody has come forward to say that Tarkish rale was u faithfal iaterpretation of Islam's great message. Do not the conflioing Fatwas of high Mahsmedan divines, bhow that the union of Church and State has wot been attended with happler reanits in Mabomedan Than in Curistian conntries? I'be Khilafat runs connter to the idea now nnivereally held thut the Charoh best rerves ita high furpose b) being indepe deut of any temporal yower. The influtnse cf the great Koman Catholic Chuich bas certainly sut diminiahed since the Holy Fuiher at liume was relieved of his temporal encumbrances. The Charoh of England is beginning to feel its pulitioal shickles. The Asohbishop of Cutiesbury's rioent vigurcus protestagainst the $13 i \cdot 1$ atending the yruands of diporce in the Honse of Lords, drew from Lord Selborne the remaik, in which the Lord Cbancollor concurred, that the whole frinciple of Chcroh Eafablishment might be ipvolvid; 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 Charch insists that the Charch mast 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 wonderfal vitality of -Hinduism is due to the fact that its sjarcs of aathority has rested with men who had nothing to gain from the State, baving renounced the world for good. For theae reasons, while the central message of Islam is the precious heritage of the hamen race, the Khilafat dogma cannot find acceptance outside the limited circle of Mahomelan doganatista. We bave for this reason repeatedly exhorted Indian Mahomedin leaders to keep the Turkish question clear of religious issues. We deplore that the pablished 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 farther agitation on recognised constitutional lines. Mankind, after all, are raled by ideas and we have every confidence that the conscience of mankind willnever allow an injnatice to be perpetoated, even if it is for the moment perpetrated by suchanauthoritative body as the Peace Conference. That a large part of the civilised world is bostile to Turkey is unfortonately a fact which has to be faced. The letter which we print today from the Rev. Stanley Hanter is bat a zingle illastration of it. This hostility can be removed only by clearing up misunderstandings where sach exist, and by persuading the Tarks to reform themselves in re pect of matters where reforms are needed. The article which we summarise today from Avia, shows that in one most important respect the Turks have made and are making praiseworthy progress. The position of women is the crncial test of social enlightenmont, and the striking examples cited in the article strongly predispose na, as it will predispose our readers, to beljeve in the genaineness of Tarkish progress and in the soundness of the lines on which it pruceeds. The great need of the moment in order to secure just trcatment to Turkey, is a wide and vigorous propaganda among the great nations of Farope and America. The one thing to be avoided is even the appearance of antagonising any one oi 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 beyend the most sanguine expections, 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 tirmly iriendly to Turkey. Nhis is too grent a price to pay for the satiafaction of the justifiable resentment of a large section of our Mahomedan conntrymen. Oaremotions are the great driving power of our uatore, but it is the intellect which can clearly see the end in view, and device the meant bsst cslcalated to lead to it. Besides, "noncooperation" is negntive idea not conducive to the positive atate of mind which alone can achicve its object. Both the Gita and the Koran Iay down positive injanctions regarding the performance of daty, and the consenaus of educational opinion bas 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 dectinies. We said above that, even if " non-co-operation" sacceed, it will not help Tur* key one whit. Bat all the chancea are that it will not succeed. It cannot succeed. Leading Mahomedans themselves are against it. The Hindus are enconvinced of its necessity or of its practicability. I'he only result of pressing it forward, will be so estrange the balk of both commanities-the more thooghtinl and responsible zections-from the movement to get justice done to Tarkey. If anything can be done, it is by greater cooperaliun, aud not by nun-co-operation, with those who have shown themeelven keenly alive to Indian feeling and sentiments on the Turkish question.

    ## VOLC'NTARY REPATRIATION OF INDIANS IA SOUTH AFRICA,

    A telegram from the South African correspondent of the Times of India dated the 28th May etater that the Commssion inquaring into Asiatic questions in Sonth Africs, has issued sa. ad interim report arging the Government to organise volantary Indiau repatriasion by the fruvision of shippiog factities and by the suspension of restrictions on the export of gold in the corms of savings and jawellery. A Reuter'a telegram gives the further information that the Conmission's recommendstion is in view of the fact that a considerable namber of Iudians are desirous of returning so Iodia, and on condition that there are good prospects of emplosment fur them in ladia.

    ## Mr Andirws Firws.

    In vien of the lakhs of rapees contribated by India to belp the Iadisns in Suath Atrica to main. tain their rights and the anprecedented excitement cansed in this conntry by the stories of their oppretsion and heroic resitsance, the saggestion of repatriation woold bave deserved to be dismissed withoat a tnonght by Indians. Bat the idea has reccived sapport from an anexpected quarter, and, therefore, deserres consideration. Mr. C. F. Andrems who lately visited Soath Africen in an article in the

    Jane nambar of the Nodern Review, ufter describiag the miserable esadition of ex-indentared Indians in Nistul, observes:

    My own eaggested remety fo to give to three Indies laboarers every oppartanity to come beck and mato a meot asart in lad e itsolf. I do mot think thet any otber oon" cideration ebould weigh with ae exopt the good of the Indian Labosrers th masolves. We mand $j$ udac the problem by ituell as a problion of hanaaity, They osme to me, fith their families atith sir licule childrea asking wa to h.jp thene to retare and $I$ mis le thoma promise th ot I wuold do na A fros peesege is alrenty offered by the Sun h Atrices Union Government, and I wat whil by the offoish that it be beet imposeible to find suffi ient ehipy for thoee who are reedy and asger togh Taess chips mati be loand. Thare moot be no more delay.

    It in, I beliere, prastica'ly oertaia that the Buth Atricia, Uoion Govara neat woall ufer a boant wemab edults in ${ }^{7}$ addition to the free pasage, bevange thare io a goneral deties to decresse, if postibley the nambir of ladiant in Sjath Afriees I shuald myedf, for bnositarian reasow, be qaite williag to welcome any anch offor and to urge apon the Indian Govermarent that it uhoult doul as liberally an porible with theoe Indian laboarers on their retarn to In lia. They sband iustitnte an ififis at B mbery to look after their intersits and enable them to cettle down in Iudia with eome bope of leading a happier life thes thair arestel life ia Niotal. After ell, laboar is rery groatly nsedel in Indie at the procent ume and it choald eut be at all, difitalt to pravide saimable work.

    Mr. Andrews confesses that when the 83 poll tat was bolished in 101t, mad every Iadisa in Natal had been provided at lats with opportanity for freedom, he bad fondly hoped thut an imosediate clavge would eusue, that she ludian Iaboarers would rise in character and atetas, wad would be coabled to im. prove their own evonomic position. lactis he hen been disappointed. Not oolg has thore beou noroal improvee ment, bat on the euntrary thiogs have gone atill tarthoe backward. Mr. Aadrews attribntes this to she African mative labuarer baviug coune luto diroct competition with the Iadian and the latter-haviug bean depressed by long periols of enemi-servile labour under iodeatare-not being able to hold bie own in the labonr market. The resalt is that the ladian laboarer is siaking iuto a depreased clann.
    "They are wrotohedly anhappy," writen Mr. Andreweis a Wherever I Went shaj flocked romad ms, ankiog and erce. imploring me to $g$ st tham asut bagk is ladiso It was. the unot picisble chigg to eesis seir conditius and my haert weat out to shom mirs 'than I can explaia in worde Second yo. cheg ary dogradiag amsaz tac other ra yos, the vary idse of an
     we whole to ksep chsir stacas in Natol. Thodeed wignt of this greas mane of abbuerget Iedian ppolition ienticably drage the as $n$ o of 'Insias' dowa into the ducto

    All shis hed beac caquel by oar one inival favis, in
    
     orile of tha pats. It lase tot boes earge maroly to aiem
     psrfurm sywapde thous whoz we allomal is geat and wo
     progecochitis lan yot to be purlormed.
    
    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-Iadians being sent onder indentare 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 indentared Iadians have been victips, not agents, in this matter. We have enoagh sins of oar own commiseion on oar heads to atone for withont needlessly and withoat jast case heaping upon it the sins of those who had been in power over as and who stood to us in the position of trastees and gaardians. Nor, in our opinion, does the argament that the spectacle of these depressed Indians injurionsly affeots the estimate of Indians by foreigno ars, serioasly concern us. This has beon used before and with greater cogency in the case of Indians ander indentare. Now that the system of indentare has been abolished, the condition of these depressed Indians can no more affect the repatation of the Indian people than the condition of the "poor whites" in the Calcatta sloms affect the eatimate one may form of Einglishmen or Earopeans geperally. If it is a reflection on any body, it is a reflection on the raling race in Sonth Africa, which bas parsued and is parsaing a policy of relentless persecution of the Indians who bnilt ap the prosperity of Natal with oheir life blood.

    ## A Contradiotion in Terys.

    In un article contribated by Mr. Andrews to the Natal Advertiser which is reprinted in Indian Opinion of 23 rd April, he criticises the idea of repatriation of Iodians in Nutal as follors.
    Now, today alter aixty years' eettlement in the arse of Alrion, there in wild talt, on the part of irreaponaible pertons, -boat "repatriation." Bat, in the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era we eannot act in the manner of Asagrian deapote in the yoar 800 B.O. Tu bring over, for pareiy eelfieh ressones - whole popala ion, frat of all; then to ase this popalation in order to build ap proaperity and wealth; and then, last of allo, when wealth is estinblished, to banish the lobourert who prodnood the wealth-auch e polioy ie neither eane nor joot.

    No distinction is made in the above quotation between oompulsory and volontary repatriation. Bat in the eecond article of the series, reprintedin Indian Opinion of the 30th April, Mr. Andrews qualifies bis observations on repatriation. He observes:
    Whilo, in wy firat article, I deciared that oornpalsory re. patriation was morally unthinkable, I have no objeotion whiterer to voluntary offors being made to ex-indentared Indiune in Natel, who signally failod in this country, to retarn to their ativa lond and their own people with the ohance of a now atart there. Any pareily volantary soheme, which the Uuion Government might pat forward, wenable these Indiane who wiated to lenve Natal, to do 2o, with a amall anm of wotay in thoir pookete to enable them to begin lito again in Lndia, would have my cordial approval.

    In our opinion, the diatinotion here made between volantary and compalisory repatriation is illusory. Juce it is decided that the right policy with regarl to

    Indians in Natal is repatriation, the difference between volantary and compalsory will become a mere paper difference. Indian experience in India has shown that what is voluntary in theory can be compalsory in practice. In Soath Africa, where pablic opinion is nearly all against Indians, the process of transmating the one to the other will be mach easier. No compulsion, bat you must, is an aphorism of every repressive administration. Even assaming that this fear is groundless, we see no reason why the descendants of indentared Indian labourers shoald be indaced 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 pecaliar to Indians in Natal. Wo have the same problem facing us in India. We are inclined to think that the depressing effect due to high prices and not snfficiently 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 hel $p$ 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 cass of descendants of indentared Indians, born in Soath Africa, is a contradiction in terme.

    The propobal but a Prelimnaby to Total Exolesyon.
    If it is thooght that the disappearance of these labouring Indians from Sonth Africa will make the situation easier for the trading Indians, there cannot be a greater delasion. As a matter of fact, the white Colonists' objection is not to the former bat to the latter. It is the presence of the Indian laboarers that attracted the Iudian traders, and led to the latter being tolerated. The Colonists wanted, and atill want, Indian laboar, and the Indian trader who came in the wake of the laboarer had to be pat ap with. The "repatriation" of the laboarers will be quiokly followed by the effective exclasion of the traders. The late Sir Pheroseshah Mehta, with his wonderfal prescience, declared that the compromise of 1913, in which the principle of administrative exclusion of free. Indıan immigrants from South Africa was conceded. gave away the whole Indian case, and he refased to have anything to do with the receptions and meetings held in connection therewith. Tbat his jadgment was right, can no longer be questioned. After isolating the South African ladiang, the Union Government and people seek to destroy them by withdrawing trading licenses and the right to own land. This proposal volantarily to "repatriate" the Soath African born Indians is merely the penaltimate stepin crashing ont the Incuian in Sonth Africa. The trader went there in the wake of the laboarer, and he will be expropriated and repatriated likewise in the wake of the laboarer. We are anable to approve of this suggestion, notwithstanding our bigh respect for Mr. Androws. The Indian is entitley to remain in the coantries which he has benefitted by his laboars in a position of civilised citizenship. If India agrees to this proposal, it may prepare iteelf
    to have similar proposals from every Britinh colony where Indians bave made their waj. The Iodian will be persecated, and when persecation prodaces ita effeot of depression, it will be proposed to "repatriate" him on the gronad that he is anable to hold his own in the colony. It is carious that none of the reprecentative Indian organisationg in Sonth Africa, so far as we are aware, hae propounded " repatriation" as a colntion of the Indian problem. Indian Opinion hat expressed no opinion so far. In past years, oar contemporary hat protested againgt any anch anggeotion. The proposesh is oar view, la distinctly retrograde. If we accept it, wo admit defeat and give up oice for all all claim to equal treatment in the British Empire. For sach an act of renanciation, we shall have to answer at the bar of posterity.

    ## THE WOMEN'S MOTEMENT IN TURKEY.

    - Miss Barnette Miller, till recently Professor at Conotantinople Colloge contributss ain interesting article to the current number of Asia, with the heading "The Pasoing of the Harem." The following is an excerpt.
    The feminist movement began in the Mabommedan world about the middle of the last centary, first in Egypt and afterwards in the Cancasas, in protests and satires on the part of a few enlightened men to the effect that progress was impossible so long as women were beld in debasement and ignorance. It began little later in Tarkey, bat has made greater atrides there becanee, since the granting of the Constitation in 1909, the women bare fought for thenselves. The following passage quoted from a recent namber of the Woman's World, the organ of the Tarkisb Aseociation for the Protection of the Righte of Women, illastraten the apirit in which they entered upon the campaign for their own emancipation:
    "The faalt is not in our stars, bnt in ourselves, if we fail of attaining true happiness. Our men are meeing more olearly today than ever before that the welfare and success of our peoplo in the coming years depend very greatly apon ag, the mothers and the daughters of onr race. Imancipation, edncation, elevation, intellectanal and moral-this is to be onr cherished desire, onr parpose. The quastion is not - Who will make us happy?' bot 'How can we be most usefal to oar people and our fatherland? "

    Since 1909 Tarkiah women have foonded newhpapers vith women as editors and correspondents to disenss social and economic questions affecting their welfare-and this in a conntry where a woman's mere name formerly had been taboo in pablie life; where it had been etiqnette in conversation of everyday life to allide to a wife only as "harem" or "family", and to avoil mention of ber by mame even in title deeds to property. So great has beea the chauge that it is no nonommon thing today to read in the Stamboal papera the name of a princess who has been Lady. Bonatifal to some canse, or of some prominent woman, who has left for Berlia or arrived from Bruse. Women have organized clabs.
    and anociatioae whioh bave, daring the ware of the leet nice years, rendered grent pablio servioes, in rotora for which they have obtained large concessions for their eex. They have made ateady progress in spite of reaction as the result of certais excesen follo wiag the revolation of 1909, in spite of the responsibility of the Caliphate to maintain in Tarkey the atandarda for Islem, and in apite of the fanaticiam of the massen.

    The platform of the Tarkiah women to-day demande - retara to certuin earlier Taranian castoms and eirtior Mabommedan teneta, ander which womon formerly enjoyed greafor freedom and a higher position. Thoy ank equal opportunities with men for edacation and economic independence; an equitable treatment in the matter of marriage and divorce; emancipation from their harem and ontdoor drese.

    Eduoation or Women.
    In the past, Tarkish women bad been edacated for $^{7}$ the most part only in the arte of eensoality 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, Djerdet Pesha, a famoas historian and one of a group which after the Crimean War revived French infoence in Tarkey; gave voice to the opision, novel anywhere at that time, that women ohould receive the eame education as men. His efforte mark the begin. ning of what may be called the governess period of women's edacation in Tarkey, which Pierre Loti has made famons in his Les Desenchantese. Djerdet Pasba's two daughters, Fatima Alieh Hanonm and Emineh Hanonm, atadied Peraina with a sheik from Tehersn, Arabic with a dervish, Tarkish with the firut gradaate from the Tarkish Normal School, Freach and masic with one French governese, and Freach philonophy and paychology with another ; algebra, geometry, antronomy and geography with their brother, and religion and history with their father. Fatima Alieh Hanoam in the author of nameroas well-known novele and has for many yeara been an inflaetce in the intellectual life of the capital.
    Since 1870, a namber of foreign seboola for native women bave been foonded in Constantinople, bat it was not natil after the deposition of $\Delta$ bdal Hamid that Tarkish stndente could attend without risk. The Young Tarke, whatever elso their facte may be, have hold distinctly progrespive iheories aboat the education of women. Their edacational programme incladed: coarse of atady of aix years tor girle, three int the kindergarten and.elementary section, and three in the secondary. In the last nine years it is claimed about. five handred thonsand bave availed themselves of this opportnnity. In Constantinople, there are one bigh achool, one normal echool and one technical achool tor women. The last Minister of Ifdacation is the Talant Pachs Cabinet prononnced himsolf in favoar of tochnical achools for girla as the greatest edacational need in Turkey. Onfortanately, he lacked the meanallo carry ont his ideas. The Imperial Ottoman University five yeare ago provided separate extension lectares io bygiene and in the belles-lettree for women ; two jears ago it offered a medical conrse which sereral handred
    women have entered, though the alowness of the government to grant licenses for medical practice has been a great obstacle in the profeesion ; more recently still it established a professorship of Earopean litera. tare to which a woman, Halidek Hanoum, has been appointed. For several years the government has maintained stadents, ander pledge to become teaohers, in the American college for girls in Constantinople and in Spitzerland. Since 1914 there have been nearly one handred Tarkish women sent to Germany and Aâstria.

    ## Marriagr Reforys.

    In matters pertaining to marriage, the sphere in which woman's degradation has been greatest, few of the changes in Tarkey have been formally conceded by legislation, bat they have come aboat rather by social forces at work in the nation, in consequence of Which great changes in actaal practice have been effected. It must be kept in mind, however, that although polygamy is legalized in Tarkey, and in the past the size of a man's harem was the index of his wealth and position, still, becanse of its cost, it was never practised by more than five per cent of the male popalation of the cities. In recent years, farthermore, it has been limited among the Torks by the rapid decline of wealth.

    As a resalt of Earopean edacation and travel, and of the freer minging of Tarks with Earopeans in Constantinople since the fall of Abdal Hamid, and the demands of Tarkish women themselves, a plurality of wives has come to be distinctly anfashionable among the Tarke to day. Those who have political and sorial aspirations have found it a distinct bandicap. I do not know of a single Young Tark in any promisent governueut position who has more than one wife. In the last decade monogamy has become distinctly chic. It is said that, as one resalt of the chnage, immorality, more or less legalized in the French fasbion, has come in to take the place of polygamy.

    ## Personal and Soolal Freedom.

    The liberty of the average woman has enormonsly increased. As late as 1809 or 1910, women did not go freely in the atreats anless accompanied by a companion or female servant, nor did they remain ont after night-fall. I remember on several occasions pitying a belated woman senrrying home throogh the dayk like a frightened bird aatray. Any man who chose ohided her for being out late, for all men are equally, by Mahommedan law, protectors of every woman. Bat now women go about freely alone; an attendant is ouly an occasionsl issue with a jealons hnsband. Women are often seen out after night-fall, and there are a fow bold enough to boast of going in the ovenings with the men of their families to " movies."

    A fow Tarkieh women oven hold salons. Halideh Ilmuonm has for gears received the visite of Tarkieh officiale and American acquaintances-and, since the armistice, of Allied army officers and press correspotdents. The late poetess Nigiar Hanoam gathered around her a circle of Tarkisb and French literateurs.

    There is also a certain very beantifal and coltared young Tarkish matron who bas been known to pour tea at an English at-home in Constantinople where there were many Allied officers present. At her own Sandays-at-home there is a cosmopolitan society of Greeks, Tarks and Earopeans. She and her hasband were guests at a dinner given by an American hostess to the English colonel who had been acting High Commissioner daring the four or five days preceding the formal entry of the Allied fleet after the armisticeShe wore a very modish gown of green taffeta ont decollete, with no scarf or head-covering of any kind; and she conversed with the men gaests in tara in English or French or Tarkish, of the opera, of a political issue or of lighter things, with as mach ease as any woman present.

    The dress of Tarkish women within the last few years has andergone a complete transformation. An old resident of Conatantinople who retarned there this antamn after an absence of several years whs asked what be regarded as the most striking change that bad taken place since his departare. He replied instantly, "That the women go unveiled in the streets." The disappearance of the veil is certainly the most striking change in ontward appearances that bas oscurred in Constansinople in modern times : and it marke a great advance in the progress of Tarkish women.

    ## an amerioan view of the turkish QUESTION.

    The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.
    Sir,
    Althoagh it is eight gears since I was in India $I$ am still interated in reading your paper. I have followed your treatment of the Tarkish situalion aud think that jou will possibly be interested in the resolations presented last month to the athorities in Washington by a delegation representing the Federal Connoil of Cburches of Christ in Americe which is entitled to apeak for the Protestant Oharches of our land.

    Believing that these resolations"represent the sober judyment of most Americane, I forward them to jon at they are priated in the weetly bulletin of the Cburch of whish Inm pastor in Pittsbargh.

    I have had Armeniane come to my office here and ask niy assistance in endeavouring to trace sisters who have born carried off by Turks and are living lives of horrible mieery today. No man who can underatand hiatory oan eay that Ambassador Morgenthan'e revelations are untrue. It is high time that the civilized world pat en end once and for all to the Tarkish atrocities.

    ## Yours sinoerely,

    Stamiur A. Hurrer.

    - © Firat: That the parposs whioh led America into the war was not fulfilled with the censetion of bostilitier. Gormany has been defeated, but autooratio militerism atill livee, and it even now mauifosting itself in its worst form in the former Tarkiah Empire, which has been well called the breeding place of atrocitiea and ward.
    - Second: That there is a growing impatience amonnting to indignation over the failure of the Administration end of Congreas to concur in enacting auoh legislation as will enable America to help the Allied natime to esospe from the
    politicel entanglemeats of the peet and to tolve the Near Enestern problem ecoording to the primeipion of righs and jurtice for the entabliehment of which we entercil the war."
    , In pertienlar, we erge thet the weight of Amerion 'a leA vence be thrown on the dide of adefirite and final decision ehat the Tart ebould be excladed from Rarope and denied control over the anbjeot peoples which he eo logg and to brutally opprecsed and maltriented.


    ## "A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIBW "

    A conmiderable amber of woman tecitly secept the duabe moral tandard when their cosial position protects thom from the likelihood of being mearificed to ito inevitable reanlen, but it in not often that moman comen boldly out in poblic sapport of it, as Mris Wencey Bayly doee in the Jenamry and Maroh isnaes of National Ecalth. The letter wal primarily an appeal to women to recognise the need tor eincat:ng their humband and cons to aupply themeelven with the meane of venereal dininfection. Argaing that the 's right women "-axplained later at the st motheswomen "-do not exp sot a single standerd, she pote forward two pointe a (i) That a wifo is naanly responaible for ter hasbmod'e fidelity and it he laptes rezually it is frequently not beenase he dem not love his wife, bat becence abe bas oensed to thínk sexalfraction important. In ang eace, if the bneband in. theoe lapses proteots himsolf by disinfection all will be: woll ; and (2) if a woman is unfaithfol it niarly elwaya: menne she no longer lovea her huaband, and, morrover, she may bring home venereal disease and most probably anothar man's ebild. That being the esee, bow oan the eanie code be just for men and women when the eccial reault ara 0 different $?$ Mru. Wansey Bayly followa thia up by explicity denying that the equal atandard makes for social stability and racial welfare, and later ate enge ; " The present grave danger of an equal moral code is the epresd of promiscrity arnenget women."

    Mra, Weneey Bayly was anked if the cecepted the obvious implicarions of her letter, bamely, that if women in general matet be chaste, and men in geveral need not be mo, there mast of necesaity exiat a class of women who could not be chate, as they woald have to meet the "gallantries " (Mro. Wanaey Bayly'e word) of men. Thia inqniry wat iganred, bat the last letter ended with this crushing euntence flang at bar orition 2

    - I think perhapa the mothere and fachers are a little wearied of being loutnred on cezacl morality by women who do not represent the majority of thoir sez."
    Side by side with thie appeared a closely re soned and con. etractive letter from the Executive Committes of the National Conncil of Women, which on this point and apeak enthoritatively for probably a million womed, incleding many married women. The letter wat aigaed by Mric Ogilvio Gordon, and contained thece prononceemente m
    st We are convinced that puch teashing an is adrocated in Mra. Wansey Bajlg'a letter would inevitably bring about both morally and phyeically, mont dimatrons resalts, and ounnot be too etrongly condemned . . . We diewent from Mro. Bayly'e view that mont women would agree that their hasbende and eose ahould be educeted to enpply thempcelven with disinfectents."

    We imaxine the National Conneil of Women hee quite an mich right as Mre. Bayly, if not rather more, to epeak in the mane of the mothere of this conntry, and we are gratefal to X re. Ogilvie Gordon tor the choughtiall letter in which the expresced the opinion of the Conncil: Exeantive. The point we want to deel with here it the argament that a married moman's cexanal lape is more disaotroas eovially and in selation to the marriage contriet than the lapeo of a married
    man. The same viow wate expreased by Lond Phillianon during the debete oe the Divare Bill aed, componat modiliod alse by Lord Bnckmenter, Thic appeart to be ex extraord iacrily shortaightad vion of thisgs and cortaialy mol ia berent in the relationship of hoeband ead wife. A wito's
     circemetances make it eacier for her infidelity to be dineoven ed end, when diecovered, the law penalises the intadelity of the bosbead. If them ocoditions wers equal the cooilel resalta is both casem would bethe mame. Doos mot the mafaithinal hugband also briog disance into hia family, and ta he vot alde frequantly the meanc of bringing a baby jato anothop mas's home 1 It is tras he doen eot briag anothor womacis ahild into his own bome, bus that doem not make the anee any lan dieantrons socially. Mru. Bayly hat in teot admitted the Puint whon whe eaye a wifo's infidelity any briag anothar mane baby into her hasbaod'a home. Why, then, regerd the wifct cotion more dimatrove than that of the meal To aroh muddled masoning are the axpportere of she donble thandard reduced to defend thair atferly illogiona and nojuat ponition.

    There is another liem which Mre Bayly bas overlooked. She may be weary of being at leotared it by thone who believe iv on equal high moral standord, but how is the going to meet the demand for sexal expression of the joung woman who sees no reason why she should not have all the freedom parmitted to her brothary and who in to-day In a potition to take that iresiong and meana to take it, anleas sooiety can give her some good reston for celfinhibi. lion and obsetity ? Thare fir perhape no evation of the come manity 40 weary of being leatured and coolded, and in a mood so fitcle inclined to tolerate it, en the young women of the preseat time whop in tae very blonsoming of their womanhund, have ceen their potential loviere and buabanda torn from then for evar by the war. Will theme momen ant of from all eox expreasion, except in illioit connections, meskls cocopt the duable atandard to faeilely expranded by comfor. tably mated mothers of farcilien t We think not. There in only one pomible grouad of appual to thae young anmarriod womev and war widowe, and that is to eak thom to make $n$ volnntery remonoiation of thair individual amotional ueode and phyvical impalese for the sake of bailding up alean, wholewoms, and happier world for thoee whe will come after thern. Bach an appeal muet be addraced to men and worden alike. To bace it on the onjant lonodetion of the dorble atadard would not onls casac it to be treated with the indiference and coolompt it decerves, but would be anking sta imposible, as lomale oheotity enat of secomity be in axect relation to male chatity. It is onlg is destribution that il varim,-The Shiali, London.

    Decorations: We bave received the following Press Note dated the sth May:- The Secrotary and Registrar; Central Chancery of the orders of Knighthood, St. Jsmes's falace, Loo,don, S. W. 1, hat recontly. complained of the great difficulty oxperienced by him in getting into toach with decores of the Order of the British IEmpire, who have retarned to England from India, $\Delta l l$ decorea of the Order who may be proceeding to the United Kingdom vithont recoiving their decorations in Indis are requested to commonicate with him immedistaly on their arrival in Eogland, 20 that the oocesary arrangements may be made for their attendance at an Inveatitare. They are also requested to conomanicate to Government their eddresses and the probable period of their atay in Eogland.

    ## TO MY SON.

    ## ーー -

    I will not any to sou: "Thie is the Way, walk in it." Fur 1 do not know jour way, or where the 8 pirit may call you.

    ## It mey be

    to paths I never trod, or ships on the seas leading to unimagined lands afor :
    or, haply, to a star !

    ## Or jet again

    through dark and perilous places racked with pain
    and fall of fear
    your road may lead you; far from me or noar,

    ## $N$ but only ateod aside.

    I cannot guess or guide,
    Jant this I'll sas;
    I know for very trath there is a way for each to walk, a right for each to choose, $a$ trath to ase.

    And, though you wander far, your soal wils know that true pash wheu you fiud it.

    Therefore, go!
    I will lear nothing for you day or night!
    I will not grieve at all becanes yoar light
    is called by tome nem name;
    I'ruth is the sano!
    It masters nothing to ca! 1 it Stir or Sun, all Light is one.
    L. Les M is the Challenge.

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    Applications sta:ing name, ags, race, religion and national qualifiestions and provion experience are invited us as to reach the onduraigued by the 15th of Jane fur the lulluwing poste on the eatablishment for the Medical Iusp otion of Burabiy Manicipal Sohouls to be now placed on e permanent basis:-
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    Manager, Csleutta
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    OMce:-EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT. Editor:-K. NATARAJAN
    Annual Subscription (inland) Rso 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling.
    ',Vol. XXX. BOMBAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 13, 1920. No. 41.
    -1 I witt be an barsh as truth, and as uncompromising airfortice; I am in earnest-il will not equivogate_-I will ao enouse, I will not retreat a single inch-And I will be heard." Wresian Lioyd Garrison in the Liberater.

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    Output of Coal in British India During 1919.

    ## NOTES.

    The Hon. Mr. Mahomed Sbafi 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. Sbafi, 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 ct 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 Puojab last year, Lord Sydenham pounced upon this statement and pointed out Mr. Shafir inconsistency in bolding 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 Irom 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 lorgery. If this is a correct statement of facts, Mr. Santanam, we think, bas done no service to Mr, Shatl 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 be was cognisant of its baving been made-peither of which is suggested by Mr. Santanam-the fact of signing such an important duevenent 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 bonestly believed at the time the official asseveration regarding the existence of a "revolutionary conspiracy" which later. investi-" gation 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 lndian public, had he drawn up: a separate minute stating his reasons independently for agreeing swith the minority report. Oóming 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 sbould fall in with the idea of linguistic provinces. The fact that these two great communites 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 Mre Rafiuddin Ahmad in the Muhammadan (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 lell 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 "llinguistic 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 Mabomedan " and Cbristian aspirations, is the Janmabhumis's way of dealing with the Brahmin-nod-Brabimin' movement. It is, we are told, "the ouicome 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 langages 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 Janmabhami does not
    seem to know that the present literary language known as English was developed oat of one of such dialects, and thit the division of Eagland into "linguistic provinces" would have prevented this procest of beneficent evolution. 8o also the dozen "cultured languages" of India have grown out of the interaction of several dialects just such as those which ous contemporary leaves out of its calculation as "uncultared."

    The Gnat and the Camel: The Beiner Herald (Bankipur) bas a very apt reply to those eritics of the demand for special representation in the Behar Legislative Council who recommended BengaleeBebaris, instead, to gitate for the districts in which they are numerous to be added to Bengal on the principle of " linguistic provinces." Oar contem porary writes :

    We do at anderutand how the arraggement avoide the commanal and apparatiat teadencies, so atrongly condemned by those who recomanend it. The claim of the Bengalis in Bibar whick is regarded as obnoxions on account of its being a plea for the extession of eeparate commanal re presentatica may bo pot that:-m Wi do not objeot to boing governed by the new coancil provided a certanin aumber of our own man are allowed seatu in it to voice our interents." With great ireepect to the sarportert of the iden, it seeme to ta that the proponsl to read the Behari-Bongalin back to Bengal suads vory mach liks the following : © Na, your ulaim to be governed by a conncil inclading among othere a lew representatives of your own race in preposteroas. Su you mast go to Bengal and be governod exclanivaly by people of your owa race.n

    We seem to have missed the issue of the Searchlight in which our appeal to Behari leaders like Mr. Hasan Imam and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinhe, to take the lead in getting removed the disabilities of Bebari-Bengalees in regard to scholarships, was noticed, but if the Behar Herald's quotations are correct, the Searchlight, we are sorry to say, bas a long search before it :
    "We do yot know whether there is any thing to be vondered at: that in abloce where the Beharis are in majority their childrea ehoold have prefererves to admimion." aud, agaia: " It is all wed to telk of natimaliam and brotherky foolinges bat in maicers edrectional, Behor onanot affurd to keep bect its ehildreen and make way lur otbers."

    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 bave no hesitation in saying that sentiments such as those expressed in the sentenceg quoted, are utterly incompatible with the possession by those who entertain them of the qualities requirtd to carry on an administration on principies of enlightened patriotism. The country is best served by belping minorities and communities that bave falten behind in the race of life to come op to the level of the larger, more adranced and more for: tunate sections.

    That or Which? The Times of India concedes That nght asage demanded the use of 'that ' and not - which' in Mr. Lloyd George's famous declaration regarding the objects lor which the Allies were not foghting Tnrkex, if the Prime Minister bad intended to restrict its application in the way suggested by the Malras Mail. But our contemporary says that politicians are notoriously slipshod in their speech and that it is not unlikely in tbis instance that the Premier intended by this ntterance precisely what the Mail impotes to him. It is trae that politicians are oftea 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 tremeodously mordentons statement of policy to the Lslamic hations 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 decla. ration on such an occasion, he would have beea shamefully neglectful of bis duty as the first Minister of the Crown. As a matter of lact, it bas boen zuthoritatively stated by the Prime Minister himsell that this declaration was not mado on his sole responsibility. The Cabinet had agreed upban 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 opon which so many and diverse authormes had bprecd 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 scrupulons in the use of warde is it likely that Mr. Balfour, Lord Curzon and. probably too, President Wilson-tvery one of them a master of the language-would have allowed auch a glaring mistake to pass? The Mail's apology is clearly an afterthought. The Prime Minister intedded what he was onderstood 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 mssame of an English Prime Minister.

    Religion and Civil Marriage. We publish today a thooghtful article by Mr. Kopargam Ramamurtion Aska, Ganjam district, an carnest and practical social reformer, on the argent need of a civil marriage in lndia. We have olten urged the same need. It is interesting to note how completely the attitude of religious people in Eogland has changed towards civil marriage. at one time, there, as in India, civil marriage wan regarded as the desecra. sion of a sacrament. Now, the view is that while the marriage relation is in essentially civil relation, the sacramental character attaches only to sucb marriages as, in addition, coolorm to certaia rellgious tests. An ardent Cburch of England paper, the Challenge, commenting on Lord Buckmatter's Bill regarding the law. of divorce, observes $:$
    We agree with the promoters of Lord Baekmmatren bill to a amall extent. Wiare mont enger that the conditions of diroces shoold be equalined as betrean the nexin. We desire that there shall the proviwoial courta, to stan poos people may have socese to the her. Bat mont of all me desire ceparntion of. the roligionas frow the oivill eeremony we ahonld like tbe Charoh to declare that it munid pot wolemine marrigges preept for thooe. who bed alroedy beon married in a oive tence at the Regivtry Ofine. Than the roligicos ceremong, woald bogis to menen sonnthing real, wh in many enees it doee not at provent. Bat the Chareth ise in -holo mand doteraine whot marringet is will bleas,

    A "Young lodia" Solecism : Writing about the ust of the vernacalars m the debates in the Legislativt Councils, Young Indis (Ahmedabad) inays that to ilf the proviaces except the Bombay Presidency, the 'chiel recognised' ternacular or veroaculars tre onderstocd by ninety to ninety.five per cent of their respective populations, for instance, Hindl ind Urda in U. Po, Hindi in C. Po, Puajabee and Urda In the Pudjab, Bengalee in Bengal and Tamil ta Madras. Our contemporary is mistaken in thinking that go per cent of the people of the Madras Fresideney understand Tami evea colloquially, let alone sofficiently to follow speeches in Council. Madras in this respect is in tbe same position as Bombay. We donbt ila knowledge of Hindi is so general in the Mabratta districts of the Central Provinces as Young Indic avers. We presume that our contemporary agrees that there is no alternative to English in the case of the Indian Legislatare.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORHER.

    BOMBA Y, JUNE 13, 1920.

    ## the south african mystery.

    Indian Opinion of the 7th May opens with the annonicement that by the time that number was in the kands of its readerf, the Asiatic Inquiry Commission wonld have finished its work so far an the taking of evidence in poblic was concerned. People who had not given evidence were invited by the Commiswion to send their anggestions in writing to the Secretary, when they woald receive consideration at the hands of the Commissioners. There is a wideapread feeling among the Indian commanity, onr contemporary goes on to observe, that the abrait closing of the public sittings of the Commission is nnfair. The pablio had been led to believe that the Gommission wonld retnrn to Darban after visiting Maritabarg and Dandee. It was however, sarprised to find that it had been enddenly decided to refnse farther evidence after Sutnrday, the Lat May, in Murban. Mr. Doull, on behalf of the Darban Con.mittee of the Sonth Atrican National Indian Congress, arked that he might bave the opportanity of addressing the Commission bat his request was refased. Mr. Doull pointed ont the nnfairness of allowing Cupt. IHackwell to occupy some honra in argaing the case for the Sonth Africana' Leagne that day in Darban. Put the Commission said it did not want any more facts or argoments. Mr. Doall said that half of their witnesses had not yet given evidence bat the Commiscion only replied that it was their fanlt for not coming in time. This Commiesion produced an interion report some days ago in which it recommended volnntary repatriation of Indians and the Sonth Arrican Uuicn Goveroment is reported to have prompily accepted it. There is some mystery surronnding this affair. The Commission is said to have given as ite reason for its recommendation that many Iodians were desiroas of being repatriater. The reports of the evideuce pablished in Indian Opinion do not bear ont this argamear. Two days before the Gummiasion closed its pablic sessionf, Mr. P. S. Aiyar appeared before it as spokesman of a depatation representing the Iudians of Cuast Juaction, Malvern, Springifeld und surronaling placen, and the Iadiau Lincket Stallholiders' and Sqnutiers' Agsociation. This witnoss was parivularly cowplimented by the Chairaian on his very clear and comprehentive statement which, be esid, required careful stady which, ho rromised, that wonld be given to it. Mr. Aigar at the ontset poiuted out that Indian immigrants bad been iadaced to cone to Natal in largo anmbers to develup the conatry and ts colonise and settlo in the Proviace on the atrongth of a proclanation insued in 1813 by Her Mijesty's Giverament to the effect that "there shall nut be in the eje of the law ang distiaction or aisqualitication whaterer loanded npon mere distive. aicon of colour origiu, langaage or creed, bat that the rrolection of the law ia letter and in anbstance shall
    bs extended to all ahke." Mr. Aijar showed that later attempts to do withoat the help of Indians had ignominioasly failed and that it was trado jealoasy on the part of a section of the Earopzan population combined with race antipathy that had colminated in the anceasing oatcry against the Indian commanity. Mr. Aiyar concladed by asking that the prosent system of the acquisition of landed property be retained naaltere 1 , an it that the trading rights of the commanity be pisced on a soand, jast and equitable bosis. Taere was not a word aboat volantarg repatriation in his statement.

    On the next day, April 23, Mr. Godfrey W. Dict, the Principal Immigration Rostriction Officer, gave evidence. One statement which he made deserves atteution. Muay of the colonial-born In liaus, he is reported to have said, went over-sea for a trip to India, but they always cxme back to South Africa, and in his opinion ftw Indians who left South Africa did so with the intention of remaining away permanently, only in cases where cleath supervened and prevented them from returning. This officer is the best anthority on this point. Indians in Soath Africa like to visit the mother conntry as the Anstralian or American wishes to visit England, bat they do not want to be prevented from retarning to Soath Africa which is what "volantary repatriation" proposes to do. Weshall retarn to this point. On the 1 st May, the Darban Cummittee of the South African National Indian Congress presented to the Commission an important statement of the Indian case, Mr. Duall acting as its representative. The Crnmittee traverse every ole of the argaments advanced against Indians, pointing ont that, assaming that the poorer class of Indians liver as has been stated, in squalor and filth, the remedy if, or sbould be, in the hands of the authorities. The following passage in their statement most be qnoted :

    We accept no blame for the position of a Itaire. Many of as were invitud to come bere, and many were given every facility to eara the ir Itrelihood bere. We will candidly and quite opeuly any coere:on can ooly end in disaster. We bare the right to be here ; we have the right to be engaged in any lawfal occopation we may choose, and wo have the right to own land if we pay for it.

    The Natal Congress Committee recognised the coutlict of interests involved and the difficulty of finding a solution. They did not think it possible immediately to solve the problem, bat respectfally suggested that the fllowing proposals wonld at least tend in that direction.
    (1) Standand wagte to all lebourers irrespectivo of race or ool.oar, and anbsequent improvement in conditicos of life.
    ( $£$ ) Legi lation providing for a miuimum standari of wagea tw shop assisante and all other ranks of labour on an quit blo bucis.
    (8) Acendment of the licersing laws on the liret of the Tranaval Ordinance, Na. 3 of 1912, and providiag that lioenves ean cily be refined on the al cifice groonds contained in that Ordirance, with the following amer dmente there to: (a) Three convictions rithin, big, the lest two jears on any criminal charge other than that of contre vening a tradiag la 0 or tydow; ( 1 ) that the worde "in the "piuion of the Conacil" be deletel aud the reason why the applicint is not deemed des:rable to be atated by the antbority rofasing the lioense.
    (4) That there be right to appeel to the Court in all lieeneing matuert, whetior the application i for a mery liceses or fur - tramafer or remoral or remewal
    (3) That the last aftecting lind and heense the made applicebie to the mboie of Natal, which inclodes rle Northara Vistriuta of Natal asd Zaloland.

    Not a word abuat volautary repatriation bere. Oa the coutrary, there is an cupbatio assertion of the right of the Natal Indian to bo in Natal. The point sbont wages is songht oto le met, as it unght to be, by miniunom wage legialation The Natal Cungreas Committee's etstement is so clear and cogent that we repriut it on another page. The evidence in favour of " volnatary repatriation" came mostly from anti-Iudian witnesses who would bave mnch preferrel compalsory repatriation bat were afraid of the scandal which it will create Aud what is " voluntary repatriation"? It is that ludiann who are eviry whit cibizens of Natal as the Europeane who wish to tarn them out, are to be bribed by a free passage and stew poonds to sell their birth-right. The ladigns who "voluntarily repetrim: " chemeelves on these terms will not, of course, be allowed to reture to what, in many cases, is their nature land : a voluatary repactiation,* it is ea:d, will apply only to destitate ladians. Bat every coantry has to take care of i. and we do not see why Natal should be relieved of this obligation in the case of Iadians who hed given the best years of their life and strength to its eervice, by giviug a few pronds per bead and a free paseage w this country. We prutenced whou it wan attempted to "Ireese uut* chese men by a $£$ ta tax if they remaiued in Nacsl. Wo protest againat a echeme which is merely another variation of the eame zolicy, only ins:ead of a tux, the indacement is a bribe which the necessituns Indian may not reaia.

    ## WHAT NAEAL INDIANS WANT.

    The main evidence given on the list May before the Natal Commiesion was that of the Derban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress. Mr. Doull who acted on behalf of the Committee read a slatement which opened with the following observations:-

    That so loog as the Indian wassatisfied to remain a labourer, toiling in the one fields, he was welcomed as a colonist and looked opon as an asset to the conntry. He has, in effect, been frequently referred to as the "t saviour of Natal," but when, having faithfully carried ont the terms of his indenture, he aspired to something greater for his children than a life of virtual slavery such as his bad been, whes, having toiled and saved ont of his meagre earnings afficient to purchase a small plot of land, and in come cask to give his children a mere elementary education, and they then songht employment in other apheres affecting what in known ss "working olass"-then this atility vanished and he was proclaimed a grave public danger.

    ## Hustility to Indian Traners.

    It would appear that the hoatility ageingt Asiation today it chicfly direoted againgt Indian tradert. A very large peroentage of the licencee applied for by Indiang has been refaced, and the sole reason for such refocal is thet the applicant was ma Asiatio. Ther bave been verions applications and appeals to the Sapreme Court against dectaiona refasing licences, which to tome extent illagtrate the method of admiaistration of the Act. After queting cases, the statement proceeds i While we freely admit that licensing anthoris:e sbonld have some power to refuse the fisue of licences, we thith that the grounds of refasal should be apecialiy laid down, and in suoh a manner that the re can te no diferentiation in adminiatration between difictiat sections of the commenity. It hav been cald that our right se trade is ousting the European storekeepers. and the reasons alleged are our mode of living, the low wages we pay, and onr conseyuent ability wo andez-sell European merchanth.

    Elropeay Exploitation of Colotred Laboter.
    To deal with this complaint it it neceanary firt cf all to explain the position of affairt eo far as they relate to the labouring olanee (Colonred, Indian and Natire). Tue operwhelming bulk of these clasees of labourcri are in the employ of Earopeana, who exploit them to the atmost, and who pay them more (nil) than is anficlent to provide shem with a bare existence, even when they are able to parchace in the lowent possible market. The labonrers ate not lally organised into malons, and conseymenty are mable to protect themselves againat exploitation. In the corntry diatricte and in certain portions of Darban praotically all the cistomers of Indian traders are labourert. Many thousands of theu are liviog on the verge of atarvation, and we ventare to matert that were it not for Indian tradert, many of thea labourers woold be unable to obtain even the necesaries of life. In some parts of Durtan there are Indian tradori. Who carry on bosinese principally with Europeans. To these trader the allegasion of low wages to servents and low mode of living hae no forndation.

    The Thue Remziy.
    We wonld point out that it is only withis very recent timen that a miniman atendard ct wages was fized for European assfatants, and we venture to assert that prior theroto Indian afop assistania were cqually as well paid as Earopean. and the difforence in the present rato of pas bet ween Earopeana and Indians is not aufficient to show a very material differience in the workjog costa, and doea not account for the European dealing with shese traders. The real reason it that the Indisn trader is satiafied with a reasonsble margin of prefit, whilat the Earopean trader is not. (Whea referring to Indian shop asaistants' puy, wef include board, lodging, etc., which are provided in
    addition to actual wages.) So far as those tradera are concerned who deal with the labouring classes, the Earopean storekeeper is generally inclined to treat these people with contempt whist 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 Cearges Axswered.
    Ae to our mode of living, it is trae we do not all eat the same food, bat on an average it will be found that the cost of our food is as much if not more than Furopean food; but, even assaming it were cheapwer, we cannot conceive that the fact can be seriously urged as a reason for taking away our means of earning a livelihood. Attention has bean drawn to the squalid nature of the building, etc., in which a portion of the Indian commanity 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 Earopeans, who disposed of same to Indians at very, high prices. Many of those residing in hopses described as "squalid" are free Indians, who have completed their indentares, and bave commenced market gardening with only sufficient capital to enable them to purchase the small plot of Tand on which their farming operations are carried on. The accommodation provided for these men daring their indentares, was equally as squalid as that now . occupied by them, but in the one case they were so housed by Earoprans, who were in a position to pat up suitable dwellings, whilst on their own land , thene Indians have not had sufficient capital with which to do so. Having, however, become accustomed to the dwellings supplied by their former emplojers, they have been acoustomed to that class of dwelling, and in many cases, owing to their poverty, cannot help themselves.
    leesponsibility of the Authomities.
    We would, in this conncotion, respectfully point out that, even assuming the poorer class of Indians live, as bas been stated, in iqualor and filth, the remedy is, or should be, in the hands of the authorities. If their dwellings be so insanitary or an-
    $\because$ healthy as have been atated, we suggest, with all submission, that the athoritiss are more blameworthy than the individals. We would also point out that the respectable Indian has as much 1 antipathy to a dirty individaal, be be white or black, as any European has, and any attempt to force us, at a class, to live in camps or locations would not be ncoeptable to any self-respecting Indiun. With regard to the ownership of land, having fall righta in Natal, Indians have no cease of complaint. As, however, it has been saggested
    that we, as Indians, should be precluded from acquiring land in freehold, we would, with all sabmission, 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 sabject 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 wero given every facility to earn their livelihood here. We will candidly and quite openly bay 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 involyed and the difficalty of finding a solation. We da not think it is possible immediately to solve the problem, but respectfully suggest that the following proposals will at teast tend, in that direction: (1) Standard wages to all labourers, irrespective of race or colour, and sabsequent improvement in conditions of life; (2). legislation providing for a minimam standard of wages to shop assistants and all other ranks of labour on an equitable basis; (3) amend. ment 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 contictions 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 maiters, 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 inclades the northern Districts of Natal and Zulaland.

    ## WANTED-A CIVIL MARRIAGE LAW FOR INDIA.

    (By Mr. Kopabgam Ramamciti.)
    Events are rapidly maltiplying which shonld make it abundantly clear even to a blinded bigot that the enactment' of a general civil marriage law is one of the crging needs of the hoar in India to-daj.

    Sach a law is known to exist in England. In fact it is foand in all civiliged countries of the world. Bat there the individaul statas of the sabject as a haman being and as a citizen is manfally asserted by the people and angradgingly recognised by the State, apart from the statas created by his religions or social environmonts. In caste-and-creed-ridden

    India, bowever, man's haman and civic rights are practically nowhere, and he is coodemned to carry, whether he likes it or not, the load of a personal lan fantened round his neck by the accident of his birth and religion. No Iodiact has, therefore, the lawfol right at present to choose a wife or hasband for oneself except within the narrow area circumscribed by one's race, caste and religions denomination.
    But marriage is really a primary haman right. Every goverament, therefore, which loves to foster the iadividaslity and respect the hamap rights of its anbjects, accords to them, by a law distinct from the eccleniastical law, the freedom to contract marriage with any person of their choice, anbject only to a few anavoidable limitations dictated by considerations of morality and poblic policy. And this freedom is given, be it noted, withoat any prejadice to their freedom to profess aimaltaneously whatever religion they may like, and in fact withoat any reference whatsoever to the race, religion or social standing of the contracting parties. Thas an Englishman, for instance, if he so choosen, may, without having to affirm his faith or disbeliet in any religion, marry at a Registrar's office ander the civil lar of England, either a Mahammadan woman from Tarkey, or a Jewish woman from Jerasalem, or a Negro woman from Central Africa, or a Parsi woman from Persia, or a Hindu woman-be she Brahmana, Kohatriya, Vaisya, Sudra or Panchama-from India, or a Buddhist woman from Ceglon, Barma, China or Japan ; or even a Cbristian woman of his own native land who conld claim the bonoars of his charch bat fights shy of the fuss and idle sight-seers of a falldress charch-wedding. The parties mas afterwarda go throngh any religions ceremony they please, bat that ia optional. With or withont auch ceremony the marriage woald be equally valid and binding on both the parties, and the issue of the union would be perfectly legitimate, notwithstanding any personal Jaw to the contrary to which the foreign lady may be ordinarily sabject in her own country. Indeed the English law is so liberal in this matter and withal so stanach in protecting the wedded wife and her progeny, that no thoughtfal Englishman who is married to a foreigner in a foreiga country resta satisfied until he goes through the marriage ceremony over again with his wife before a Registrar in Great Britain.

    Bat on Indian soil, excep! in the solitary 'native' domain of Indore, there is no sach freedom and no true and aafo lat of civil marriage. Sir Heary Maine would have given us such a law in the sixties of the last centary. Bat orthodoxy whe op in arms against him and forced him to retreat. Mr. Bhapendranath Basa attempted to secure it for as nine years ago. Bat the dog-in-the-manger policy of the don't-wanta came again clamoroasly to the fore and once more proved triamphant. The Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) is no doubt looked apon by mang as the civil marriage law of India. Bat that is an obrious mistake. The Iodian Christian Marriage Act again is regarded by some as a passable substitute. So far at one can jadge, however, this aloo if
    an illasion. The marriagea eolemaised ander these Acta may be civil marriages in the sense that they are not dependent apon any religions ceremony for their validation. Bat as civil marriage laws, both the Acts fail in oue essential respect. Neither of them is available openly and withont distinction to the whole population of British Indis as equal citizens of the State. Both of them impose a religions test of one sort or another and rigidly exclade from their benefits those that do not antiafy the teste
    For Act III of 1872 the religione test is of a negative kiod. It is disbeliof in certain apecified religions which comprise between them prectically the population of the whole globe, so that the olate of persons legally competent to make use of the lap cannot but be very limited. That is why it in callod a Special Marriage $\Delta$ ct and referrod to in other enactments as an Act "to provide a torm of marriage in certain casea". (thalios oars.) For want of a more suitable law, however, many who do not really satisfy this test are tempted to make a declaration of anbelief as required by the Act, in the hope of secaring legal validity for their marrisge and legitimacy for their childrea. Bat competent lanyers hold that it is facts, not words, which make or mar a marriage ander thia Act; that the mere outward verbal declaration has by itnelf no sach eaving power as is popalarly attribated to it mad, anlese it aleo happens to be the trae reflex of the light within, it ia more capable of doing mischiel than good by etting the criminal law in motion.

    The religions test to be astisfied by an appirant to marital honoars ander the Indian Chriatian Marriage Act is hid adberence to the Christian faith. But this qualification is not demanded of both the parties to the marriage. It is enough of one of them in a Cbristian. The other may be of any faith or no faith at all, and no deolaration in taken from eisher of them tonching their religions conviotions. This makes the Indian Chriatian Marriage Act, in a way, a more liberal and wholesome meatare than Act III of 1872. It also makes one lancy that in India the Christian sabjecta at least of Bis Majesty the KingEmperor enjoy the same uaboanded marital freedom as is the birth-right of every Britioh citizen in free Englaud. Bat a little reflection discloses the bollowness of this apparent privilege. The religious test is not the only teat applied ander the Act. There is aloo is legal teat to be satisfied before the marrisge can be registared, which in effect operaten indirectly as a religious test applied to the noins Christian partner, A eolemn declaration is taken from both the partion to the effect that they know not of any lawfal impediment why they may not bo joided in matrimony, and the Registrar also has to be satisfied that there is no lawfal biodrance to the marriage. Bat a deolaration of this kind is only usefol as a step to the registration. It does not by iteell confer validity on the marriage even thoagh it has been accepted and acted upon by the Registrap. If, as a matter of fech there did exist any legal impediment, the marriage would be pall and roid notwithstanding that it bas been doly solemnised
    und registered. As the Fall Bench of the High Conrt of Madras observed in Kalandai Vela ve. Rev. Dequidt (XXXIII M. L. J. 113), the Indian Christian Murriage Act is only concerned with the forms in which the marriage is $t \mathrm{t}$ 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 sball be deemed to validate any marriage which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or ber to enter into." In a conntry, therefore, where the hnge majority of non-Christians happen to be Hindaf, whose personal law forbids them to enter into matrimony with anyone outside their caste and religion, the field open to a Chrietian for intermarriage is extrencely limited. It is practically confined to the Maslim commanity whose personal law permits parriage 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 solemuised in India onder the Indian Christian Marriage Act bas been acknowledged also by the High Coort of England which nevertheless upholds the validity of a Hinda-English marriage solemnised by a Registrar in Eogland under the Engliah law.
    It is thne beyond question that Britieh India stands to-day withont any civil marriage law, in name or in faot. The consequences are disastrous not only to the freedom and growth of the people bat also to the interests of justice, truth and good conscience, which are the essentials of trae religion. In particalar the absence of sach a law hinders the apread of the Hiadu people. In recent years Hindaism has definitely entered apon a missionary carcer. Bat the family law to which the Hindas are snbjected by the British coarts in India has not developed pari passu with the growing liberalization of Hinda ideas and ideals. Uuder the banner of Arya Dharma, Hindnism bas welcomed some strangers from other faiths and races wilhin the lust 40 years, and, taking the law into its own hands, absorbed them into the bodypolitic by murriage. But this caunot be done on a large bcale with impanity. The Minda Missionary movement of Bombay, the Liberal Brabmana move: ment of Madras, and all similar movements in India which practically have for their object the nnification of the castes and the spread of Hiuda religion and zultare to all races aud countries, are boand to collapse and come to a stand still anless the State provides :hem with a family law which will help them to form Illindn commanity of their own openly avowing the Hiada religion. Mr. Patel's law will not help thens nach becuuse it deals ouly with caste-Hindus, whereas .hese movements bring into existence Hindu who rannut be reasonably or legally assigued to any caste. Lo iurert a detinition of the term "Hinda' in Mr. latel's Bill, shoald that Bill ever see the light of day igain, so as to bring these neo-Hindus also within its weep, may serve our immediate purpose to some xtent. But it may also give just canse for complaint o the orthodox as direct interference with their iwn ideas of Hindoism, and eventually belp to wreck he Bill. Moreover, in pressing for any new legislaation of a beneficent pature in assertion of buman ighte, it shoald be the part of our putriotism to think ad teel in terms of the wholo conntry aud the whole reople, and care shoald be taken to see that small eforme 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 scratinise anyone's religions convictions, is our birth-right as fres and equal citizens of a civilised empire. It will also be the healer of many sorrows in commanities large and small. Let no patriot, therefore, sleep over this questiun or feel ashamed to own it as his own, bat agitate and agitate antil the Government is forced to respond, be it Indian or Anglo-Indian.

    THE FIRST BENGAL PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

    ## Reboletions

    1. This conference resolves that notwithstanding the differences in the forms and practice of varions religiona loithe, every one shonld fally respect the religions views of others so as to establish cordial social relations beetween the membors if different religious commanities and thereby streagtben the bonds of union amongst them.
    Proposed by -Mr. B. Chakravarti.

    Seconded by-Moulavi Leakat 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 paople to maks ninited eff.rits for the spread of proper education amonyst our wom en and to remove all social restrictions as to their employment in the varions spheres of work.

    Proposed by-Mirs. D. N. Bose.
    Seconded by-Miss Shome.
    Sapported by-Dwijendra Nath Datt.
    " "Mardoyal Nag.
    8. This conference arges on the poople to put forth their whole-hearted effurts to elevate the so-callel depressed classes and to remove all restrictions as to social intercourse with them whoe treatment by the ao-called upper ulasses is a standing diagrace to the Hindu Society, a meriace to its welfare and is flagrant viclation of the divina rights of man.

    Pruposed by--Cul. U. N. Mukerjee.
    Secondod by-J. N. Roy.
    Supporiod by-Shyam Sundar Chakravarti.
    4. This coulerenco resolves that widowe' homes should be funuded for the trainiug of the poor widows to enable them to earn an houest and decent living and urges on the H iudus to take active atepa for the ramariigy of th; Hiada widows.

    Proposed by-Dr. Nishi Kanta Bóse.
    Secon: ed by-Mr. D. N. Bose.
    Suppporied by--Mr. J. Chandhuri.
    5. In the opinion of this conferance lutercas'e marriagea are beueficial to the Hinda Society and the legislative measure of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel as to suca marriages when jassed iuto law will not in any was interfere with the exercise by the Hindas of their religions freedom or affeos, eacept for good, the intereste of the Hindu Scie g.
    Proposed by--Mr. J. Cbaudhari.
    Secunded by--Pundit Ryjeudra Kumar Shastri Vid gabhasan. Sapported by-Pa:adit Digiudra Narain Bhattachary ya.
    " "Pandit Uuesb Chandra Vidyorataa.
    " "Parry Lal Da.t.
    "Bhagbat Chaudra Das.
    6. This couference strongly coulimas the exaction of donries in marridges as is prevalent num and urges on the people to curtail exp:nsos at murrisjes and other ceremonies*

    Propused by - Juanendra Nath Kamar.
    Secunded by--Principal J. N. Haza.
    Supported bs-Dr. Nizhi Kianta Buss.
    and saven other resulatious put from the chair relating to the raising of morriageaile sge, removal of the exioting practice of questioning caste of Hindus iu coarts and the introduction of parions classitications of Hindus ia census repost, remuval of all restrictions to sea-ruyage anj foreiga trapol, girla' Elacation, teimeran.e, cu-operation of public dariug tha time of Epedemis, and iuprovement of conditions of Mill and factury laboarers.

    ## TAE MISONDERSTOOD CHRIST.

    We take the following from a remarkable article by Dr. J.gman Abbott in his well-knowa joarnal, the Outcook, (New York.)
    'The religion of Jesur Christ in a religion of liberty, not of Int; of effirmatiohes and inapirationg; not of megationa and prohibitionan Fur "Thiou shals ${ }^{\text {n }}$ not " Cbrist eobatitatan ath'a canst." Thus his Goopel it called the "apjwer of Gud ${ }^{\prime}$ becsuse be inepirea no to tefieve that in componionship with God we can aciept oar aspirations an diviag gaidoe and can hope that oar idasla cas in time be by ut mealimod. Judasm. said, "s No idolo ;" Cbrist saya, " Gad is apírit ; worphip him in apirit and in trath." Jadaism anid: " Thou shalt not steali' Christ bayb, "Give to him that eaketh of thee." Jadaism. sid, Inflict on the wrong-doer no greater injury thau he hae infloted on the wronged-mado eje for an eye, a tosth for a tooth;" Jesus maja: "Riment not the rirong ; overcones lis evil by your good."
    To interpret theee as commanda is wholly to mistake their meaning. .They ore ingefirations. The lawe of Obrist ara not commanda imporid frarn withoat, exactiog obedienoe; they are interpretations of an inward life, endowmente with - God-like power, promises of a divine perfection. Their meaning is made clear by the conclasion to which they lead: "Ye may be the obildren of your Father who is in hasven; ye can become piffect oven as jour Father, in heaven is perfect." The Setmon on the Motint, "which has been so offen misiaterpreted as analogona to the Ten Commanametts, only more spiritual, ends with the promise of divite life as a free gift from the Father to sll who eeek it: "If je then, being eyil, know how to give good gilte anto your children, how much -more shall your Father which in in henven give the guirit of holiness to tiem that atk bim $?^{\prime \prime}$
    It is extraurdinary to what extent the law of tab.o has found its way into the teaching of the Cliarch deipite the teaching of its Mester. The Chareb has pruhibind dancing ; Cbrist atver relers to danciug except with implied approval, The Cturch has arged fating and discoaraged fensling; Christ nevir fasted and never declined an invitation to a festivity. The Charsh hat frowned uponfiction; Chriat was a paat-master in ibe art of atory-telling. The Charch has prohibited thinking; Christ habitally provoked men to think for themselves, sonetimes by calling on the questioner to anawer his own question: "Whom, thinkest thon, wis neighbor auto him that feil amnong the thieves $f^{\prime \prime}$ Sometimes by patling questions to his congregation and inviting their answer: w What think je of Christ ? Whose son is he?"
    Bnt Óhrist not only inspired this life by his teaching, it $r$ liated from his person. Men who lired with him were translormed by their companionship. Peter, impalives ardent, eell confdent, pubhing lorward inte a loremarned denger aud denjing his Lord when that denger imniment became rochlike in his steadfan!ness, and when bruaght bee fore the Jen ish Cunncil ananered its ordir forbidding bim to preach with. "We uaght to obey $G$ d rather than mag,' and follow.d it with a probibicd Gospel sermon on the ipot. Johe, by oatare so rociferent that he was ealled as son of thindor,". aud no amlitious that on the leat journey of his Manter to Jerasaien be eagbs for himeelf and, bis bruther the firat places in the antiefpated kiagduma of Gud, became the proeminent apostle of geatlenese and love. And Thünas, so rosulately eleptical that he woald not accopt ang crideces of the resarrection of Christ, when vaiquaibed
    by his Mastar't personal presones atterod the sapromeat vonfonion of fith reoorded in the New Taloment in bis greeting, "Mg Lord and my Gad."
    I thiak the Charok hen rarely comprehenjed the antare and extant of the inspiration whiet Jenas Carist has given to mankind. If we want to krow what is the life which be enme to give, we mual ast hiolorg what io ibe fite which he bas girea. The eager deaire to write the biography of the Menter for a people wilthout priated books and without abo ility to read orented a nem aepred art.s. the decire to exprose the prolound eriotions which that atary excited oreatot a now merod masic ; the deaire to give endaring exprestion to apiritaal espirations which the nem foith inspired creatod a shareh architeetare whiob pointed by ite ianamerable apirew hes veaward, sud whiob therolure has well been alled Obristinn, thougb generally called Gttbic; the laith that Gud had chosen a man to manifat him to bis childron geve to man a bolore unimagiued dignity and erented among thy disciples of Cbrist a naw apirit of matal respeot fur esoh otherta righte and each other's futeronts whioh has made alavery imponaible, bas revolationised goveramenta, bes made democraoy poseible aud pablio edacation nequesary, has inapired missioanry epirit which is more than a religiona propaganda, bue tranaformed relifion from a melfoh seoking alter salvation into an anveltish earrice and anving of otharr, and has ataplantol the fear of lmplaentle gode by love lut a God of lore.

    Art, ma.ic, architeoture, governmeat, eiacation, philw sophy, all owe an inestimable debt to Jasau Obrist, and they are all witnessen to the lite whoh he has givon to the world. Bat they are not that lite ; they are buman crestiona iaupired by that life. Every moterial, visitlo, andiole thlug in modera lifo is Ohristian ia aó fap as it expreasen ths Obratian apinit. The Sititive Madonna is no leas traly Cariatian than the Aponte's Creed; Bach's Pastion Masio ias no leas traly Ohrintian, than the Catiolic Mass or the Poritan prajer meetiag a the Sairation Armig it no lese traly Cbriotion than the Cuarob, whatevcr the history of ita orderb. Ihere is nu mure resion why a Chriatian congregation should be confined to the Ayoatles' Creed of the Nisene Croed at a atatoment of its taith than why it aboald be confined to the parime of David in ite praises or to a reprodaution in its windons of the pictares on the walle of the catioombe.

    Jeans Chriat formalated no ereed,' but he inupired tnen with antw power of thiaking and left then to plarase their thonglte; the prescribed no ritual, bat he inepired men mith - new faith is Gud, a new hope in God, and a new love lur Giod, and lelt them to orente sheir foras of expression ; be organized no charch, bat he ianpired in men a new odthusiasm of hamenity, and left them to bean bow'to 00 opefate with each othor in Chriatian cervice. The Chrintian life esen no more be confinait within a obarel and ith ereeder its rituale, oud its activities than apring can bo conolned withia a favored garden by a fenco. A reverent akepticiem mas bive in it more of the epirit of Chriat than an irreverent eredulity. Voltaire in meking wap against a erael eaperatition faisely labeled Cbuiatian may hava beea an traly cerving Cbriat in Irance an John Wesley in preaching the freedom of the Gospel in England. The pancion of philonthropy in our tinc-bealing ste oick, toechiog the ignoraut, aumfurting the corrowfal, and Gghtiag the battlea of juacice and liberty fur the whule world-io metraly a revival of Cbsian's religion as eny that .wese over mariared andor ebarch roola For she Christian' religion ta the tile of God ia the woul of man, and he who, iappired by that life, is carrying glad tadings to the poojr, delivarance to the captive, aight to the bliod, and liverif to the braisol, is a follower of Jeana Chriat

    ## BACE IELATIONSHIPS; AN INTERESTING CONFERENCE.

    Miss Jamison, of the Lriah Prembyterian Zasas Mission, Snrat, writes in the Indian Standard: The Gajarat and Kathiawor Missionary Conference, which bas proved such s plearantand usefal boni of friendship and cooperation between tha Missionary Societies, Britibh and American, working in this area, meets twice a year, in March and again in Angast. At the last meeting heli in Sarat on March 81 st , the thirty-nine misaionaries present ware the gatets of the Rev, $\mathbb{H}, \mathrm{R}_{\mathbf{r}}$ and Mri. Scott of the Irish Preabyterian Miasion.

    The Conference opened with a fine devotional service, This wall followed by the handing in of the reports of varions committess appointed at the previoas Conference. Notable among them was the report of a committee appointed some time eg', to exsmine the new eeries of Government Readers. The lessons that were objectionable from the Chrietian standpoint had been closely acratinised, and the Oommittee was ens. powered to eppruach Gurernment with their objections and with suggestions for suitable substitate lessons.

    The remainder of the time proved all too short for the discussion of the main topich of the Oonference programme. The pamphlet on Race Relationship issaed by the Pabumalai Presn, together with the articlen on the Caleutta University Cummission Report and on Cbaroh and Mission in the January Iniernational Repiew of Misaions, and also the letteris on migsionary methods in recent numbers of the Indian Social Reformer, formed the basis of disenasion. Dr. Scoth opened the subject by etating briedy the main points viz., the growth of national self-consiousneas with its resultant problems of race antaganism and strained relation. shifs in Charoh as in State: the roluctanse of edacated Indian Obristiaus to enter the service of the Charch or Missiun : tho aspirations of the Iadian Ohuroh for self-exprossion, self-determination and responsible self-government: the problem of the ralutiva fanctions and relationship of Churoh and Miasion, official, administrative and financial and the difliculties whion beset bighooaste Indian Christians in a Churuls whish has drawn its membership largely from the labouring clunges and the out casten.

    A praper was read by Mr. Lampard in anewer to tho oiticiba of Mibaionary Mathoda by Mr. Mauilal Parekh and "Kutgarh " in the Social Reformer. It was comparatively cosy to deal with the exaggerated cherges connected with the eating of moat and driuking of wine, but we could have winhed for a much fuller dienusaion of the deeper oharges that the missionary or the ayatem he has instituted oreates - Christian community which is entirely proletariatised, dunntionalised, Anglioised, and materialised." We should also bave welcomed a disonasion of "Kotgarh's" article on "the I'rublum of Chriatianity in Indis," espeoially on the conolud. ing paragraph, "Christianity and Hinduiem need. esoh other. The best in each is ineomplete without the other."

    ## OUTPU\& OF COAL IN BRITISH INDIA DURING 1919.

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    PRO-VICE-CHANCELLOR. Hinda University, BENARES.
    

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    ## MOTES.

    Sir Michacl O'Dwyer on the Warpath: The heady incense gratuitously offered up at his shrine in the Becretary of State's despatch on the Hunter Committec'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 Timas 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 harmiul to the interests of the officials concerned. This is very unkind. It is the non-official side of the case that has heen seriouslyt handicapped by the delay. For one thing, if the Hunter Committee had reported earlier, the lndemnity Act could almost certainly have not been passed. A carsory 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 inatructive. 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 befween 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 beknew nothing of the happenings except what was atated in the Government of India's mefsages, 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 inlormation in preference to that officially supplied to bim 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 tbe letter in the. Times, is that be 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 cbief central organization of the Indian Moderate party, at its meeting held on the 12tbr instant, on the Bunter Committee's report and the Secretary of State's dispatch 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 bighest degree Nothing but a strong sense of public duty could bave induced the National Liberal Federation to place on record the following resolutions
    The Conacil regrot that His Majeéty's Goveroment, while ceatifying to the manner in which Hia Excollenoy the Viceroy has fulfilled his bigh truat and contioning to repose falles confidence in bis diecrotion, have ignored altogether the reoponaibility of His Excollenoy and bis Government who instend of exaniaing the sitastion on the spot and exeroising the mach-needed control over the Panjab Governarent, gave it virtually a free had.
    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.

    Excopean Officials and the Pumias Excersen : It is anfortunate that the rules of Service prevent officials from expressing their views poblicly on patters which relate to the administration or have some relation to politics But for this rale General Dyers claim that his actions at Amritser bad the approvel of every Englishman in India, would have been rudely challenged. Several English officials, well pp in the Serrice, deeply regret that Indians should think that they appraye of the Punjab martial Jar excesses. They rightly Ieel that, if their real felings on the subject weis geaterally known, there will be far lesp of pitterness in the coantry. We-dre writing these lines in the hope that their desire will mest with general appreciation:

    Mr. Gadihi on' Volontary Repatrigtion. Mr. Gandbi writes : "With reterebee to the approyal 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 'respectfulls', caution the public against accepting the proposed scheme. The public have not the interim report of the Com: missibn. We do not know the conditions of repatriation. It seemis to me, therefore, that it is most bizardous to venture any opinion at all on a scheme of which we bave the most imperfect knowledge. Generally, it must be stated that any scheme of State repatriation must be looked apoin with the gravest suspicion, especially when the scheme is fathered by those who are uncompromisingly hostile to Indian aspirations. The Indians of South Africa ate 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 trifing sum as pocket money. I api inclined ta think that apart from everything else sish copsidera; $t$ lon will be wbolly "insufficient for giving away a" valuable right, 1 would hardly call any such repatriation as purely voluptary. This, however, is ore of the many objections that may be advanced against the proposed repatriation. I have no doubt that the best thing is fo suspend judgment till we bave the full scheme before us for examination. It is to be hoped that the Goyernment of India will take the public fully into its confidence before pronouncing upon the scbeme. W With reference to the qualified approval which Mr. Aodrews has tentatively accorded to a carefully. safeguarded scheme of voluntary repatriation, the Hindw (Madras) rightly remarks:
    "We gholl be tuld that impartial anj well-intentioned men like Mr U.F. Andrewt and Mr. Weat, editor of "Indian Opinion " are inelived towardo repatriation on the rolantary principle We thinik, howevor, that thene Iriendly opinions do not apring Irom an entisagement of the queation of righte but rather from the reaction of a profound diegust at the anrelenting pensecotion of the European and the endless saffering of the anfortuonte Indian setilar. Thew well-wishers aeien rathier to "think thats "it were better for' the Indian to leave the white ehore rith a eort of "devil-majeara" Iteling for it than to denooralize and degrade himeoll by an unequal fight leading to alarisk sabmiesion to the melfinh, grubbing Eicopean."

    That or Which $?$ The triangolar fight, as he calls it, on the question of the right use of 'that' and 'which' as relative pronouns, has been rendered quadradgalar by the entry of Mr. V. 8 . 8ripivasa Sastry with an article, in the current number of the Seroant of India, in which he characteristically con-
    clades that no one is wholly in the right and every one is momewhat wrong. This, as a general pro position, is true of post buman controversies the question which the average man pas most often to decide being who is more right and which is less wrong. But in this particplar pas, we yenture to think, with deference to Mr. Eastry, that the one party who is indubitably wrong is himself. When we taid that correct usage requires 'that' to be the relative prononn to introduce restrictive clausé, wo did not mean that there wore no contingencies when i which I or 'who ' has to be substituted for the parpose. One such is that mentioned by Mr. Sastri, where the relative is goverind by a preposition. Another occurs in the seatence which ha quotes from one of Lord Curzon'i speeches, in which the speakeri in order to avoid the barbarism of two ${ }^{*}$ thats ${ }^{n}$ within a few words of each othor. substitutes the lesa correct ? which'-s substitution justified 'by the supreme test that there shall be nothing to jar on the cultiyated ear. - Now, Mr. Lloyd Georgd had neither a preposition: Roveraing his relative for was be faced wift the dilemma of two "thats." Some of the other examples given by Mr. Sagtry. do not Eupport him. Take Lord Morley's senteace: : I sec formidable drawbacks that have certainly pot escaped Your Excellency to the expedient which you propose." Even if the last clause was restrictive; the previous 'that' would have required the substitu(ion of 'which' in the latter part of the sentence. But it is not restrictive. By enclosing $\mathbf{~ w h i c h ~ y o u ~}$ propose' in bracket, the consitraction becomes clearer and the dentence is no whit broken. The same Is the case also with the sentence which follows the one quoted above. Wherever a clause caq be put into parentheses wifhout affecting the construc..tion or meaning of a sentence, it is not restrictive but co-ordinating. It simply ddds to the information already in possession of the readet or bearer about 1 the subject-matter under reference. It cap pe easily shown that all the examples cited by Mr. Bastry aro 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 Educatiop ip igi8-19, issued by the Bareau of Education, has the following sigpificant observations. under the heading, "the medinm of instraction".

    In the lent ennom . parrative the moverment in favour of carrying inatraction tirongh the vernmoulat ap to bigher regei wan poted ; buf cortain indicatione were also recorded which seomed to obow that the demaed for Eiaghab at the median sad at a aubjoci wat inarensing. - At regarde the tenching of Englishy an important shaoge weo made in the Padjab, whore the commenceoment of Englisb, provioundy mage in the foprth primary olico, wan portpoted to the middlo department in order that raral boye coming to English enboutry migigt aot be handicapped. It is intorenting to ebserve that though linitude wiec given to poboote ander private management io begin Eoglish at an earlior stege, if required, the chapge noes with opposition on the'groand thatt the atapdard ol matricalation Roglish wes likels to deveriorato, In Bopp-. beg too a demand ben been mede for English in the vernceulaf: achool and arraogetmente bave been made lor opeoing Engliab elsoes in selected vernaculas achoolis. In the United Provincere, Eigliah ba beea wade on optional sabject in the veramealar final exemination.

    ## INDIÃN SOCIAL REFORHER.

    BOMBA Y, JUNE 20, 1920.

    ## SI夭 VITHALDAS THACKERSEY'S MUNIFICENT ENDOWMENT FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

    Sir Vithaldas Thackerseg con!d not have chosen a nobler and more endaring method of commefforating the deep piety which distinguished his late mother, Shrimati Nathibai Dawodbar Thackersey, than the dedication which he hus just annonuced, of Ro. $1,500,000$, ( $£ 150,000$ ) to the lounding of an Iudian Woneu's Uuiversity in Bombay. This crowns a series of jadicious benefactions which he has made in recent years to the canse of education. Most important of these is the Edacatioual Frad of Rs. 500,000 which he has set apart tor the parpose of helping 100 stadeats atiending Colleges to prosecnte their stadies. Such belp is given mostly in the form of louns repayuble in convenient instalments when the stadents concerned have begun to uaru their livelihood. The fall complement of 100 stadents is $u \cup W$ r.ceiving such belp. Eqnally well-conceived is Sir Vithuldas' gift of Ra. 100,000, alao in the name of bis mother, to the Vanita Vishram, an institation foonded by a few devoted Cujarathi ladies to impurt religions and secalur edocation to women on oribodux Hinula linep, for maintaining 16 women of the Bint a caste to which Sir Vithalday belonga. Another munificeat and w.ll-chosen-gift of his, is that of His. 65,000 to the Puona deva Sudau fur the purchase - f the Patvardhan Wada to be nsed as a Hostel, Library and Meeting Hall fur the henefit of the mumbers of the institntion. This building will alno bo uaned alter Sir Vilhal lns' mother. This does mit ixhanat the hat of his edncational endowment. He has nodertaken to maintain, as a begiusing for I wo jears, at a cost of Rs. 50,001 , a lnrge numberwhont 40--plementary achouls for the hetifit of ehildren of members of coroperative credit bocioties in rural areas, with the object of prowoling the perivaseuce of this great moveurent cf selfhelf. A dianiugaishing fenture of these nuble benefuctions which place Sir Vithaldas in the front rauk of our enp-peeing edincational phihathropists, with Jimaetjee Tuta, Ruableburi Ghowr, and Tarabilath Palit, is shiat they have all beeu directly inspired by the nerent allsetion aud reverence in which he, likea -rne Indiwa, holds the memory of his suiatly *wo her. Auother noevorthy feature of Sir Vithal. dan' endowments is their wide range aud eatholicity. They inclade an orthodox iustitution like the Vanitu Viaram and an inatitation ingpired lry the easentially mudern apirit of socinl aervice fior women liy women, like the l'noua Seva Sadin which Mr. G. K. Devdhar guides with ench aeffless devotion and nasparing energy. The betcfite of the Edrentional Favd are open th all clarges and creods, and so will be those of the

    Indua Women's Caiversity ander the stheme of this prineely benefaction:

    Sir Vithaldas, with Lndy Vithaldas, retarned last year from a long toar which embraced Japan and Enrope. While iu Japun Sir Vithalilas was gresily impressed by the work of the Women's Uuiversity and be came back to India resslived to help anbstantially to establish an institution which, without being a slavish imitation of the Japanese model, will reprodnce ita beat featares in this conntry. Tue distinguished and devoted worker in the canse of Indian women, Professor D. K. Karve, had anticipated Sir Vithaldas as far as the resoarces which he coald obtaip, permitted. With eharacteristic initiative, Professor Karve, had converted his Widows' Home into a Women's University, bat the development of his institation was greatly hampered by the necessity of his having to make prolonged and constant toars thronghoat the coantry to collect enfficient fands to keep it going. Wihhindomitable energy, andeterred by occasional disajpointments, be has been going abont on this ardn ns task, and has been snccessfal in enlisting a fair numunt of sapport. What im more, be 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 beartily on the good providence which has gaided Sir Vithaldas' monificence in the same direction in which he has been travelling. Professor Tarve, we aresare, will be the tirst to admit that the experience of the last Tew years, if it has coufirued his convictions in some respects, has also shown them to ba in need of eulargement in uthers. Sir Vithaldas' endowinent is more than mer-ly a gitt to Mr. Karve's scheree. What it really uims at, is to give the existing institation at Hingne Badrak, in an enlarged environment and with a greatly widened constitution, the means of fatare development along lines which the test of experience may show to te the best calcalated to mobilise the mighty forces of Indian womanhood, so loug restricted to the iuterests of the family and the caste, in the service of the nation and of hamanity. As mother, wife, daughter or bister, the Indian woman needs no_training in school or college. Centaries and a great traditiou have made the Indian home a perfect seminary of the domestic virtaes. What the Indian woman lacks is the broad untlook extending begond the interests of her own fawily and rising above the narrow horizon of ber particular caste. The scheme which sacceeds in imparting this to her most effectively, will strcceen aud will by its sucoess prove a blessing to the conntryA schome which merely belps ts emphasise the prevailing defects in the eqnipment of the Iudian woman's mentality, however mach it may aronse temporary popalar enthasiasin, is bonnd to fail. Sisch fuilures, nowever, are necessary to help the evolation of the right kind of aystem. We may regret the delay, but we can not donbt the issue.

    We are opposed, and tare been soall along. to the idea of a separate University for Wumen. . The sole object of a Unirersity is
    the promotion and advancement of learumg There is bo sex ia knowledger A eeparate Women's University bap alwaye feemed to an to be reminiaceat of the medieval Hinda prohibition of eacred learning to women and sadras-a prohibition bised on a conception that has degraded the position of women in Hinda society. There are mental differ ences between men and women, but so there are lietwees men and mens. The argnwent that worneu are the child-bearera of the commuuity aud that the bsta service they can do to the commanity is to bear and bring op as arany children as possible, is charscteristic of militarist and servilo nations whose greatest need is soldiers and coolies. Men and women are certain to be most asefal to the comm. noity and to une another when they are enabled to mate the wost of the facalice with which they are eudowed, and which ouly a bruad. wise, open systeu of edacation can discover and develop in each iudivi. dual. Whan Prufesaor Karve lanached his scheme, we poinfel out what we thoaght-and atill thiuk-to be ita defecta in plain langage. Oar attitade towarda it since it was lannched cannot be better dercribed than in the words in which we noticed one of its manal reports. Wo observed then: u We are glad to juin in the welcome accorded to Prof. Karve's Women's Uuiversity and in the hope that the experiment will prove asuccess. The need for facilities for women't education is 80 vast and pressiug, that it is foolish to pin oar faith to any one plan and method. Numerons and repeated experiments are necessary to determine what the best aud most aniteble scbeme is in the conditions of the cuautry" (July 8, 191\%.). Thet remains our biew to-day. The most important conditions of Sir Vithaluas acheme, in our opiaion, are those, which bring Profesmor Karvo's closed and sealed pattern into an environment where it will be in tooch with realities and will be operated apon by the life-giving forces which such conlact aloue can generate. The removal of the head-quarters of the Doiversity to Bombay is, from this poont of view, of the first importance. Poona upluivu, especially in edacation and pultics is apt to ran in gruoves, bat in Bombig grouven seldom get a chance to bardel. The next important cunditiou is the eniargement of the electorate These two conditions will draw the Women's Uuiversity intu the main stream of life which leaven Hingne Badruk high and dry to large extent. Japauese ideas, whether in politic, cummerce or sucial life, are not characterised by depth or origiuality. Their edocational eystem likemise, is nut the une to which we can louk for ideals or inspiration. The problem whica Japanese statesmen aet belore themselves was how best and in the shortest time they can beat the aggressive weat at its owngame Tuat wis a practical but not a profonud ideal. It has been justitied by the teat of smmediate saccess but those who look beyond and wehind appearancea find moch cause for diegniet. Not only the problem, bat the conditions, in which it has to bo solved, and the minds by
    which is has to be solved, are different in Indie from thoes of Japan. We have 0 often sad in ench strung cersen exprewed ont deep ruted convictions bout the nativan importance of effording equal elucatiousl opportacicion fur womea as for meu, of not pressiag the sex differesoe into regions where cluey do not and annot extead. eud in repudistion of che doctriae that woneaie fanctions are $w$ be limited to bs goud wiven and mothers, that there is no need to reiterate them now. Ultiwately, women will and must determine what shair educational opportuntios aud outlook shoald be. No atteupt to improse on them an artificial and inferior coars's will meet with ihe acceptance of enlightened mud educatod momen. Ia many conntries of Europe, wowen bave proved their right to bs equal cibizong wath mon un a basia of cumradeship in war as in peace. We hive evorg bupe that in its new opportanitiea the Indian Women's Uuiversity wall be able to throw of whatever in fis original intention was calculated to obstruct ite de velupueat into an institation helping the woase of Iudie su grow to the full belght not ouly of theis momantivud, but of that commou hamenity which they share equally with men.

    ## VERSACULARS IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

    Unlike other Indian Universities, the University of Bombay for many years did not recognise any ot the veraaculars of the 1 residency as a suitable subject for any of ite examinations above the Matriculation. Some years ago, they were recognised for the $M_{\text {. }}$ A. bus not for the other examinations. The late Profescor Limaye of the Fergusson College shortly belore bis death addressed a letter to the syndicate of the Uaiversity requesting it to move the Benate to lave the principal vernaculars of the Presidency put un the same tooting as the classical languages in the language group of the B.A. degree examination, Hast and Honours. That is to say, those caodidatea wits elected the language grcup will be able to tabe Marathi or Gujasathi, Kanarese or Urdu, in place ul Sanskrit, Persian, Latin or French. The Syadicate appointed a committee which by a large majoraty recommended that this change should be made ta, the Regulations. The'report was teterred to the Faculty of Arts and there Principal Paranjpye brought in a new proposal. It is necessary to explain bere 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 asower some extra papers in Engush, in addition to papers in the selected classical language. The late Professor Limage's suggestion was merely that, instead of a classical laggoage, a vernacular language might bex selected. It lelt the extra Eoglish papers untouched. Principal Paranjpye proposed that the vernaculars should be grouped along with the classical languages and that ouf of this group a candidate mighs 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 Benate has adopted this proposal in place of the late Principal Limaye's suggestion' recommended by the Syddicate's Committee. Those who opposed Principal Paranipye'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 thougbt, 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 uasatisfactory. 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 enbanced in Eoglish. Priacipal 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 philosopber. 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, perbaps, the Sclence group, necessarily reads several standard authors in Eoglish, in addition to the works prescribed for the compulsory papers in Englisb. The object of baving 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 tor the compulsory part of the examination. It is a commonplace that the standard in a compulsory subject in which all have to - pass irrespectivo of their special subjects, must - necossarily be the minimum that is indispensable I tor all who aspire to any particular degree. Mr. : Covernton's suggestion is well meant, but it canndt be given effect to except to a very small extent without casting an undue burden on candidates who take groups other than the Language i group. It is ulso unlair 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 Diar Bankrjef, m. ap;).

    ## I. First Stage: Origin of Caste in the Vedic ago,

    exogamous marriage.In the Rig Veda, the oldest of the Vedas, in the tenth mandala (Rig Veda X. 90, 20) we see foar 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 Sadra. Instead of it, Dasyu or Dasa(Rig Veda II, 12, 4) and Arja 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 deacribed as black, the Aryas as white; from this difference of coloar the term varna ( $=$ coloar) came to signify caste. From this we can infer that the Dasas were the original iohabitants 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 featares, the rigid caste distinctions with restrictions of intermarriage and other social intercoarse and with inequality of social conditions and privileges, have evolved.
    Eren in the remote Vedic age the saperiority of these three Arya varnas over the Dasa varna was recognised. It is said in the Aitaresa Brahmana (V1I, 20) that the Sadra was not only servant to the other castes, bat he had no rights of property or life; he was liable to be slain at will (. वथाकामचज्य). Though such was the depth of degradation into which the Sudra was sunt in the Vedic age, still we find no evidence, however, of the prohibition of contact with an inferior caste which was supposed to commanioate imparity to the higher castes. No Samhita or Brahmana contains any probibition of inter-dining, acceptance of cooked rice, or of intermarriage among the bigher and the lower castes. This inference is grounded not merely on absence of problbitory passe ages ; we have positive proofs to the parpose. The Aitareya Brahmana (II, 10,1) mentions Kavasa Ailaea as the son of a alave girl (Dasi). From the Panchavimes Brahmana (XIV, 11, 17) we know that Dirghatamaa was son to the slave girl, Ushija. In the Yajurveda Sambita (VII, 4, 19, 34) there is mention of anlawfal anion between men and. Women of the Arya and

    Sadra cantea. The Atharra Veda states that not ouly could a woman be married by a peraon of a different caste, bat that she conld bave more than one husbind. There it is laid down that the claim of her Brabman hasband is anperior to that of the Rajanya or Vaiaya hasband. The hymarans thas :-
    
    यहा छेखस्तम्रहींव्र सर पतितेकषा है
    आम्न एक पहिने राजम्यो न बैइषः।
    

    Tranolation:--And if (there were) ten former hagbands of a woman, not Brahmana, provided a Brabman hat seized her hand, he is alone her hasband.
    A Brahman (is), indeed, her hasband, not a noble ( पजन्य) dor a Vaisya : this the man goes on proclaiming to the fire races of men (मानत).
    (Bloomfield.)
    The ancient epic, Mahabharata, too, throws mach light apon the social condition of the Vedic age. There we read that Yayati, a Kehatria, wedded Devayani, the daughter of Sokracharya, a Brahmana, and that Irom this union came the illastrious royal lines of the Yadas and the Parus. The mother of Parasarama was a Kshatria ; bat in as mach as he was begotten by a Brahman father, he became a Brahman. Vyâsa came of a Kaivarta mother, bat according to the caste of his father be was recognised as a Brahman. These instancer go clearly to prove that at that time Loth Hypergamy (जनुलोम असवण विबाए ) and Exogamy ( भसकण विवाए) were in vogne, and that anons prodaced of sach nions belonged to tho caste of their fathers, and not to that of their mothers, nor were they regarded as crosses ( सद्रुवर्ण) as in the later times they came to be. That the majority of the Brahmans of the Vedic age were deacended from women of lower castes is testified to by the following passages of the Mahabharata-

    ## अनक घषाच !

    شब्वणेकेन जातानां नानाएं गोो्रतः कर्षं। बर्नीड ीि होने है गोज्रानि गुनिसचम ॥ बक्र हन कमं जाता: सयोनें घनयो गत्तः। क्यो बोनौ सस्रप्था बियोनौ च वपापरे।

    ## पराशर बवाच ।

    परुजैतद्रिवे पाघं अपक्षण्णन जम्भना। पतारशानां बमुत्पद्धिस्तपसा भावितास्मनाम् II
    त्पाब्य ज्रान्त छचयो हृते बत्र तन्र ह।
    
    (Santiparva 1 ( 870 etc.)
    Stunke said m
    How could this maltiplicity of gotras in men be eeeing that they were the children of one Brahman. Innomerable, indeed, are the gotras that exist ander the san, 0 beat of sages.
    If tho ages were born anjwhere and everfybere how could they be of their own caste, born as they wert, some in pare castes and others in impure castes P
    Parashare said :-
    Oh kiagi it ear not be accepted that the aages possensed of elf-restraint and purified by
    penance, were bora of inferior women. The sagea begetling sons any where and every where conferred upon them the rank of seers (唯依) by power of their penance.

    Ob King of Videha, they have gained their character with the help of penance. Those Fedic scholars have been established (in their positions) by sell-reatraint and penance.
    (Santiparva, 10870-75.)
    Again
    आवितन्र मा़सपं मनुप्पत्तो मडामते।
    सड्रात्य सर्ववर्णांन हुणरीष्येति मे मतिः।। घवे सरोप्वपष्बानि जनयनित्ता हरा कराः।
    
    
    वम्षो (

    0 great serpent, 0 magnanimous one, the casten of mankind, it seemu to me, on acconnt of intero miztare of all Vernas are diffioule to ascertain. All men beget offspring on women of all castest speech, seznal connection, birth and death are common to all men. There is this proof from the scriptares that we who aacrifioe do not know whether we are Brahmans or nogBrahmana,

    ## Vanaparys, 2480-82.

    If there in atill any doabt as to the prevalenoe of overy form of intercante marriage in the Vedic age, enuloma or protiloma, some visible proof of it can be prodaced. Ia the Rig Veds the Aryas are deacribed es fair-oomplexioned. Bat why do we find among the Brahmins of the present day, every ahade of colour lfing between jet black and ivory white $P$ It it not the result of the miztare in varions degrees of the dark Dassa and the white Aryas In recent times, in America, in Africs, in India, wherever there has happened a blending of the blood of black and white races, coloured races of varions shades of complezion have sprang ap. Where the blood of the black race has predominated, there a dark skinoed race, and where the proportion of their blood is lesn, there a slightly dark akianed race has arisen. Except in Kashmere and the Panjab, nowhere perhapaifa India the pare Arjan typs onn be dincovered it presents. When the victorions Aryas apresd in all directions they had with them only a scanty namber of Arya women, They had, therefore, to take the Dasa or non-Aryan women as their wives. As a resalt of this blendiag of the two races Mon-Arjan blood hat now entered more or less into all the twice born castes. For this reason it is hard to distingaish. either by the complexion or the featares of the face, a person of a bigher from one of a lower aaste. Id many instances the complexion and featares of a percon of a lower caste conform more to the Arya type than those of a person of a bigher caste. We have only to compare a Savaras Banic with hia Brabmases priest, and the trath of this aspertion would at once be clear.

    ## RACIAL POISONS AND MUNICIPAL HEALTH COMMITTEES.

    (By Mes. F. S. Hallowis.)

    In a lectare given in London lately by Professor S. W. Saleeby, M. D., F. R. 8., he said: "It is one of the mout remarkable facts in biology, that most diseases have no racial significance; that is, they are not transmissible. Bad as taberculosis is, it does not infect the offopring of the individal suffering from it, except in cases so rare as to be negligible. The children may be infected after birth, bat if removed at birth from taberculoas mothers, they are foand to be unhart.
    "So toc the woands, and blindings and matilation of war, are of no racial moment. I'he damaged man of mod stock and staff before injary can and does hand down those qualities animpaired."
    Bat racial poisons, which either kill the race oatright, as in gonorrhaeal sterility, or injares the offspring throagh the parent or parents as in syphilis, are enemies of a very different calibre.

    Yet not antil the last decade, has any one known how terrible are the ravages made by these diseases in all nations. Wo have been afraid to "look into the fuce of these foes and have talked with bated breath, about the "hidden scoarges," and "the secret diseases" us if they were necessary. In the foar and a half years between 1014 and 1918, the fifteen civilized uations which fought in the great war gave to these twin acoarges of ayphilis and gonorrhea a heavier toll than they did to ballets, shells, gas, air bombs, and ull the ghustly wholesale killers of modern battle!

    - Yet these two diseases present no mystery to the modern physician. They know that they mas be prevented, that they may be cared : and that their iufection may be checked at its soarce. Why then was medical science so long silent apon the horrors of these racial poisons, which lead in killing and matilating the haman race being more fatal by a wide margin than tabercalusis, which comes next on the list?

    The answer to this question, is foand in that "lie of the ages" that sexual promiscuity is "natural" and " nocessary to heallh." Behind this lie even soience, op to ten years ago, sheltered. Thanks to the efforts of a tew great men, who were determined to expose this lie-a Royal Commission spent five years in examiuing evidence upon the nature and prevalence of veaereal diseases, and their Report of the evidence farnished by a very large namber of experts, destroyed the old time superatition, and demoustrated that these poisons are the chief enemies of the race. In every coantry there has been started a big campaign to diminish this menace to the health and efficieucy of the national health: to protect the minds and bodies of generations naborn ; and to save the lives of innocent women and hè pless Labies.
    Aud shull India remain inert? Will she allow the hulocanst of life to go on 9 Never! She will see to it that the boys have a chance ; she will play the "game with her boys "as modern phraseology hes it. She will no longer allow them to be the riotims of a great
    trade in vice, which in order to make its thonsands of lakha, lays its poison-traps for the yoang, so that by the formation of the habit of promiscaity, it may be sare of them, as its customers when they become men.

    We must amaken to this fact, and get rid of those racial poisons of vice, which are blasting our health and efficiency. We mast make ap oar minds as to what we really want. Do we desire an "A. 1." manhood--healchy in body and effisient in intellect, which can band on life, free from a carse, to posterity? Or do we prefer a "C. 3." race-one which is never ap to the mark, either physically or meatally, and is handing on a degenerate heredity to those who come after?

    This is a most serioas question apon which hange the fature efficiency of India?

    Let as be sare of it that we cannot have both commercialized vice and health and efficiency ; that is what the majority want, bat the two are incompatible.

    ## Munioipal Healta Committres.

    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 Manicipal Health Committees we have the machinery ready. Let as work for legislation which shall pat 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 conntries, why not in this?
    "Prevention is better than care." We must have both--bat first of all comes Prevention, for our doctors tell as "Prevention is the watohword sof modern medicine."

    ## Destroy teb Business of Vicr.

    This being the verdict of the medical profession, we must look to that profession to reinforce the Health Committees of our cities. In ad.ition to curative agencies, they are pledged to prevention, and the first step to this end is to pat au end to a trade which carses the commanity. Make straight paths for the feet of our boss, by taking away the centres of temptation, where those monstrous marderons agents of drink und vice are so easily procarable.
    "For in additon to the list of racial injaries dae to syphilis and gonorrhaea, is the charge against alcoholic drinks, as their constant accomplice. Epen were this drag the stimalant and food, that is claimed for it, bat is not, its relation as procarer and contederate to the vilest diseases that exist, would snffice to exclade it from a sane and humane oivilization?" - thas writes Dr. Saleeby.
    Alcohol helps venereal diseases in the four folluwing waja:

    1. It lowerg resistance to temptation.

    2 It lowers resistance to infection.
    3. It aggravates the aymptoms.
    4. It prejadices the treatment.

    Let us call upon oar "Health Committees" to jastify their names and to falfil their responsibility for the pablic health by acting to this ead-the penalizing of commercial vice.

    ## A Detibeert is kimpid

    The experience of 100 years of segregation: of regalation of edacation in Earopean conatrien, shows that jast ae in the liquor traffic, there mast be in combating commercialised viee, a deterrent. We want every method pat in forco, for the teaching of the children in the lawa of sex and bealth, bat we want more Who would care to live in a coanlry where theft was not penalized? Even were the childrea carefally tanght by parentu and teachera in the laws and policy of honesty 1 "Lgt us have a deterrent also" would be the reply. And in this reform for a pare end eafe parenthood, which is of even greater moment to the race than the defence of oar material property, we must have a deterrent which will be the means of edacating the rising generationa in the sacredneas 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-edacation, medical treatment, recreative facilities, everything which will fortify and strengthen oar yoath. These shoald be the aims and methods of work of oar Health Committees.

    ## FREE MILK DISTRIBUTION AT PAREL.

    The Arya Mahile Sumaj of Bombay, ander the presidency of the late lamented Lady Ohandavarkar mtarted a centre for Iree diatribation of milk at Parel to expeotant poor mothere and infintes and woak ohildren, on the 16th of November last The fullowing figares give an ides as to the working of the centre for the six and a hall months ending 81at of Mey 1920. In all 198 women and obildrea were applied with 2851 ceore of milk duriug thit perijd. Toe mouthly average of perwons to whom milk wan given free wes 83. The largent namber on a single day. was 24. Ot the 193 who reocived milk 52 were women and 141 infanto and children, The 198 were divided acoording to caster men ander:-

    | Israel | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 15 |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | Indian Chriatiane... | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 21 |  |  |
    | Mahomeduns | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 14 |  |
    | and |  |  |  |  |  |
    | Hindus | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 148 |  |

    The total oost of milk ditribated wan Rn, 815-1-0. The resulte of the work no far done are highly encouraging and the centre promisea to develop considorably. It mas to maid withoat the lemat exaggeration that the Iroe distribution of milk carried on at the centre has anved a large number of women and childien from denth. In order to develop this and the Girganm oentre of the Arya Mabila Seranj, funds are argeutly needed. Contribationa however hamble mas be sent to the Soerotary, Dr. Kaphibai Nowrange, B. A, L. M. \& E. Atmaram Mansione, Girganm. Every ejatriba* tion will be most gratefally acoepted.

    ## THE HINDU WIDOW8' HOME, BOMBAY.

    Uuder the soopices of the Hinda Widows' Home, Bombes .the remarriage of Bai Lallite alin Bsbabai with Mr. Soui Manect'al Kalides was oelebrated oa Sanday the 18th Jane 1320 at a P.M. (S.T.) at the promices of the Hinda Widowis Home. Both partios belonged to the Visha Shrimali commanity. The Vedie coremody wee performed by Mr. I. R. Reje of the Hiada Mintionary Society. Sevoral frieads of the Widow Remarriage Movement iuclading the Hon'ble Mr. G. K, Pareth were present on the ocemion.

    ## INDIAN MODERATES AND TEE EUNTER COHMITTEE REPORT.

    A mesting of the Connoil of the National Libaral Vadormtion of Iadis, the ohiaf contral orgoniantion of the Iodim Moderate Party, wan bold on Salardey, the 12ila June in the Indian Amociation room, the Hon. Mre Sarvodraath Banderji presiding. Latiort and tolograme regrotling iaebility to be preesat were recalved Irom Sir P. 8. Bivacmaml Aigar, Moesth, Srinivaen Seatri, Bamarth, Natosanah, Gaigit Dalri and Dr. Datta. The Oonnoil delibereted for four buars oa the sabjeot cot down in the agenda, and paomed the Iolloring resolations oa the Hatar Committen Reports and the resolations thereon :
    (a) The Conacil of the National Liberal Fredention of India view with deep diapppointment the Majority Roport uf the Eanter Committee whoen ounolacions are fa the main anapported by the waighs of pablishad evidenee. T15 Oounoil regrot that the majority have aupported the declarse sion and continantion of Martial Law in the Panjab withoat jastification and the atrocitioe that were porpotstesed are condened in mont casen in dieregard of the annona of oirb lised Gororament, The Counoil feal conatrained to sey that the Majority Report lacks the authority that should hove altached to a Stave paper troating of sach grave and loro remoling ienaes ase were rained by the reocent deplorable eventa in the Pudjab.
    (b) The Counoil endorne the conolusion of the Minoritg that there was no rebellion in the Punjeb, and thoir condem. nation of the deolaration of Martinl Lam and ita prolongation withoot even a oolocrable exorop, moll wot the rathlemb. nest with which it wan adminitered entailing ornel hardohipo upon large numbers of innocent porconc, and waptonly bevsing humiliation to the people by bringing bome to then their atter helplamnass.
    (a) While appreciating the Seoretary of Etactif Despaloh for its asndemantion of some of the worst horrore of lant yesp and its repadiation of the dootrine of militiary vecousity that made them ponible, the Coomail mast exprem their evost of atrong dianpproval of the arrarding of a wholly inadequate panimbment to General Dyor aod of none en jot to moveral other offioers whp were gailty of aupardoanble exomence. The Council earasetly orge that the Government ebould take immediate atepa for the mitable panichment of all offinert, military or oivil of whatever statai, whs were gailes of, of condoned tor, grome abass of pewer and indiapatably hailod to maintain the otandarde of conduct, whieh at the Secrotary of Staty's Dempaloh asyn, no oirlised Governmeat can with imponity negleet, and which Eis Majeoty's Government are determined to aphold. The Council bliere that, without such panishment, neither will the enormity of thoir conduot be brought bowe to the offending officers nor will the National sell reepeose of Indie be vindiontod.
    (d) The Conacil record their emphatie protesi agojertrithé bigh encomiam bettowed apon Bir Miobal O'Dwyer both by the Goverameat of Iadia nod Eis Majesty's Coverament la the free of the admienion that Ela Majenty's Goveroment do not regarl Sir Michael O'Dajer mimmace fromethrip eriticism of the applieation of the Martial Lam procedure ${ }^{6}$ certise trials, which, it is edmitted, must be taken an apply. ing so Sir Miehnel ÓDwyor in notor ee be wee portonally responaible for the action in quation and the avomil thath with sbe geapal question. ol Sir Michal O'Dajors adaiuiatration of the Panjeb, His Mojeety', Guroromeat ere aot now immediancoly soncernod, 8 is Miehnol O'Dnjart opiciont
    of the edacatad clacees of India sad of eren legitimate and conatitational political agitation have been pablicly exprossed and are on officisl record, while his reaponaibility for the declaration and continuation of Martiel Law and the manner in which it wee administered cannot be gainsaid. He tren scoordod nugaalified approval to Genoral Djer's action at Jallianwalla Dagh, which has been disapproved by the Majority Report and the Government of Indis. and condemned by His Majeaty's Government. The praise of sach on officer by His Majesty's Govarnment has made a painfol impression on Indion mind. In the opinion of the Conncil, the least that Hic Majesty', Government should do, finiling any more drastic action, in to take ateps to mark in an effective manner their anqualifed disappruval of the policy and conduot of Sir Michael $O^{\prime}$ Dwyer, and that they abould in no circumstances allow him to be associated with Indian affiairs in any capmeity.
    (o) The Council regret that His Majosty' \& Government, while tentifying to the manner in which Eit Excellenoy the Vicerog has fulflled bis high truat and continuing to repose fullest confidence in bia diecretion, bave ignored altogethur the reaponaibility of His Excellency and bia Government who,inatead of examining the aituation on the ipot and exeroising the mach-nceded control over the Papjab Government, gave it virtually a free hand.
    (f) The Council arge apon the Goverbment that adequate compensation ahoald be allowed to those who have sofferde in the Panjab owing to the bigh-handed aotion of civil or military ofticert, and farther that stepa aboold be taken to revice the fluen imposed apon or levied from cortain areas in the Padjab.
    (g) The Connoil atrongly arge that His Majepty's Government shonld proride for effective salegaards against a rcoarrence of anoh thinge as happoned last jest, and to this end arge, among other measares:
    (1) That the introduction, exercise aud duration of Martial Lam shonld be subjeat to the same conatitational limitations as in England.
    (8) That Martinl Law shoald not be introdaced anlen it is imponsible for oivil courta to ait and exerciee their fauotions.
    (8) That the power of ortating new offencea for breach of regalations and providing penalice thereof should not be delegated to militiary oflicer.
    ( 1 ) Tbat if Courts Martial sre allowed to ait when civil courte are ailling, any person dot anbjoot to the Naval Di-cipline Aot or to Military lam, who is obarged with the contravention of any regulation ahould ba allowed the option of trial by Civil Coart.
    (5) That free and anrestricled logal anaistance should be turavailabie as a matter of right to the accasel persons placed belore amartiol law tribanala, and thit shoald not be left to the dincretion of, or any iaterference by, civil or martial law anthoritier, and
    (6) that the remedy in the natare of Hubeas Corpue phiculd be made available in all paria of Britieh Indie.
    (A) The Coancil place on rec.rd their warm appreciation of the ability, coarage and renee of jaatioe which the Eun. Pandit Jagat Narain, Sir Chimanlal Setaivad and Salata da Sultan Ab und Khan broaght to bear apon the discharge of their anduoun dity mambers of the Committeo.

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    \text { CALLED UP CAPITAL } & \ldots & \ldots & \ldots & 60,00,000 \\
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    ## CONTEENTR.

    

    Voludtary Repatriation.
    Deserted Pareato' Main. * (enance Law.

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    ## NOTES.

    ## —30:

    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 eftective form. We are unable to recognize any hard-and-fast distinction between practice and theory. The question, as it strikes us, is this: I hose Indians who ase 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 a utomatically improve the position of the labourers, has not been fulfilled. We bad no such expectation. When the slaves were liberated in America, the immediate effect of emancipation on their econonic position was to worsen it. The slavo-owner looked atter 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 con-- dition of physical efficiency. The freeman has nobody to look after bim. 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 pothing surprising to those who have studied the history of emancipation. That is by the way. The point bere is thas these men, having given of their strength and vitality to Natal, are, tor their reward, rendered destitute and are winking to the level of the Zulus. We accept Mr. ADdrew's 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 tew pounds. What Mro Andrews alurs over is that these men are expected to renounce their sight to re-enter the colony where they ase domiciled, in return tor these terma. As practical men, we ask, suppose these men on coming to India tind that their prospects here are not so rosy us they imagined; that their Natal life has put them out of touch with lndian ways; or that alter a lew years in this country, they long to go back to the land to which they gave the best years of their life 1 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 "vofintary 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 anxions 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 Irom 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 -ppaitiosto aid in.the support of said parents, action may ba, taken to enforce their so doing." It proceeds:

    Of ooures, the most carelal sdministration will be required to prevert unscrapolona pareute from capitalising on the " anccese of children whom they have forced into employment withoul adequate preparation, by remon of parental negligenoe, or indifference. The legielation is certainly worth experiment. Where ohildren are safliciently ablo to provide for those to whom they themselves owe life and prosperity, it is unnataral and aujast that the State, the oitisenabip of : the commanity at large, or private philanthropy ehould be: forced to sooept reaponaibility. Even at the home in incompi parably superior to the institntion in the development of the, obild, so mach more panana and comlorting is the home. and patural environment for the deolining jears of the worthy aged, whom we have too long berded nes so much "ecrapped" humanity, into the anselected "impertonality" of thy Old Pouplt's Houre. Oatario's exporimeat, if adopted, will be watobed with interest by all to whom the eare and comeort of the aged in a conoern.
    We in India, and in the East generally, may congratulate ourselves that, there is no need of legislatuon of this kind in India, with or without the sateguards suggested against pareats unscrupulously capitalizing on the success of their children. Here, at least, we may be proud of our backwardness.

    The late Sir Shapoorli Bharucha: We deeply re gret to record the death of Sir shapoorji Barucha whose numerous, unostentatious phuanthropies, endeared him to a large circle of citizens and whose. financial enterprise contributed to Bombay's in: dustrial pre-eminence.

    ## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

    $\therefore$ BOMBA Y, JUNE 27, 1920.

    ## BOMBAY MODERATES ON TEE PUNJAB TRAGEDY.

    The coblegram on the Panjab distarbances whioh Sir DinabaWachs, as its President, has sent to Parlisment on behalf of the Western India Liberal Acsocia. tioa' will, we hope, have the effect of clavifyligg ther plain issue with which Parlismeat will have to deel at the coming debato ia both Hoases. The special value of chis cablegram lien in the directness with which it deals with that issue. All the represente. tiona that have gone from India to the anthoritien in Eagland, on behalf of the Indisa people, before this cablegram of the Western India Liberal Association, unanimonaly expressed their keen disappointment at the findings of the majority report of the Hanter Committeeand their approval of the minority report. They have called for atern condemnation and poniehment of the officers who abasod their anthority in the name of martial law. None of them, however, olinchod the main issag arising from the roports and findiogs of both the majority and the minority of the Hanter Committee as Sir Dinaha Wicha's present cablegram so Parliment has olinched ito That is its distinotive merit; and it onght to serve its parpose in the expected debate.
    The' one point which is made and forcibly etiphinived : byetherdefondors of the action of General: Dyer and other Martial law officers daring the Painjab distarbances is that, whatever the excessen and abuses of aathority committed by them, they atand justified by the necessity of the situation with which they had to deal and by the fact that the officers in question ancceeded in quelling the diaturbingee which otherwise might have developed into a wide-sproad rebellion thronghoat the Punjab. In their cablegram the Western India Liberal Acsociation point ont that this defence amonnta to no less than necesity, the tyrant's plea, "arged " (to quote the words of the Acsociation,) *in times paot by despote of tyrants as reoorded in bistory." The question of itis coundnems most, therefore, be tested by the unchallenged. Facts of the caso. Buth the majority and the minority report agree in one particular relevant to that defence, vis that the disturbancen from beginning to end were confined to bat a very amall fraction of the people; apd 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 distarbances were a.rebolion of that amall fraction, which bat for martial inw might have assumed even more corious proportions, while the minority are of the definite opinion that it wat not a rebellion bat a riots This point of difference, does not affect the main question whether the atrocities of martial lave of which Goneral Dyer and other officars have boen apon their own admis. cione grilty, are to be condoned of, aneme of their
    more robement anpiorters would bave it, to be rogarded as acta for which their porpetrators shoold be commended instond of boing condemned, becanse but for thowe acta the distarbaces conld not have beon quelled. It is true that the officers in question would appear to have qualled the diatarbancee to whioh bat amall fraction of the people were parties, and restored peace and ordor in the Provinca That, howevor, is a seeming triamph; the roal situation created thereby hae become one akymena anxiety for the fatario By their inhoman sete anch as the Jallianwalla masacre, the crawling order, the barbarons treatment mocorded to stadenta, the homiliating treatmeat of large numbern of innocent men and women, by the use of bombie and eoros planes-measures which Sir Dianh Wacha'e cablegram rightly characterises as "almoal Pracain, in their method and manner ratbor than Britiah," these officert have "indubitably pertarbed the better and moberer mind of India." They have oreated among all the classes of poople "a condition of insecarity which, if not immodistoly removed, threstens not a little to diminiah the confidence of the people in the hamanity and jastice whioh havo hitherto oharmeterised British rale in India." In other worde, they qualled the distarbances of a amall fraction of the people in the Panjab and have turned the whole of the people of India diccontent and resentfal.

    History hat in this instance repeated itselt. What occurred during the Matiny of 1857 hac occurred now. Then the officora employed to quell the mating cried for the blood of Indiann, whether guilty or innocent They perpolrated atrocition which equalled those of the matineors such as whole sale hangings, barninge \&o. Lord Canning did bin best to prevent them bat ho was denonnoed and vilified by his conntrymen both here and in Eogland. And the official perpetrators of Martial law atrocities daring the matiny arged the same plon in eelfo defence and solf-glorification that is now paraded by the friendi and defenders of Ceneral Dyer, vis, that the atrocities were recessary and that they have been justifiod by the resalc. Lord Canning would aot have that defences He acked:

    Will it be the part of a wion Coveramant to koop acch a populatios ta that of the throe grome Provionem in a loyel Irume of teoppar? CaE jou do so, if yoe proseribe aod econt a anworthy whole clemen! For Cod's make, rive gour roive and otop thin. Ae long an I hove breath in ay body, I will purnue de other políg than that I have beor followiog I ma ouly for the remoon al axpedienog and. palios, above atod they becmase it in immatably jurt. I will not gorera in angen.

    In spite of all his alorn altompts to control and check the official atrocition, the officers hal their owe way. The atory is told by Lord Canaing'a biographer :

    Bie Froderick Eallidas, who wem Liectionant Governor of Bengal is 1857 and in cometast asd con8diantiad coremurfy
     ocomion, whet the outery agniont hie wes lowdent, Lord Oroniog showed bie prpers Iflenraliag the senodilous brutality ol ontain al the eppaial tribesalo. The Indemened Governor erocit thoir pablioction by way of soply to hif
    ealuminatorn. "No," asid Lord Canning, taking the papert and locking then ap in his drawer, uI had rather anbmit to any obloquy than pablinh to the worli whet would co terribly diagraet my conntrymen. It is aufficient that I have preventod thom for the inture.

    Alas! for Lord Canning! He, noble soal, died feeling that ho had taken steps to prevent the recarrence of such atrocities "for the fatare" in India bat the fatare has not prevented them-rather the story has been wheated. That is the crnx of the problem now before Parliament. It will not do for Parliament to rest content with pions resolations that sach atrocities as General Dyer and other Martial Law officers have committed shall not happen in fotnre. They have created a sitaation in Indis which, as the Western India Liberal Association gasging the sitnation thacarately and wisely point oat, demands "definite steps on the part of Parlisment to carry assarance to the wonnded minds and bleeding hearts of the people of India due to the Panjab Lragedy."

    ## BOMBAY AND THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

    We have pointed ont on previons occasions that in the all-important question of finance, Ministers onder the Reform scheme will be plaoed In the position of the captive Jews whom the Pharaoha ant to make bricks withoat sapplying them with the indispensable atraw. This apprehenuion has been greatly accentnated by the recommendations of the Finsncial Relations Committee over which Lord Menton presided. The effect of these recommendation will inevitably be to place the Provincen, especially Bombay, in a position of constant and chronic financial anxiety. As the sums to be expended on Ministers' departmenta like edncation and sanitation, the retarns from which will take many years to become visible in the shape of increaned revenue, will have to coms from the total resources at the disposal of the Provincial Governments, the direct effect of the Meston Committee scheme on Minister's department will be severely and permanently detrimental. Provinoial antonomy is a fine phrase bat withont the means of providing adequately for the development of the administration where it toaches most closely the lives and intereats of the people, it is bat an empty name. And there can be no doabt that the principal reoommendation of the Meaton Committee in calcalated to make the reforms farcical at their trery inoeption at least in the Bombay presidency.

    The Montaga-Chelmsford report condemned the principle of divided headn, that $i s$, of the asmo heads of rovenae being ahared by the Imperial and Provinoinl Governmenta, and favoared the policy of what the authorn called the clean-cat. At present, the heade which ars divided in all or some of the provinces are-land revenae, stamps, excise, incometax and irrigation. The Joiat Report proposed to retain the Indian and provincial houds as at present, but to add to the former incomotax and general etumpa, and to the latter land revenne irrigation,
    excise and jadicial stamps. It jastified thé division of stamps into two heads on the ground that this arrangement woald preserve aniformity 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 conrtfee stamps, and thas provide them with an additional means of augmenting their resonrces. Land revenoe, which ia far the biggest head of all, is at present eqnally shared between the Indian and the provinoial Governments, and so is income-tax. The Joint Report proposal was to give over the whole of land revenine to Provincial Governments and to hand over the whole of income-tax to the Government of India.

    The Joint Report had su ggested that the scheme of financial relations ontlined in it should be reinvestigated at the end of ten years. The Government of India, however, urged that the achenie should be revised in the light of their later anggen. tions by a special committee. Lord Meaton's" Committee was appointed for the parpose of giving effect to this suggestion. The Goverament of Bombay, the provincial Government, most seriously affected by tho proposal, protested atrongly against the tranafer of the whole of incometax to the Imperial Government. Its protest was sufficiently emphatic to ensare ite being incladed as one of the terms of reference of the Meaton Committee.

    The Meston Committee, while making a how of independence by alloting General Stamps to Provincial. Governments, - has adhered - tornthe...-2tcommendation of the Joint Report regarding the transfer of the whole of income-tax to the Imperial Government. It has thas maintained the policy of the clean-cat which, in itself, is a soand one. Bat the clean-cat must not be anch as to cripple provincial Governments. The Meaton Coramittee's cleancat does this irreparably in the case of Bombay. The right kind of clean-cat which Indian opinion demands, is that the Government of India should leave the income-tax wholly to the proviacial Government and make up their deficit by enhancing the customs tariff. The main soarces of taration left to Provincal Governmente by the Meston Committee are land revenne and excise. Land revenue is assessed once in thirty years and it is deairable that the intervale of assessment should be increased to fifty jears.
    The excise revenae, ander a responaible Governments ihould never be regarded as a resoarce to rely upon for increase of revenue. All political partien in the coantry are pledged to aim at a policy of total prohibition, and no Minister can poesibly base his policy on the expansion of the proceeds of national poisoning. In a Presidency like Bombay, the incometax is the only expanding sonce of revonue which can normally be expected to meet the increasing demande of a progressive administration. The grouads on which the Meaton Committoe has over-raled the objections of the Government of Bombay are flimey in the estreme. In effect, they come to no pore than

    Ahat it was determined et the cacrifice of logic and uatice to deprive Bombey of its only important soade of increase of revenne. The Government of Bombay, it is to be hoped, will protest vigoroculy. It ahould ank not for a part of the incometar bat for the whole of it. If it abates one jot of the legitimate claime of this Presidency in this matter, it woald be betraving the vital interesta of the people whose destinies are entrasted to ita keepiag.

    ## CASTE: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH II.

    2. The Socond stage of development of the caste syatem ; prokibition of the pratilome form of marriage , and of contact with inforior castes.

    In coarse of time the blending of the Aryan and the non-Aryan races proceeded so far as to give rise to an spprehension of the total extinction of the pare arye type. And then, an effort was made to preserve the .parity of castes by gradaally patting more and more severe restrictions on inter-caste marriage. The , attempt to check such marriages neema to have began from the ond of the Vedic age. Bat leat the prohibition of every form of intercaste marriage should give rise to a difficulty in secaring saitable brides for ;people of the higher castes, the law wan so framed at to prevent the lower castea from marrying girle of the higher castes, bat not vice versa. As a resalt of this, in the Sutras and the Sambitas we find the banction of marriage, with a girl of the same caste ( स्वर्णी सिवry - Endogamy) or of a lower capte (saceोम विबाह $=$ Hypergamy) bat prohibitions of marriage with 'a girl of a higher caste ( प्रतिलग्मबिताइ ). If the blend'ing of races in India had not been thas arrested, thes in the coarse of a few more centaries all the "caster woald have been fased into one homogeneons nation. The Earopean nations are the result of fasion -of varions races carried on withont restriotion and - altimately redaced to a homogeneous pational typo -In athe' Satras and the Samhitae, in Arrian's Indica, ( XII, 8, 9) and in the Pali literatare, it is foand for the firet time that the pratiloma form of marriage -among the different castes has gone ont of practice and restrictions have been laid on interdining and bother forms of contract with inferior castes. In the Parasharn-Grihya eatra ( $\mathrm{I}, 4$ ) Endogamy ( अवर्जांखिए) and Hypergamy ( अनुलोम असबर्ष विणा) are enjoind': While marriage with e girl of a higher vGate ( प्रतिजेम जसंवर्ष विवाह ) is prohibited. It admits: om According to some a Sudra woman may be married thy a persiô of ant caste bat without asing the Vedic atexta (लर्बा गून्तामन्येक्र"म - Grihys Satra ( $\mathbf{H 1}, 2$ ), ander certain conditions the -martiage of a Sudra girl by a anperior caste is prohibitit which goes to imply that ander other conditionsit wes certainly permissible.

    The Sambita '6f" Mata (III. 12, 18), permita the Anulome form of marritge. The Sambita of - Tajnavalkya ( $\mathrm{I}, 46$ ) though disapproving the marriage
     admits the existeace of the practice. In the Samhita eof Vishan it is shated, "Sons born of women of the
    wame easto are of the amme caste ( with the father) those bore of women of inferior cantet are of the same catte with the mother. Those born of women of higher cantor are pondemoed by the Aryat' (Fishna Samhita, Cbap. XVI). Here we oet that both the anulome and the pratiloma forms of marriage wers in practice. Paithinasi saya, "Failing to obtaia a girl one ahould tate the vow of oelebacy, or ahould beget a son on a Khatria woman, or, eccording to othera, on A Sadra woman." The Samhita orrana aftor Grat enjoining intercasto marriage (Mana III, 12-18) forbide again (Ibid, IIL, 14-19) the marriage by a Brahmin of a Sadrá girl. How cala we reconcile these inconsintentinjunctiona P According to Rullake, Mana intende by the prohibition only to condeme marriage by a Brahmin of a Sadra moman in the reverse order, i. c., befure marrying a noman of lit own casto. According to Madhava the prohibition meroly showe a difference of opiaion in the matter, or it is applicable to a different yuga : "भवरेग
     afterwarde that this interpretation of Mean by referring the prohibition to a different yuga in fictitions. Ia facts in the age of the Dharme samhitas and the Purans both the anuloma and the pratiloma forme of marriage were practised, though the latter wat hold in diarepate,

    As we have already anid; in this period of the bistory of caste development a son boro of a woman of the asme caste obtained the cante of the father. Children born of a woman of inferiór caate oblained the caste of the mother. While children born of a woman of euperior caste were regarded ac crossen (बर्गतदर्र). Thas sons begotten by Brahmia on women of the three inferior castes were of three separate kinda ; those begotten by a Kahatria on women of the two inferior cantes were of two differeat kinds ; white those generated by a Vaiaya on a woman of the lower caste were of one kind. Thongh these seven kiads of childrea had distinct caste appelations, vie., murdhwarasikta, amvevastha, nisada, elcen they atill belonged to their mother's canto and were not regarded as crosses. From the pratiloma from of marriage three kinda of crosses arose viz, intercaste crosses, inter-cross orosset, and crosses between these two again. In this way according to the Satras and Dharma Sampitan the fourfold caste aystem of the Vedic age maltiplied inio innamerable mired asates «Gantama 1V, Fanhistha X FIII and Bardhayana 1, $16,17)$.

    In this period, a change of casta from lower to highery and from highor to lower was allowed. If giris of lower caste were married to persoss of higher cacte for tome successive generations their children belonged to the saperior caste. In this way the denceadant of a Sadra women would become a Brahmin in the serenth generation. Againa man of a higher capto adopting the occapation of a lower caste for anoceadyy generations were degreded to a lower casto. Thas the son of a Brabman purnoing the oscapation of a Badra beckeme a Sadra in the serenth generation.

    It is also reen that dowa to the commencement of the Muhammadan farasion the mon of Brabmin
    marrying a Sidura woman by the anuloma form of marriage was regarded as an ourasa son and inherited property. By the end of the 2lth centary Bijnaneswara thas writes in the Misakshara: "It shonld be understood that the murdlavasikta and other sons born of a Kehatriya woman married by a Brahmin is the anuloma form, being regarded as un ourasa son, Kobetraja aod other sons sba'l inherit property oaly in defualt of the former. A son, however, born of a Sadra wowan by the anuioma lorm of marriage, chaugh ourasa shall not iuberit the whole property oven in defanlt of other sons." This right of inhentmuce by a son born of a. Sudra woman marrying a Brahuin is also sopported by Jimatavaisana in the Dayabhage in the following terms: "If a Brabmin has ouly Sulra son be is entitled merely to the third part of the property."

    ## VOLUNTALY REPATRIATION.

    ## Ma. C. F. Andrews whitys to us :

    I can very well anderstaud jonr extreme relactance $\mathbf{t o}$ adinit, iu any shape or form, the idea of 'voluotary repariation' with regard to Iudian immigrauts in Nonth Arricu, 1 can es-ore yoa, that I liave shared your reluclance, and even, I may add, yoar repuguance. But, as an Euglishman-so I iumgine, -it is my very uature, bred uind burn iu me for namberless geveratious, to be pracical, when face to face with critical haman suffering, and to make cheory give wuy to practice, rather than practice give way to theory, And bere was a practical ifstie. When these ${ }^{1}$ oor labourers cnne roand me, whereever 1 weut, up und down the country, aud suid,"Dahib, canuot jou rend. us Lack to India?" when I found that they were so sulmerged, that they were siaking below the level of the Zalu aud the Kífir: when statistics for the whole wage-earning Iadian population proved this to me, in stark, maked figores, 1 rom which there was no escape: when law, with ny own ty!e, that their whole coudition way more fitiably nretched than it was eoven jears ugo : when thoughtioleducuted Indiaus and Europerls alike, who had studied the facts, maknowledyed that ibis was the case: when, lastly 1 found that 4,001 ludian labourers had goue back anto indeuture, in spite of all that their fellowcountrymeu bad suid urgigg them not to do so,--hat was I to do? what would you have doue, Dir. Editor? Cumld I bny to them,-" Go on being aweated, und starved, und hoased like auimala rather than like meu "? whe lhat a hamune uuswer?

    1 tried my utmost to help them in the immediate way they ueeded most, at he very memeth, namely ay getliug chenjer ricefor theta. The prufiteriog had been mp.lling, nod the Itdian werchauts abd she Eurypan merchauis had beeu eqnally to blane. 1 arked the fuil an merchauts to meet me, and -moke to them dillecriaionl wroug that was baing dune by lubling lack the rice is order to make greater fiotite, wine heis own preplo sturved. O.e Imdian werchant tok my word, to tout und offered formaiodid bage utat murning. The nefe apred
    like wildfire, and the whole street was blocked from end to end with Indian men and women eager to bay. 1 tried again my utmost to help them for their fotare, in the one best way that help conld effectivels be given, namely, by getting the education of their children pressed forward with all possible speed. But it was heart-breaking to fiad what difficalties woald have to be overcome, and how impossible it was !or the Iodian communty, situated as it was, to overcome those difficalties. Tuke oue single factThe Uuion Government of South Africa put a special clause in the Iucian Reliff Act of 1g14, tuadmit so many teachers, cach $j \in a r$, ap to a certain rather vagae namber. I was assared, by high Goverument anthority, that the number might be very elastic, provided they were bona fde teachers. But, practically sfeaking, noue ever came forwarde It has been the same old difficalty in Fiji ; the same old difficality in $Z_{\text {inzibar }}$; the same old dificulty in East $E$ frica ; und if ever I went to British Gaiana, I kuow I should fiud the same old difficalty there. The plain luct is, Iudians wou't emigrate, exespt for trade,--hat's the real truable. At Lorenco Marques ia Portaguese.territory, 1 actaally had an Indian asking we to get bim over the border, as 'teacher' when what he really wanted was to go is and trade. He wanted me to suoggle him in uuver laise pretecces and to tell a lie on his behalf That kind of thang is going on every jear.

    Cau you understand me then, Mr. Editor, if, when, I had talked the mutter ap and down, night alter night, and loug iutu the nigh', with those who know the practical situatiou iunch better than. $\mathrm{I}^{\mathrm{d}} \mathrm{djd}_{\mathrm{s}}$ at last I became cunviaced that the South African problem could become wach wore mauageable, from every puint of vitw, if ne coald audo some of the cruel wiong which bad bets done in ibe past, where we so criminally and carclessly allowed Indian protessional recruiters to go ou, year af er jear, recraiting oar poor ignersatit mes aud women frcm our villuges, who never ougtut to have gove oat of India at all? It seemed to me obvionsly right to let those, who so patuetically wished to go back again to India, have au opportusity. No Natal Indian would dream of taking the free passage and bunns, who was prosperiog, or likely to prosper in Nutal. Indiaus, who liave been kuocked aboot from pillar to post, as Iudians have beeu in Natal, have cartain! learut oue thing. They are no fools. They are not taken in another time, as they were taken iv, the first tiwe, ly the recruiters, waen they were vilagers. If they wish to stay in Natal, they will stay : and there are all sorts of iufluences at work, gooil, bait aud indifferent, to induce them to staj. But if they are really submerged, and hopeless of improving their coudition, as very many wete, whom I saw, theu are we to shat the docr in their face and say "No,-Go buck onder indeatare, go back to the plantations, do aogthing, but you mast not come back to Iudia?'

    It is this consideration, which moved me in 19131914 to obtain, with Mr. Gandh'a consent, a frez
    persage lor them baek to Indis, it they wished to go beck home and not to retarm. Aed since that date, nearly ten thonesad have come bact. Many more woold have come, mo Mr. Dick told me, if only shipm had been provided. What I bave onggested, io my evideace, ad Mr. West bue suggeated in his, is nothing uew or revolationary. It is simply that they should not go back quite destitate. The Uaion Government is probably ready to provide asmall bonas in addition to the free passage. In all these jears, since 1914, no ladian has leen forced to take the free parsage : and no one now will be forced to dake the bouns. Iodeed, it is all the other way. The difficalty hise been to keep out of the elarohes of the sugat eatate recraiters, from getting drank in a liquot shop one uight and finding next morning that gou have been inveigled into signing on again to asagar esiate, with your pockets empty. The sagar compenies, with their hage vested iuterests, are only too anxions to keep every Indien labuarer in Natal. It is on that side, that the veiled compolsion wonld cowe id, - not to repatriato, bat to prevent this very volantary re patriatiou from taking effect.

    What I an trying to explaio, -but what is so difficalt to expluin in a letter,-is, that thinga look here in Iudia so differeut at a distance, from what they lowk hike on the epot in Natal. All one's theories are saddeuly turned upside down in Natal and one has to face har.I, bed-rocir fucts. It I could take you oat to Darban and op the coast, where the sagar flantatious are, iteel sure I could convince jou, that the Indian cause in Suats Africa will not soller, tat be atrengthened, if these subuerged ludian labourers, who wish to leave ibe cullutry, are alluwed and even encuaruged to do eo. Thes are leaviug the country, as it is. They are taking lue free-passage home, we it is;-having made up their minds wot to retarn. Are they to be prevented from receiving some compensation for all they have enffered; if they like to take it? Are they to be prevented from receiviog the offer of a bousa, on their arrival in India, if tiey like to ake it ? I am not a politician and certainly ohall never to oue. I never could anderstaud the politicias's point of view. I leave the poltisul quostion entirely ou oue sude, but I do ask, aud ask again, is not the humane reason a struag ouefor allowing them totyercide their own free will and take this ofler .ol a free passage back to Iudia, with a bouas, if they wish to lake it ?

    The West Khandesh Famine Report: We have received a copy of the repurt oithe District Famine Relief Committee in We:t Khandesh, 1918.1919. The Committee was formed in January 1919. The tamine was accentuated by the prevalence ol scarcity in the previous yearand by the outbreak ol plapue at Dhulia in July igrg. Owing to heavy rains ite affected people could net 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. Mc l'urshottamdas Tbakurdas, its energetic Honorary Secretary, for their generous assistance.

    ## MISSIONARIES AND PUYJAB ATROCITIES, L

    ## Tho Editur, The Indian Social Reformor. <br> Sir,

    So manch bes heee recoetly exil in ths Prees about the "failore of missianarice" in cunaection with the Panjaty atrocition, that $I$ amen relnotauly conotrainced to prototiagainet suoh repented vetomenta.
    To a quatiou whetkef the misgionary owes anything to India or India owee anylining to the miationary, there out only be one onswer, vis., that to no man does ladrgane so wash as to the puicuionary.
    And how han Iudia resognieed her, indebtednan to the miesionary P Among the "few nuble ex:epii,ua" namally quoted it the Rut. A. G. Frarer, on the life of whuce fasbor Iudia made not less than three attompta, in Decomber 1007; March 1808 and the third time on 6th Noveuber 1908 at a missionary inatitation (the Orortonn Hall, Y.M.CA Calcaita). Did the miazionary, whuce father and Prient giry Andrew was, then adopt a dilierent atilitado to whit be hea adopled in reference to the Paajab murJura ? No.
    Sume jeart ago I reoeived a letter from - well known
     ethot through the ohest while attempting to eave - juang yirl frum aril sarroandiang!! 'What did Indie any sbsat this attempled murder ? Nothing !
    Two mitsionaries, whom 1 knew intimatelg, wert brutally atheked by mure than 800 Bengatis whit they, with a uisuionary lady, wera takiog ons of thoir owa Chriatima girle to a hoopital - oar Beagnil friende thotughe that the mietionaries ware kdoapping a Hinda gird tor the dicadfal parpuse ul uianing har a Unristan - and wheu halp sanne botu the nitasiunariew ware $\mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}$ ig un the grouad holf dend ant profa, ely bleeding. One ut then died mabagnuals as a reantiof thia minulk. What did Lutia du 7 Tul Bengalis, (Tbe Hon. Mr. Snreudrilacth isanterji's paper) an Ludiasp spuk-sauan, had the an inoity to advise the miscionaries to lurges it • fur the anke of the oluak" thay wures Taan mos how Iufia hat been raying orer the "Ondusiense" Clinase" to -hinder bue asetal mura ut a vury large namber uf the de unariepo, whin one cx sepitive, i.e. yoarself. Lu aphle of aill $t$ eve the missivuaty hat herter latiol Iadia aud bo atill is thution best friend, altbuagh a s:lont trieud.
    I know, howerer, that a good many mbacionarian bave privately uced their inllance to paniah Gisueral Dysf and bie
     chase nimionaries-he is a sobseriber of yoar paper-thay the anme cocial ponitiou in Eagland ac Ma, Fraver. What the
     the moath pitce of an anesubly, be wos ! juy ilicat a nuraing. home on hia way to Eugland, My alleutivia for hian hat puthy prompled me to trouble gou with this tetters

    Genersl Comphell, who ia repariad whave anoceeded the bloodthirals wad man Dyor, is a gentleasan of great ajoupraby and I am sure he will, with mis ivasty coopposaluou, de hife beat to retois matud reeppest batween the tro imest

    A very importont point from whici one bat to cousider the mimizasry, is that of bia Iadian aserutatioga, Ia the majority uf esces the miestouary's lut is cass annonget the howest of the lywail bis exprience in eaca arroandings is enoagy to tempt dob. So wheu, already exsoparated at the disbonexty and ingratitade with ehich hie laboure are ant infrequencly retracded, be beors of rGenaeral Dyer chooting on an amarmed eroud of Indian.a", be caga ia his bacte, "I don's monder."

    The only contemptible thing in relation to miseionsry attitude is the Arobbighop of Simls's letter defending General Dyer. The Catholis prolates veldom interfore with politice in this conntry, but his Grece being an Iriabman, is in ac avinward position in Simls of all places. Fow countries exbibit no much Lawlensness as his Ireland at this time, 80 she Archbishop, Fished to divert the attention of thome who regard him as belonging to the anme race as the disorderly men of Ireland. Overcome with shame at the coyendly condact of hin own brothren in flesh, the bridogroom of the Catholic Charch at Simle furgot that the defencelegs Indians were bis brethren in epiril. Saya Charles Diokens, "Strip the Bishop of his surplice, and what is he 9 A man. ${ }^{3}$

    ## Gaardian Pross, <br> M. G. Joseph. <br> Bombay, June 14.

    [We publish this letter but we cannot be]p thinking that much of it is irrelevant. As for the speaina queation of the Ponjab, gentlemen like Mr. Fraser and Dr. Macaicol knew What they were talking about when they daplored the silence of their tellow-Minaionarien, Editor, I. S. R.]

    ## II

    ## The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

    $8 i r$
    I bare read with great interest the correapondence with regard to the misaiunary attitude to the Panjab affair. I am oure that many have been alent for reasons which were aincere oven if they were not matinfatory, but perconally I regret the silence. I may way that I was addressing a publio meeting on the evening of the pablication in. England of Genl, Dyer's report and I felt bound as a Dhristian and an Englishman to denonnes Poroibly what I then desoribed as the - Massecye of Amritana.' I an not nuable to appraciate the other aide of the pieture nor to sympathize with those who have to keap the pablio peace and to aot decisively at a moment's notice bat even now that faller evidence is before us I am etill convinced that the word ' mamsacse' 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 ue Jot learnod to fally interpret Ohries, but I do think that all honent thinking men who have reviewed the facts have come to the oonolusion that the only anfe rale for the world's life, national, internal and personal, in to apply Ohrist to every isene. That mob may have been wrong. It may have been hopelessly wring. It may have been wiokedly wrong. I lenve others to prove how far it wes any of these thinge But, if the worat of them be proved, 1 am atill perfeotly convinced that Chriut would not bave slanghtered that erowd at any price or lor any end. And we have no right to be called a 'Cbristian Nation' nolesa we at lenst try to do what Christ would approve and to oonfess our sin when wo have done the opponite. Chriat loyod mon, not vagaely in the abstract You oannot do that. He loved every man he knew, and wanfed to love every man be didn't know.

    Upun the lowest cunsideration, leaving out all ethics, Genl. Dyer's wat was the most stupendone political blunder ever made by an Englishman. It neems to me that any politician -akyo doen uot raslixe thet, is aimply out of date in bis thinking and his kuowledge of the real politional eitantion in India.
    "A Wealetar Misbiomari or Forlovar."
    London, (Extract from a lettor reocined by last mail.) 291h Мај 1920.

    ## A CIVIL MARRIAGE LAW FOR INDIA, <br> The Editor The Indian Social Reformer.

    Sir,have read with great interest Mr. K. Ramamarti'd artivle on tho abore subject in jour papor. The present condisione are vary olearly eet fortb, and ibey ard sach that a reuredy is uigently noeded.

    I know of allisnces between men and women, perfeotly hononrable, but they cannot be legalised nulesa one or both partien profess a chango of religion. Such a position is intolerable. As \& Christion minister, I have hed parsons coming to me and professing a change of religion simply that they may be legally married. $A$ Chrietian minister is frequently placed in a very awkwerd position. He does not wish any one to become Christian, anless the nerton boneatly deaires to change his religion, and it is frequently sfter the change has been made that the real reason lor the change is revealed. The present position encourages hypocrisy and lying, aud ought to be pat atop to. Persona prufessing different religions ought to be able to marry without having to ohange their faith. With persons proo feesing different religions it is diffionlt to errange a religious ceremony that is legal and valid, and therefore it is urgently necessary that a civil marriage law should be pabsed.

    The old ory that religion is in danger will enrely be raised, but a religion that is ondangered by the paseing of a civil marriage law can have very little vitality in it, and it muat be nigh nuto passing away.

    I trast you will continue to agitate till a civil marriage law is passed. The Chrietisn commanity in Indis is by $n_{0}$ menng satisfied with the present Chriation Marrisge Act, and is preparing a new Act, which will be more in harmony with Indian Christian viows, and it will be timely to agitete for a civil marriage lawr.

    Yoare truly.
    H. Goblifomd.

    Coonoor, Nilgiris,
    June 21st, 1920.

    ## HINDUB IN AFGHANISTAN.

    The Eindus of Alghanistan suffered nuder great digabilities and many complaints resched the Amir. He asked the Hindus to lay ont their grievancen in the form of a memorandam, which was done. The Amir then pasned the required ordera, sammary of some of them is giveu below:-
    (1) Ordered that no Hindu bhould be forced to eocept 1elam.
    (2) Hindas will perform their religions rites and sotile their dispates according to their Dharmm Shastra.
    (8) Hiadu women can go freely wherever they like.
    (4) It a dharmshala becomes deeolate it may agsio be inhebited.
    (5) Ordered that no disessed cow shall be slaghtered; it should be allowed to die its nataral death.
    (6) Eindus may ware any drese they like.
    (7) The Hiada subjeots of the Amir may buy land sny. where in Afghanistan.
    (8) Hindas will pay the same taxas as paid by the Mohammadans.
    (9) If a woman or a man embiases Islam, her husband or his wife, at the case may be, should not be compelled to conform to the new faith.
    (10) If an in the life time of his father becomes a Mohammedan, be shonld only be allowed to take his personal property with him, not that of his tather.
    (11) If a son accopts Ielam after the death of the father and if the family property bas not yet been divided among thesons, then the son who has accepted Islam will only get that part of the property which is his acoording to the Law. But if he accepted Islam in the life time of his father he will not inherit anything.
    (12) Hiadus are allowed to "enter into Afghanistan and go out of it.
    (13) Goverdment offigiala will do equal lervioe for the Hiudas and the Moharamedans. It a thelt oconrs in the honve ol a Hinda the offiess will try to trace the thing as carefally as they would have done in the case of a Muhamedan.
    (14) Jelalabad, Ghasni and Kandhar will eash sen Hindu representative to the $\Delta$ ssembly.

    The Leader, Allihshed.

    ## FACTS OF PROHIBITION.

    On Temday ovoning, Merch 20d, ithe Lackeow Tan prosen Todration beld its cancell mextios in the Hell of the Inetruow Cbrintina Callege. The Eine'ble Me. Goknanan Stath Miera, Prosident of the orgonization, previded, and the Rov. C. Phillipe Cape, the cewly abocted secretery, offered prajer. A brial mport at the pant jear'a work wae given by the ratiring coaratary, Mre F.B. Price The lootare on the mabject, "Why A waerion Went Dry;" delivered by the Rev. W. G. Flecther, who hee apeot a year ia Mesopotamia directing the work of the Yoang Men"a Ohriatian Ancocia tione, wes mook apprecintad. Ds. Flowher aleasly showed, that conalitational prohibition is rot a ouddoe meenare teopaee of the war, nor wem it. Foroed apon the nation by a mastionl and intrigniag minority; but that the $A$ merioan people thomelves hed compelled thoir INational Congress to amend the Conatitation of the United Stater prohibiting the manafociuta ase, sole, importation and exportation of aloobol in ail $j$ ita formas an a bererage. Thir legialation by the congrien weat then ratiged by the people votiog through their reapeotive atate lagislatares, forty-Eive out of the fortsoight atates adopling the prohibition amendmont. Under this haw, the maximam momons al aloohol allowed in any beverage was one-hall of one per cent.

    The leoturer further pointed out that prohibition in Amorios wee not an experiment; for some parts of the coantry have boén edry" for dearly halt a centary by loonl and state legielation. Before the final atop of nations) probibition wes taken, 75 por conk of Amerionn territory bide alrewly become dry by this co-allied loopl option. Thus, intionel probibition was not a audden and upasmodieners bat the capatone of aity joars of edeantion and agitation, in pablic soboole and elsewbere, by the tempersuos orgenisa. tions. Finally, the poople resohed the conolasion that liquor man an camitigated evil and, acosoch, was not is enbjoot lor régalation or tolerition, but for extormination, en far ao posaible, by absolate prohibition.
    In their eampaign of hall a eoatary los the abolition of the liquor evil, the temperanoe organimations of Amerien ined maide a ayctomatic and thorough oftady of the fretes conneeted with the ace of alcohol. The knowledge of theme feota wes aprond throughout the conutry in sobools, beotare balle, eharchen and by the distribation of many tons of printed mactor. The principal argumeate becod apon acoertained feote were as tollows:-

    ## Morat Reasomin

    Aloohol, in ita variuse beverage forman wien roppossiblo for above 50 por conth of arime, 80 per cont fingasity, 82 por oent, of panporian, sad a large per cent. of aity alum lift, with ite porerty and disence, proctitation, aod deformed obild-life.

    ## Eeomoxic Beacorg.

    The omonat of groin consomed in the manalsotare of shooholid drink congtituted a heavy drain on the bread supply of the nation. Agoin the manafectare of alcobolis liquor amploye the sumallet mamber of workerts in proportion th the eat-pats end eapital, of eay form of induetry. Inverti. gation proved that, in the wet territory, the expence of extrm poliee fores and judicial dopartmente, sanintennace of jailes writ housen, and insane mylames, equalled - sars equivelent to more then twice the millions of dollars recoived from the liconse tax on the liquor. Deposite in eaving baike were If, mino to fire times as groat in dry territory at in wet. Frequently, jaile were to be foand entiraly empty in territory shat had become dry.

    ## Iadogranal Recoora

    Soteal trat abowd that sively men withoat abobolie Itamer ens do mort and better work that an landrod ovat modercte driakerst Whan hord modod barincen man diomrared thin abor loee or wes per eval. In thoir bevinmas thay weit iot alow to give preforusee to tertotalers, often rafuring to employ any thas who ued liquor. Ia fectorien and misme employing onily teototajora, moildente were fowor and boes of time fur lem than in thome whiob omplojed drinkiog men. Railwayh inding their acocidonta reduced ta almost nil, when eagine drivers and other employene abatmien trion aleotol began to rofuce employmest to mean who dreak ovin is modoration. Tboce hard bruincea fseto, quite apart trom montiment and moral imaco, wert a great isfinocen towarde. bringing in probibition.

    ## Lapa asd Deate Flote.

    The focte further chowed that, every eight deys, ons thousand five handred peoplo died from the effeote of alooholich drioki. Life inmaranoe companies, for many yoen, had beou oharging an oxtre promium to modorate drinkert ind refused aboolotaly to iusure at iny price the habitual driaker of alookolio liquor.

    ## Parbionoelala Reatoma.

    Scientific invartigation proved that alooholic boverage in cot - lood, bat on the eontrary, that one bandred treaty gallone of beor coatrined only an moob food ralus an ordinary loal of bread; nor is aloohol indiapeamble, or ovea of rul value, at medioing. The majority of ropatabte ohem. ists and doctors in Amerion declared it wem not a medieine. but a marcotio poicon that erented an eppotict for fteself. The ouly good result admitted for $f$ is obtained equally woll from aromatia spirite of am monis which, anlite aloohol, prodeond no bad realte. The contemplation, during many gearl, of themend a hoot of other aimilar and equally efriking teoti, had broagbt the Amerioan people, not oa the impalee of a momath nor neder the inflaenoe of demogaguen, bat withe caln deliberation, to demand that thit ovil trefie should be prohibited by lav.

    Opponante of probibition, of whom there art mill majy, argoe that the prohibition law, oven if adopted, would eover anceenfally probibit. The prohibitionists asemered that the law will sertainly be violated by persons now eddiated to driok; but exporiance showed that infreotione of this lan would not be more enmereue than in the ened of lawe provide ing abeolate and conatitational probibition of murder, areona sheff, toth The bat ead moot mecemery lawn wort the onet mont irequently violected. The foen thet prohibicion may be violated was not a juat rencon los wishholding it, when a la! was required to ctamp ouk a soogniend ovil. The emene. argament that at prohibition does atot probibit" might joait an remonebly be used with regard to laws aginet mey form ol arime.

    ## Rusong zo Diogs.

    Some had expresced the ferr that babital drinkors doprifi ed al akohol would remort to drugn. This wee reeognied by the Amariean Congrem, and tho liquor prohibition wat proe damed by mont dractio antionareotic lawi. As matter of fact, there were lound to be-more drag-addiots in wot territory then in the dry. Agoin, the quention wim miked sco Who will roimbarse the liquor manalcoturee for thoir property aid dentroyed baginem ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ " The prohibitioniats roplied that the liquor busines in Ameries hed never bees a rested jatarcat. Liomen to manafecture or eell liquor were cold lot a period of cely twelve moathe at stime, exbject always to pomible logialative setion. In the mpentime, the lignor dealert alvaya

    Knew that they ran this riak. In reality, when certain ataten hed adoptad prohibition, the lignot manufactoriet were readily sble to convert their factorien and breweries into ice factories, coal atorage plants and other aimilar institations; employing larger numbers of workmen, and erentually, as the influence of probibition was felt in the atate, making larger profits thin they hed made in the traffie.

    ## Pyrbogal Liberty

    The argamont mont frequently and bitterly harled against prohibilion was that it deprived American citizens of their mucif vannted personal liberty. To this, said Dr, Fletcher, the prohibitioniati, replied by pointing out that true personel liberty existed only among savages and barbarians! With every advanoing atep in civilization, personal liberty had receded and matt do so, The lav forbidding a man to rob hie noighbour interfered with personal liberty; so did the lawe against murder and the lap requiring men to pay taxem. T'norefore, when liquor was found to be the canse of endless orime and misery, and of indastrial and economic detriment to any nation, it cemed to be a question of personsl liberty and became a fit anbject lor legialation by the majority of the people, in the interents of the greatest good for the greatest number.

    Thousands of moderate drinkers, elthough confidently believing that they could drink in moderation, remembered that, forevery 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 Indiun Witness

    ## BACE TO HINDUISM.

    Mr. Shentaram Keghinath Chitre of Puona (age 25 ), had gone into Christianity about 4 years ago. He hat new returned to Elinduiom. He was initiated by the Hunda Misaionary Society of Bombay on Sraday the 6th of Jane in the presenos of members and friende.

    Mr. Govind Mahader Availkar (aga 19) and his tister Misa Shautabai (age 8 ) had gone into Mahomedaniom afow months agon They bave now raturned to Hindaiom. They were initinted by the Hindu Miasionary Suoiety of Bombey on Friday the 18th of Juas in the prosence of members and triende.

    ## $1 F$ YOU "SHUD" GO TO PARIS.

    Tis a ntrange thing mbin we oome to think iv it that the lose money a man gote I 'r bin warrok, th' more nicinsary it in to th' wurrukin'. Yo'er bow oan go to Paris on a consbination wedding and divooroe thrip an" no wan bothers hia head about thim. But if ye ehad go to Paris-axouse me It laughin meaill baok in $\mathrm{th}^{2}$ face-oth's indathrees iv the connthry pinen way.-Mr. Dooley.

    ## THE ENGLISH MIND.

    There is within the human breast $x$ nataral reaistance to deanuciation, and in the English race in a pecular degreo thore is alvaje a denire to hear something opon the otber nide of the argament. The normal Briton is convinced that overgone lives in a glashboase, and the thrower of stones is diargarded unil he becomes a publio nuisanoes, then he in identlenely anppreneed.-The Challongo, London.

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    | AMOT | GINGAPORE | KOBE |
    | OANTOM | gorgabaia | YOKOBAEA |
    | P00080 | semarang | ARO |
    | HANKOW | MAKUNG | giran |
    | GIURIANG | batafia | KAGI |
    | SWATOW | PINATS | KARENKO |
    | TAINAN | SHINOHIED | KEELUNG |
    | TAKOW | TALOHU | TAMgUI |

    The Bank ham also a large onmior of Oorreipondenis at Hiome and 4 bromd.

    Current Deposit Accounts $:$-are opened for approved oustomers and interest in allowed at 2 por. cont, per anaum on daily belances of Re. 1,000 apte Ra. 1,00,000 provided that the amount of half-jasrly interest is not lem thas Re. 6.

    Fixed Deposits are recoived for one jear and ohorter periods on terise which may be acoertained os - ppliantion.

    Every desoriptson of Banking and Exchange bacineme sranceatedo-
    K. TAKEMURA,

    Manager
    0-12-17.
    b6, Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY

    # THE BANK OF INDIA, LD. <br> Established 7th September 1906. Ineorporated under the Indian Companies' Aet V1 of 1882. Head Office: <br> ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY. <br> Oapital Subsoribed .n....... Ra 2,00,00,000 <br> Oppital Onlled ap coocone. 1,00,00,000 <br> Reserve Find <br> $\qquad$ 66,00,000. <br> ODRRENT DEPOSIT AOOOUNTS. 

    Interest in allowed on daily balancen from Rn. 800 to Ro.
     atans exoeeding Re. $1,00,000$ intereat is allowed by appeinal atrangoment. Nointerest will be allowed which dose mot omorat to Ras 8 per half joap.

    ## FIXED DEPOSIT\%.

    Deposite are recoivod fixed for one year or for ubort poriode © rates of interect which oan be acoertained on sppliontion.
     anpplication ".

    LOANS, DVERDRATME, \& DAR CREDIKね
    The Bank grants acoommodation on terms to be arranged agniast approved secarity.

    The Bank andertakes jo behall of ite Cometituente the cate enetody $\alpha$ Sharee and Betaritien and the collection of dividead and interest thereon, it also andertakes the male and parobses of Government peper add all desoriptione of Stocke at moderats ohargea, particulare of which may be had on appliontion. R. P. BTRINGFELLOW.
    $2^{3-2-1}$
    Maneger.

    ## THE BANX OF BARODA, LD.

    Under the Patromage of and lergely alpported by the Gzrepment of E. B. tho Mabarajo Gackwapo
    Regintered under the Baroda Companios' Aet III of 1858 TEAD OFFIOE BARODA.
    Bramhem_hmedabad, Xatespí Moohomanen Rere
     Oapitel Paid Ip * $80,00,000$. Becerve Puad o 12,50,000.

    DIRECTOBS:
    Che Eleable Mr. Lellabhai Bamalded, O.I. $Z_{0}$, Ohatime
    Sir Yithaldee Damodar Thaokermy, Ef.
    Ruj Ratias Shoth Maganbbal P. Hariblakti Itogar Bboth Barode.

    Ehoth Manilel Rovedec, Fedmager.
    Reo Bahadur Gumajireo R, Nimbalkes, Bur Gebbe, Barode State.

    Bheakerrme Fithaldas Mehte, Esqga Adrocale, Eigh Dourt,
    Bombey.
     Baroda.
    B. B. Shirgsokar, Naib Subba, Barode 8tate.
    A. N. Detar, Accoantent Geaernl, Baroda Btate.

    OURRENT DEPOSIT $\triangle 000 U N T E$.
    Intermet allowed on daily balance from Re. 800 to Ra. $1,00,000$ at tha rate of 2 per cents per anmere and os aums over Re, $1,00,000$ by epecial arrangement. 200 insorent whioh doen not eome so Rs. 8 per half year will be alloweds

    FIXED DEPOSITE.
    Beocived for long of short periods on torme whob may to secortained on appliontion.

    TOANS, OVERDRAFTS, ANDCASE OREDITB.
    The Bank granta accommodation on torms to be arranged egaiant approved ceourition.

    The Bank nudertaker on behair of its conetitaenta the mafe eantody of Sharen and Becurition and the collootion of divf. dends and interest thereom; It aleo andertaken the male and parchece of Government Paper and all demoriptiont of Stook at moderate ohargen, partioulars of which rey be learat oa appliontion.

    ## BAVINGS BANK DEPOSIT角.

    Deposite recoived and intarset allowed at aperemb per sonvm. Rules on applieation. O. E. BANDLE, Gomeral 18-4-18. Meamer.

    ## THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

    ## (Registered in Japan.)

    Established 1880.Subsoribed Capital......... Yon. $88,000,000$. Puid up Oapitaloco.... ..........Yen. 48,000,000. Reserve Pand Yen. 28,100,000. Head Offlce: Yokobama.
    Branches and Acsencles at Bombey, Buenos Aires, Oslentta, Changohon, Cbi-Nan, Dairom. Fengtien, Henkow. Earbin, Hongkong, Eooolaln, Kairoan, Kobe, London, Lot A pgelea, Lyons, Manila, Nagmaki, Naw: chwang, New York, Oake, Peking, Rangoon, Ban Franciece Seathle, Shanghai,- Shimonoeti, Bingepors, Boerabays 8yduey, Tientsin, Tokio, Tuingteo.

    Current Deposit Accounts are opened tos'd approved cuatomers and Intareat is sllowed st the rate of \& per cent per ananm on daily balances of Re. 1,000 opto Ef. 100,000, vrovided that the amonat of half-gearly interent is not low than Ro. $B$.

    Flxed Deposits are reeived for ous yee and sborter periode on terme whiob may be secortaind na application.

    Every demeription of banking and exebange businel rabes oted.
    N. IGARABEL

    Poat Boz No. 207, Bornby Road, Bombag.

    1. WIBHIMAKI.

    Menager, Caleutta.
    1-12-17.
    Pow Boz Ho, 106. Clive sirset, Calertio
    ¿aregisteled undze the findian companies' ACT OEF 1913.)
    At Bonohay the 11th Noveaber. 1919. iegistered office.
    ,, murzban road, Fort, Bombay.

    ## Hi

     Called up capital i.: .... ... $60,00,000$ PAID.UP ON 19-5-20. Rr. 59,00,0428.0.

    ## HEAD OFFICE.

    \& SUB-BRANCH Zaveri Bazar 289 Shaik Memon Street。" LONDON AGENTS.
    MTHE LONDON COUNTY WESTMINSTER AND PARR'S ( . . BANK LIMITED.
    CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Jnterest atiowed at 21 per cent. pur manum on DAILX BALANCES up to Re. $\mathbf{1 , 0 0 , 0 0 0}$. From Ist January to 30 ca Junc intercac at 3 par cent. per annum ist allowed on aums over Rs. 50,030 provided the balance djes not fall below that Gigure. Nu jutercst is ollowed fulese the gum aocrued amounts to Re. 3 halt-yearly.
    , FIXED DEPOSITS: R:ccived for one jear and for -horter periods et rates to be ascertained on application.
    SAVINGS BANK: Interest ailowed $\square 4$ per cent. per anasm. Rules on application.

    LOANS AND CABH CREDITS: are granted on approved Sccurities at tavourable raten.
    SHARES AND SEIURITIES: :purchased and sold. Bankiag busincest of every dessription trinezeted.

    A, B, OLIPHANT.
    14.3 -20. Ag. Manager

    ## THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, Lid

    | Anthorised Capital... | $\ldots$ | Rs. | $1,00,00,000$ |  |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | Subscribed Capital... | $\ldots$ | 10 | $1,00,00,000$ |  |
    | Paid Up Capital | $(30-12-18)$ | 0 | $4 y, 90,000$ |  |
    | Reserve Fand | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $14,00,000$ |

    Head Office:-Alice Bailding, Bombay.
    Hocal Branches : -( 1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Baxar, (3) Share Busar.
    Branches s-Amritsar, Calcatta, Dolhi, Jharia, Karaohi.
    Kondon Agentsi-Loudou Joiat City aud Mulland Bank, Ld.
    Current Accounts : $3 \%$ allowed on Daily Balanore fromJun. aary to Jane
    $2\} \%$ allowed on Daily Balances from July to Dacember.
    12 months Doposits recoived at $5 \%$ per ranum. Longand Short period Doposite reooived at rates to be ascertained on Application.
    Fi Fivery tiad of Banking Business tranaacted.
    For forther particulars pleuse apply, to the Manager.
    S. N. POCHEHANAWALA.

    25-2-17 ~. Henager.

    ## ALady's BestOrna-? ment is a Glorious. Head of Hair.

    

    A profasiem of rich, eoft gilty. lastrong wavy hairwiere's the coanan who Wonld notliket batt
    Therefs only one oilithat makes cach hair and it's the far-fan,ed

    KAMINIA OIL,
    (fiegd.)
    In ralastle for ladiea, mad just ae noneb fir citrainWorkers aud Stedents.

    Heated head? cooled, aching disalpesis and dandruff bscomes a thiog of the $p$ xt Added to all these fit poseesses s benutifaUragrayt meil.
    For a operiority, awarded. - Gold Medal at the Mgbre Exhibition, and Ifis great demand af orer the coantry.
    If you have set yet wex KAMINIA OIL, gle
     once; ind like many people you will prefer to zee aleo alvent Price per botile, Re. 1. V. P. Charges 6 annes exté Prioe for 3 bottles Re. 2-10. V. P. ebankes 14 sanae exth Sole Agenta:-

    Write now, Do not delay The Anglo-Indian Drug \&e Chemical Coas (5-8-16) Nn. 15 s Inmma Wnniid Werket. HOMHAY?

    ## HIGIILY APPIRECLATED BY

    Rajas, Maharajas and Men of epulence.

    ## ANANG PKAEHA YAKUTI.

    This nectrt-like "Y,kuti' possessing marvellows merits, is preparted from ambur, musk. and beat richest and choicest vegetable drug". It pormekees angic power of destruying urinary digorders and of iacreasing blood in the body in considerable priportions. It refreshee memory, strengthene the bady and destroys tbe coastiplas cion. In short it muis the matiofe trom his every Complaint of brain, bofy and heart ; and marvellousiy it enables the man, huwiv.r d'uabled and aged be mas be, to enjoy the worldly pleasurea.

    This wonderful "Yukuti" is not only used in good quantities by many nflicery of this atate, but by the Rajae Muhorajas, Zamindary Ameera and swehother mea of noble birth residing abroad. They have expressed their entire satisfaction for it and on their presaing demond for pateIng this at Yakuti " before the public, the same han beea done by us to bonour thote wortby perang. We atrongly recommend the nobility and the Gentry to make use of this "Yakuti" which warks like a charm and whome effect is lasting. Try oace and be happy for ever.
    Price Ra. 10 (ten) only per boz of 30 pillse

    ## RAJ YAIDYA HARAYARJI KESHAYJI

    Head Office:-Jamnagar, Kathiawar, (India.) Branch :-No. 187, Kalbadevi Road,ECMPAT.

    Importers from England, Continent, America and Japan of: Brass and Copper:-

    Sheets, Injots, Rods, Wire, etc., \&c.
    Spelter:-
    English and Japanese. Boiler Zinc Plates:Lead $\qquad$
    rig, Sheets ind l'ipes.
    Ircn and Steel:-
    Galvanized theets.
    Black Steel Sheets.
    Steel laling Hoops.
    Stcel Cut Hoops.
    Steel Rars, Angles and Shapes.
    Swedish Special Steels.
    Galvanized or Annealed Wire.
    Wire Nails.
    S:eel or Cast Iron Pipes.
    Tin llates.
    Aii descriptions of Iron and Steel.
    Electrical Goods:-
    Ceiiing Fans.
    Bare Copper Wire.
    Cotton and Silk Covered Wire.
    Lead Covered Wire.
    Insulated Cable.
    Meial Filament Lamps.
    Switches and Key-hulders.
    Available from Ready Stock.
    Exporters of:一
    Manganes:, Chrome, Dica, Coprer ore, Lead ore and all Kirds of Minerals.

    # FURUKAWA \& CO, LTD. <br> <br> TOKIO 

    <br> <br> TOKIO[^21]:    8. Chid Wollare Varour Commercialived Vice" $A B_{1}$ Caid Wollare Verous Commeroialived Vice in ion.... $\frac{1}{1}$ - The Child-Hin Doedly Peril. An Appeal to Mea'... 4 Commeroialized Vico. Some anamers to objections againat legialation." Ordes trom The Mothodist Publishing Eouse, LOCENOW.
[^22]:    "Speech delivered by Sir Elarayab Chandavariker who preaid ed at the poublic meeting of Bombry vitizens beld zader the munpices of the Presidency Anmociation on Priday, the Iod dubro

[^23]:    Hatlifrala'm Gonuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 eaob boitle of 100 .
    Hatli Fwala'a Genuine Quinine Tableta gr. 2 each
    bottle of 100.
    Batilivala'm Agne Mixture of Fever, Malaris, In unensa etc.
    Batilwa'a'm Ague Pills for Malaria, Yever, le suensa otc.
    Hatilitala'位 Tonlo pille for pale reople s cervin breaks down.

    Bkatliwalap Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth
    Batifwalatm Ringworm ointment for Kingncim
    Dhobiltoh tic.
    May be bad from all dealcinin wedicines or from
    Dr. H. L. Hatliwnia Sove A Co.t Lid.
    No. 1s, Worli, 18, Bombay.
    Telrarapaio ApDazes :-"Docfor Batilivala Dactor

[^24]:    
     bsers weod, for the Propritorts THE INDIAM SOCLAE REPORMER, LMIIED.

[^25]:    :Tre Oxlord Univerainy Preme pries 13 aname.

[^26]:    Ay Batli wala'm Genuine Quinine Tablete gro 1 each Batlivala'm Gopuine Oqinine Tableta gr. I ach Batiswaia" Gootine bain bottle of 100
    Batilivala'm Agoe Micture of Fover, Malarla, Inp Anensa oto. for Malaris, Yover, In
    Batilwala'm Ague Pule for Malaris Yover, In
    Latilvala's Tonio pilla for palo people a nervon breaka down.
    Batifvala'm Tooth Powdor of Preeorving Teoth Hatil wala's Ringworm' olntmeal for Ringworm Dhobilten etc.
    May be had from ell dealore in medioines or from Dr. H. L. Batllwale Sons at Con Lid. No, 12, Worll, 18, Bomber.
    

[^27]:    HIGHLY APPRECIATED BY
    Rajas, Maharajas and Men of opulence.
    ANANG PRABHA YAKUTI.
    This nectre-lika "Yakuti" poseenaing marvellous merits, is prepared from atobmy, musk, and bent richent and choicent vegetable drugen it posseases magic powes of dentroylag urinary disorders and of increasing blood in the pody in conaiderable proportions. It refrenhem anemory streagthens the body and deatroys the conatipan cion. In short it makes the man free trom bile every complaint of brain, body and beart ; and marveltously it enablet the man, however diembled and aged be may be, to eajoy the morldly pleasuses:
    This wonderful 'Yakut' ' is aot oaly used in good quantities by many officers of this atate, but by the Rajas Maharajus, Zamiadars Amecrs und auch other mea of sobla birth reviding abroad. They have expressed their catire eatiafaction for it and oo their presaing demand for puttfing this "4 Yakuti."? before the public, the anme has bee" doas by ve to honour those warthy permoos. We atrongly recommend the aobility and the Gentry to make use of cthis "Yakutl" which worke "like a obarm and whoce eflect is batiog. Try ence and be happy for ever.
    Priceifa: 10 (ton) only por box of 30 pills
    RAJ YAIDYA MARAYANJI KESHAYJI
    Head Office :-Jamnagar, Kathiawar, (India.) Branch:-Na. 187, Kalbadevt Road, 248.1919.

    BOMBAZ

[^28]:    Subatance of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's addreat to the etudents of the St. Xavier's College on Treedey, 27th July. 1980.

[^29]:    Latil walaim Gonaine Quinine Tablete gr. 1 enon bottle at 100 .
    Batilwala'm Genuline Quinine Tableta gr. 2 ench bottle of 100.
    Batilwala'd Agae Mixture of Fover, Malaria, Imficense oto.
    Hatliwaia'e Axue Plite for Malaris, Yover, In fuenza otc.
    $H$

[^30]:    - I Lin article trat appowed ia Vriday's Fimes of India.

[^31]:    * Hodder and Stoughtoa. Price ? ohilliags sett.

[^32]:    Hatil wraia's Gonuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each Genaine Quin
    Gennine Opinine Teblete
    Batifwalan Genuine Qainine Tableta gr. 2 each Agre-mixture
    Batlivola's Agao-Mixture of Eover, Malaria, Is Auensi eto.
    Batliwalap Ague pille for Malaria, Yover, In Anconse oto.
    Latilvala'm Tonio pille for pale people a nervon breake down.
    LAatilivala' Tooth Powder of Preeorving Teoth Hatil wala's Kingworm ointment for Ringworm Dhobiltah ato.
    May be had from all dealora in mediolnee or from Dr. H. Lo Batilwala Sons a Con Lid. No. 18, Worll, 18, Bombay.
    TMLaraphio Addrusa :-" Doctor Batilwala Dedar

[^33]:    

    ## HIGIILY APPRECIATED BY

    Rajas, Maharajas and Men of opulence.
    ANANG PRABHA YAKUTI.
    This aectre-like "Yakuti" posaessing marveliout merits, is prepared from ambar, musk, and beat richest and ohoiceat regetable drugs. It positesses magic power of deatroying urinary disorders and of increasing blood In the body in conaiderable proportions. It refreshes memory, strengthens the :body and destroys the constipan glon. In short it makes the man.free from bis every complaint of brain, body and heart ; and marvelloualy it cambles the man, bowever disabled and aged he may be, to enjoy the worldly pleasures.

    This wonderful 'Yakuti' is not only used in good quantítics by many officers of this state, but by the Rajan Maharajna, Zamindars Ameers and such otber men of noble birth reviding abroad. They bave exprensed their catire aatiafaction for it and on their pressing demand for putt. log thia "Yakuti" before the public, the tame bas beed done by tes to honour those worthy pertonaf. We atrongly reeommend the aobility and the Geatry to make use of thie "Yakuti" which works like a charm and whoes effect is lasting. Try once and be happy for ever.
    Price Res. 10 (ten) only per box of 80 pille

    ## RAJ YAIDYA MARAYAKJI RESHAYJI

    Hoad Office :-Jamnagar, Kathiawar, (India.) Branch :-No. 187; Kalbadevi Road, 248-1910.

    BOMBAY.

