

STATISTICS OF CIVIL CONDITION AMONG THE DECCAN AND KONKAN BRAHMINS.

With the permission of Mr. Vidyadhar Vaman Bhidé B. A., we reproduce here a portion of the lecture he delivered at Ratuagiri on the condition of Hindu widows among the higher castes. We omit the first portion of the lecture which treats of the general arguments in favour of widow-remarriages.

Having thus far considered the arguments in favour of, and against, widow-remarriages, I shall now proceed to consider the latest statistics regarding the civil condition of the 16 principal castes of the Dekkan and Konkan Brahmins. These statistics greatly strengthen the position taken up by me on general grounds of principle in defence of the remarriage movement. The 16 castes that I have selected are the principal castes of Dekkan and Konkan Brahmins, among whom widow-remarriages are not permitted. "Chitpawan" and "Kokanastha" being two names for one and the same caste, I have counted them as one caste, although in the census report they are shown as two. The other castes are Deshastha, Karhadé, Dewruke, Palse, Tirgul, and Kirwant. These 7 castes form one group of the Maharashtra section of the Panch Dravid Brahmins. The next 9 castes are of the Panchgoud section viz. Sheuwi, Kudaldeshkar, Sashtikar, Bardeshkar, Gowd, Saraswat, Gowd Sarasvat, Gowd Sashtikar, and Gowd Shenwi. These 9 castes are, in this part of the country, popularly known by the name of Shenwis; and I have accordingly called them by that name in my statistical Tables. Of these 16 castes the Deshasthas are numerically the strongest, and the Kokanasthas

Referring to Table A, you will see in the 3rd vertical column the number of widows in the various castes. The number of widows in the first 7 Brahmin castes is 43353, while the number of widows in the 9 Shenwi Brahmin castes is 6450. These are certainly large numbers. And in all the 16 castes, the aggregate number of widows is 49803, or nearly 50000. Just imagine what this means, half a lac of women, out of a total of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, are condemned by society to relinquish all marital happiness, and, many of them for the most part live without any object in life. Taking only the first 7 castes in the aggregate, the percentage of widows to females is as high as 20, or in other words, one woman out of every 5 women is a widow. In these 7 castes, the highest percentage is shown by Tirguls (25.7), next come the Kirwants (23), next the Deshasthas (21.8), the Palses (21.6), the Dewrukhas (19.2), the Kokanasthas (16.7) and the lowest percentage is shown by the Karhades (15.6). Even if we omit the Palse, Tirgul and Kirwant castes from consideration as being numerically weak, and therefore liable to show fluctuations of percentages on very slight variations in numbers, we get, roughly speaking, nearly the same percentage. The percentage of widows to females in the Shenwi castes, taken in the aggregate, is 16.4, a little lower than in the first 7 castes. And considering the Shenwi castes individually, this percentage varies from 34.4 (as in the numerically weak caste of the Bardesbkars) to 8.5 (as in the equally small caste of the Sashtikars). Taking only the four numerically strong Shenwi castes, we find the percentage of widows to females ranging from 21.9 (as in the Saraswats) to 12.6 (as in the Gowd caste), the Gowd being, if we omit the numerically insignificant caste of Sashtikars, the most fortunate of all the castes of Dekkan and Konkan Brahmins. When we consider all the sixteen castes together, the percentage is 19.4 or nearly 20, which

The Quarterly Journal

18125

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha

OLD SERIES
Vol. XXI, No I

April 1917.

NEW SERIES.
Vol. 2., No I

THE NATIONAL DEMAND FOR HOME-RULE

THE 28th of December 1916 is a red-letter day in the history of the Indian National Congress, or the history of the British rule in India-for that matter. For on that day the National Congress for the first time put on its record a formal demand for self-government, coupled with a scheme of self-government, for India. The scheme is sufficiently full though by no means final, as will be seen from its text given at the end of this article. It is, moreover, not a mere statement of a distant ideal, but the object of an immediate demand. It is meant to be presented not in a spirit of mere fanciful speculation or curious dilettantism, but with the greatest earnestness and deliberation, coupled with the fullest sense of responsibility. It is backed not only by the intelligence of the nation but also by its will. The national Congress was conscious that it was doing a great thing i

ing this demand—great not only because the demand in itself was of large magnitude, but great because it was a token of the feeling that the nation had now attained its manhood. The scheme was not a mere romantic vision painted by imagination, but it was a sheer business proposition.

Time was when Government affected to regard the National Congress as a political cave of Adulam in which the odds and ends of the educated population met to air their discontents and to whet their spleen together in congenial company. But to-day after thirty years of steady political agitation and education the tables have been exactly turned and the honour of being the occupants of that Cave is reserved for the bureaucracy. The Congress no longer looks upon its session as the solemn feast which the Romans held once a year for their slaves, where they had liberty without exception to speak what they would whereby to ease their afflicted minds, which being done, they severally returned to their former servitude. The Congress now meets and disperses in the spirit of a body of men who are making history, and who are playing the very role which the communities of other nations played when on the eve of their emancipation. It is now Government who are being more and more isolated day by day. They can no longer proudly claim, as they did before, the support of any section of the educated people in stigmatising the ambition of self-government as insanity. They can no longer drown the cry of national aspiration in the loud huzzas of the grateful praise of their self-seeking sycophants. True national spirit, like a current of electricity, running through the educated mass has in course of time effectively separated the gold of patriotism from the dross of selfishness.

The ranks, again, of the great educated community in India have been almost miraculously closed. There are now no Moderates amongst us; not because we have lost all sobriety of thinking, but because the demand for self-government is unanimously regarded as highly reasonable. There are now no Extremists

AND FOR HOME THE NATIONAL DEMAND FOR HOME

amongst us; not because we have lost all the fire of impatient earnestness, but because the advance guard of the slowest footed amongst us has, at the end of a weary journey of prudence and caution, already planted its own flag in and annexed the region of the wind-winged idealists. Government must now vainly look around for support, in their cynical comment on national politics, from the educated boss. The allurements of patronage can not yet be said to have lost all their charm and power. But the ablest protege of government can no more push back the march of national aspiration than could Mrs. Partington the coming tide with her miserable mop.

Government have lost yet another asset in the decided advance of political opinion among the Mahomedans. For years and years the bashfulness and the Jealousy of the Mahomedan community could be used by them as a shutting reply to the demand, for representative institutions, made by the Hindus in the name of the nation. The union of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans was regarded by them as being impossible like 'the coming of the great Birnam woods to the high Dunsinane hill.' But when the Nemesis begins to move, even the apparently impossible becomes possible. As has been rightly observed by Dr. Rose, the author of the 'Development of the European Nations', the impulses of democracy and nationality never before worked with so triumphant activity as in the nineteenth century. "They have not always been endowed with living force. Among many people they lay dormant for ages and were only called to life by some great event such as the intolerable oppression of a despot or a governing class that crushed the liberties of the individual, or the domination of an alien people over one that obstinately refused to be assimilated." The formation of an Indian Nationality may be cited as an apt illustration of the above observations. The Mahomedans have indeed yet been socially no more assimilated with the Hindoos than Englishmen with either of them. Still it could be said with perfect truth that the Mahomedans and the Hindoos have now been

completely assimilated, as against Englishmen, so far as political aspiration is concerned.

For a greater part of the nineteenth century the Mahomedans were sullen and silent. They had not completely recovered from the after-effects of the policy of distrust and suspicion which Government had adopted towards them. And this sullenness and silence were only intensified and deepened by the want of education and the consequent insusceptibility to those feelings of hope which education, and especially the reading of history, quickens. The efforts of leading Mahomedans like Sir Syed Ahmed to lead them on to the path of education were highly patriotic, but were unnecessarily accompanied by an overcautious endeavour to keep them aloof from politics, in the obvious disregard of the truth that politics and education have a mutually reflex influence, and a beneficial influence too. This influence was seen later on in the avidity with which the educated Mahomedans took up the idea of pan-Islamism, and rushed into the very vortex of politics, which became at one bound perhaps even more extremist than that of the Hindoos. The spirit of the living triumphed, only as it should, over the spirit the dead; and we now see the Muslim League, though still drawing its inspiration mainly from Aligarh, out-heroding Herod in the eyes of Englishmen. Well, whatever its causes, the fact remains that the Mahomedans and the Hindoos have now become completely identified in their politics; and it was perhaps only on account of this that the apparently insoluble problem of communal representation was solved at Lucknow.

Like a drowning man catching at a straw, Government can now rely only on the flimsy excuse that the Indian people have not yet sufficiently exhibited their aptitude either for wielding the highest posts of administration or for the privilege of representative institutions. As regards the first the reply may be given in the words of the report of the latest Public Services Commission.

“The reply on the Indian side is that Indians are not

THE NATIONAL DEMAND FOR HOME-

wanting in the qualities required for administrators, and that such deficiency as may have been proved against individuals is largely due to their being persistently relegated to subordinate positions in which those qualities have little chance of being developed. It is urged that even when in theory Indians are supposed to enjoy the same status as their European colleagues and are often actually performing the same duties, they are subjected in various ways to differential treatment, and that this produces a galling sense of inferiority which reacts on the quality of their work. Thus they are practically debarred from admission to the higher branches of certain of the public services whilst in others they suffer under serious disabilities. They must in some cases proceed to England in order to pass the necessary examinations or to receive the educational training which cannot at present be obtained in India. All this is a breach of the spirit if not of the letter of the statute of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858. Indians contend that their familiarity with the peculiarities of Indian character and customs and ways of thought, as well as with the vernacular languages, constitute in the discharge of administrative duties an inherent advantage which hardly any European ever acquires in the same degree. The Indians hold that the time has come when, if properly qualified, they should be admitted in substantial numbers and on terms of equality with Europeans to the higher as well as to the lower branches of administration."

Far from the Indians being unfit to hold the higher posts in the services, they feel that they are only kept back simply on political grounds. The badge of unfitness and inferiority has been created out of nothing by foreigners whose vested interests in the loaves and fishes of India are immediately concerned. As the Hon. Mr. Chaubal has put it in his dissenting minute, "The question, therefore, of the proportion in which indigenous agency is to be utilized in the near future in the higher service of the State is of vital

JARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

importance. These proportions must be such as cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the government of the country. At present the Indians are far and few; and every Indian officer, whether high or low, feels that he is not serving himself or his country, but is an individual hired to labour for some body else. He can rarely put his whole heart into the work, because he is always conscious of the presence of a task-master and never works but with his eyes upon his superior officer and always thinking of what he will say of the work turned out by him. To dispell this feeling there must, in the higher service, in all departments of administration, be present a large number of Indians so that they may collectively feel that the responsibility for a strong and wise government to the people rests only on them."

As regards the fitness for representative institutions, we must once more refer to the report of the Public Service Commissioners. Adverting to the extent to which the western-educated classes represent the masses of the people, the Commissioners observe, "But it would be equally unwise to ignore that growing body of western educated opinion which is gradually creating a new atmosphere all over India. Even those who most strongly deprecate some of its manifestations realise that it had contributed largely to the great social and religious movements which are aiming at giving a new direction to old beliefs and harmonising ancient doctrines with the teachings of Science. It is reflected in that new sense of unity which is displacing the idea of ordained separation hitherto prevalent in Indian society. As observed by Hon. Mr. Chabul in his dissenting minute. "This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses, and it is fair to state that the class of educated Indians is singularly free from narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias."

Post-War Reforms

The following is the scheme of the Post-War Reforms prepared by All-India Congress Committee in consultation with the Reform Committee of the All-India Muslim League and passed unanimously at the last session of those bodies held at Lucknow in December:—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council

POST-WAR REFORMS

which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of all country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of India,

POST-WAR REFORMS

including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Services shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimate.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS OF POLICY.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Indian should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of the Province.

N. B.—As regards communal representation in Legislative Councils, the following percentages have been agreed upon:—

Mahomedan representation for the Punjab 50 per cent; Bengal 40 per cent; Bombay 33½ per cent; United Provinces 30 per cent; Central Provinces 15 per cent; Madras 15 per cent. It has also been agreed to that if in any province two-third of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both communities.

TABLE A. Statistical information regarding the civil condition of Deccan & Konkan Brahmins.

	Castes of Deccan and Konkan Brahmins.	Males.	Females.	Widows of all ages.		Percentage of Widows to females.	Percentage of girl widows to widows.	Females available for conjugal purposes.	Men who cannot find wives.	Percentage of men who cannot find wives to males.	Remarks.
				Widows of 14 or under.	Widows of 15 or over.						
1	Chitpawans	23,430	23,002	3,975	114						
	Koknasthas	36,941	83,473	5,488	114						
	Total Chitpawans & Koknasthas.	60,371	56,475	9,463	228	16.7	2.4	47,012	13,350	22.2	
2	Deshasthas ...	1,48,968	1,39,601	30,418	534	21.8	1.7	1,09,183	39,785	26.0	
3	Karhadas ...	17,362	16,033	2,512	323	15.6	12.8	13,526	3,836	22.0	
4	Dewrukhas ...	3,655	3,399	654	145	19.2	22.1	2,745	940	25.5	
5	Palsas ...	153	148	32	0	21.6	0.0	116	37	24.1	
6	Tirgals ...	1,080	1,008	259	7	25.7	2.7	749	331	30.6	
7	Kirwants ...	68	65	15	4	23.0	26.6	50	18	26.4	
	Total of 1 to 7 Brahmin castes.	2,31,687	2,16,734	43,553	1,241	20	2.1	1,73,381	58,306	25.1	

DECCAN & KONKAN BRAHMIN.

STATISTICS OF CIVIL CONDITION—D. AND K. BRAHMIN. 3

TABLE A—Continued.

	Castes of Deccan and Konkan Brahmins.	Males.	Females.	Widows of	Widows of 14	Percentage of	Percentage of	Females avail-	Men who can-	Percentage of	Remarks.
				all ages.	or under.	Widows to females.	girl widows to widows.	able for conjugal purposes.	not find wives.	men who can not find wives to males.	
8	Shenwis ...	3,499	3,315	712	83	21.4	11.6	2,603	896	25.6	
9	Kudaldeskars	263	218	53	2	24.3	3.7	165	98	37.2	
10	Sashtikars ...	136	152	13	0	8.5	0.0	139	3		
11	Bardohkars ...	103	145	50	21	34.4	42.0	95	8		
12	Gowds ...	17,608	15,627	1,969	91	12.6	4.6	13,658	3,945	23.4	
13	Saraswats ...	10,627	9,909	2,167	14	21.9	.6	7,742	2,885	27.1	
14	Gowd saraswats	10,057	9,806	1,301	75	13.2	5.7	8,505	1,552	15.4	
15	Gowd sastikars	673	656	156	1	23.8	0.6	500	173	26.	
16	Gowd shenwis	138	133	29	0	21.8	0.0	104	34	24.6	
Total of 8 to 16 Brahmin castes.		43,000	39,961	6,450	287	16.4	4.3	33,511	9,588	22.4	
Total of 1 to 16 Brahmin castes.		2,74,780	2,56,695	49,803	1522	19.4	3.0	2,06,892	67,894	24.7	

We have SIX girl-widows per thousand females.

Shenwi Brahmins.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

✧ CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY ✧

By S. M. Sane, B. Sc., B. A. Ph. D. (Berlin).

TWO years ago when the war broke out, there was a general disturbance of international commerce and among other serious troubles, the supply of chemicals, dyestuffs and pharmaceutical products completely collapsed. The effect was keenly felt in India as well as in all the other countries of the world and the situation in England with regard to her great textile industry became most serious. Chemists and business men in England knew that they had been importing some of their most essential supplies from Germany; but for nearly forty years, during which the situation was developing, no serious attempt was made to meet this prospective difficulty. How the Germans themselves have during this period been slowly but monopolising this profitable industry will be apparent from the following survey of their Chemical Industry.

In dealing with Chemical Industry, it is usual to speak of heavy chemicals and fine chemicals. The former class includes, first of all, Sulphuric Acid, Soda, Ammonium Compounds and a large number of chemical products in the manufactures of which sulphuric acid or soda is directly or indirectly useful. Sulphuric Acid is to chemical industry what a hammer is to engineering and it was in England that the manufacture of sulphuric acid attained large proportions and, as a necessary consequence, the manufacture of heavy chemicals developed there and even today England has the largest production of this class of chemicals. The supremacy in the manufacture of sulphuric acid has, however, passed into other hands mainly because the English sulphuric acid could not keep itself abreast of the times.

The old time-honoured method of manufacturing this acid has now a most powerful rival in what is known as

SARVAJANIK 'SABHA QUARTERLY

the contact process. This process was necessitated by the fact that in the manufacture of artificial Indigo, sulphuric acid of great strength was required. The German chemical factory which had the greatest interest in this problem took up the investigation of this subject and, after years of patient research, and the expenditure of large sums of money, perfected a process which yields acid of the highest strength and purity. Germany and America are to day both independent of England for their supply of sulphuric acid. Out of a total world production of 5 million tons, England produces 1 million and Germany and America $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons each (1910).¹ In 1912 German production had increased to 1,650,000 tons.²

The development of electrolytic methods in chemical manufacture has also seriously affected the English supremacy in the manufacture of bleaching materials. By the electrolysis of salt, Caustic Soda is produced and the production is attended with the evolution of enormous quantities of Chlorine and Hydrogen. This chlorine is a very destructive gas and much time, money and labour were spent before suitable apparatus was invented to transport and utilise this gas. It is now often converted into liquid chlorine and transported in steel cylinders. Nearly half of the bleaching powder of the world is now made from Electrolytic chlorine and about $\frac{1}{3}$ of world's total production of bleaching powder is manufactured in Germany. This liquid chlorine (3 as. per lb.) has been utilized in various ways and next to bleaching powder it is used in enormous quantities in the manufacture of organic dyestuffs. One single factory (B. * A. S. F.) in Germany used more than 2 million lbs liquid chlorine in the manufacture of synthetic Indigo.³

The other by-product of the Electrolysis of salt is Hydrogen. For some time this gas was simply allowed to escape in

¹ Lunge's Sulphuric Acid Vol Chapter XIV (1913)

² Journal of the Soc. of Chem. Indus. pp. 174. (1915)

³ Jour. of the Soc. of Chem. Indus pp. 308 (1915)

* Baden Aniline Factory.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

the air but in course of time important uses have been found for it in Germany. Dirigible balloons and the various systems of airships consume a large proportion of the Hydrogen thus produced. Balloon sheds are established near soda works and it is also transported in steel cylinders. Each cylinder contains about 3000 cubic yards of this gas and nearly 4000 such cylinders or about 8 truck loads are used for the filling of a single moderately sized Zeppelin.⁴

When hydrogen and oxygen are mixed, the mixture by special contrivances can be made to burn with the production of intense heat. This flame is now used for autogenous welding and was introduced some years ago by a German factory. This same mixture is also utilised as fuel in the manufacture of synthetic gems, rubies, amethysts and sapphires at the Electrochemical work at Bitterfeld. This new industry is largely in German hands and today rubies and sapphires are manufactured for a few shillings a carat. Natural rubies or sapphires of 2-4 carats cost £. 20—s. 50 while the artificial ones cost less than 50 many shillings.⁵

Ammonia. Another heavy chemical which is produced on the largest scale is ammonia or its salts. This is obtained from a byproduct which accumulates in large quantities in gas-works. England which has the largest gas industry led the world in the production of this important chemical. In 1874 Germany did not produce any ammonium sulphate, but in 1913 Germany's production⁶ of ammonium sulphate was 59400 tons against England's⁷ 432000 tons in the same year. Ammonium salts are used as manure.

About the middle of the last century (1840) the German Chemist Liebig published his famous treatise, "Application of Chemistry to Agriculture and Physiology." In this he taught that in order to keep the soil permanently fertile, all that is necessary

4 Jour. of the Soc. of Chem. Indus, pp. 309 (1915)

5 Jour. of the Soc. of Chem. Ind. pp. 309 (1915)

6 Chemiker Zeitung No. 55 593 (1914)

7 Jour. of the Soc. of Chem Ind. pp. 79 (1915)

SARVAJANIK SABHA 'QUARTERY

to do is to give back to the soil what the plants have taken away from it during their growth. All plants contain nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus among other elements. The atmosphere which surrounds us supplies them with carbon, oxygen and moisture, while potassium, phosphorus &c. are derived directly from the soil. Now one of the most important elements to animal and plant life is Nitrogen. Though present in the atmosphere in enormous quantities, it cannot be directly utilized by plants. The plants are therefore entirely dependent upon the nitrogen which may be present in a combined state in the soil. There are of course many natural agencies for the production of nitrogenous matter in the soil, but obviously none can equal the direct fertilisation of soil by nitrogenous products. Now the poor soil of Germany is wholly incapable of supporting 65,000,000 souls. The geographical position of Germany leaves them entirely, in a world-war like this, at the mercy of the power which controls the sea. The production of Ammonium sulphate and other fertilisers is thus to Germany a question of national importance, and this fact is plainly visible in the enormous bill which she pays annually for various fertilisers and manures. In 1912⁸ it used manures of the total value of £s. 30,000,000. Among the fertilisers Germany holds a monopoly of potassium salts and with the closing of Germany from the foreign market the absence of this chemical is being keenly felt all over the world. Although it has a monopoly of potassium, it has to import annually more than 750,000 tons (1912) of chili saltpetre.⁹ Here the chemist has again come to her help and processes have been invented to manufacture ammonia and nitric acid from the nitrogen of the atmosphere. Manufacture of nitrates on a commercial scale already exists and the manufacture of ammonia was to have been undertaken in the year 1914.¹⁰ Besides these there are other processes for utilising the nitrogen of the air (cyanamide);

8 Jour. of the Soc. of Chem Ind. pp. 310 (1915)

9 Chemister Zeitung No. 15 pp. 1713, (1914)

10 Chemister Zeitung No. 55 pp. 593 (1914)

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

all these tending to make Germany self-contained so far as her manures are concerned. When all these works are in operation, it is quite probable that Germany will not only meet her own requirements but will compete with England and Chili in the foreign market. In 1913 England exported nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of her total production of Ammonium sulphate, [Production 432,000 tons, export more than 300,000 tons]. In 1913 German production was 549,000 tons.

A great industry which shows in a remarkable manner the interest which the State has taken in Chemical Industry is the manufacture of porcelain. This industry owes [its origin in Germany to Boettiger, a German alchemist. This alchemist who lived in the latter half of the 17th century is said to have made gold before witnesses. As soon as this became known, the Elector of Saxony simply siezed him and interned him at Dresden. Boettiger having failed to make gold before the king, tried to escape to Austria. He was, however, captured and imprisoned for life. During his captivity he, with the help of another physicist, directed his genius towards imitating Chinese porselain and succeeded. This laid the foundation of the famous factory at Meissen, and within a short period Dresden porcelain became a symbol of culture in Europe. Frederick the Great (1740-1786) noted the success of the Dresden undertaking and saw how a very valuable article was being made from clay. He sent his court apothecary (Pott) to investigate but the latter failed. Another attempt at spying was made and this time his agent brought over with him to Berlin a workman who possessed the secret, and in this manner the great Royal Porcelain Factory at Berlin was founded.

We are all familiar with the cheap porcelain articles which Germany has dumped in the markets of the East. This has doubtless brought her considerable trade but her reputation to-day is mainly founded upon the articles which she manufactures for scientific purposes. Crucibles, dishes and other articles made at the Factory at Berlin or Meissen are used in all the Laboratories of the world and during these

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

two years of war attempts have been made to manufacture articles of similar quality but without success. Some of the articles which have since been put into market are very inferior. (Total export $3\frac{1}{2}$ million £s).¹¹

The case of glass is quite similar. Germany exports goods worth 7 million £s and has the largest export of scientific instruments (viz. microscopes, telescopes, lenses &c) and glass articles for scientific purposes. The two great factories Zeiss and co, and Schott at Jena specialise in glass for scientific purposes only.

Another great industry which at the same time is the largest chemical industry of Germany is the manufacture of beet-sugar. This industry is quite German in its origin and succeeded in securing a footing in Germany during the continental blockade a hundred years ago. In normal years Germany produces more sugar than any single country in the world and the magnitude of the industry may be gauged from the fact that the total production of sugar in Germany is valued at above 36 million £s of which she exports nearly half.¹²

In spite of the magnitude of this industry, and the great advances in the methods of manufacture, all is not quite well with beet-sugar industry in Germany. In 1840, 100 lbs of beet yielded only about 6 lbs of sugar, but in 1910 the average was about 16 *o/o*. Similarly by careful selection and manuring, the yield of beet per acre has been considerably increased; but in spite of all these improvements, Germany has found it hard to compete with the cheaper cane sugar and there are already people in Germany who see the prospect of a considerable diminution of this industry. What Germany will do in case beet sugar becomes unprofitable to her is difficult to say. She is sure to strain every nerve before yielding and it is quite possible that she may turn her

¹¹ Jour of Soc. of Chem Ind. pp. 307 (1915)

¹² Jour of " " " pp. 308 (1914) also Berliner
Tageblatt Nc. 16 pp. 7 (1914)

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

energies in finding substitutes for some agricultural product (say jute or flax) which she has now to import from abroad.¹³

Other industries, namely, artificial silk, the match industry, the industry of explosives in which though other countries are well represented, are none the less beginning to be dominated by Germany, while some of the latest discoveries have been most thoroughly exploited by her alone. The industry of incandescent gas-mantles is a case in point. This industry owes its birth in Germany to the life and death struggle between gas and electricity. In that country gas is not so cheap as it is in England and consequently with the cheapening of electric power, gas manufacturers were forced to invent methods which would yield the maximum of illumination with minimum of cost. The gas mantle with which most of us are familiar does this and the following figures give us an idea of the industry which this struggle has brought into existence. In 1912 Germany manufactured more than 135 millions of these mantles and herself used nearly a hundred millions. Until recently Germany and Austria together had practically a monopoly of these articles. If gas manufacturers have saved their industry, the other side has not been idle. There is a ceaseless effort at cheapening the cost of electric lighting and this is done by the introduction of the metallic filament lamps which we now see everywhere. Germany is the largest producer of these and in 1912 manufactured more than 100 million of these lamps of various kinds.¹⁴

Now I pass to another class of chemical industries i. e. those which are dependent on organic synthesis. It is in this branch of chemical industry that the Germans hold an unassailable position and it was the scarcity of the products of this industry which made the whole world painfully

13 Commercial Supplement of the Berliner Tageblatt No 14 pp. 7 (1914)

14 Jour. of the Soc. of Chem. Indus. 310 (1915)

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

conscious of its dependence on Germany. The textile industry of the whole world has to depend on Germany for most of its supply of dyestuffs and in England alone a trade of the value of 200 million £s, employing more than 1½ million of workmen was in serious peril. In this branch of science, i. e. organic chemistry, the Germans have found a field most suited to their genius and the stupendous structure of this industry which they have raised in their country testifies to the patience, thoroughness and even daring with which two generations of German chemists have exploited this science.

With a few exceptions, the parent substance from which most of the products of this industry are manufactured is coal-tar. This is a thick black liquid which is obtained as one of the by-products in the manufacture of coal-gas (i. e. illuminating gas). The tar so obtained is about 5 to 6 o/o of the quantity of coal used, and when this coal-tar is again heated, a mixture of a great many different substances is obtained which amounts to about 40 o/o of the tar. A factory which uses 100 tons of coal every-day could produce about 2 tons of this mixture which could be used for the manufacture of dyes.

In the manufacture of illuminating gas and in the production of coal-tar England has always led the world and still produces more tar than any other country in the world.

Germany in 1883 had 85000 tons to 1½ millions of England.¹⁵

“ in 1898 „ 166000 „ Ditto „ „

“ in 1910 „ 1,000,000 „ Ditto „ „

This clearly shows that while Germany was developing its Dye industry, it received a large part of the raw material from England and it is only recently that the German production of coal has equalled their requirements.

So again although colours from coaltar were first obtained by Runge, a German chemist, in 1834, it was Perkin who first manufactured his Mauve on a commercial scale in 1856. Graebe and Liebermann in Germany, and Perkin in England

¹⁵ Lunges' Coabtor & Ammonia pp. 28, 29 & 30 (1914)

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

succeeded in discovering a process by which Alizarin, hitherto obtained from plant, could be manufactured from coaltar products. This new manufacture was at once taken up in England and in 1870 England produced about 40 tons of alizarin. A year later Germany produced nearly 150 tons to England's 200. But in 1873 German production was 1000 tons to England's 435 tons and in 1878 the value of the production of coaltar colours in Germany was of the value of 2 million £s to England's less than $\frac{1}{2}$ million. So we see that within less than ten years, this new industry had left the land of its birth to thrive in Germany, but still continued to draw its nourishment from England. To France this competition was even more unpleasant because, before the discovery of artificial alizarin, she used to produce a large part of the world supply of the natural dye. In 1870 France had 50,000 acres under madder cultivation. But it soon disappeared and with it a trade of the value of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ million £s was lost to that country. The German production however kept on steadily rising and at the present time she exports alizarin and its derivatives of the total value of 1 million £s.

Since 1870 the German coaltar dye industry has steadily increased and hundreds of new dyestuffs of various shades of colours have been put into the market, but the scientific and business world fairly shook with amazement when in 1897 the Baden Aniline Company quietly announced that they had put artificial Indigo on the market,

This dye in which we in India have a special interest, was first synthesised by Prof. Baeyer in 1880. The earlier processes were of theoretical interest only and it took 17 years of incessant work to find out a process which could successfully compete with the natural Indigo. The history of artificial Indigo is quite a little epic and the cost to the Baden Aniline Company in putting the discovery into practice is estimated at 1 million £s. That is to say, here was a chemical factory which invested this huge sum on the advice of its chemists in undertaking what had never been attempted before.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

In 1896 the world's production of natural Indigo was valued at 4 million £s. of which $\frac{3}{4}$ was produced in India. In 1913-14 the value of the Indian production had been reduced to the insignificant figure of 60-70 thousand £s, while Germany alone exported Indigo of the value of more than 2 million £s. Before the war the price of Indigo per lb. was less than half of what it was 15 years ago i. e. about $\frac{3}{6}$ shillings per lb. The natural Indigo even now fetches a slightly higher price.¹⁶

During these two years of war we know that the plantation of Indigo in India has increased. What will happen after the war, whether the Indigo industry in India will have to compete with the German product on the same terms as before, or whether competition will be made easier by heavy duties or prohibition of the imported article, and whether this policy will embrace other imports into India, are all questions which the government alone can answer.

In addition to Indigo there are hundreds of other dyes which Germany exports to various countries, and England alone was supplied to the extent of about 80 to 85 o/o of her requirements. The total German export of dyestuffs for 1913 has been valued at 14 to 15 million £s.

Other industries which are closely allied to the manufacture of dyestuffs are those of synthetic perfumes and pharmaceutical products.

The chemistry of synthetic perfumes is something like this. There are in most countries plants or herbs containing agreeable odoriferous principles. These principles have been isolated and careful analysis has revealed the fact that these odoriferous principles consist, in many cases, of mixtures of a large number of simple substances. Now many of these constituents can, by suitable processes, be obtained artificially and so the task simply resolves itself in manufacturing these constituent principles and then mixing them in proper proportions. In this industry again Perkin was the first inventor, but much of the later work has been monopolised by the Germans and

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

their annual out-put of synthetic perfumes has been estimated at 2½ millions. The effect of these synthetic perfumes on prices may be gauged from the fact that Heliotropin which used to cost s. 75 per lb. now costs only 5 shillings per lb.

Equally remarkable are the results in connection with pharmaceutical products. With a few exceptions most of these drugs are manufactured from coal-tar. In the beginning the discovery of the therapeutical value of some drugs was purely accidental but when once their value was appreciated, the whole field was systematically searched and the result is that at the present time there are some 500 of these more or less useful chemicals. The best of them like aspirin, phenacitin, salol, antipyrin are among the most useful drugs at our disposal. Others like sulphonal, trional, and veronal are our most useful hypnotics. An interesting case of synthesis was *adrenalin*. This substance, which was discovered by Takamine in 1901 in animal body, has the remarkable property of contracting the blood vessels. This is used by our surgeons for stopping hæmorrhage. Now in order to produce 1 lb. of this substance the suprarenal glands of nearly 20000 oxen were required, but a German chemist of the Meister, Lucius and Bruning co. succeeded in preparing this valuable substance from coaltar products, and now it is a comparatively cheap article. Most of this pharmaceutical industry is in German hands and the total value of the export of pharmaceutical products as well as fine chemicals has been estimated at 5 million £s.

From this review of Chemical Industries it will be noticed that as compared to Germany, England can quite successfully assert her position in industries in which success and large production depend upon easy accessibility of the raw material from the different parts of the world, combined with the best means of distributing the finished products. Both these advantages have been in England's possession since her mastery of the seas, and it is for this reason that the industry of heavy chemicals developed first in England and in which England still has a leading position. But, with the industry connected

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

with synthetic organic chemistry the position is different. This industry demands a profound knowledge of chemistry. The earlier achievements in this branch of chemical industry were evenly distributed, but in course of time the whole industry has completely passed into the possession of Germany.

When the war broke out the attention of the whole world was suddenly focussed on German organisation and on German Industries, and among all their industries, the chemical industry alone stood out with a position almost impregnable. England has her own Vickers and Armstrongs to Germany's Krupp and Thyssen, but before the German Chemical Industry, especially that of the dyestuffs and drugs, England and other countries have very little to show. That the position with regard to dyestuff was very serious was shown by the fact that in England the Government had to intervene, and in some cases licences were actually granted to persons to trade with the enemy in the matter of dyestuffs. Is there or is there no way of putting an end to this humiliating dependence upon the chemists of Germany is a question which has been and is still being vigorously debated in England, and as a result the most varied suggestions have been put forward. Some demand state-owned or subsidised factories, others suggest crushing duties on German dyestuffs, while still others, among them some distinguished chemists, assert that nothing less than a total prohibition of German goods will answer the purpose.

Now in considering the future of this industry it must be borne in mind that Germany enjoys no natural advantage over other countries; in fact the chief industrial centres of Germany are situated hundreds of miles away from the sea, and it has been already shown that during the whole development of her dye-stuff industry, Germany was actually importing large quantities of coal-tar and other intermediate products from England. Another fact which must not be lost sight of is that England is not the only sufferer in this respect. Countries differing so widely in fiscal and excise laws and industrial conditions as

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY

England, France and the United States are equally unable to develop this peculiar industry. Which particular economic expedient will be useful, it is impossible to say: at any rate the methods by which this industry could be captured are not quite simple today.

This dyestuff industry peculiarly appeals to the imagination. That the evil-smelling coal-tar should yield the most beautiful dyes and perfumes makes a strong appeal to the industrial optimist, and there may be found in India people who have this industry in their programme. Our own position in this respect is infinitely worse than that of other countries. Our gas industry is insignificant, we do not as yet manufacture soda and have only commenced to manufacture sulphuric acid. Even if we distilled all the coal which the Bengal fields produce, the conditions do not become more favourable. Even Japan does not encourage us much. Japan has a substantial coal distilling industry, but the dye industry is yet to be born.

Such is the stupendous structure of the German Chemical Industries and attempts have been made to find out the cause of this success. In this connection one fact must be remembered and to my mind this will supply us with a clue to the success which has attended Germany in so many spheres of her activity. Germany as a nation became united formally in (1870), and when she gained for her-self a place in the esteem of Europe, she found that in spite of her military strength, she had neither colonies nor commerce comparable to that of France or England. In short, strong as she felt, she found that there was no place in the sun left for her. To me it seems that her consciousness of strength, and a will to usurp a position in a group of powers greatly her superiors have been the key to Germany's success. In all her activities we see an extraordinary coordination and organisation of natural energies and if success were to be had more cheaply, there was no reason for this output of extraordinary energy which is so characteristic of all German activities of the last half of the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

19th century. In Chemical Industry, Germany could not but allow England the lead where sea power and colonial resources were the deciding factors, but where her own natural needs were great, she has with phenomenal effort tried to make her-self independent of foreign supplies, (Nitrogen industry and Sulphuric Acid) and where she and other countries started equal, as in the case of coaltar colour industry, she has left all others behind. Supplementary to this, there are the German universities; then the liberality with which money is spent for research; and the education of the people; all are features which have powerfully contributed towards the success of this industry. All these causes, however, can not be discussed within the limits of this paper.

England and her allies are out to crush German militarism and I do not doubt that with men, ammunition and guns they will do it. But behind their military strength, there is a conception of State and man's duty wholly different from that which governs the rest of the world. The German State believes in and German citizen accepts the doctrine that the state exists to shape its subjects into machines, and so long as millions of these highly efficient human machines exist, England and the rest of the world will not be rid of the most powerful rival which they ever had to face.

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

(V. N. N.)

[This paper was read before a local association in September last.]

"The strength of the chain lies in its weakest link."

1. It is events that make the fortune of theories and not theories, the fortune of events. Thoughts and ideas that are in the air become active instruments of propagandist work at the bidding of events that mark the course of human history. If the times are not propitious or if circumstances do not furnish the necessary momentum many a perfect idea falls still-born into the lap of the world. Hence time, place and circumstance are of the essence of a politician's stock-in-trade. A statesman and a politician are distinguished from a theorizing doctrinaire, an agitator, or a fanatic from the former's firm grasp of events and his foresight in waiting upon events to make them his media for fruitful work.

2. The cry of Self-Government is one of such theories thrown up by the surging tide of events in India at the present moment and hence its claim upon the attention of the powers that be, has become irresistible. Any one who had watched the signs of the times in the stirring years preceding the Minto-Morley epoch of reform, could not have failed to see whither the trend of events was leading the destiny of the nationalist movement in India. By nationalism I mean to refer to that sum-total of political activity,—perfectly constitutional be it remembered,—carried on after their own fashion both by the extremist and the moderate school of political workers to make an effective breach in the strong hold of the Indian bureaucracy. In India, as I conceive it there are

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

only two parties in the political field, the party of "those that have" and the party of "those that have not," the moderates and the extremists forming the right and the left wing of the "have-nots." The bureaucrats monopolizing as they do the effective political power in the land naturally constitute the group of the 'Haves.'

3. Realizing the situation in this broad, general and purely unbiassed spirit, we can at once perceive what service the Minto-Morley Reforms did to the country at large. They served to effect the first breach in the stronghold of the bureaucrats. They upheld in theory wholly and in practice partially the principle of equality and elective franchise. They served to make the bureaucrats to some degree responsible to the representatives of the people, though as yet the responsibility thus engendered has, more often than not, the tendency to shade off into irresponsibility. Both at the India office and in the executive councils of the provincial Governors and the Viceroy the Indian element was introduced to leaven the thorough-going red-tapism of former years. The leaven is not yet powerful enough to create a fermentation and bring into being active elements of vitalizing growth. Sometimes the gift was spoiled by the bad choice of men that were to fill the office. And again the bureaucrats were in undisturbed majority to have their own way in the shaping of the administration. At the best the effect was only moral.

4. The Minto-Morley reforms seemed to have definitely put an end, at least for a considerable period of time, to any further agitation for the reconstruction of the political machine. But events have shown that that was not to be. The whole of the Imperial fabric was shaken to its very foundations by the terrible catastrophe of a world-war. The crisis is not yet over. And "the problem of the Common Wealth" has become the momentous problem of the future. The reconstruction of the Empire is only awaiting the end of the war to come before responsible statesmen for practical consideration. New India which forms such a considerable portion of the

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

British Empire shall also have to set her own house in order if she is to count at all in the hegemony of the Empire. She may be the weakest link in the Empire so far as political power of her people and her economic development is concerned. But that is all the greater reason why her reconstruction demands closer attention and more liberal and sympathetic treatment than any other unit in the chain of the Empire. The weakest link in the chain needs to be most carefully and cautiously handled.

5. The future reconstruction of the Empire is to be, as the signs of the times clearly reveal, on a federal basis. The utterances of colonial statesmen have made it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that they *do* claim to have a definite voice in the shaping of the Imperial policy both internal as regards trade, industry and domestic reforms and external as regards foreign affairs, diplomatic control and the defence of the Empire. Nay the question may not be allowed to rest there. The Imperial Conference may also advise that the dominions and colonies should also have something to do with the policy of shaping the future of the Indian Empire. So that not only Great Britain but even the colonies may claim to wield suzerainty over India as a recognition of their pledge of union with the mother-country. If things come to this pass—as very likely they may if we do not bestir ourselves in time to claim our equal right to equal partnership in the Empire—our last condition will be worse than our first.

The federal union of the Empire is only a misnomer if every member of it is not given its due right as a Self-Governing unit of the Empire. And India by her history and her civilization as well as by her spiritual and moral cohesion and her spirit of loyal devotion to the flag deserves to be knit closer to England by ties of fellowship in rights as much as in duties and responsibilities. The demand for Self-Government is thus a demand for imperial citizenship and for a truly federated union of the Empire. The opportunity for readjustment such as is implied in that demand

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

cannot be neglected by British statesmen without doing serious harm to the solidarity of the Empire. To raise the political and economic status of India is to strengthen the weakest link in the chain and thereby add to the strength of the chain itself. We claim self-government because we wish to contribute not only in name but in reality to the building up and welding together of the British Empire as a whole and to offer firm and unbroken resistance to its enemies. How much stronger would our resistance have been to the present enemy of the Empire if India were at this time a self-governing unit like Canada, Australia, South-Africa or new Zealand? The fighting power of India would have been immensely larger and its contribution ampler than it can ever be under a rule where the people have very feeble voice in the management of their affairs. The colonies have been drawn to England not by the power of force but by affection based on self-interest and moral faith. India would also help England more effectively if she was won to her side by affection based on self-interest and moral faith. A polity based on justice and mutual regard for rights and duties is more enduring than a polity under which the people have even the least ground to suspect that their regeneration mental, moral industrial and political is far from being the primary aim of the ruling caste. The fact that there is at present such a thing as a ruling caste in India and that there are some offices which are exclusively reserved for them on the ostensible ground of 'practical efficiency,' cannot be denied by even the best apologists of the British rule in India. To have a ruling caste in perpetuity is to cripple permanently the efficiency and the potential growth of the children of the soil. Office discovers the man and practical experience of responsible work makes a man and a nation capable of fulfilling that responsibility. Before the lesson thus learnt, no amount of initial mistakes is worth a reckoning. Training implies occasional blundering. We learn to walk only by stumbling

OLD SERIES
Vol. XXI, No 2

July 1917.

NEW SERIES
Vol. II, No 2

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

[CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE SABHA]

THE

SWARAJ NUMBER

EDITOR . . . N. C. KELKAR B. A. LL. B.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Karma-Yoga and Swaraj (Ishwari B. G. Tilak)	1
Autonomy & Progress (Rao Sahab Varkhedarayan)	4
Why I advocate Home-Rule for India (Sj. R. C. Pal)	5
Home-Rule & the Masses (S. K. Jitendra B. A. LL. B.)	31
Why do we want Self-Government (Sj. Gopalchand Deshpande)	52
Some of the problems of Home-Rule (R. P. Karmadikar Esq.)	72
Self-Government for India (L. B. Rhotasikar, M. A. LL. B.)	78
The Necessity for Home-Rule (Mrs. Annie Desant)	81

All rights reserved }

{ Price Rs. One

Ascension of the G. O. M.

The entrance of Dadabhai Naoroji into the blessed region of the immortals was an event which though not unexpected must no doubt give rise to painful feelings, in that we have for ever lost the benefit of advice of that greatest and most patriotic Indian of XIX century. Like Bhishma of the Mahabharat fame aged Dadabhai had laid aside his armour with honour and like Bhishma himself calmly awaited death. His Duty was done! He had zealously, and unremittingly fought the battles of India for more than thirty years in an alien land, undaunted by the fierce attacks of his opposants. Fearless in the hour of crisis and sober in the days of triumph, patiently did Dadabhai train India to take her destiny into her own hands. He was the first to sound the clarion-call of *Swaraj*—the life-breath of a nation and the condition of its existence. To his memory let our homage go forth, to his eternal fame may we carry out his mandate, and to his glory may we succeed in winning *Swaraj*. His life has been an inspiration and an example—a life which every Indian is proud of and of which every Indian will ever cherish a sacred memory. Of him let it be said:

Peaceful he sleeps with all our rites adored.

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

OLD SERIES
Vol. XXI, No 2

July 1917.

NEW SERIES
Vol. II., No 2

Karma—Yogā and Swaraj.



(By Lokm. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.)

THE Karma-Yoga which I preach is not a new theory; neither was the discovery of the Law of Karma made as recently as to-day. The knowledge of the Law is so ancient that not even Shri Krishna was the great Teacher who first propounded it. It must be remembered that Karma-Yoga has been our sacred heritage from times immemorial when we Indians were seated on the high pedestal of wealth and lore. Karma Yoga or to put it in another way, the Law of Duty is the combination of all that is best in spiritual science, in actual action and in an unselfish-meditative life. Compliance with this universal Law leads to the realization of the most cherished ideals of Man. Swaraj is the natural consequence of diligent performance of duty. The Karma Yogi strives for Swaraj, and the Dnyanin or spiritualist yearns for it. What is then this Swaraj? It is a life

SARVAJANIK SABHA. QUARTERLY

centred in Self and dependent upon Self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis who laid down the Law of Duty betook themselves to forests, because the people were already enjoying Swaraj or People's Dominion, which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya kings. It is my conviction, it is my thesis, that Swaraj in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world. Such was the doctrine taught by our forefathers who never intended that the goal of life should be meditation alone. No one can expect the Providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the idolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up, and then only you may rely on the Almighty to help you. You should not, however, presume that you have to toil that yet yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango-trees the fruit whereof you have tasted. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle—action disinterested and well-thoughtout. It does not matter who the Sovereign is. It is enough if we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called the immutable Dharma, and Karma-Yoga is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of Dharma or material and spiritual glory. We demand Swaraj, as it is the foundation and not the hight of our future prosperity. Swaraj does not at all imply a denial of British Sovereignty or British ægis. It means only that we Indians should be reckoned among the patriotic and self-respecting peoples of the Empire. We must refuse to be treated like the "dumb cattle driven" If poor

KARMA-YOGA AND SWARAJ

Indians starve in famine days it is other people who take care of them. This is not an enviable position. It is neither creditable nor beneficial if other people have to do every thing for us. God has declared His will. He has willed that Self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hands. Karma-Yoga does not look upon this world as nothing; it requires only that your motives should be untainted by selfish interest and passion. This is the true view of practical Vedanta the key to which is apt to be lost in sophistry.

In practical politics some futile objections are raised to oppose our desire for Swaraj. Illiteracy of the bulk of our people is one of such objections; but to my mind it ought not to be allowed to stand in our way. It would be sufficient for our purpose even if the illiterate in our country have only a vague conception of Swaraj, just as it all goes well with them if they have simply a hazy idea about God. Those who can efficiently manage their own affairs may be illiterate; but they are not therefore idiots. They are as intelligent as any educated men and if they could understand their village concerns they should not find any difficulty in grasping the principle of Swaraj. If illiteracy is not a disqualification in Civil Law there is no reason why it should not be so in Nature's Law also. The illiterate are our brethren; they have the same rights and are actuated by the same aspirations. It is therefore our bounden duty to awaken the masses. Circumstances are changed—nay, they are favourable. The voice has gone forth 'Never never.' Rectitude and constitutional agitation is alone what is expected of you. Turn not back, and confidently leave the ultimate issue to the benevolence of the Almighty.

Autonomy and Progress.



(*Rao Saheb Laxminarayan*)

A PROGRESSIVE society is unthinkable in the absence of a well-organised state. According to Aristotle the best type of polity is that which is managed by a nation's intellectual aristocracy, and as next best he prefers a democracy. But a democratic State can endure only so long as it is supported by the reason and conscience of the people in whose collective will Austin finds the source of political sovereignty.

There are epochs in the history of humanity when the demoralising and disintegrating factors in a society would eat away the robust and manly virtues, gradually paving the way for the passing of the popular sovereignty into the hands of a dictator. Under these circumstances, there are two alternatives left for the people. Either it must regain its consciousness as a community fit to be invested with a tone and vigour sufficient to manage the State, or be prepared in the long run to be wiped out under the weight of despotism which means over-rule or centralised rule and always tends to stunt and enfeeble the faculties of a community and unfits it to perform its functions in co-ordination with the State.

In the economy of the universe (which includes human societies also,) there is no place for despotism. Motion is either backwards or forwards. The former implies disintegration and decay, while the latter points towards progress. Evolution means forward motion in equilibrium. Despotism or force from without tends always to depress free movements from within and is opposed to evolution and

SABHA SARVAJANIK QUARTERLY

it is not therefore in the order of nature. That which is against nature can not last long.

POWER PRESERVES ORDER.

The historical evolution of humanity furnishes numerous illustrations in verification of this truth. Humanity from its very beginning satisfies its wants according to its own needs with its indigenous efforts at every ascending step. One of its earliest attempts is to frame its own rules of conduct to keep up harmonious relations among its members, and these rules constitute the foundation of the laws of civilised communities. Its next step is to provide for itself a compelling power for the preservation of order and peace, and it chooses its own strong and proper leader who is invested with the necessary powers out of which kingship is evolved.

The seeds of all institutions—economic, legal, political, religious, aesthetic, and the like are all found in the cradles of civilization; and they develop into the mighty tree of progress giving forth its finest fruit for the benefit of man in the fulness of time. A progressive community is therefore capable of effecting changes from time to time in its varied institutions so as to keep pace with the spirit of the age, else, progress would certainly be arrested if it failed to do so. Any compulsion from without spells ruin to society, and hence the necessity for autonomy.

HINDU JURISDISPRUDENCE

The Hindu jurisprudence and polity which prescribe rules for the guidance of the state and society, demand our highest reverence and unconditional homage. Gauging correctly what would be productive of immense mischief and harm especially from those who wield power and influence, sufficient safe-guards have been provided against direct and undue interference of the state with the avocations of the people. The merit of such a policy consists chiefly in the complete divorce of the law-making power from the state. If any state, ancient or modern can be called constitutional in the strictest sense of the term, the ancient Hindu state has alone all the essential characteristics of this type of

AUTONOMY AND PROGRESS

polity, though it differs in form from its modern proto-type.

As the Mohamedan conquerors contented themselves with merely being the tax gatherers, they left the management of the state under Hindu administrators with the result that the old polity remained unchanged. All Mohamedan conquests practically amounted to a status quo. A new sovereign of a different nationality succeeded in the place of the Hindu king—but everything else remained the same. Except during the passing waves of fanaticism there was ample scope for the development of all the arts of war and peace. That this polity is a standing monument to the genius of the ancient Hindus is evident from the fact that the administration was highly popular and decentralised. Village panchayats with full autonomy in matters concerning the rural administration the caste guilds and numerous other voluntary organisations, served as inseparable adjuncts to the state; and they performed effectively and with the least expenditure of money time and energy, many a function done at the present day by a large and costly army of over-worked officials of various departments such as revenue, police, judicial, forest, agriculture and the like, causing not a little delay and annoyance and cost to the people. That there was irresponsible despotism in pre-British days is not at all a fact of history.

The establishment of British rule in India furnished a strong central power to restore order and peace, but the highly complicated and top-heavy administration tended though unconsciously to affect the communal life and the varied faculties essential for a healthy existence, with the result that the people are gradually reduced to psychological atoms.

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM.

The present British Indian polity which is neither wholly British nor Indian bears the stamp of benevolent despotism, as there is nothing to prevent the bureaucracy from following its course unchecked, heedless of public opinion. Human nature remaining what it is everywhere, it is found that even the best among men could not be trusted to their own inclination and temperaments alone, in the matter of the

SARVAJANIK ABHA SQUARTERLY

management of public institutions; and consequently, the constitutional check of public opinion is considered an *absolute necessity* against any possible abuse of trust and responsibility. Man is after all human and is therefore not infallible. All constitutional states are based on this principle. In a republic as well as in a constitutional monarchy, the people govern through their representatives, and legislate and control the administration through them. Only under this arrangement can the best interests of a people find a full and effective expression in the acts of a State. This accounts for the marvellous and astounding progress in all branches of human activities in the West and especially in Japan in the short space of 40 years. It is with a view to make the Filipinos to realise their life's ambitions mainly through their own indigenous efforts, that the U.S.A. have granted autonomy to them in internal matters promising them independence in a decade or so.

THE CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was organised with a view to make the Government act in conformity with the public opinion in this country, but a persistent refusal to listen to its prayers has contributed in no small measure to the reawakening of India which has found its loftiest expression in the utterances of the poet Laureate of Asia-Dr. Tagore. The awakened India has found the sovereign remedy for her thousand and one ills in *swaraj* which should secure to her a status and dignity equal to that of any other self-governing colony in the council of the British Empire.

It was expected that the new reforms would enable the Indians to realise this ideal but the enthusiasm with which the reform measures were received cooled down as the authorities evinced an illiberal and narrow spirit in the framing of rules and regulations to carry them out into practice. It is no wonder then that the Indian National Congress after wandering hither and thither has pinned its faith on Home Rule for India.

A State, whatever its form may be, ought to be the expression of the soul of a people committed to its charge.

AUTONOMY AND PROGRESS

otherwise it is unalloyed despotism, and despotism as already pointed out is not only *antagonistic* to progress but under its crushing weight or overrule, hardly any community can long endure in full vigour.

HOME RULE.

In essence Home Rule simply means the conduct of the domestic matters of a state in accordance with the wishes of the people. Civilised existence is an impossibility if government does not stand for the self-expression of the people.

While the Indian Government remains what it is, it cannot be expected to formulate progressive measures, and move in matters like land-reform, local self-government, education, co-operative movements, arts, and industries; for, the bureaucratic bent of mind would run counter to the people's aspirations, and a bureaucratic administration is not in a position to bestow that care and attention required for a healthy development of popular institutions. Home Rule therefore is a necessity for existence, much more therefore for progress.

The granting of Home Rule ought not to be regarded as a consideration for the loyalty which India is showing and the sacrifices which she is making at this hour of crisis, but it ought to be granted as a political necessity which is essential for the very preservation of the Empire. It is therefore to be hoped that the British Government would follow the example of the U. S. A. which have granted the Filipinos autonomy in home affairs. In the absence of Home Rule, India's position within the Empire will be humiliating and disastrous to her interests.

The demand for autonomy, Home Rule or self-Government within the Empire comes from the voice of United India which has unmistakably expressed herself through the Congress and the Moslem League held in December last at Lucknow. The British people cannot afford to pass over this demand lightly. India does not ask for anything in the moon; everything is within the range of practical politics and within the power of the British people to grant. They have only to make an Act in conformity with public opinion leaving the details to be settled by the leaders of the people.

LAXMI NARAYAN.

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.



(Bipin Chandra Pal, Calcutta.)

I am an advocate of Home Rule because, among other things, I desire the PERPETUATION OF THE BRITISH CONNECTION.

I USE the word Perpetuation deliberately, in preference to the word continuance, because continuance implies that the thing or condition to be continued, already exists. But what already exists, is a good deal more than what I mean by connection here.

Our present state is a state of complete subjection to Great Britain. The supreme authority in the Government of India is vested at present in the British Crown and the British Parliament. The King of England is a constitutional monarch, subject, like the meanest, of his people, to the British constitution and the decrees and laws of the British Parliament. The same King, as Emperor of India, is not constitutionally subject to the laws of India or to the will of the Indian people. The British Parliament, which exercises absolute and final political authority over the people and the Government of India, is not in any way responsible to the Indian people. So far as the people of India are concerned, the present British authority in the country is as despotic, as was the authority of the Tsar in Russia before the latest Revolution.

This is the real character of the present British connection with India. This connection is based upon the overlord-and-Dependent relation. Continuance of the British connection, under present actualities, really and logically mean the continuance, in some shape or other, of this Master-and-Dependent relation. It means, in its best form, in the language of our present masters, the enjoyment by the people of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

India, of a "reasonable share" of the work and prerogatives of Government, under British suzerainty.

There are some people among us also, whose patriotic imagination cannot soar higher than this "reasonable" limit put to their political aspirations, by their present masters. It is the universal tragedy of prolonged political servitude. It not only cripples people's capacity for self-help and self-reliance, but kills even their power of imagination and crushes the very desire for higher achievements in them.

This is seen in those of our leaders, who cannot or dare not think even of the day when India shall be absolutely free from the leading-strings of her British masters. Their vision of the future of their country is, therefore, always associated with British mastery. There is, however, no room for any kind of absolute suzerainty in the Home-Ruler's scheme or vision of the future government of his country. Home-Rule and absolute suzerainty are mutually exclusive and destructive concepts.

There is, however, one view of this suzerainty to which the Home-Ruler can have no manner of objection. If by British suzerainty is meant the acceptance of the British Sovereign as the constitutional head of the composite Empire which will include both Great Britain, her Overseas Dominions, and India and Egypt, the existence of this suzerainty will not necessarily kill or cripple the full and complete rights of free citizenship implied by Home Rule. But in that case, the sovereign Head of the Empire will not be, in any way, identified with any part or particularity of the Imperial whole, but will represent and symbolise the collective sovereign right and freedom of all the states comprised within the Empire; even as the British Sovereign is now the representative and symbol of the totality of the British Democracy, and is not in any way identified with any part or party thereof. The British Sovereign is the instrument and symbol of the political power and authority of the British people as a whole, and no party or class or interest in the nation can claim

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

special relation or identification with him. Even so the sovereign Head of the Empire, who will naturally be the present King Emperor or his successor, will be the instrument and symbol of the collective authority of the whole Empire, and not of any part of it. The authority of the King Emperor will then to be really the delegated authority of every and all the members of the imperial group; and subjection to him will mean only subjection of these members to their own higher and collective self.

So far as British suzerainty means the suzerain authority of the sovereign Head of the Empire, whose British qualification is only the memory of an ancient historical incident or accident, but not the proof of any present political fact or relation, the Indian Home Ruler can have no reasonable objection to the use of this term; though some persons would rather not favour its use, as it is likely to create needless confusion of thought.

For British suzerainty means now the suzerainty of the British King and the British Parliament which represent the authority not of the whole Empire including India but only of the British people. As such, it is the name of an alien sovereign authority of our state, the absolute authority of which will in its present form be bound to cease with the establishment of real Home Rule in India.

The Indian Home Ruler does not object to take the oath of allegiance to the King Emperor, but in so doing he claims His Majesty to be the symbol and instrument of the collective right and authority of his own nation and country, and not of any other nation, whether British or Colonial. And the Home Ruler's allegiance is strong and unshaken because it is built upon a reasoned and conscious political sentiment supported by his most devoted and sacred love for his Mother-land and of that Universal Humanity which holds her within its divine embrace.

The present British connection, with India as a helpless dependent on the one side, and Great Britain as her supreme

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

and absolute Lord and Master on the other, hinders the natural growth of our honest allegiance to the King Emperor, and chills our loyalty to the Empire of which he is the sovereign Head, and consequently, no Home Ruler, indeed no Indian who loves his own country, is proud of the noble heritage of his race, and conscious of the great possibilities before his people, can honestly desire the continuation of this connection, in its present form.

We can continue only that which already exists. But we can perpetuate a thing which, though not existing at present, may however be brought into being in the immediate future. The true British connection, which the Indian Home Ruler honestly wishes to perpetuate, does not really exist now. But it will come into being with the introduction of Home Rule. And it is this prospective relation between India and Great Britain, which we understand by British connection here. It is this connection which we desire to perpetuate.

Though the present British connection means the political subjection of India to Great Britain, there may be a form of British connection which will not involve any subjection. For while there can be no subjection without connection, there can be connection without subjection.

In free and equal co-partnership in business the different partners are connected with one another, but no partner is therefore subject to any other partner. Or, whatever subjection this partnership may involve, equally affects all the partners and is the subjection of individual partners to the collective authority of their firm.

Different nations or peoples may, similarly, combine for their mutual protection and profit or the pursuit of common ends, upon terms of perfect equality with one another. And though they must be individually subject to the collective authority of the combine in all matters affecting their mutual relations or the common ends of the combine, this subjection does, in no way, interfere with the freedom of the individual nations inside the combine, in any matter concerning their

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

own individual life and interests. Under this arrangement the connection between one nation and another cannot imply any kind of subjection whatever.

The British connection which the Indian Home Ruler desires to perpetuate is of this type. It is a connection wherein there is no suspicion of subjection to any authority not responsible to us. The only subjection implied here is that which every kind of association imposes upon the individual members of it.

In fact, absolute freedom is the privilege of the lowest animal kingdom only. It is not found even in animals with gregarious habits. Man has always been a social animal and has never known this absolute freedom. It is absolutely inconsistent with any form of human association. All associations presuppose some "articles of association" whether written or unwritten, which form the basis of the mutual obligations of the members of the association to one another. And every obligation limits our freedom, as every limitation of freedom implies subjection, whether it be self-imposed or forced upon us by others. Self-imposed limitations of freedom, however, do not really militate against it. For the self here is its own master and when these limitations are imposed by the self upon itself for some higher ends, this subjection becomes, indeed, the highest and best expression of freedom itself. For, in all these cases, the self realises itself through this very subjection and thereby makes this subjection a stepping-stone to a larger and higher freedom than what it could have otherwise attained.

This, in my political philosophy, is the meaning and justification of that national self-subjection which the perpetuation of the British connection contemplated by our Home Rule Ideal implies. This subjection will be a stepping-stone to a much higher and nobler and more assured national freedom and national self-fulfilment than what, under modern world-conditions, we can reasonably hope to secure otherwise.

I use the word PERPETUATION for another reason also

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

The word continuance does not preclude the possibility of a time-limit. Those who wish to continue the British connection, do not necessarily wish that this connection shall never cease. They generally want it to continue for a definite time, however long that time may be. These politicians really aim at isolated sovereign independence for their country. And they plead for the continuance of the British connection only up to the time when India, "trained and guided" by their British masters or guardians, will be able to take up the functions of her own government in her own hands. When this comes to pass, in other words, when India is fitted to rule herself, her present British masters will, of their own free will and choice, make over the duty of government to her and leave her grateful shores for good. After that day, India might be an ally of Great Britain just as Japan or France, but will cease to be connected with her in any other more intimate and organic way.

This is the plain logic of the general position of what ordinarily pass among us as "Moderate" and "Loyal" and "Reasonable" and "Sober" politics. Those who fight shy of Home Rule, among Indian politicians, are generally sovereign-independantists. Their ultimate ideal is sovereign and isolated independence for India.

The ideal of the Home Ruler is different. Some there may possibly be who though openly Home Rulers are really sovereign-independantists; and with whom Home Rule is only a safe cover for working out the ultimate sovereign and isolated freedom of their country. But they cannot be said to have grasped the basal philosophy of the Home Rule Movement and the Home Rule Ideal. For, the true Home Ruler is above all else an Unionist and Imperialist, in the highest and truest sense of these terms. He is, what the late Mr. W. T. Stead described in one of his characteristic sketches,— "A Nationalist Imperialist."

This Home Ruler is, therefore, the truest SWARAJIST also. For SWARAJ as described in our highest literatures, is

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

not a principle of isolation, but the highest formula, really, of universal association and unification. We find this term used in this sense, in our sacred Upanishads.

The word SWARAJ occurs in the following verse of the Chhandogya Upanishad:—

SELF is below, behind, before, right and left; SELF is all this. He who sees, perceives, and understands this, loves the Self, delights in the Self, revels in the Self, rejoices in the Self—he becomes a SWARAT (i. e. a self—ruler), he is lord and master in all the worlds.

SWARAJ thus means that highest state of freedom which is achieved through the complete identification of the individual with the universal. In-national life and consciousness it means that freedom of national life and evolution which can come only through the complete identification of the nation with universal humanity.

Because the nations of the world have not as yet been able to view their national life and interests as only parts and fragments of the life and interests of this Universal Humanity, and in this larger life of the whole to reconcile and harmonise the smaller life and interests of their particular national life and evolution; because, to put the thing in the terms of modern European sociology, the nations of the world have not as yet realised fully the organic view of both particular social organisms and of that Universal Humanity of which these various social units are as so many limbs and organs;—it is because of this, that national freedom, in the truest and most real sense of the term, is as yet an absolutely unrealised ideal in the modern world.

In fact none of the so-called free nations of the world are free in this true and real sense of the term. For, none of these nations can pursue their own highest ends or interests without any interference from their neighbours. There may not be any direct physical interference of the freedom of Great Britain, for instance, by Germany. But for many years past

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

German policy has forced British policy along lines, which, left to themselves, the British people would never have adopted, and by adopting which, much against their will, they have had to injure some of their highest interests. Great Britain had to build, for instance, her Navy, not according to her own needs or wishes, but according as the Germans built theirs and as this German Navy became a possible cause of danger to Great Britain. Similarly Germany and all the other nations of our time, which are not openly under the domination of any other nation, are still, all the same, completely controlled, though indirectly, and oftentimes unconsciously, by the acts and policy of their rivals and their neighbours. None of these so-called free nations of the world can do that which pleases them most, even if the doing of it infringes not the equal freedom of other nations, which was Herbert Spencer's idea of true freedom or democracy. And as long as this fatal international rivalry and jealousy exists, as long as there are enemy nations in the world, either actual or possible, so long the highest, the truest, and the surest national freedom must remain, as it now is, a more or less unrealised ideal in modern history and civilisation.

The Ideal of SWARAJ or Home Rule in India seeks to make national freedom or autonomy real, first, inside the British Empire, and then, gradually, in the entire civilised world of our time.

For, this SWARAJ or Home Rule is a formula of union and association and not, by any means, a principle of disunion or discord. SWARAJ means not only Self-rule, but also the identification of this Self with all its associates and environments, and the consequent expansion of the idea of the Self from the isolated individual to the Universal in its concrete embodiments.

The highest SWARAJ was attained, for instance, by the sage Vamadeva referred to in the Vedas, who, in the consciousness of his real identity with the Universal, declared,—
“ I am the Sun, I was Manu. ” We find the same state attained

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

by Sree Krishna, in the Bharata-war; for in this great conflict though he acted as the charioteer of Arjuna, his soldiers fought on the side of the Kauravas; and personally, he was as much identified with the one as with the other side of this titanic struggle in ancient India. This fact was brought out very clearly in the Bhagavad—Geeta, when Sree Krishna revealed his Universe Form or VISHVARUPA to the trembling gaze of Arjuna.

The ideal of SWARAJ, therefore, can only be more and more progressively realised through the gradual expansion of the Self from its identification with its narrow and almost animal individuality, to the family; from the family to the community containing many families; from the community to the nation containing many communities; from the nation to the empire comprised of many nations; and from the empire to universal humanity. It is, therefore, that we contend that our ideal of SWARAJ is not a formula of isolation and revolt but a powerful principle and inspiration of union and reconciliation. It makes at once for world-freedom and world-peace.

The word Home Rule, though without the sanctified traditions of our own term SWARAJ, also precludes all ideas of separation or isolated independence. The word is borrowed from Irish history; and it may be, as Mr. Madhava Rao recently pointed out in his closing speech as President of the last (1917) Madras Provincial Conference, that the associations connected with the word Home Rule are not of the happiest kind. But whatever may have been the past history of the Home Rule Movement in Ireland, it cannot be denied that in our time, particularly in the ideal embodied in the Home Rule for Ireland Act passed by the present Parliament which, but for the intervention of this wretched War, would have automatically become a part of the law and constitution of the realm,—Home Rule means even in Irish politics, neither separation nor rebellion. Indeed, the Irish revolutionaries have separated themselves from the Home Rulers, by assuming a different

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

name, namely, Seinn-Finers. Home Rule does no longer mean, therefore, even to the Britisher, the dismemberment of the Empire, but rather its closer consolidation.

In any case, we in India have always understood and used this term Home Rule as practically synonymous with our own old and hallowed word SWARAJ. Swaraj too was misunderstood by both friends and foes as indicating the ideal of isolated sovereign independence for India. So Home Rule also may be viewed with fear and misgiving by some people. But we must use *some* word to indicate what we want. The word self-government is no doubt very innocent; but like most "innocent" things, it lacks back-bone. It may mean anything or nothing. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji recognised this disadvantage and, therefore, defined it as SWARAJ in his historic address before the Calcutta Congress of 1906.

It will perhaps be helpful just now, to a clear understanding of the Home Rule Ideal, if we were to refresh our memory by looking up the exact words of the Grand Old Man. Among other things he demanded that—

Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments, and details, is in the hands of the people themselves of that country, so should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments, and details should be in the hands of the people themselves in India.

As in the United Kingdom and the Colonies all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries so should also be the rights of the people of India.

All financial relations between England and India must be just, and on a footing of equality, i. e. whatever money India may find towards expenditure in any department—Civil, Military or Naval—to the extent of that expenditure in salaries, pensions, emo

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

luments, materials, etc., as a partner in the Empire, as she is always declared to be.

And summing up all these, he said, that " instead of going into any further division or details of our rights, the whole matter could be comprised in one word—

'Self-Government', or SWARAJ, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.'

But even this ideal, though it was undoubtedly the highest and best that could be conceived or presented at that time, was not altogether free from confusion or misunderstanding. The question, in what relation would India stand to Great Britain, after she attained this " Self-Government " or Swaraj?—was left unanswered.

It did not perhaps arise at all in those days. It was still the stage of intellection in our present political evolution and history, the period of forming ideas and formulating inspiring ideals for quickening the self-consciousness of the people. But what had a more or less theoretic and moral and intellectual value only in 1906, has come well within the range of practical politics to-day. And these new developments have called for the declaration of an ideal that will be in perfect harmony with the present situation and yet meet the permanent needs of our new national life.

And, in the word Home Rule, we have discovered this ideal. Personally I would have preferred to keep to our old term SWARAJ. But while it would undoubtedly carry a stronger appeal to most of our people than the word Home Rule, it would, at the same time, be liable to be misunderstood both by the Government here and the public in the United Kingdom; and it was essential for the realisation of our new and larger ideal of national self-fulfilment that there should not be any such misunderstanding of the real and ultimate objective of our national aspirations and endeavours. For, it was now more clearly realised than before that India should not, in her own interest, as well as in the interest of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

world-peace and world-freedom in modern times, seek to break away from her British connection.

Whatever may have been the associations of the Irish Home Rule Movement in the past, it is no longer possible to misunderstand its meaning and scope now. The Irish Home Rule Act has made all this absolutely clear. Home Rule in Ireland, as accepted by the present British Parliament, means now an Irish Parliament in Dublin with an Irish Executive subject to the authority of this Parliament. All purely Irish affairs will be managed by this Home Rule Administration; all other matters being managed and controlled, as now, by the Government at Westminster, where Ireland also will be adequately represented. This is the sum and substance of Irish Home Rule as we know and understand it now. And what other terms could express our own Nationalist Ideal so clearly and fully as this Home Rule?

The Home Rule Movement in India also seeks to have a Legislature and an Executive in India, representative of the Indian people, and responsible to them only,—the Executive being subject to the authority of the Legislature—for the administration of all purely Indian affairs; all matters relating to India's foreign relations and her relations, with the other members of the present British Empire, being managed by a common Council of the Empire wherein India will be adequately represented by her chosen and accredited representatives. This is what we understand by Home Rule in India. Mere self-government might mean anything from Lord Macdonald's scheme of Devolution for Ireland, and the Indian Government's scheme of Decentralisation here, to complete and isolated sovereign independence. Indeed, this term has been already differently interpreted by different people, and it is difficult to definitely fix any meaning to it. Our own Swaraj is equally liable to cause misunderstanding and confusion, and might, as it has already been, be interpreted to mean isolated sovereignty to some,

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

and, what is far more mischievous still, Hindu Raj to others. Home Rule is, thus, the one phrase that lends itself least to any such misconstruction and misunderstanding.

Home Rule differs from sovereign and isolated independence in as much as it implies the existence of a larger social organism of which the "Home" is a part and limb. This larger organism is called an Empire in modern politics. Home Rule implies and accepts its legitimate obligations to this larger organism, the Empire. The relation between the "Home" here and the Empire is an essentially organic relation. And as in all organic relations there is vital interdependence between the organism and its different organs, so the "Home" in the Home Rule, and the Empire to which it belongs, are mutually interdependent upon each other for their very life and self-fulfilment. Our Home Rule Movement works upon the consciousness of this vital and organic relation between India and the present association called The British Empire.

The Indian Home Ruler is fully conscious of it that in its present condition of military and naval impotence and economic helplessness, his country has no chance of protecting itself and realising its immense possibilities, as an isolated and independent sovereign state.

India has an extensive sea-board, but no national navy to guard it. She has vast extent of territory, but no national militia to defend it. China and Japan on the east, with their growing navies and armies; and the independent Moslem countries on the west, with close religious affinities with one-fifth of the total population inside India, are a standing menace to Indian freedom.

At one time India did build her own ships and man her own war-vessels; but the very memory of all this has been lost in the course of the last hundred years of the peace of Britain which her children have enjoyed, practically unbroken, during this time. She has yet both men and materials to build up a powerful navy, aided by an equally powerful mercantile

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

marine, and a national army trained and equipped up to the most advanced methods. She has brains enough to fully keep pace with the most advanced modern nations in scientific discoveries and inventions both for military and economic purposes. She has, potentially, the fullest capacity to defend herself against any individual world-power or any possible combination of world-powers. All this is true; and will not be denied even by the rankest traducers of our character and culture. But she must have adequate opportunities to develop and organise her lost or latent capacities. And navies and armies do not grow overnight. It will require some time, if not, indeed, very considerable time, for India to build up her navy and army, even if she gets adequate opportunities of doing it. And how is she to get this time and these opportunities?

There can be only one answer to this question, namely, that India's only chance of getting this time and these opportunities lies in the continuance of her British connection. If this connection should suddenly break up, through any cause whatever, before India has had this time and these opportunities to organise measures of self-defence, her ambitious neighbours either on the east or on the west are not likely to grant her a kindly respite, to enable her to frustrate their political and economic ambitions or designs against her.

The Indian Home Rulers, or in any case, the thought-leaders of the Movement, clearly understand all this. They know it full well that the only chance, humanly speaking, of the realisation of her National Autonomy and the working out of her noble destiny in the modern world, lies in the continuance of her British connection.

And they equally realise this also that the only chance of the continuance of this British connection, under the fearful possibilities in modern world-history and world-politics developing before our eyes, lies in the substitution of the present Bureaucratic Administration in India by a thoroughly

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

Home Rule Government.

For, it is clear to every student of contemporary history and politics that if the British Empire is to endure, it must almost immediately build up a broad federal constitution for itself. It is recognised, more or less, by almost every eminent British statesman and politician of our time. In fact, the consciousness of this need first commenced to quicken nearly twenty years ago, during the Boer War, when the Colonies rushed to the help of the Mother Country and saved, to a certain extent, the situation that faced her. Cecil Rhodes was, I think, one of the prominent pioneers of this new Empire-Idea. The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was among its earliest advocates in British Parliamentary politics.

But the federation of which Rhodes and Chamberlain dreamt was to be a Federation of the White races of the Empire only. Neither India nor Egypt had any place in their dream of the future Federation of the British Empire. These were, however, a real difficulty in the way of this White Federation of the Empire. This Federation could only be a federation of free states; and vassal or serf states like India or Egypt could, logically, find no place in it. The difficulty was sought to be solved, later on, by the new Imperialism of the *Times*-School, which christened itself, "Democratic Imperialists."

According to this school, the British Empire was really not one but two, not a unit, as the philosophers would say, but a unity, which held within itself a clearly-marked duality. "The real main division in the Empire," as Lord Milner has pointed out, "was that between the self-governing Empire, including the United Kingdom, and the dependent Empire, including India and the Crown Colonies and Protectorates"—they declared. The union of these two Empires, the one self-governing and the other dependent, instead of being impossible or incongruous was, really necessary for the good of both. This is the central idea of this "Democratic Imperialism."

SARVAJANIK SABHA: QUARTERLY

" The arguments which justify the union of the self-governing Empire equally justify the maintenance of the dependent Empire. Its population and resources represent a direct addition to the defensive strength of the Empire as a whole, and at the lowest, a withdrawal from the potential military resources of our rivals. It affords a great market for our industries and a source of supply for raw materials, and in both respects its capacities could be enormously increased. From the economic point of view, indeed, the dependent Empire, which is also the tropical Empire, is an essential and indispensable correlative to the self-governing Empire which lies almost entirely in the temperate zone. At present it is mainly the United Kingdom which benefits by this integral connection between its industries and the raw materials and the consuming power of its tropical dependencies. But the other self-governing states of the Empire, which, indeed, in many respects, are the biggest asset which the United Kingdom will contribute to the common stock, when it enters into real partnership with them. Again, the administration of the dependent Empire not only provides a career for thousands of Englishmen to-day, but creates a class of men whose official experience and high standard of public duty are undoubtedly an addition to our national life. Here, too, partnership in the Empire has something to offer to the junior States, something well-worth acquiring. They already enjoy the white man's birth-right of free self-government. Imperial union offers them the great opportunity of sharing in the responsibility of the white man's burden.

And the definite separation of the self-governing from the dependent Empire as contemplated by this new Imperialism, " would leave the field clear for a more positive and progressive policy towards the latter. "

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

Hitherto the chief idea of British administration has been to preserve order and impose justice, trusting to individual enterprise to bring about economic progress. Such a policy, as Mr. Chamberlain realised when he entered the colonial office, is no longer possible. A positive policy of development, by preferences, by bounties, by steamship subsidies, by the vigorous building of railways, by well-equipped agricultural and forestry and mining departments, must be carried out if the dependent Empire is to play its proper part in the whole economic and defensive scheme, and if it is to be fit for any degree of political progress. The latter can only come by gradual stages and on lines suited to the peculiar conditions of each part and not by the hasty application of principles only workable under entirely different circumstances.

The constitutional union of the self-governing members of the British Empire, and the substitution of the partner states as a whole for the United Kingdom as the power directly controlling the affairs of the dependent Empire, must necessarily wait for further constitutional development." But,

"Meanwhile the way towards it can be prepared in several directions. In the first place, preferential trade relations between the Dominions and the Crown Colonies of India can do much both to awaken the consciousness of mutual interest and increase on the part of the Dominions, their knowledge of the inheritance which they are to administer in the future."

These extracts are from a nine-year-old pronouncement of the *Times*. In a more recent (July-August, 1916) series of special articles published in that paper, and which have been reprinted since in book-form with an Introduction from Lord Milner, the same ideas have been practically reechoed. The emphasis throughout the small brochure is the immediate constitutional union of the United Kingdom with the Dominions, while the question of admitting the non-British races inside the Empire is delegated to some distant

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

time. These articles have received so little attention in this country that I do not hesitate to give the following long extract from them here:—

So far as the Dominions go that are predominantly of British descent, the Dominions that are pleased to be called Britains beyond the sea, it is quite conceivable that there may be political unifications of a very thorough sort, but so far as the great masses of non-British people go, peoples with alien racial and national traditions, the idea of assimilation is equally unacceptable with the idea of continuing and unending subjection. Ireland has taught the British the folly of rash and premature experiments in amalgamation, and it is clear that the future of the non-kindred parts of the Empire, such as Egypt or Rajputana or Bengal, lies along the line of education and autonomous development to the position of free and equal allies in one great Imperial confederation. So far as these non-British peoples are concerned it may be questioned whether the setting-up of any common Imperial council to include them is advisable. So far as they are concerned it may be wiser at present for the trustee to continue to administer.

That does not mean the arrest of political development. It means that these main oriental dependencies, which are now in the phases of profound economic reconstruction and which are emerging rather rapidly from ancient and primitive political conditions to the possession of a Press and to a steadily increasing racial and national self-consciousness, have still to show their quality and difference under modern conditions which are still to take shape. They may presently be plainly developing on lines so similar to the lines in the development of our own community that *our sons* (Italics are ours) may be able to take up the question of an equa

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

and parallel share in a common Empire with some confidence; or they may display so essential of incurable a divergence that the problem may have become manifestly the problem of an alliance of dissimilars. We know too little to foretell which of these directions will be taken, and meanwhile we submit that the general policy of Imperial Government is to keep things going, to release every tendency that does not threaten the safety of the Empire, to give the native every chance and every opportunity that is not plainly mischievous, to encourage experiment as much as possible and to direct it as little as possible and out of season, steadily persistently, to set up and maintain in the minds of ruling race and subject race alike this idea of the trustee, the idea of "when you are ready to take it back, your land is yours."

The reconstruction of the Empire which the recent session of the Imperial War-Cabinet and War-Conference propose to make after the war, practically, follows these lines. Indeed this is not at all strange. For the guiding spirit of the present War-Cabinet of five, is Lord Milner, who, according to the *Times*, is—

"The man who more than any other to-day stands out as the interpreter of Imperialist sentiment in the Dominions, was also the author of "England in Egypt"—a book which did so much to justify England's rule over dependent states and races, to the British public."

Lord Curzon also belongs to the same school, the inner trend and character of his Indian policy prove it. As for Mr. Lloyd George, the head of this strange Cabinet, it is well-known that his sudden rise to this unique distinction, is due not only to his exceptional abilities and infinite "go," but to an equal, if not a larger, extent to the intrigues of the Northcliffe-Press on his behalf. The present war has worked many

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

strange transformations in British politics, but the strangest of these is, perhaps, the conversion of the execrated author of the Limehouse speech in 1909, to the darling of Printing House Square in 1917. The inference is, therefore, not wholly unwarranted that the Radical-Socialist author of the dethronement of the House of Lords of 1909, has turned a new leaf and become an apostle of the Democratic Imperialism of the Chamberlain-Milner School, in 1917.

This brief psychological study of the present War-Cabinet is necessary for a complete understanding of the policy of the recent session of the Imperial War Cabinet and Imperial War-Conference.

The authentic statement of the work of the Imperial War-Conference published by the Colonial Secretary shows that the Conference came, unanimously, to two very important decisions; first concerning After-War Trade and Commerce, and second concerning After-War Constitutional Reconstruction. On the question of Constitutional Reconstruction, the Conference, naturally, left the final settlement of it, to some future Conference to be convened specially for this purpose, after the war. But they laid down some general principles which must be followed in working out this reconstruction. These are—

(1) The full recognition of the Dominions as "autonomous nations" of the Imperial Commonwealth.

(2) The recognition of India as "an important portion" of the Imperial Commonwealth.

(3) The recognition of the right of the Dominions and India to "an adequate voice in the foreign policy and foreign relations."

(4) The working out of "effective arrangements for continuous consultations on all important matters of common imperial interest and for such concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several governments determine."

These are a clear indication of the position which will be assigned to India in the reconstituted British Empire. She will be represented in it by the British Government in India

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

It means that Great Britain will have an additional seat in the Council of the Empire as the "Trustee" of India. The recognition given to India here, "as an important portion" of the Empire, means, thus, the recognition of her constitutional status as a dependency of the Empire and not as now, of the United Kingdom only.

Mr. Lloyd George in his statement to Parliament on this subject said that in this reconstruction of the Empire,—

The Imperial War-Cabinet would consist of the British Premier and such of his colleagues as dealt with Imperial affairs, and Dominion Premiers or special representatives and an Indian representative appointed by the Government of India.

It was hoped that this annual meeting would become an accepted convention of the British constitution. In its present form the institution was elastic.....They had not attempted to settle what constitutional development this might lead to. The whole question of perfecting the mechanism for considering Imperial and foreign affairs between the autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth would be reserved for the consideration of a special conference which would be summoned as soon as possible after the war to readjust the constitutional relations of the empire.

It may pointed out here that the lines of reconstitution indicated here, practically follow those discussed in Mr. Curtes's "The Problem of the Commonwealth." Which Indian politicians should carefully note.

On the question of after-war trade, the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference have unanimously accepted the principle of what is called Imperial Preference. Mr. Lloyd George referred to it in his last Guildhall speech and declared that "one of the first duties of statesmanship in future will be to take the necessary measures to aid the development of the stupendous resources we possess."

"We have decided that in future it is the business of British and Dominion statesmanship to knit the

. SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Empire with closer bonds of interest, trade, commerce, business, and general intercourse in affairs. We have considered this problem and decided that in order to develop these enormous territories in future it is necessary that exceptional encouragement should be given to the products of each part of the empire. We believe that a system of Preference could be established not involving the imposition of food burdens.....You can secure that by other means, particularly by taking measures which other lands have taken for improving communication between one part of the Dominions and another. By this means the product of one country inside this great Imperial Commonwealth can be brought more freely, more readily, and more economically to the markets of the other. The Empire has infinite resources of wealth, minerals, food, products, timber, and every commodity needful for man, and it is obviously advantageous not merely to the particular country producing these products, but to every other part, including the United Kingdom, that these commodities should be developed to the utmost. This would enrich, strengthen, and bind together the empire as a whole."

It will thus be seen that the Premier follows almost *verbatim* the recommendations of the *Times* on this point, quoted in a previous page. And the decisions of the War Cabinet and Imperial conference on both the questions of Imperial reconstitution and Imperial trade and commerce and general economic development of the resources of the Empire are practically on all fours with the scheme put forward by the *Times* eight years ago, (May 24th, 1909), in its article on "The Two Empires".

This scheme is also after the heart of the Indian Bureaucracy. For it indefinitely postpones the day of Home Rule in India and gives an indefinite lease of life to their present irresponsible authority in the government of this

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

to start with. But take us by the hand, lead us on, trust us, help us to stand on our own legs. Thereby alone do you really fulfill the responsibility of a well-meaning guardian and not by doing all you can to keep us in a state of perpetual tutelage because we had the misfortune to have had the lame, the halt and the blind among us once. Wherefore are you guardians if you do not try to effect a radical cure? Colonial self-government is the very condition, purpose and justification of British rule in India. We demand it not on the ground of abstract rights but on the strength of charters and proclamations and utterances of British statesmen in the past. The British government will be going back upon the spirit of its rule if it will deny to us on the strength of the power it wields at present, our due status and rank as equal members of the Empire

7. In demanding Self-government we demand imperial citizenship, responsible government, a complete separation between the deliberative and the executive instrument of the governing will. If we are unfit for it after 150 years of British rule, accept our goal as an avowed principle of policy and devise immediate measures to make us fit for it; if we are partially fit arrange for a substantial though partial devolution of political power. If finally you deem us fit grant us self-government at once and raise our status and thus vindicate your ancient title to be considered the champion of whatever makes for freedom, justice and moral worth in the world. England as the defender of weaker nationalities can no longer in justice to herself ignore the claim of India to be given responsible government. And self-government is nothing more and nothing worse than that. Britain's overlordship will be recognized in internal and external defence, in her control of the foreign policy, in her calling upon the Indian Exchequer to bear the burden of Imperial defence in strict proportion to her capacity and her resources in men and money and rather as a freewilled offering than a forced grant. England will be

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERYL

sending her Viceroy and Governors to be at the helm of Indian affairs. The army organization may be the same though commissions may be opened in it to duly trained Indians in military colleges established in the land. Such trained youths will be pillars of strength to the Empire. Volunteering should be made general so that every Indian like every Anglo-Indian at present, should be able to defend his hearth and home in case of need. In the cabinets of the Viceroy and the provincial rulers the very pick of the European and the Indian element should be brought together to work and co-operate for the good of India. Both the European and the Indian in India must be pro-Indian in thought, will, sentiment and action. The Civil Service should be filled by Europeans and Indians that are really capable, opportunity for admission into it being equalized by simultaneous examinations. Patronage, nomination and nepotism must disappear and careers must be thrown open to men of talents. We do not want to throw out the European element. No, by no means. What we do want is that it shall not be exclusively and dominantly European and it shall not be there simply because it is European on grounds of racial preference. And of the European as well as the Indian we require the very best from the top to the bottom, the best in capacity and efficiency as also the best inspired as is the case with the ruling element in England and the colonies.

8. But all this can come only when the controlling power are the people i. e. the representatives of the people. That is the keynote of Self-government. Self-government is responsible government. Short of it any rule is no better than despotism call it enlightened, benevolent or what you will. Good government under despotism is a matter of chance and caprice. Good government under the control of the people is apt to be continuous and is very often well-assured. And "Responsible government is a system by which the governed constitute, control and alter the executive which orders their

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

destinies. That is the principle. The application of the principle may differ here and there but there is no mistake about the kernel of the matter,— local patriotism, local parliaments and around all imperial freedom and the Union Jack." So says Mr. Harcourt the late Secretary for the Colonies and he further asserts "dogmatically and by experience" that such a form of responsible government is the only and the surest remedy for political discontent."

9. Make our councils really operative by making them thoroughly elective and enacting that their decisions shall be binding upon the executive. Let the Executive Councils be the mouth-piece of the legislative, with a power of initiative, no doubt, like the British cabinet but subject in the final shaping of their administrative policy to the will of the people. The Indian Civil Service should be purely a departmental element in the administration as in England and the colonies. It should have nothing to do with either the legislatures of the land or the cabinet councils. The Executive members should be selected from the best persons outside the service, the European and the Indian element being evenly balanced; the Viceroy and the governors holding the positions of the judge. The Executive Councils should thus form a connecting link between the permanent service which is to be the executive instrument of the cabinet on the administrative side, and the councils of the people of which the cabinet itself is to be a working instrument on the deliberative side. The voice of the people must be felt from top to bottom in all the enactments of the land except perhaps its military and foreign policy which should largely be the concern of the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Imperial Parliament. That is the only way in which the best and the most efficient among our leaders shall have a practical opportunity of showing their real grasp of affairs. And as the burden will begin to fall more and more upon them, they will become more and more

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

sober realizing as they will do the day-to-day difficulties of handling the problems in a practical spirit. They will cease to be irresponsible critics and will exercise sobering influence upon those below them and thus the whole mass will be permeated by the spirit of right direction and wise co-operation. Responsibility engenders practical sagacity and wise foresight and endows leaders with a skill to handle, manipulate and control the human material that forms public opinion.

10. The bureaucracy in India can be a power for good only if it is brought under the due control of the people. Its efficiency will then be increased by adaptibility to the changing needs of the times which the voice of the people, through its leaders, will bring home to them. There will be a greater and healthier intercourse between the leaders and the bureaucrats because both will feel responsible to the people and the *right* kind of give and take will come to prevail. The bureaucracy will profit by the people and the people by the bureaucracy. Racial animosity official exclusiveness and hauteur will disappear. There will be no foreign air about the administration and government. All that is undertaken will be undertaken *truly, really and visibly* in the interests of the people. India will then be thankful to England and England to India for being bulwarks of strength to one another. That is the theoretic justification of the demand for Self-Government.

11. Its practical justification lies in the handicap we suffer from in every department of human activity for want of it. For want of it we suffer in imperial status abroad and self-respect at home. If our legislatures had really the controlling power over our affairs, the status of Indians in South-Africa would not have been a matter so difficult to settle. Our self-respect suffers from the racial distinction that predominates even in India because of the virtual existence of the ruling caste as typified in the bureaucracy of the land. What Mr. Harcourt has said

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

about Ireland applies with even greater force to the case of the Indian in his own country. An Irishman has no career in Ireland says Mr. Harcourt. But he has at least a career and a very fine career abroad. The case of the Indian is much worse. He has almost no career in India and certainly none in any other part of the Empire. An Irishman condemned of national incapacity at home becomes the leader of the progressive party in South-Africa, Prime minister at Outari or a wise Statesman beloved and respected in Australia. But look at the Indians. Even the best Indian is no where in his own country. He cannot shape the affairs of his own country at home, nor does he enjoy official authority and responsible control in any other part of the Empire.

12. It is want of responsible Government that prevents India from getting the control of its purse and its fisc and utilizing the revenue of the State for really productive purposes. The problem of poverty, the problem of industrial reorganization, the problem of education, and military training are all awaiting solution for want of controlling power over the purse of the nation. what the control of the purse and the power of taxation imply is well brought out in a book on "Land Industry and Taxation" from which I quote the following extract "Taxation may create monopolies or it may prevent them; it may diffuse wealth or it may concentrate it; it may promote liberty and equality of rights or it may tend to the establishment of tyranny and despotism; it may be used to bring about reforms or it may be so laid as to aggravate existing grievances and foster hatred and dissension among classes; taxation may be so controlled by the skilful hand as to give free scope to every opportunity for the creation of wealth and the true advancement of all states and cities or it may be so shaped by ignoramuses as to place a dead weight on a community in the race for industrial supremacy. Thus far more important consequences arise from the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERY

methods of taxation and the *spending* of revenues than the taking of a little more or little less money from the pocket of the citizen for the service of the nation of which he is the member or of the village in which he lives."

The control of the purse in the hands of the people and its power to tax itself and to spend the revenues as its best interest suggest and constitute the very essence of Self-Government. That our budgets should be thoroughly discussed and framed and passed by the popular majority in the council is the supremest guarantee of their being really drawn up in the interests of the people. It is one of the vital keys of the administration on the wise use of which depends the rise or fall of a country in national prosperity. As things are at present, every measure of vital need to the development of the country is being postponed on the plea of want of funds when moneys are amply found when required for purposes of doubtful use. In an article in the Calcutta Review for July on the 'Future of India' the writer has very ably pointed out this anomaly of the Indian Government as contrasted with the Government of Russia, Canada and Australia. Under the heaviest strain of war the Governments of those countries are earmarking colossal sums for productive expenditure, for building up industries and agricultural and economic interests to meet the exigencies of the situation after the war. While in India as the writer, who being an Englishman himself is no mere Anglo-phobe, has pointed out the budgets are framed for no better purpose than to meet the expenses of the administration. The only and the surest remedy suggested by the writer is fiscal and political autonomy. Otherwise there will be, he says, no true remedy. There will be loss of financial credit, national bankruptcy and extinction of India as a vigorous unit of the Empire. The writer points out incidentally that the gold reserves of India in the hands of the Secretary of State had better be utilized for rehabilitating and building the national resources of

THE CASE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

India and the budgets be framed for productive ends and not merely for administrative tinkering.

13. I think I have dwelt sufficiently long on the immediate need of India for Self-government, call it by what name you please. Its indispensibility is evident all round. Responsibility alone trains men to the due and wise exercise of power. Liberty alone enables men to enjoy liberty. There is no waiting for fitness in human affairs. There may be gradual devolution of power and slow advance but no standing still, much less the positive shutting out of any possibility of autonomy. The first step has to be taken. The sooner it is taken and the more courageously it is taken the better both for England and India. Because in the indissoluble union of the two lies the strength and welfare of the units of the Empire severally and collectively. For the strength of the chain lies in its weakest link and the stronger and more firmly it is soldered the firmer and the stronger the chain. The cement of the Empire is the contentment and prosperity of the peoples composing it. It is for contentment, prosperity and full scope for expansion, growth and self-realization within the Empire that India demands Self-Government and who will say that it is not justified in the demand it makes? As the author of the Problem of the Common Wealth has put it,

"There is always room for the further extension of responsible Government and there is always the necessity for it. More men can be made more free by being made more responsible for the conduct of public affairs and by being put in a position in which while they suffer for mistakes, they share in the power of correcting them."

Would that our rulers realize the deep political wisdom underlying this statement.

The Jury System

ITS ORIGIN, EXISTENCE AND DECAY IN MAHARASHTRA.

(By B.)

(All rights reserved)

" Concluded from the last issue. "

(15) Pratspsinha Maharaj the last of the Satara Rajas had prepared, for the use and guidance of his officers, a code about the year 1836 A. D. containing laws relating to adoption, inheritance, partition etc., and also laws of procedure. In the chapter containing rules relating to the administration of justice the first rule lays down, "It is a very good and laudable practice that in our territories disputes are settled by the parties amongst themselves or with the help of Panchayats. The second rule gives an assurance to the people at large that the decisions of the Panchayats and of Mediators will be upheld by Government as binding. Rule 4 directs the Patil of every village to call a Panchayat whenever any dispute in the village is brought to him for disposal. Rule 5 lays down that if the dispute be a heavy one and if the parties do not like to have the matter decided by the Panchayat of the village, then the matter should be referred to the Mamlatdar who should direct the Patil, to call a Panchayat or if the parties so choose direct the Panch of any other place to decide the matter. Rule 6 relates to disputes arising in large cities and towns. It says:—"In large cities and towns it is customary in the case of disputes between traders to refer the same to the Panchayat consisting of Shetes and Mahajans (traders and respectable persons)". &c.

The above rules are very important as they embody the practice which prevailed before 1836 A. D. in the territories under the Satara Rajas regarding the disposal of civil suits.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

These rules are quite clear and they show that in Maharashtra disputes were settled by Panchayats which were regarded by the then Government as a part of their judicial machinery.

(16) Another question that needs consideration is whether the Panchayat had power to decide criminal cases of a serious nature. On page 44 vol. 2 of "selections from Satara Raja's and Peshwa's diaries," mention is made of the following fact.

Rajinamas (deeds of consent).

"One executed by Narayanji Patil and Kabaji Patil, requesting the appointment of a Panchayat and agreeing to abide by the decision of the Panch."

The above passage refers to a dispute in which one Narayanji Patil had murdered Krishnaji Patil. The Panchayat in this case levied a fine of Rs. 2001 took a bond for the same and forwarded it along with Rajinamas to Trimbakrao Vishwanath of POONA.

Lastly to crown all I quote a passage from Sir. Mount Stuart Elphinston's Report on the state of the territories recently conquered from the Peshwas, embodying his opinion about these bodies.

"All accounts agree, it must be owned, in representing the knowledge of the common people in the customary law of their country and consequently the uniformity of their decisions when formed into Panchayats, is far beyond what could be expected."

"The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders who are most out of reach of their rulers and most apt to be neglected under all Governments. By means of the Panchayat they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves and it happens that most of the above objections to that institution do not apply in this case." This testimony of Sir Mount Stuart Elphinstone is most damaging to the cause which the Hon'ble Mr. Chabral so ably tried to espouse. It amounts to an admission by the party against his own interest. The fact is that what is con-

THE JURY SYSTEM

noted by the English term Jury formed part of a wider phenomenon which exhibited itself in the social and religious life of the people of Maharashtra. To any one who has superficial knowledge of the social life of the various communities of Maharashtra the fact is self-evident that even now after a century of British Rule caste disputes are settled by the whole body of the caste forming itself into a Panchayat. The caste Panchayat in investigating and deciding caste disputes discharges the same function as that of the Jury viz., deciding the particular point in dispute before them. It exactly follows the same procedure as is followed in a court of law. The person who is charged before the Panchayat with having broken any of the caste rules in the matter of diet, religion or morality is called upon to give his explanation. The party charging adduces his evidence and then the person charged is allowed to substantiate by evidence the defence which he sets up. The Panchayat then gives its decision by which the parties concerned have to abide. The Panchayat system as it exists at present is more akin to the Jury since it has hardly any occasion to decide any question of law and its function is solely restricted to the decision of questions of fact. The institution of the caste Panchayat is still in a thriving condition in almost all, except the Brahmin, Prabhu and Saraswat communities of Maharashtra. The above discussion will I hope convince the readers of the fact that institutions akin to that of the Jury have been in existence in Maharashtra, since the beginning of the Christian Era, that these institutions amongst others decided civil disputes and in doing so discharged the functions of a Jury, that the right of trial by a body akin to the Jury was of the essence of the indigenous system of administration of justice existing in Maharashtra prior to the advent of the British Rule in India. The Belgaum District is for a long time regarded as forming part of Maharashtra and it cannot be said that the system of administering justice prevailing in the other parts of Maharashtra during the period of Mahomedan and Mahratta Rule did not prevail there. A number of old decisions respecting vatan properties in the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Belgaum District and given by bodies known by the name of Gota and De hak have been found and in course of time they will be published.

(16 A.) In my tour for the search of old papers in the western part of the West Khandesh District I came across certain decisions of the Ahamadnagar court of the year 1445. These decisions are very interesting as they form a sort of link between the old and the new order. The plaints in those cases were filed in court. After the filing of the plaints the parties were called upon to name the Panch whom they wanted to decide the points in dispute. When the Panch were named the matter was referred to them for trial. The Panch then gave their decision and a decree was drawn up accordingly. After the establishment of the British Rule reports were called from the District Officers as regards the indigenous system of administering justice prevailing in Maharashtra. Some of the officers were in favour of retaining the old system others were against. Unfortunately for the people of Maharashtra it was decided then to abandon the old system altogether and the present system of administering justice was brought into existence.

(17.) The propositions propounded by me in the opening part of my article except the fourth have been disposed of and need no further discussion. The Honourable Mr. Chaubal holds the view that the system of trial by jury is purely a British institution. But the testimony of such an eminent writer on the jury system as Canon Stubbs is quite the other way. Stubbs after remarking "many writers of authority have maintained that the entire jury system is indigenous in England &c" goes on to state the various theories propounded by different writers; one of which is that it came from Asia through the crusades. He winds up this discussion by stating "The true answer is that forms of trial resembling the Jury System in various particulars are to be found in the primitive institutions of all the

THE JURY SYSTEM

nations." In the face of this statement of such an eminent authority as Stubbs the Honorable Mr. Chaubal's view that the jury system is purely a British Institution falls flat. It is thus clear that in defending the action of the Bombay Government the Honorable Mr. Chaubal took his stand on grounds which were not based on facts but which were the mere echoes of the favourite political dogmas of the Anglo-Indian world. The last argument brought forward by the Honourable Mr. Chaubal viz. "It is purely for Government to consider and decide where it (the right of trial by jury) shall be conferred &c" contains the only true and logical attitude that should have been taken in defending the action of the Bombay Government. It is really a matter for surprise that with such large powers at its command Government should make the ridiculous attempt of defending their action by propounding propositions devoid of truth.

(18) One point now remains which requires a few remarks. When British rule was established in Maharashtra the policy which seems to have dominated the then British Administrators was to centralise all power and authority in the hands of British officers charged with the administration of the country recently conquered from the Peshwas. As a result of this policy and inspite of the favourable reports about the working of the Village Panchayats and other similar institutions in their capacity of bodies discharging judicial functions and inspite of Sir Mount Stuart Elphinston's good opinion about these institutions their death knell was sounded. A comprehensive Code otherwise known as the Regulations of 1827 came to be enacted. Law Courts of the present type came into existence and with it commenced the decay and downfall of these jury like institutions which had existed and successfully worked in Maharashtra nearly for the last eighteen hundred years. All power of initiative and self reliance disappeared from the village communities by this inordinate thirst for centralisation. The process is still going on and having regard to the present political conditions and the trend

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

of Government policy it is hopeless to expect that the old policy would be given up and a new one adopted.

(19) For a correct appreciation of the statements hitherto made by me I give a short summary of a few choice decisions given by such bodies as Gota and Deshaka Sabhas.

Mahajar, Date Shaka 1397 Moslem Date 17 Rajab.

[see Maharashtra Saraswati Mandir page 6 " Durgadevi-cha Dushakala " by V. K. Rajawade.]

Parties Bhavanji Bin Lakhmoji Tapkir

VERSUS.

Rammanna Bin Timmanna Gaoli.

Subject matter in dispute:—Patilki Vatan of the village of Daruj and Kuroli Paragana Khatav.

Tribunal:—Majalas or Sabha, consisting of Naikwadi (Patil) Carpenter, Potter, Washerman, Barber, Mahar, Kulkarni and Joshi; Deshmukh, Deshpande, Shete and Mahajan and Mokaddams of other villages in the Paragana.

Facts and decision:—The great famine known as Durgadevi famine had taken place and thousands of villages were depopulated. After the famine was over people who had left their villages returned. Bhavanji Mokadam of the village of Daruj and Kuroli also returned to his village; when he found that Rammanna bin Tamanna Gaoli had usurped his Vatan and was enjoying the same. Bhavanji went to the Thana Officer and made a complaint.

The Thana Officer sent for Rammanna who on being questioned made a statement. Then a Sabha was convened of the persons named above. Security bonds to the effect that they would be bound by the decision of the Sabha were taken from both the parties. The Sabha then asked Bhavanji Patil to state as to how he would prove his title to the Vatan. He stated that he would do so by the evidence of Deshmukh, Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarni &c. Rammanna was asked the same question. The Gaoli replied that he would do so by performing a divya known as रवा काठवे (a particular form of ordeal)

THE JURY SYSTEM

Thereupon the Sabha raised the question whether an ordeal can be performed in view of the maxim (दिवस असता दिवा नाही गोही असता रवा नाही) "no light is necessary during day time, so no ordeal is necessary when there is evidence" and expressed the opinion that the matter cannot be decided by recourse to an ordeal. The Jaoli stated that it was his allegation that he and his ancestors have been in possession and enjoyment of the Vatan from times immemorial and therefore he can claim to get the matter decided by recourse to an ordeal. The Sabha ultimately decided that if a party was willing to get the matter disposed of in a particular way it was best to dispose of it accordingly. Rammanna bin Tammanna performed the ordeal but failed to stand the test and consequently his cause was declared to have been lost. Bhavanji was declared to be the owner of the Patilki Vatan of the said villages and a Mahajar was passed to Bhavanji by the Sabha. दिवस असता दिवा नाही गोही असता रवा नाही is a Marathi legal maxim and embodies the principle enunciated in Verse 22 of the Second Chapter of Yajnavalkya Smriti. The principle contained in this verse had assumed a terse form in Marathi and had become current amongst the lay people of Maharashtra. This one instance alone will suffice to justify the remark made by Sir Mount Stuart Elphinstone already quoted.

Mahajar, Date Shaka 1532 Magh Shudha 10th.

[See Maratyanchya Itahasachi Sadhane vol. xv Page 22.]

Parties Mahadaji Jagdale Versus Bapaji Mussalman.

Subject matter in dispute:—

The Patilki Vatan of the village of Masur near Karhad in the Satara District.

Tribunal:—Dharma Sabha held at Paithan consisting of Dharmadhikaries Hari Pathak and Manik Pathak and others.

Facts and decision:—The dispute was about the Patilki Vatan of Masur near Karhad in the Satara District which was then in the territories which formed part of the Kingdom of Bijapora. Both the parties applied to the authorities

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

at Bijapore that their case should be sent to Paithan (which was then well-known as a place where disputes were justly decided) for disposal. Orders were issued from Bijapore to Hari Pathak and Manik Pathak Dharmadhikaris of Paithan who were known as well versed in Civil Law. The Dharmadhikaries in pursuance of the orders issued to them held a Sabha on the Dharmachauthra and after examining parties and taking evidence held that Mahadaji Jagdale was the owner of the Patilki Vatan of Masur. In the course of the trial of this case a law point arose. Bapaji offered to give up his contention and his claim over the Patilki Vatan in case Mahadaji Jagdale performed a Divya (दिव्य) ordeal. The Dharmadhikaris held on the authority of Yajnavalkya Smariti Verse 22 Chapter II that Mahadaji could not be ordered to perform a Divya as he had both documentary and oral evidence in support of his claim. The Dharma Sabha held Mahadaji to be the owner of the Vatan and a Mahajar was passed to him.

Mahajar. Shake 1616 Shrawan Sudha 9th.

[See Marathyanohya Itihassahi Sadhane xv Page 74.]

Parties Jagdale's v/s Yadavas.

Subject matter in dispute:—

Deshmukhi Vatan of Masur.

Tribunal:—Gota Sabha consisting of 5 Patela, 2 Kulkarnis, 2 Mahars, one Carpenter, Shoe-maker, washerman Village-trader and 3 other villagers.

The Gota Sabha decided that the Deshmukhi Vatan of Masur belonged to the Jagdales and not Yadvas from times immemorial.

Mahajar. Date Shake 1574 Paushya Vadya 2nd Parties Beji bin Babaji Versus Shirale.

[See Marathyanohya Itihassahi Sadhane vol xv Page 276.]

Subject matter in dispute.

The Patilki Vatan of Utroli.

Tribunal:—Sabha held at Rohida Fort consisting of Havaladar, Muzumdar Kharkhannia, Nailwadis, Deshaks (Desh,

THE JURY SYSTEM

mukas, Deshpandes i. e. Vatandars of Desa or Pargana) Balutedars, consisting of Joshi, Kulkarni, Potter and a Mahar. Facts and decision:—Baji and others applied that they were the Mukadamas of Utroli and enjoying the Vatan for a long time. The Shirales deprived them of the Vatan and called upon them to perform Divya which they did. They had stood the test of the ordeal. Thereupon the Shirales fled away. They therefore prayed that the Sabha should give them a Mahajar. The Sabha accordingly gave a Mahajar to Baji bin Babaji declaring him and his brothers to be the owners of the Vatan.

Mahajar Date 1575 Margshirsha Sudha 3.

[See Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane XV Page 323.]

Parties:—Dadaji Narasa Prabhu versus. Babaji Sondev Sontakke.

Subject matter:—Deshkulkarni Vatan.

Tribunal:—Sabha consisting of Havaldar, Muzundar, Karkhanis, Sabnis, Naikwadis, Deshaks, Shetes, Mahajans, Balutedars, Joshi and Mahars.

Facts and decision:—Babaji Sondev a clerk of Dadaji Narasa Prabhu in some Government papers styled himself as Desha Kulkarni of Utroli.

The Deshkulkarni Vatan of the said village as a matter of fact belonged to Dadaji Naras Prabhu. Babaji was found to have done this illegal thing and it was declared that he had no right whatsoever to the said Vatan.

+ Mahajar Date 1523 Margshirsha, Sudha 13th.

Parties:—Brahmes Versus Pundales.

[See Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. XV page 463. It is maintained by many authoritative writers on the jury system that it developed out of what was known as the system of recognition which consisted in questions of fact relative to fiscal or judicial business being submitted by officers of the crown to sworn witnesses in local Courts. This Mahajar is an illustration of this system of recognition. Another illustration fulfilling all the conditions of the system of recognition will be found on page 46 of the same Volume. Lekhanka No. 12.]

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Subject matter:—The right to perform Pindadana, Nandishradha &c.

Tribunal:—Sabha held at Chakan consisting of Deshmukas, Patils, Kulkarnis, Oil Monger, Carpenter and gentry of the town.

Facts and decision:—Pundales claimed the right to perform Pindadana, Nandishradha, the worship of Chakreshwari, AVALI, Tulshi and Pimpal tree and the emoluments accruing therefrom. The Brahmes in turn claimed the said right and the emoluments thereof. The Sabha summoned the Deshmukas, Kulkarnis, the Balutedars and other gentry of the town; placed Bel leaves taken from the deity on their heads and after administering various paths asked them to state the truth. Persons who were thus sworn stated that the Brahmes enjoyed the said right and its emoluments from times immemorial. The Sabha then decided in favour of the Brahmes and passed to them a Mahajar to that effect.

Mahajar date 1542 Bhadrpad Sudha 11.

See Marathyanchaya Itihāsachi Sadhane Volume XV page 467. Edited by V. K. Rājawade.

Parties:—Murarhat Brahme versus Vasudeva bhat Brahme.

Subject matter in dispute:—Ownership of books.

Tribunal:—Brahma Sabha i. e. a Sabha consisting of Brahmins.

Facts and decision:—The dispute was about the ownership of certain books. Both the parties came to an understanding that each one should examine the books and keep those that properly belonged to him. The books were accordingly examined by the parties and the dispute was settled. A Mahajar recording this fact was passed.

Mahajar date Shake 1585 Ashwin Sudha 2.

[See Sanads and letters by Rao Bahadur Wad Page 115.]

Parties:—Savaji bin Suryaji Mokadam versus. Netoji bin Dharoji.

Subject matter:—The right of a younger son to participate in the vatan.

THE JURY SYSTEM

Tribunal Sabha consisting of Brahma Sabha (This includes five learned Brahmins.)

Raja Sabha (This includes Deshmukhas and Deshpandes. The influential Deshmukhas were often given the appellation of "Raja" in those days).

Mokadamas and Shetes:—This Sabha was held at Par-near Javali.

Facts and decision:—Netoji Palkar was then known, as an expert in deciding disputes relating to Vatan and therefore both the parties went to him and requested him to convene a Sabha for deciding their case. The plaintiff alleged that the matter was once decided by Government Officer authorised to use a seal (राजपुत्र) in conjunction with a Sabha but that the said dispute was not properly tried and decided by them and therefore the case should be decided anew. A Sabha was accordingly convened. In constituting the Sabha special care was taken to include in it persons who were Vatan-dars and who had experience in deciding disputes relating to Vatan. The Sabha thus constituted examined both the parties at length. Netoji Palkar sent for a copy of Vijnyaneshwar from Mahableshwar and with the aid of learned Brahmins who were the members of the Sabha examined and discussed all the provisions relating to Vritti. In view of the provisions of Law relating to Vritti the Sabha came to the conclusion. "If a younger brother by his own exertions protects the Vritti he too should be given a share and decreed that the Vatan, its emoluments and Man Pans should be equally divided into two shares and a share should be assigned to each of the two brothers.

The references in this Mahajar to Brahma Sabha, Raja Sabha, Vijnyaneshwar and the principle of including in the Sabha Vatan-dars who had experience in deciding disputes relating to Vatan properties are worthy of note.

Jaya Patra; Date Shaka 1644 Shrawan Vadaya 13th.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

[See Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhane Vol XX Page 53 Edited by V. K. Rajawade]

Parties:—Yadav Rakhamaji versus. Babu Rao Ramaji and Naro Keshava.

Subject matter in dispute:—Deshpande Vatan of Supe.

Tribunal:—Dharma Sabha consisting of Chatrapati Shahu-Maharaj, Ashta Pradhans, Vatandars of the several Mahalas Gota and Deshak consisting of Mokadamas of several villages.

Facts and decision:—There was a dispute between the above parties as regards the Deshpande Vatan of Supe-Yadav Rakhamaji claimed to be the exclusive owner of the same. The dispute was pending for a long time. Ultimately Shahu Maharaj held a Darbar for deciding the dispute. Shahu Maharaj questioned Yadav Rakhamaji as to whether he was claiming the vatan on the strength of some important Sanad. Yadav Rakhamaji replied that all the Vatandars of the Fargana should be called and they should be questioned and the matter should be decided on their testimony. Defendant Babu Rao Ramaji on being questioned stated that there was once a dispute about this Vatan in the regime of the Nizam-Shahi Kings. The vatan was declared to belong to his ancestors and a Mahajar and a Farman was granted to them. Similarly there was a dispute in the regime of Shaistakhan. That dispute was decided in his favour on the testimony of all the Vatandars of the Paragana. Besides these documents he had also other sanads with him. The matter should therefore be decided by examining these sanads instead of calling and examining all the Vatandars of the Paragana. If after an examination of these documents any doubt is left then only the Vatandars should be put to the trouble of attending and giving evidence. But as Yadav Rakhamaji insisted upon summoning and examining the Vatandars they were accordingly summoned and a Dharma Sabha was held by Shahu Maharaj at Mahuli near the confluence of

THE JURY SYSTEM

the Krishna and Venna rivers. In the Dharma Sabha all the ministers i. e. Ashta Pradhans, Officers of state, all the big Vatandars were included. Shahu Maharaj administered solemn oaths to all the members of the Sabha and directed the Dharma Sabha thus constituted to decide the matter in accordance with truth without prejudice or prepossession to or for either party. The Dharma Sabha then proceeded to examine the documentary evidence adduced on either side.

Yadava Rakhmajji alleged that his line and that of the defendants did not descend from a common ancestor and that defendants were strangers. The Sabha examined this contention from various stand points after cross examining the plaintiff Yadav Rakhmajji. This contention of Yadav Rakhmajji was found to be false. Plaintiff's next contention was that his branch of the family was the eldest and as such entitled to its rights and perquisites. In support of this contention a number of Vatandars of the Paragana were examined on being sworn. The Vatandars who were thus examined stated that defendant's branch was the eldest and not that represented by the plaintiff. The Sabha then ruled that Defendant's branch was the eldest and as such entitled to rights and perquisites of the Deshpande Vatan. A Jayapatra was accordingly passed to defendants Baburao Ramaji and Nare, Keshava by the plaintiff Yadav Rakhmajji.

This is a specimen of the decision passed by the grand Dharmasabha convened by Shahu Chatrapati. In constituting the Dharma Sabha due regard seems to have been paid to the most important element in the jury system viz, that the jurors should be persons having local knowledge which they are expected to bring to the discharge of their duties. It should be noted that this case is not a solitary instance in which Shahu Maharaj convened a Dharma Sabha for deciding a civil dispute. A number of instances can be quoted which would show that it was the ordinary and common practice in those days to decide disputes of a Civil and Criminal nature through the instrumentality of a Dharma Sabha.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

(20) I bring to a close this part of my article as the instances quoted are sufficient to give to the readers a general outline of the method in which justice was then dispensed. That institutions resembling the jury in their constitution and functions used to decide disputes in Maharashtra long before the advent of the British rule is a fact well known to many. But none, so far as I am aware, has ever attempted to place before the public concrete instances in support of this view and this is my excuse for giving the foregoing brief review of some select and typical instances bearing on the point.

ERRATA.

On page 235.

"Resolution No. 4 (e) passed by the Congress of 1897 ran as follows:—to upto dunning it into deaf ears" this forms part of the foot-note on page 234 and not of the main article on page 238.

Omit the word 'and' after निणवपत्र.

Insert 'and' after यजितपत्र.

Omit 'from' before अवपत्र.

And read Yajit patras (यजितपत्र) and Jaya patras (अवपत्र) as one sentence.

On page 243. Para 14.

'The Panchayat should consist of four Jamindars who should be men of purse' omit *purse* and read *pure*.

Patna University Bill

(*Rao Sahib D. Lazmi Narayan, Kamptee*)

The noblest gift which British Rule has conferred is the boon of high education. It lies at the root of all our progress. It is the main-spring, the motive-power, the germinal source of all those forces which make for progress. The three great boons which we have received from the British Government are high education, the gift of a free press and local self-governments supplemented by the reform and expansion of the Councils. But high education is the most-prized, the most dearly cherished of them all. It is high education which has made Local Self-Government the success that it is admitted to be. It is again high education which has elevated the tone of the Indian Press, has made it a power and has rendered it possible for us to look forward to the time when in the words of Lord Ripon it will become, as in Europe it is "the irresistible and the unresisted master of the Government." It is English education which has produced a splendid galaxy of distinguished men who have done incalculable service to morals and manners, who have ennobled the literature of their country and have made it a rich vehicle for the expansion of the noblest sentiments, of the most obtruse reasonings in philosophy and science and of the varied and complicated requirements of modern life. It is English education which has overcome the barriers of race, religion and language, has dissipated the prejudices and misunderstandings of ages and has created those unifying influences which find a living expression in the vast, the stupendous, the majestic organization of the Indian National Congress. Could the educated community submit to the curtailment of this boon to the restriction of its beneficent area? They are naturally anxious that nothing should be done to check the spread of that system of education which has produced such splendid results in the past and which is fraught with infinite possibilities of progress for future generations. English education is a precious boon which has come down to us as a heritage from the past. Education is the sheet-anchor of the people's loyalty, it is the sheet-anchor of the people's progress; and the expenditure

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

incurred to educate the people will be found to be a source of strength to the State. If we cannot extend and broaden it, it ought at any rate to be our most sacred concern to safe-guard it against encroachment and limitation, and so transmit it, with its beneficent area undiminished, to those who coming after us will bear our names. These are the feelings which inspired the agitation, intensified its volume and impressed upon it its distinctive tone and character. Justice Sir Gurudas Banerji, one of the highest products of the Calcutta University says:—"We should aim not only at raising the height but also at broadening the base, of our educational fabric. Our educational system (should be) so adjusted that while the gifted few shall receive the highest training, the bulk of the less gifted but earnest seekers after knowledge may have every facility afforded to them for deriving the benefits of higher education."

2. Writing on the lines on which the London University should be organized, Mr. Sidney Webb, thus comments on the importance of the discrimination of education among the general community:—"Being, as regards its under-graduate class, essentially a university for the sons and daughters of households of limited means and strenuous lives, it will not like Oxford and Cambridge, set itself to skim from the surface of the society the topmost rich layer of rich men's sons and scholarship winners. Widely organized and adequately endowed, it must dive deep down through every stratum of its seven millions of constituents, selecting by the tests of personal ambition and endurance, of talent and "grit" for all the brain-working professions and for scientific research, every capable recruit that London rears. Hence, it must stand ready to enrol in its under-graduate ranks not hundreds a year but thousands. If we remember that Paris and Berlin, drawing from much smaller local populations and exposed each to the competitions of a score of other universities in their own countries, have each actually twelve thousand university students, we can see that any equally efficient London University might easily number twenty thousand."

3. It is in the spirit of these remarks that I offer the following observations on the Patna University Bill and I hope that they will receive due consideration at the hands of Government of India.

4. In approaching the consideration of the Patna University Bill it will at once be conceded that the university system in India is not perfect, any more than any other

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

human institution is; and a cautious and well-devised scheme of re-form, calculated to promote the advancement of learning without interfering with the spread of high education would be welcomed by the educated community; for, they realise the truth that their future progress largely depends upon a sound system of education which would qualify them for the hard and increasing difficult competition of modern life. As His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has observed with great truth in his admirable article in the East and West "education will be the watch-word of the twentieth century and its diffusion the great object upon which will be concentrated the energies and the statesmanship of the country." Could we persuade ourselves to believe that the provisions of the Patna University Bill would secure the advancement of learning without restricting its area and it would combine height with surface, there would go forth a mighty voice from educated India, supporting the Bill and offering the Government of India our cordial congratulations. The effect of the Bill, it clearly appears to us, would be to narrow the popular basis of higher education and to restrict its area. It is against this policy that we desire to record our respectful but emphatic protest. We cannot accept a policy which would deprive our great middle class who are far from being well off, from whom come our intellectual classes who, with their keen hereditary instincts, have from time immemorial furnished the intellectual leaders of the community, to be deprived of some of those opportunities of high education which they now enjoy. Some of the provisions of the Bill involve the direct discouragement of private effort which has done so much to stimulate the spread of high education, and they are in entire conflict with the educational policy of the past. That policy is embodied in the great celebrated Education Despatch of 1854 which has been followed with unvarying consistency by the Government for the last sixty years. The cardinal feature of that policy may be described as the extension of "the means of acquiring general European knowledge and the encouragement of private effort by a system of grants-in-aid, wherever necessary." It will be seen that the method of enunciation of the same policy is substantially different, and the spirit is different. While in 1882, the Government was anxious to do all that it could to foster a spirit of independence and self-help, in 1916 it lays special stress upon the need of restraining the efforts of private enterprise. In 1882, the Government did not ignore considera-

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

tions of efficiency; in 1916, it dwells upon them with great emphasis. We are at one with the Government in insisting upon a standard of efficiency. But it should not be of the ideal order. It should be fixed with reference to the circumstances of a people who are notoriously poor. The Government indeed recognise the fact. That the standard of efficiency which it is proper and possible to enforce in India is admittedly not so high as that which is attained in more advanced countries. Public opinion will support the Government in all reasonable efforts to check the growth of institutions which are both cheap and worthless, but do not the results of the University afford a good test of efficiency, and is there not the self-acting principle, inexorable in its operation, that thing nasty and cheap must disappear from a world where the survival of the fittest is the universal law?

5. There seems to be an idea prevailing in official quarters that the aided, and in a still larger measure, the unaided colleges are not as efficient as they might be. But what about the Government Colleges? Are they always models of excellence and efficiency? Do we not occasionally hear in connection with them of serious breaches of discipline and of drastic measures enforced to ensure respect for authority? If there is to be a standard of efficiency, let it be uniform in application and not judged solely by references to external appliances, such as libraries and laboratories, but by the larger, though perhaps more impalpable moral results, which, it is the aim and the end of all education to secure. The efficiency of the affiliated colleges is tested by the annual examinations of the university. It is to their interest that their students shall be successful and occupy high places at the examinations. They have thus to study efficiency from the point of view of self-interest, and efficiency is best ensured when it is associated with a motive which so powerfully appeals to our strongest impulses. I may say that I attach considerable importance to the university examinations as a test of efficiency. They are now practically the sole test upon which the universities rely. They were deemed sufficient by the founders of the universities and those who inheriting their traditions worked upon their lines. Are they not an exceedingly efficient test, if these examinations are properly conducted and suitable question-papers are set? If the tests which are now applied were tests of intellectual capacity rather than of memory, then we should hear less of the inefficiency of our universities. The spirit in which

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the Patna University Bill has chosen to deal with the establishment of a university appears to me more French than English.

TYPE OF UNIVERSITY.

6. We want purely an examining University just similar to the type of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore. As our country is exceedingly poor, the teaching or residential type of university does not at all suit our people. The framer of the Bill, with history and aristocratic ideas, wanted to make our educational institutions approach as early as possible the standard of Eton and Offord. It was naturally difficult for the framer of the bill to understand why poor men (such as the majority of our middle classes happen to be) should be anxious to receive a sort of education which poor people's children in England and Scotland do not aspire to receive. We are sorry to feel that our indigenous colleges are to be destroyed by a stroke of the pen and that our meritorious students of limited means are to be excluded from the benefits of higher education by the device of raising the fees, the duration of course of study, multiplication of additional subjects for each course and discouraging or abolishing private colleges. It may be all very fine for the scions of the English aristocracy, brought up in the lap of luxury, to imagine that it is only they and men like them who are fit to receive the advantages of higher education which they themselves have received in Eton or Rugby, in Oxford or Cambridge. For our part we can not help remembering that some of our most distinguished men who were the first to be honoured by the Government itself with the highest offices ever yet attained by any resident of India and that these men would have never occupied the positions that they did if the difficulties and obstacles now sought to be thrown in the path of poor students had existed at the time when they were students in our schools and colleges. The economic condition of the middle class boys, who alone at present seek the portals of the University in preponderatingly large numbers, makes the adoption of such a costly University system undesirable. The Right Hon'ble Viscount Bryce, in one of his addresses to an American University, says:—"Whereas the Universities of Germany have been popular but not free and those of England free but not popular, the American universities, like those of Scotland, are both popular and free. Their doors are open to every one and every one enters. Not only have

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

your universities been accessible to all classes but they have achieved what never has been achieved before,—they have led all classes of people to believe in the value of University education and wish to attain it. They have made it seem the necessary part of the equipment of every one who can afford the time to take it.".....And again "The four universities of Scotland are very different from the English and rather resemble the universities of Germany, though far less equipped than are the latter,—for Scotland has been comparatively a poor country. They have always given a high quality of instruction and produced a large number of remarkable men. There are no residential colleges like those of England; so the under-graduates live in lodgings where they please and there is thus less of social life. But the instruction is stimulating and the under-graduates, being mostly poor men and coming from a diligent and aspiring stock, are more generally studious and hard working and self-reliant than are those of Oxford and Cambridge." From the point of view of economic condition of the classes who at least at present seek higher education, it must be admitted that this country is in no better situation than Scotland. We have quoted here authorities to show that Scotland is the stronghold of non-residential universities and that the universities in America and Germany also are non-residential.

The London University was founded in 1836 chiefly through the exertions of the Non-conformists and philosophical Radicals, as a means of imparting high education to youths outside the fold of the state-church or closely connected with a large business and political centre like London. It was, thus, a sort of protest against the mediaeval methods of older universities. The new university was a non-residential and purely examining body, with only affiliated colleges which were outside its administrative control and not entitled to any financial aid from it. On this model the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1854. In 1900, the University of London was reorganised so as to be a teaching as well as an examining body, with 24 colleges [some of them being sectional are called schools.] It is on this model of London University or the universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras that we require new universities in a poor country like India but we do not want the luxurious types of universities like Oxford and Cambridge as we poor people cannot afford to spend lavishly so much amount on the education of our youths.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

I take it that there can be no more important national question than the question of education. I desire to lay down the following principles by which that question should be governed, firstly, the education of the people should be as much as possible in the hands of the people; secondly, the popular control over our educational institutions should not be even lightly interfered with until it has been plainly shown that popular control has been found altogether wanting. We want as little Government control as possible. We do not want difficulties to be put in the way of our poor students. I may be permitted without derogating from the dignity of the occasion to use a homely saying. I would remind you that "there are more ways of killing a cat than stuffing it with cream." We do not want our indigenous colleges to be harassed by undue interference. While we are prepared to welcome any reasonable and well-considered reforms as regards the health, morality and education of our boys, we do not want the aristocratic standard of Eton or Rugby, Oxford or Cambridge to be established in this poor country. If I might venture to address you in the eloquent language which Virgil puts into the mouth of the Sibyll, I would say that:—

"Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues"

"A voice of brass and adamantine lungs."

I could even then hardly hope to make sufficiently impassioned appeal to you as regards the vital importance of educating our masses.

CONSTITUTION OF SENATE.

9. We cannot accord our unhesitating consent to the view that the nominated members should predominate in both the bodies of Senate and Syndicate. We are not one of those who contend that high education must be left entirely to the control of the people. On the other hand, we willingly concede that high education is one of the paramount duties of the State and that it must be nurtured and developed under the fostering care of a beneficent Government but I deny most emphatically that it is necessary or desirable to have any provisions in the Bill which may possibly convert the Universities into mere departments of State. It is quite possible to stunt the growth of a beautiful tree by constant pruning and too affectionate care. We find in the bill that the non-official Indian element will be in a minority, so as to dissociate them for all practical purposes from the Government of the University and to put all direc-

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

five and administrative power into the hands of nominated members, who would be mostly Government servants. Besides, the highest purpose of British rule in India is not merely to govern the country sympathetically, but also to associate the people of the country with the work of the administration. The Senate should continue to be the final authority in the matter of the recognition of schools and colleges. The elective principle will be definitely recognised in the constitution of the Senate. The essential condition in a scheme of a limited senate with terminable fellowships is that two thirds of the seats should be thrown open to election, so that those who do not see eye to eye with the special representatives of Government, may not be deterred from taking an independent line by fear of displeasing the Government. But to make all the fellowships terminable in five years and to keep practically four fifths of the nominations in the hands of Government will, in my humble opinion, seriously impair all real independence in the deliberations of the University. There are in the special circumstances of this country, three different interests which really require to be adequately represented in the University Senate. There is first the Government, which is of course vitally concerned in the character of the education imparted; then there are professors and teachers who are actually engaged in the work of instruction; and last, but not least there are the people of the country, whose children have to receive the education and whose whole future is bound up with the nature of the educational policy pursued. These three interests—at any rate, are not always thought to be identical and I think it is necessary to secure an adequate representation to each one of them. I feel that it is only reasonable to ask that each interest may be represented by a fair proportion of the whole senate. I would fix the number of ordinary Fellows at 90, and of these, I would have 15 nominated by Government, 15 either elected by or assigned to different colleges, and the remaining 60 thrown open to election by those who are graduates of different Faculties. The graduates have permanent and an affectionate interest in their universities, and in all that conduces to their credit and reputation. Their participation in the affairs of their universities would inspire them with the sense of responsibilities and would enlist on behalf of educational reforms the sympathy and support of the educated community. There is no desire on the part of any one to divest the University of State

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

control. Such control, however, should be in the nature of general supervision rather than that of direct and active participation in the every day work of the University. In giving representation to colleges, I would take into consideration all these points which the Government wants to consider in affiliating an institution. I venture to think that such a plan will duly safe-guard all the different interests. I may mention that in the new constitution of the London University, out of 54 Fellows, 17 are elected by graduates, 17 by professors and teachers, 4 are appointed by the Crown, and the rest are nominated by certain bodies and institutions. It is impossible for us to support the provisions of the Bill on this point in allowing the nominated element to have an absolute majority in the Senate of the University, because such a state of things absolutely excludes for ever the chance of non-official element having its voice heard in any question that may at times crop up against the teaching element. It may however, be said that the creation of an academic Senate is in itself a desirable end, since, in other countries, the Government of the universities is in the hands of those who are engaged in the work of teaching. One reply to this argument is that the whole position is exceptional in India; and that it is not fair to the people of this country that the higher education of their children should be under the exclusive control of men who want to leave this country as soon as they can, and whose interest in it is, therefore only temporary, of course. The professors must have some voice in the deliberations of our University; but, with them must also be associated specially for the purpose of determining the broader outlines of educational policy, representatives of the educated classes of India. And it is because the Bill proposes to ignore this aspect of the question, and practically reverses the line of policy adopted by Government in this matter for over half a century that we look upon the provisions of the Bill as a distinctly retrograde one. Whatever on the other hand, has the contrary tendency deserves to be declared as reactionary. There is no doubt whatever that in this bill the proportion of Indian members in the Senate will be much smaller. The fellows elected by the graduates will, as a rule, be Indians; the Faculties will consist almost entirely of Government nominees and of such other persons as these nominees may co-opt. There is no, much room for the hope that any considerable proportion of the Fellows elected by these Faculties will be Indians. A

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

regards Government nominations, their choice will naturally first fall on European educationists; then will come European Judges, Barristers, Civilians, Engineers, Doctors and such other people. As the number of the Senate is to be very small, one can easily see that there is hardly any margin for the inclusion of any except a very few most prominent Indians in the Government list. The Senate will thus be dominantly European, with only a slight sprinkling of Indians just to keep up appearances. And it is this Senate and the Syndicate nominated by them that are armed with powers of control over affiliated colleges, which may easily be abused. It fills me with great sadness to think that, after over fifty years of university education in this country, the Government should have introduced a measure which, instead of associating the Indian element more and more with the administration of the universities, will have the effect of dissociating it from the greater part of such share as it claims. I think the ascendancy of Englishmen in India in any sphere of public activity should rest, if it is to be of real benefit to the country, on intellectual and moral and not on numerical or racial grounds. I do hope that, whatever our deficiencies, we are not so dense as to be incapable of understanding what is now our interest, and what is not, nor are we so wicked and ungrateful as to bite the hand that is stretched to feed us. It is because we feel that this bill is of a most retrograde character and likely to prove injurious to the cause of higher education in this country that we are unable to approve its provisions, and it is because we hold this view that we deem it our duty to resist the passage of this Bill to the utmost of our power. We ask Government to make our high schools and universities free from official control. If our Indian gentlemen have been able to do anything efficiently, it is the management of the educational institutions. If they are fit and prepared to take any work on their shoulders, it is the management of their high schools and universities and there is no room why they should not, at the present moment, relieve the officials of this burden. Besides Indians can far better understand the requirements and feelings of the public than the officials, who seldom come in close and free contact with the people of this country. They can far better choose their course of study; they can far better fix the dates for the examinations and vacations which may better suit Indian students and professors than the few European professors who happen to be on the staff of certain colleges. Therefore, if we, the people of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the country, have a real voice in the management of our university, we can make provisions for the industrial, technical and scientific education. And who are the people best entitled and most interested to judge of what is best for the interests of our children, and what are their special needs and requirements, and how their faculties can be properly trained? It is not men who are not in sympathy with our aims and aspirations, who are best fitted to introduce changes, so as to be suited to the best requirements of the community, and the changing conditions of the time, so that it is very important that the popular voice, that the power and influence of the people, should be felt in the counsels of universities. Education is recognized by all civilized countries as the panacea of all national ills; and I say, therefore, that we must get that education which teaches us our own rights and privileges. The Government thought, it appears, that by giving education to the people, they give rise to the political aspirations, which they will not otherwise have. That is what some people feel to be the feelings of Government so long as they are retrogressive in their educational policy. It is a great blunder, it is a suicidal policy on the part of the Government to discourage education, because it is the educated people that appreciate the blessings of telegraph and science and the benefits of PAX BRITANICA. Ignorant masses cannot appreciate this; it is only educated classes that are the backbone of Government. It has been repeatedly urged upon the Government that if you educate the whole country you will find the people more educated than they are at present. If the masses of the people be educated, the wealth of the country will increase, the misfortune will decrease, the famine, plague and other ills will disappear, people will become more prosperous, Government revenues will increase and the tenure of Government will receive greater stability. The Hon'ble Mr. Hornell, the director of Public Instruction Bengal, at a prize distribution ceremony, expressed a view that the only cure for anarchism was not less education and less schools but more education and more schools. Anarchism flourishes in Russia which is very backward educationally, but it is almost unknown in England where education is so widespread. The officialising of the university would mean, in the first place, the officialising of education. The officialising of education means that the Government will promote their own educational text books system and other educational matters and so model the educational system as to transform the

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL.

rising generation into Government clerks. We do not want officialised education, but that kind of education that will make us a nation. In my opinion it should be a kind of education which will beat with the pulsation of national life; it should be a kind of education which will give us higher ideals, which will teach the lessons of self-sacrifice to the nation as a whole. There is an example which goes to show how officialised education will be the detriment of our national interests, because, you will find, in some of our text books all those lessons dealing with our national heroes have been carefully weeded out. I would quote here what Mr. Bernhard Houghton says as regards officialised education. He says:— "Apart from these false views of heredity, officials in India are liable to a special bias on the subject of education owing to sources from which they are drawn. It must be admitted that neither Oxford nor Cambridge have been distinguished for any great zeal in the cause of really popular education. They stand for aristocratic and exclusive ideals, not for the democratic hope of an equally educated nation. Their pupils are profoundly impressed with the danger of a little knowledge; in fact, they seem to regard education, as though it were some potent medicine, to be administered only by the most skilful physicians, and even then with caution and misgivings. Clearly, then officials in India have received no antecedent bias towards a general diffusion of education. And what little favour may still remain in them, official routine and bureaucratic influences will probably chill to freezing point. To a bureaucrat, education unless confined within the strictest limits, is of necessity odious." That is the reason why we proclaim, that education should be national and not officialised. Therefore we record our strong protest against the reactionary policy that the Government had adopted towards the education. I further urge that the Senate should have power to frame Regulations, and exercise full and effective control over the affairs of the University. It should also be given the power to recognise schools and colleges to regulate the Matriculation examination. The syndicate shall be subordinate to and under the direct control of the senate. It should be the appellate authority of the syndicate.

CONSTITUTION OR COMPOSITION OF SYNDICATE.

9. The constitution of the Syndicate also is open to the grave objection that it goes much further, than the Indian universities Act of 1904 in centring all power in the official and nominated members. The constitution proposed in the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Bill would have a minimum of 4 elected non-official Indians and the remaining 12 shall be officials and nominated members. The object of the Bill appears to me to give three fourths of the seats on the syndicate for the different faculties of professors and teachers as well the officials. I am opposed to this provision. The arguments I have urged above in regard to the constitution of the Senate apply even more forcibly in the case of the Syndicate. I would give one third representation to these men on the Senate, but having done that, I would leave the syndicate to be composed of those whom the Senate consider to be best qualified. I really think it is not desirable to prop thus, by means of Statute, men whom the senate does not care to put on the Syndicate. Considering the duties which the syndicate has to perform and considering that it will not be likely to have all colleges or even all classes of colleges represented on the syndicate, a statutory majority of teachers and officials as such will be absolutely undesirable in the interests as well of the general public as of the colleges themselves. I may add that it would not object to a majority of officials and teachers on the syndicate, if such majority resulted from an unrestricted election by the senate, which would imply that the teachers and officials formed the majority because they were considered fit to be on the syndicate and not simply because they were teachers and officials. In this Bill, the syndicate, which is supposed to be the executive of the senate in all modern ideas of University, is wholly independent of the senate, which body is relegated to the unedifying and humbler position of a deliberative assembly without powers to enforce its decisions on the syndicate in the administration of the University. In the existing universities the senate is the supreme authority. After the senate they have got an executive body which is called the syndicate. The syndicate is really speaking a Committee of the senate elected wholly by the senate. The syndicate is then an executive body and it is practically responsible to the senate although it has been found to be the gradually extending tendency of the present syndicates that they are trying to usurp more and more power into their hands and it is a tendency which popular members in the senates are always trying to combat. The new Patna University Bill gives the whole power to the syndicate. The senate is to be a mere debating club in the new University. The clauses in the bill distinctly say that the senate is to be a merely deliberative body and that its decisions are not to be binding

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL.

on the syndicate. The senate is therefore an ornamental body without a soul. popular opinion will be represented in the syndicate, only by three or four person. What will happen is that these popular members on the syndicate may protest against any reactionary proposals, but the official members on the syndicate will be able to carry out any proposal that they may have in their minds and do whatever they like with the system of higher education in the province. I am therefore entirely against the provisions of the Bill allowing the official majority in the syndicate of the University, because such a state of things absolutely excludes for ever the chance of the non-official element having its voice heard in any question that may at times, crop up against the teaching element. In these circumstances I hold that all the members of the syndicate should be wholly elected by the senate. There should be no nominated members on the syndicate and no preference would be given to the professors of any particular Colleges. The syndicate should be the executive body or sub-Committee of senate and it should be under the direct control of and subordinate to the senate.

10. I know there is a body of opinion which favours the concentration of authority in expert hands; but it must be understood that the employment of the non-academic general public in the administration of universities is productive of the best results, as it helps to liberalise the institutions and gives them a broader out-look. Professors may be admirable persons in their own way, but they have the weakness of their class and are obsessed with departmental ideas. Their views, however valuable in other respects, are of necessity tinged with narrowness especially on large questions affecting general interests. Their predominance in the university, without the corrective which the pressure of a powerful lay public provides, can only give it a narrowness which is detrimental to the larger interests of the country, and even to the special interests of education. It is therefore a ruinous policy to weight a university with professors, and give the non-official public only a minor and subordinate position. And the senate being the principal body through which the public can enforce its will in the University, it is absolutely necessary that the Senate should have its superior position and power in the Patna University or any other University of India. And the constitution of the Syndicate, as suggested above, should be radically altered so as to ensure the authority, independence and freedom of the Senate over the Syndicate.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

11. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, in his Calcutta University Convocation Address, said that he had occasion to read the report of the London University Commission presided over by Lord Haldane of 1913 and the report is of the highest educational value. May I now remind His Excellency that Lord Haldane's Commission propose the following constitution for the reorganised London University as most likely to secure efficient and smooth working and promote improvement and the realisation of their ideals:—

(A) The University legislature to be called the Court, composed of 200 members, and forming a widely representative and supreme governing body, in which teachers are scantily represented and laymen or outsiders form the majority. It would have final control over the statutes governing the university, the affiliation of Colléges, and the decision of all matters in which a minority of the Senate appeal against the judgment of the majority. One of the principal advantages of a large body of this kind is that it should bring an intelligent lay judgment to bear upon the solution of problems which divide expert (educational) opinion. In the main this form of government has proved eminently successful (in the provincial universities of England), and we believe that it is equally suitable to the circumstances of the metropolis." You will thus see that the Haldane Commission actually recommend wholly popular government for the supreme governing body of the London University! "Below the court, should be two bodies of experts dividing between themselves the actual conduct of the University business, viz. the Senate and the Academic Council."

(B) The central Executive organ of the University, to be called the Senate, will be a small body of 15 members. It will be concerned with the administration and finance, including the appointment of the Vice Chancellor, the appointment or removal of all officers of the University, discipline, inspection of affiliated colleges, &c. The representatives of the teachers should be limited two on this body of fifteen!

(C) The Academic Council, a body of fifteen teachers together with the Vice-Chancellor, its function being mainly to advise the Senate on academic questions and incidentally to exercise executive powers only as regards educational matters delegated to it by the Senate. To this body the Senate should be able to delegate the power of deciding any academic matter involving a question of policy which ought to be determined from the point of view of the university as a whole and

PATNA-UNIVERSITY BILL

which therefore cannot properly be decided by any single Faculty. It will, therefore, afford a machinery for co-ordinating the work of the various faculties."

(D) "The Faculties should each consist of the University Professors (or Readers, where there is no Professor) in the subject, and other teachers co-opted by the Faculty. It should have the power of appointing committees to act as Boards of studies,—determining the conditions for the award of degrees,—conducting examinations,—and advising the Senate as to the organisation of the teaching within the Faculty."

"The status of a Professor would always confer independence in the sense that his post would not be subordinate to that of any other teacher. The status of a Reader would also confer independence in the same sense, provided that there was no Professor of the same subject."

12. You will thus see what a vast contrast there is between the provisions of the Patna University Bill and the London University Commission Report of 27th March 1913. What becomes of the invidious colour line in the Education Department of the Government of India, by which raw Europeans are put at the very outset in the highest educational rank, while Indian Professors are kept in the Provincial service all their lives, and automatically become junior and subordinate to every I. E. S. teacher as soon as the latter is appointed? Is Lord Chelmsford prepared to accept the Haldane Commission's views in this matter, and ensure that the Government Colleges affiliated to the existing universities and the Constituent Colleges of the proposed universities are staffed by men chosen for their individual excellence and from the widest possible field instead of being kept as close preserves for the I. E. S. monopolists? We are quite familiar with gentlemen who obtain second class or even third class honours at Oxford or at some other English University and are fortunate enough to secure appointments as professors in professors in Government Colleges in this country. If upon their arrival they pose as eminent educational experts and shew no unmistakable contempt for their Indian confreres, who may be devoted years of patient toil to the examination and solution of difficult educational problems, are the latter to be blamed if they show their impertinence of these self constituted educational experts? The real danger in connection with this Bill is that, in spite of the best intentions and purest motives of the Government, the actual administration of its provisions will fall into the hands of fifth rate and unsympathetic teachers

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

of whom recent events have shown there are not a few in this country, who are uncharitable enough to imagine that the interest of the University which the best amongst the Indians feel is an interest otherwise than educational. What I demur to is that every obscure young man who manages to get a degree at Oxford and secures an employment in the Educational service here, should be regarded as an Apostle of Western learning. I therefore say that universities of the older type, such as the London University, are thus a necessity in India, unless the objective of encouragement and diffusion of high education is abandoned once for all. The Patna University Bill involves this abandonment to which we have our most serious objection and emphatic protest. It is extremely unlikely that once the ideal is changed for one province, the change will be limited to that province alone. It may be safely assumed that all the future universities will follow the same suit. This is a matter of immediate and most serious concern to the Central Provinces or any part of India; and as a citizen of these provinces, I would enter my emphatic protest against the scheme of a provincial university embodied in the Bill. If His Excellency, Lord Chelmsford, as expressed in his two recent speeches, has really any sympathy towards the high education of Indian youths, he would immediately get the Patna university Bill wholly recast on the lines recommended by Lord Haldane's London University Commission of 27th March 1913 so that His Excellency will certainly win the lasting gratitude of the whole Indian nation.

POWERS OF THE CHANCELLOR.

13. The Bill marks a departure in several important respects. The chancellor is given more extensive powers of control, interference, initiation and veto than under the existing universities Act. Besides, the chief controlling authority, Syndicate, will be practically an official body under the sway of the Chancellor. Out of 16 members these ex-officio members, the Vice-Chancellor; the Director of Public Instruction, and the Principal of the Patna College will be officials 4 nominated by the Chancellor will be either official or obliging non-official who are as good as officials; and at least 5, elected by the Senate from among the University staff or the teaching staff of the college of the University, will also be officials. Three fourths of the members will thus be officials or safe non-officials bound to carry out the wishes of the Chancellor. Even of the non-official nominees of the Chancellor be thoroughly independent and the remaining 4

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

members be non-officials, nominees of the Chancellor be thoroughly independent and the remaining 4 members be non-officials of the right sort. The official members of the Syndicate will be the non official members as 10 to 6-a striking official majority in all conscience. Affiliation or disaffiliation of an institution is entirely dependent upon the Local Government, which means Lieutenant Governor, who is the Chancellor in Council. The Chancellor has also the power of causing an inquiry to be made sue moto into any question, connected with the administration of the University, and to pass any orders he pleases upon the result of such inquiry, such orders being binding upon every authority and every officer of the University. In view of these extraordinary, wide and comprehensive powers, the public might justly characterise the University as nothing better than a department of the State. The Chancellor is all powerful. Either directly or indirectly through the Vice-Chancellor or the syndicate, he controls the whole machinery and every portion of it. Even the conferment of honorary degree is subject to confirmation by the Chancellor. This is an arrangement which can never appeal to the people in these days of progressive ideas. The syndicate was not to be responsible to the Senate, but to the Chancellor, and the Chancellor as the head of the University was to be the one man who was to see whether the affairs of the University were properly conducted or not. All this was a most novel and unprecedented measure. This was not the constitution recommended by the London University commission of 1913. It was a misnomer to call the proposed university a university. If an Indian University was to be worthy of its name, I would repeat the words of Sir Alexander Grant, Chancellor of the Leeds University—that Universities should be independent bodies. What self-respecting man would be willing to serve on a Senate which was only a debating club and had no control on the affairs of the university or the Syndicate and which will be run by one man, the Chancellor who had arbitrary powers. I therefore say that the powers of the Chancellor should be the same as those of the Chancellors of the existing Indian universities, except that the Vice-Chancellor should not be nominated by him but be elected by the Senate.

VICE-CHANCELLOR.

14. The Vice-Chancellor, a whole time officer appointed by Government shall be the chief executive officer of the University and independent of both the Senate and the Syu-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

dicate. He will inspect all colleges, and will be unfettered in his action in the matter of discipline in the colleges of the University. In the existing universities the Vice-Chancellor was appointed by the Government from among the members of the Senate, but in this University he would be the head of the Senate and the Syndicate. He had both these bodies in his hands and could do whatever he liked with them as he had extensive powers. He was also to be a stipendiary officer. If the Vice-Chancellor was to be made too powerful a person the University was not to retain any powers at all. The constitution of the Patna University is wholly reactionary, is entirely incapable of responding to the public demand and public opinion. It is therefore highly desirable that the Vice-Chancellor should be an honorary officer elected by the Senate from among its own members for a term of years. His powers should be the same as in the existing universities. We want the diffusion of true higher education in the country and we can not therefore allow a department of the Government to be in charge of the whole system of higher education.

OPENING OF NEW COLLEGES.

15. Under Lord Haldane's University Commission report of 1913, the area of the London University for the administration of constituent colleges and university departments will be the County of London; which has an extreme length of 16 miles, an extreme breadth of $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles and an area of 184 square miles; whereas in the proposed Patna University the constituent colleges must be within a radius of one mile from the Senate House! This is a desire to suppress the expansion of higher education. No new college can be started in the interior of the Province for the simple reason that it cannot secure affiliation to the Patna University and no other university can recognise it. This is not a line of action consistent with the expansion, or with the central idea of universities in India. This is entirely a discouragement of all classes and denominations in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of higher education. The classes of every college in India are crowded, everywhere the cry is for more colleges; The supply cannot overtake the demand for collegiate education. If once the Patna university is established as a department of State with its numerous restrictions and drawbacks, the pupils will per force have to go without collegiate education or the youths of that big province must migrate wholesale to other provinces for high education. The Patna

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

University does not, thus help the province to be independent of other provinces in the matter of University education. This is not the way to make Bihar and Orisa self-contained and progressive. We must see that the future of our country is dependent upon the widest spread of education. If we tell the young men of this country that they will not be allowed higher education, they are sure to be most discontented. Even politically the result of such a state of things is bound to be very bad, and I therefore say that the constitution of the university, from the point of view of external and internal colleges is the worst feature of this Bill. It appears to me that higher education was to be killed altogether and was to be confined only to Patna. It is therefore essential in the general interests of the people that there should be no restriction to the opening up of new colleges whenever there may be demand for them, or to the affiliation of any college in any subject and to any standard provided it is properly and adequately equipped. No college or educational institution should be disaffiliated without the approval of the Senate.

16. I would like to include the following reforms in the Bill:—

(a) The Act should lay down the terms of office of the Vice-Chancellor, the Senate and the Syndicate.

(b) Graduates of universities who are residents of the Province should be given an option to get themselves registered and these registered graduates should have the same rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the registered graduates of the Calcutta University.

(c) Every University should establish the Faculties of Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering Technology, Agriculture and Commerce. The wider extension of technical education, such as Agriculture, Commerce, Engineering, Industry and Medicine is often urged as a remedy in this country.

(d) The appointment of teaching staff of the University should rest with the Senate.

17. We have been hearing of schemes of new universities for Burma, Dacca, Nairpur, Poona, Ahmadabad, Karachi, Trichinopoly, and Madipatam for the Andhras. Not only these but we are in need of hundreds of universities in a vast country like India. All these universities that are in contemplation are bound to become matters of realisation sooner or later and therefore if we permit a reactionary bill of this type to be once placed on the Statute Book the new universities will not have any of the few liberal provisions that are at

present existing in our older universities. All the new universities will be modelled upon the new Patna University. It is therefore a question not only for Bihar and Orissa but it is a very vital question for the whole of India, and it is very important that every citizen of India shall declare his emphatic protest against this retrograde Bill. If the modifications I suggested above are not accepted by the Government, I think the people of Bihar and Orissa or of any part of India should prefer to remain without a separate university instead of having universities of highly retrograde and reactionary character.

18. The Patna University Bill on the whole contains provisions which are of a highly retrograde character being repugnant to the time honoured and traditional idea of university and being inconsistent with the principles and policy which dictated the establishment of existing universities in British India and which, by means of the Acts relating to them, have since their foundation regulated their Government, in as much as the bill in question proposes first, to invest the Chancellor with arbitrary powers such as deciding finally any dispute with regard to the election of any person to be a member of the Syndicate, of passing final orders on any question connected with the administration of the University, of nominating four persons to be members of the Syndicate, of appointing the University staff and of appointing a stipendary Vice-Chancellor, and secondly, the Bill relegates the Senate to the status of a merely deliberative body without any power or control over the syndicate.

19. The Bishop of Madras, in 1905, said regarding the educational work in India:— "Of course all educational work in India, Governmental and Missionary, is in a special sense experimental. It is technical and liable to frequent revisions and reversals of policy to a higher degree than similar work in white countries ought ever to be. The modern system of education in India is still in its infancy, and what it will grow to, remains to be seen. The present is a time of intellectual revolution and change, when new ideas are coming into collision with the habits and traditions of centuries, and new wine is bursting the old bottles. In such an age of transition, when Englishmen, who do not understand the genius of the East, are attempting to create a system of education for Indians, who do not understand the genius of the west, it would be unreasonable to expect ideal perfection, and they ought not to be disappointed if they find that the results,

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

whether intellectual or moral, are not wholly satisfactory. He continued: "The advanced instruction given in the Indian universities is inappropriate for nearly all good purposes except that of supplying Government clerks and minor officials. Being inappropriate for good purposes it serves instead some very bad purposes." Sir Harvey Craik even goes so far as to describe it as fitted "to develop all that is worst in the oriental minds."

20. The educated community throughout this country will watch further progress of this Bill with keenest interest. To them the issues raised are of supreme importance. The whole of their future might be said to be at stake. Are they to have their present educational system strengthened, invigorated, and adapted to modern requirements, combining height with surface, the steady expansion of the educational area with the gradual advancement of learning or are they to have an emasculated system shorn of the principle of growth and expansion, confined to an infinitesimal section of the people without influence on the life of the community and without power to mould it for the highest purposes of human progress? We have made our choice—we have proclaimed it with all the emphasis that we could command.

21. In this connection I would quote the authority of Mr. Thielton Park. Here is what he said:—"Education by its very nature, is anticipative. Its problems are the problems of tomorrow, viewed, as far as possible from the standpoint of today. A policy of 'standstill' is out of the question; still more so, a falling back upon the standards and methods of the past. We shall only worthily show honour to the past by accepting its aid in order to excel it. This principle applies to the whole range of educational activity from the manner of organising a national department of education to the management of the single class and the training of the single child. We require a progressive system to meet a progressive need. Education is the nation's greatest work. Part of English education lies in its diversity. The schools concern the citizens who support them, whether privately through school fees or publicly through taxation. Education is a people's question, and that affects the hearth and home, and at the same time teaches the very roots of national prosperity and all-around strength." President Washington said: "Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge". Mr. Graham Balfour said: "The roots of education, if it is to be of any avail, must lie in

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the very hearts of the people". As the question of education mostly concerns the people, I say that all the Indian universities should be popular as in Europe and America. Officialised universities are of no use to us.

22. Before I conclude I should say that I have given most anxious attention to the points on which we felt bound to differ from the Government, and that our differences are due to our approaching the problem of educational reform from some what different points of view. The Government has resolved to raise the standard of university education and college discipline and for the attainment of that exclusive object, naturally enough, tend to place education under the control of Government and small bodies of experts and to reduce the control of what is known as the popular element to repress imperfectly equipped colleges and schools to deter students of average ability and humble means for the pursuit of knowledge and, in short, to sacrifice surface in order to secure height. While yielding to none in my appreciation of the necessity for raising the standard of education and discipline, I have ventured to think that the solution arrived at is only a partial solution of the problem, and that we should aim not only at raising the height, but also of broadening the base, of our educational fabric.

23. Those who are dancing to the tune of grotesque, new-fangled and officialised university, like what threatens Bihar, Dacca, Burma and C. P. would do well to ponder over these few lines that I cull from the leading article in the London Times Educational supplement:—

"In an ideal system, a university, perfectly free from State control in educational policy, would dominate the curricula and the examination tests of all classes and grades of schools and would be the connecting link between an industrial system and a school system. The university, on the one hand, would supply trained thinkers to industry; and on the other it would so grade the school that the adolescents would be given at the right moments their right place in industry. In an educational system dominated by a free university this could be done; it could not be done if it were undertaken by the State, since the business and habits of a State department are not to think in terms of education, but in terms of finance, of politics and even of intrigue."

"It is the recognition of this fact that has always made Oxford and Cambridge resent state intervention in what may

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL.

be called properly educational affairs. These ancient universities with their unique experience have always refused State grants since grants mean control, and the uncertainty of political consideration. The same feeling exists in the youngest university. The business of studium generale is "to deal with the problem of learning in the widest sense without the uncertain and deadening effect of State intervention in matters of pure education." But while this is the ideal held up by the greatest of the world's news papers and steadfastly adhered to by such ancient and world-renowned universities as Oxford and Cambridge, our rulers who are for the most part the products of these very institutions are ever for officialising all Indian universities, so much so that the constitution they have framed for the Patna, Dacca, Rangoon, and Nagpur Universities reduces them to the position of mere Government Departments, and takes away what little independence and initiative is left to the older institutions. Every one connected with university life and administration should make a mental note of the principles enunciated by the London Times and resist the passage of this retrograde and reactionary Bill with all the emphasis they could command.

24. In the words of Sir Lyon Playfair, Universities are not mere store-house of knowledge; they are also conservatories for its cultivation. I derive my conception of a university from the characteristics as they have been described by one of the foremost mathematicians of the age, Professor Forsyth:—"To my mind, a university is a corporation of teachers and students, banded together for the pursuit of learning and the increase of knowledge, duly housed and fitly endowed to meet the demands raised in the achievements of its purposes. In the prosecution of its academic aims the university should be free from all external censorship of doctrines; it should be free from all external control over the range, or the modes, or the subjects of teaching. Above all, thought should be free from fetters of official type; whether political from the State, ecclesiastical from the churches, or civil from the community, or pedantic from the corporate repressive action of the university itself. In its establishment, the amplest powers that wisdom can suggest should be conferred upon it. In working out its intellectual salvation, the exercise of those powers should be vested in select bodies of fit persons, sufficiently small in number to be efficient, yet large enough in number to prevent degeneration into an intellectual clique, changing sufficiently from time to

SARVAJANIK SABHA. QUARTERLY

time to prevent the dominance of merely personal policies, and representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past and with aspirations for the future, so far as these have taken shape or acquired definition." With this conception of an ideal university before our mind we find it impossible to accord to all or any of the provisions of the Bill our unhesitating and unqualified approval. We yield to none in our desire to see a statute for the reform of the Indian universities as free from objection as possible, and we have striven to attain that object according to the best of our lights; and we confidently hope that our endeavours will be wholly successful. Government is bound to make a great experiment and let us hope that our fears and misgivings will prove unfounded. If the provisions of the Bill help in any measure to secure the realisation of the university of the type so eloquently described by Professor Forsyth the promoters of the measure will rightly have earned the lasting gratitude of the future generation of Indian students; if, on the other hand, these provisions in any way injure and retard, as they are bound to do, the cause of high education, the obliquity and reproach of the measure must necessarily attach to the same individuals.

DEFENCE-OF-INDIA-FORCE

THE SARVAJANIK SABHA, POONA, SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE VICEROY:—

The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha expresses its great satisfaction at the announcement made by the Viceroy regarding the intention of the Government to enrol Indians in their units in the Defence of India Force for General Military Service in India for the duration of the war and trusts that the enrolment will be without distinction and that the status, prospects and privileges for this force will be the same as in the case of European British subjects in India. The Sabha also urges upon the people to whole-heartedly respond to this call in defence of the Motherland and the Empire.

Sd.—R. G. TILAK,
VICE-PRESIDENT,
Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.

THE REPLY RECEIVED TO THE ABOVE TELEGRAM IS AS FOLLOWS:—

D/O No. 910.

VICEROYAL LODGE,

21st Feb. 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram dated the 15th February 1917, which has been laid before His Excellency the Viceroy.

Yours faithfully,
R. VERNEY, Lt-Colonel,
MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY.

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY JOURNAL

1. The Journal will be published in January, April, July and October of each year.
2. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 2 inclusive of postage. Foreign subscription is 4s. inclusive of postage. Any single copy will be charged Annas ten or one shilling.
3. The Editor cordially invites contributions to the Journal. Anonymous Mss. will not be looked into. Every Ms. must bear the full name and address of the writer. Contributions should be addressed to the Editor of this Journal, and should reach him at least a month and a half before the publication of each issue.
4. The Editor does not bind himself to return articles not accepted.
5. All business communications should be addressed as follows:—'To the Manager, Sarvajanik Sabha Quarterly.'

N. C. KELKAR.

— Editor, Quarterly Journal

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

Printed by S. N. Joshi, at the "Chitra Shala Steam Press"
813 Sadashiv Peth Poona City and Published by N. C. Kelkar
at the Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms, Shukrawar Peth, Poona City.

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

country. But the question is,—will it really solve the complex problem of the Empire, or help its perpetuation ?

In the first place, will India willingly accept the position assigned to her in the reconstituted Empire ? Will she consent to be governed not only by Great Britain but also by her Overseas Dominions ?

The attitude of articulate public opinion in India towards the Colonies is well-known. Even the British Bureaucracy here have recognised it, and have tried to conciliate it, in various ways. Lord Hardinge's open condemnation of the South African Government for their treatment of Indian settlers there and his Lordship's plea of justification for the passive resistance movement started there by Mr. Gandhi, showed it. Recent actions of the Government of India in the matter of Indian-Indentured labour in Fiji prove it. And in the face of the almost universal feeling of distrust and anger existing in this country towards the Colonies, will it be conducive to public well-being in India to invite the Colonials to share the responsibility of the Government of India with the United Kingdom, not only in regard to matters of foreign policy and relations, but also in the control of her finance and trade ? Will it help India's loyalty to the Empire ?

Apart from all considerations of the evident injustice and unrighteousness of this "democratic imperialist" policy, in guiding and shaping the course of British administration in this country, and the future evolution and destiny of the Indian people, a little imagination, worked up by a careful study and examination of the trends and tendencies of modern world-politics, will prove to any sensible politician, the dangers, if not the absolute impossibility, of this fatuous policy.

The advocates of this "democratic imperialist" policy seem to be mentally living, so far as India is concerned, in the beginning of the last Christian century. In 1820, it might have been possible to make India the common political and economic dumping-ground of Great Britain and her Overseas children if she had any at that time. There was no knowledge of European character and European history

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

and politics among our people. There was no national self-consciousness either in the country. The masses and the classes alike were then more or less under the strange hypnotic spell which the foreign rulers had cast over them. But all this is changed to day. That spell is completely broken. People know too much now of the history and politics of the European races to permit of a repetition of the methods of 1820 in 1920. The rise of Japan, the emergence of China into the arena of modern world-history and world-politics, and, last of all, the revelation of the soul of modern European polity and civilisation by the present war, all these have made it impossible to pursue this mad policy of democratic imperialism of the Milner-School with any chance of success in India, or even perhaps in Egypt.

The attempt, however, will be made as we know from the decisions of the recent War-Conference. Nor, indeed, can we hold the Dominions representatives at this Conference responsible for not giving to India equal right and status with their own countries, in the proposed reconstitution of the Empire. The Dominions will be represented at the proposed Imperial Cabinet or Conference by their respective Governments. India also could be reasonably represented in a similar way, only by its own Government. It so happens that the Dominions Governments are constitutionally representatives of their peoples and responsible to those peoples for their acts and policy. India has no such representative Government responsible only to the Indian people. It is foolish, therefore, to demand equality of status for India with that of the self-governing Dominions, before securing the same national autonomy for her. In plain English, India must first secure Home Rule before she can reasonably claim equality of rights or status with the Dominions and the United Kingdom in the Council of the Empire.

This is our plea for the establishment of Home Rule in India, with as little delay as possible. For this delay would now mean so much time and opportunity to the British Imperialists of the *Times*—Milner School to further their

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

sinister ends. Our political wise-heads who are perpetually crying—"not yet"—and timidly pleading for a "reasonable" period of preparation of the country for self-government, should seriously consider the new situation which the decisions of the Imperial War-Cabinet and the Imperial War-Conference have created. The avowed object of the policy which these decisions embody is—

(i). To utilise the population and resources of India—
(a) for the preservation and development of the military supremacy of the self-governing Empire among modern nations, whether European or Asiatic.

(b) "at the lowest" for "a withdrawal from the potential military resources of our rivals."

(ii). To utilise these populations and resources for affording a great market for the industries of the self-governing Empire and a source of supply for raw materials for these industries.

In plain English, this "democratic imperialist" policy means an attempt to indefinitely continue, if not to eternally perpetuate (i) The political, and (ii) the economic servitude of the Indian people.

The attempt will fail, we know. But even if it fails in the end, how much trouble will it cause, and what serious risks to the true and highest interests of both India and the Empire, will it involve, in the meanwhile?

The Government frankly admit the presence of very serious revolutionary tendencies in the country. These have actually affected only a very insignificant section of our youthful intellectuals. The larger and saner public stand aloof from all this midsummer madness. But it would not be true to say that the central ideal of these revolutionaries is not equally shared by the general body of their countrymen. Stated in the most general terms, this ideal means the desire of the people of India to be in their own country

ŚARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

as other civilised peoples of our time are in theirs. It means the desire for national autonomy.

The revolutionaries may seek sovereign independence; the constitutionalists will be satisfied with full freedom of control and direction of their national policy and administration in all its branches,—executive, legislative, fiscal and military,—leaving all matters of imperial or foreign relations or interests to be managed by the common Council of the Empire, with the King-Emperor as the symbol of Imperial unity and the Head of the collective life and authority of the Empire as a whole. The vision of the revolutionaries is limited and inspired by mediæval political concepts. The vision of the constitutionalists is larger, inspired by the most advanced generalisations of modern history and sociology. But the irreducible minimum with both is *complete control of national polity and administration, by the representatives of the nation itself* and not as now by a body of bureaucrats representing another nation or group of nations, with adverse political and economic interests. But the decisions of the Imperial War-Cabinet and the Imperial War-Conference indicate the commencement of an insidious but carefully organised movement to deprive India, for an indefinite period, of this irreducible measure of national freedom and self-government.

It will kill all hope of real national autonomy for India. And we shudder to think what this may mean.

The most serious aspect of the situation is the spread of revolutionary tendencies even among the masses. This has been seen in the Punjab. German-intrigue may, as it is believed, be largely responsible for the troubles in the Punjab. But no enemy intrigues can succeed where the people have no secret sense of wrong or irritation against their Government. In every disease, the subject who falls a prey to it, must be previously predisposed to it. It is true of the political and the social life as of the physical life. No propaganda can succeed, unless the ground is more or less pre-

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

pared for it.

And the only prophylactic against revolutionary political maladies is the promotion of evolutionary process of freedom. In other words:—

The freedom of the Home Rule propaganda.

The immediate acceptance of the fundamental principle and ideal of Home Rule by the Government of the King-Emperor as legitimate and absolutely necessary for the furtherance of Indian and Imperial interests.

The introduction of the scheme of Reforms presented by the Memorandum of the Nineteen.

The immediate provision of direct Indian representation, by a Convention of the elected members of the present Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils in India, in the Imperial War-Cabinet, referred to by Mr. Lloyd George.

—These are the absolutely irreducible minimum measures of Reform, which will be able to kill and sterilise existing revolutionary tendencies in the country.

And this must be done immediately; not because the Government is not in a position to keep down all revolutionary unrest in the country by the exercise of their present powers; but because of the effect that such physical repression of these will be bound to produce in the community.

Repressions outwardly demoralise people, but inwardly increase their sympathy with the movement so put down. This is the universal experience of history. And it is this secret sympathy of the people with revolutionary ideas, which we regard as the greatest menace to both Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism.

For, no student of contemporary history and politics believes that the present will be the last great world-war for a long time to come. The next scene of the Armageddon will, so far as present portents point to, be Asia and not

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Europe, though Europe will be fatally involved in it. And if and when the waves of any great world-war beat against the shores of India, then will come her hour of trial. She must, by that time, be fully organised and equipped up to the most advanced modern methods, to protect herself against all outsiders, whether European or Asiatic.

But the authorities of the British Empire cannot possibly permit this preparation without first working up a complete and permanent reconciliation between the highest political and economic ideals and interests of India with those of the Empire. All existing conflicts of political ideals between India and the Empire must be settled and all sense of irritation and every form or shade of mistrust in the Indian mind towards the Empire, and of the United Kingdom and the Dominions towards India, must be completely and radically removed before this reconciliation can be effected. India must be put upon a footing of constitutional equality with the United Kingdom and the Dominions, and she must be provided with powers and instruments to protect itself against any encroachment or violation, before the present mistrust can be absolutely dissipated. All these must be done before the immense military and naval possibilities of the Indian people can be fully actualised.

All this means that Home Rule must be granted to India, simultaneously with the reconstitution of the Empire, suggested by the Imperial War Conference; and in good time before the next world-struggle threatens to break out.

It is needed as much in the highest interests of India as of the present British Empire.

And if this Home Rule is attained by India, and she secures, upon her own rights, and not as now, through the generous sufferance of her present British masters, a place of perfect equality with the other members of the Empire,—as an autonomous nation among autonomous nations,—she will have no reason to wish for any isolated sovereign independence. For, inside the Empire she will have all the rights of

WHY I ADVOCATE HOME RULE FOR INDIA

this sovereign independence, so far as the regulation of her own national life is concerned, and, at the same time, form part of a larger combine or combination which will be a guarantee not only of her own freedom, but of universal world-peace as well.

For, in man-power, in economic resources, in brain-power, this Indo-British Empire will be absolutely more than a match for any other existing world-Empire, or even any possible combination of World Powers. This Empire will represent within itself the two great principal cultures of the world—European and Asiatic. It will be intellectually and morally dominated by the high spiritual ideals of India that have always sought to realise the Universal in every particular, and Humanity in every nation. These high ideals, backed by the enormous military strength and organisation of the Empire, will be able to “*persuade*” the rest of the world to confine their ambitions of national self-fulfilment within the limits of their own national life and rights, and avoid all international conflicts. And it will be a miniature of that Universal Humanity towards which all historic evolution eternally moves.

This is how, Indian Home Rule will secure freedom and co-operation within, and promote peace and good-will, outside the Empire. It will secure India's highest freedom, advance international and inter-cultural co-operation, no less for the benefit of the Empire than for the good of the world. It will help the perpetuation of the Indo-British connection and pave the way for the poet's dream of the day, when the war-drum shall beat no longer and the flags of the nations shall be furled.

In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World. This is why I advocate Home Rule for India, not as a *far-off Ideal*, but as an *immediate and imperious Necessity*, for the Peace of India and the Preservation of the Empire.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

“ HOME RULE AND THE MASSES ”



(*Mr. S. K. Altekar, B. A. LL. B.*)

THE one burning topic of the day throughout the length and breadth of India is Home Rule or self-Government within the British Empire. The Indian National Congress since its foundation in 1885 in Bombay has done a yeoman's service in awakening the educated people of India to a sense of their duty. India is a vast country with millions of people of different castes and creeds and is equal in size to the whole continent of Europe with the exception of Russia and in population counts one fifth of the human race. To focuss the public opinion of such a vast country was not an easy task. But the Indian National Congress has achieved it in no small measure. The credit of it is due to the patriotic work of the veteran Congress-leaders who have grown grey in the service of the mother-land. The Congress has for the last thirty years and more passed a number of resolutions on several subjects of vital importance.

The council reforms of 1892 and 1908 were due to the indefatigable efforts of congress leaders. The passing of the motion of simultaneous Examinations in the British Parliament was the result of the selfless efforts of the congress veteran Dr. Dadabhai Nawroji. The Congress has for a number of years passed resolutions on the separation of the Executive and judicial functions and has elicited even from burocratic Viceroys the opinion that "the separation of the two functions is" "a counsel of perfection. The Congress annually passes resolutions on the Arms Act describing it as an unnatural Act emasculating a whole nation of three hundred millions. The Congress has passed a number of resolutions on several important subjects. But the Govern-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

ment has not as yet paid proper attention to the demands of the congress. Not only this but the Government has not thought it worth while to fulfil the promises given by the British Parliament and the Queen Empress. Viceroys like Lord Lytton have frankly admitted that promises given to the heart are required to be broken to the ear. The Congress has year after year reminded the Government of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 and other promises of responsible British statesmen. But the Government was persistent in giving a deaf ear to the constitutional and moderate demands of the congress. The natural result was that many congressmen got disappointed and lost faith in the congress-method and work. Such a saintly veteran Congress-man as Dr. Dadabhai Naorojee says in his Presidential address of Calcutta in 1906:—

"Since my early efforts, I must say, that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break my heart and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel. My dis-appointments have not been of the ordinary kind but far worse and keener. Ordinarily a person fights and if he fails he is disappointed. But I fought and won on several occasions but the Executive did not let us have the fruits of those victories—disappointments quite enough as I have said, to break one's heart." If such was the disappointment of the veteran leader, what ~~must~~ be the case of young congressmen? A party arose in 1906 in the Congress camp itself, which was not satisfied by the three days' work of the congress but wished to change the Congress-method by active propegandist work all the year along and would be satisfied with nothing less than Swaraja or self-Government within the Empire the ideal set before the congress by the Grand old Man of India for ten years afterwards there was a sort of split in the old Congress-workers. But happily at the last Lucknow Congress the two old parties have shaken hands and united. The last Lucknow congress witnessed in addition the perfect union of the Hindus and Mahomedans. And the Lucknow-congress thus united passed unanimously the resolution on Home Rule

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

or self-Government within the Empire.

But the union of the two Parties and the union of the two races is simply a means to an end and not the end in itself. The united congress at Lucknow has unanimously passed the resolution on self-Government. So it is the sacred and patriotic duty of every congressman to try his best to do every thing in his power to facilitate the granting of Home Rule to India by the Government. The last Lucknow Congress has by a special resolution asked the several provincial and District congress committees, Home Rule Leagues and other political institutions to give their hearty support and cooperation in the constitutional efforts of the congress for the attainment of Home Rule or self-Government.

The ideal of the Congress and the Home Rule Leagues is the same. There is no need for old congressmen to view with alarm the starting of Home Rule Leagues. The old district Congress committees and the new Home Rule Leagues should vie with each other in the work of the national awakening. As observed above the mere passing of resolutions at the Congress and conferences will not avail much. The Government and the British nation must be convinced that we are really serious in the demand of Home Rule. And so the work for the congressmen is twofold. They must enlighten the masses here in India on the advantages of Home Rule and a simultaneous attempt must be made in England to convince the British people that India is *determined* to have self-Government. In this article we mean to devote our attention to the work to be done in India as regards the masses.

One of the reasons why the resolutions of the congress do not carry weight with the Government is that those resolutions have not the support of the masses of the people of the millions of people who constitute the vast population of India. When the Government of India or the British people will know that the vast masses of India do seriously want Home Rule when they will be convinced that the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

millions of the Indian people are *determined* to have Home Rule, then they will of themselves grant Home Rule to India. The British people themselves are real lovers of liberty and self-Government. They themselves have obtained self-Government by long and strenuous efforts. We must make them understand by our continuous and constitutional efforts that we too like their fore-fathers shall not rest satisfied unless we get self-Government. The British people are very shrewd. They will not grant us Home Rule or self-Government if we are content by meeting once a year for three days and then ~~disperse~~ after passing some resolutions to meet again after twelve months. Unless the Congressmen are *after self-Government all along the year*, the British people will not be convinced that they are serious about it. Unless the Congressmen educate the masses and create *a strong public opinion in favour of Home Rule*, the British people will not be convinced that we are serious about it. So the first and foremost duty of every Congressman and every member of the Home Rule League is to create a strong public opinion in favour of Home Rule in India. So much so that the British people *will have to think twice before they disregard it.*

The vast Indian population may ~~be~~ divided be between two sections the educated and the uneducated. The educated again may ~~be~~ divided in two sections—those who have got higher education, and those who have got primary education only. Those who have got higher education know from their knowledge of history the advantages of Home Rule or self-Government. They need not be enlightened on Home Rule but they must be persuaded to actively help the propoganda of Home Rule. It may be said without fear of contradiction that at present every educated man is a Home Ruler or a lover of self-Government, even if he be in Government service. For loyalty to the British Empire, does not in our opinion, come in the way of even Government-servants becoming members of the Home Rule League. For the

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

work of the Home Rule League and the Congress is to *strengthen the foundation* of the British Empire in India—to make the British rule in India to stand not on the sandy basis of ignorance but on the *adamantine* basis of genuine and reasoned loyalty. Responsible British statesmen have declared that the Indian aspiration for Home Rule or self-Government is legal. Even the Viceroys have shared the same view, but as long as the attitude of Governors like H. E. Lord Willingdon and H. E. Lord Pentland is as it is at present, educated Government-servants though at heart Home-Rulers, will not openly join the H. R. Leagues. But a day is *sure* to dawn—and not in the distant future—when every educated Government-servant will openly be a member of the Home Rule League, for there is nothing in the objects of the League to deter the most loyal Government-servants of His Majesty the King Emperor from becoming its members. But for the present we shall exclude the educated Indians who are Government-servants. Of the educated non-official Indians, there are again two divisions as stated above—those who have got higher education and those who have got simply primary education. Those who have got simply primary education, we shall for brevity's sake style as semi-educated Indians. It is the sacred duty of the educated or those who have got higher education to enlighten both the semi-educated and the uneducated or illiterate Indians on Home Rule or self-government, and create among them all, a strong opinion in favour of Home Rule.

The creation of this desired force of public opinion of the Indian masses will require a continuous and constitutional agitation in all parts of India. In spite of the warning or threats of Provincial Governors, every loyal citizen of India must carry on the agitation for Home Rule. The District Congress committees and the Home Rule Leagues must leave no stone unturned in their constitutional efforts to keep up the agitation of Home Rule till we get it actually. As observed by Dr. Dadabhai Naorojee in his presi-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

dential address of 1906 "agitation is the life and soul of the whole political social and industrial history of England. It is by agitation that the English have accomplished their most glorious achievements, their prosperities, their liberties, and in short their first place in the nations of the world." "The whole life of England every day is all agitation. Agitation is the civilised and peaceful weapon of moral force and infinitely preferable to brute physical force." So we, who are students of English history and disciples of British statesmen, must literally follow those very constitutional methods for the attainment of those very rights which have after a long and strenuous agitation, been attained by the English people.

"Agitate, agitate and agitate"—agitate by meetings, demonstrations and petitions to Parliament—was the earnest advice of the Grand-Old Man of India in his Presidential address of 1906 at the memorable Calcutta Congress. "Agitate over the whole length and breadth of India in every nook and corner—peacefully of course—if we really mean to get justice from John Bull. Satisfy him that we are in earnest..... Agitate, agitate means inform. Inform, the Indian people what their rights are and why and how they should obtain them, and inform the British people of the rights of the Indian people and why they should grant them." More than ten years have passed but the Congress has not done anything to carry out the advice of the grand old Man. Unless the Indian masses, a fifth of the human race, are informed by constitutional agitation of what their rights are, and a *driving public force* is created in favour of Home Rule, the Government of India and the British people will not think that we are *serious* about Home Rule. It is a happy sign of the times that Home Rule Leagues are started in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, to popularise Self-government among the masses. It is a wonder why other Provinces are silent as yet in the matter. Home Rule Leagues ought to be started all over India and they ought grow and flourish like the Prophet's

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

gourd in the immediate future. The Congress ought not to be alarmed at the birth of the H. R. Leagues as the latter are in no way antagonistic to the interest of the Congress. A few Congressmen—happily they are few—view with misgivings the starting of the H. R. Leagues but the work of the latter is sure in course of time, to convince them. Most of the veteran Congressmen, have *welcomed* the starting of Home R. Leagues and it was for this reason that the Hon. A. C. Mazumdar President, of the last Lucknow Congress earnestly sought the co-operation of the H. R. Leagues in the propagandist work of the Congress. It is a happy sign of the times that the veteran leaders of Bengal in the Capital of which province the Congress is to meet this year, means to take up the one question of Self-government or Home Rule for discussion this year, and so schemes for the propagandist work of Home Rule will receive special attention of all patriotic lovers of India. In the meanwhile it will not be out of place to discuss how the huge masses of India, the millions of semi-literate and illiterate men—are to be educated and informed of their rights as free citizen of the British Empire. The whole population of India may be divided as above stated in three classes. (1) literate (2) semi-literate and (3) illiterate.

The burden of popularising Self-government or Home Rule among the semi-literate and illiterate population of India lies on the shoulders of the literate—those who have received their higher education at the expense of the taxes paid by the former. The literate ought to think that the work of popularising Home Rule among the masses is a sort of sacred duty which they owe to their mother-land. As observed above the educated officials or Government servants must for the present be excluded from the literate class. The non-official educated Indians must come forward at the present critical period in the history of their country with all their might. They must try their utmost to facilitate the granting of Home Rule to India by Great Britain. To whatever-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

profession an official educated Indian may belong, he must try his best to help the movement of Home Rule in the best way he can.

Those who can spare their money should pay large sums to popularise Home Rule among the masses. Those who can spare their time, should travel from district to district and enlighten the masses on Home Rule. Those who can command the pen, should write articles and pamphlets on Home Rule for the enlightenment of the masses. Those who are endowed by nature with oratorical powers, should address huge mass-meetings and explain to the people the benefits of Home Rule. There are a number of ways for those educated Indians who have the *will* to serve their country by popularising Home Rule among the masses. At present it may safely be said without fear of contradiction that *all* non-official educated Indians are Home Rulers or Self-governments at heart. But to be merely a Home Ruler at heart may even to be a member of the Home Rule League is *not sufficient* at the present time.

To be a member of the Home Rule League is merely rendering a *passive* service to the country. *India now expects every educated Indian to do some active service to the country.* In the discharge of this *active* service, the educated Indians *must be ready to suffer.* They must not be afraid of the fears or frowns of the official world. They must be ready to *sacrifice their time energy and money* in the cause of the mother-land. What country has got Home Rule without *suffering or sacrifice?* There are immense difficulties in the way of educated Indians in regularly carrying on the work of popularising Home Rule among the masses. But that should not deter them from the discharge of their *sole* duty towards their mother-land. As Burke has observed, "the greater the difficulty the greater the honour." It is said that there is no royal road to learning. It can more truly be said that *there is no royal road to self Government or home rule.* The road

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

to Home Rule is strewn with thorns. The Anglo-Indians and the bureaucracy will try their best to throw every obstacle our way. But the educated Indians must rise to the occasion and must try their utmost to overcome those obstacles. The goal of Self-Government aimed at by the National Congress and the movement for the same begun under the name of Home Rule by the Indian Home Rule leagues are perfectly constitutional. The aspiration for Home Rule for India is declared to be perfectly legal even by the Viceroy. Responsible British statesmen are repeating the same thing over again and again. So no educated Indian be in the least afraid of *actively joining* the Home Rule movement.

The bulk of the Indian population consists of semi-literate and illiterate persons, and the task at present on the shoulders of the literate is to enlighten them *all* to the advantages of Home Rule. Naturally the methods of enlightening the semi-literate ought to be different from those of enlightening the illiterate. The vernacular press has done a good deal in enlightening the semi literate class on the work of the National congress. Papers like the *Kesari* have done a yeoman's service in giving a sort of political education to the semi-literate class. The propagandist work of Home Rule among the semi-literate class is far easier than that among the illiterate class. A sort of ground work is prepared among the farmer and they are in a position to ~~understand~~ what an active propagandist of Home Rule tells them. They are also in a position to read and understand small books or pamphlets in the vernacular on Home rule. What the veteran congress leaders have to do is to infuse a sort of *patriotic spirit*—a sort of *moral courage* among them to demand from the Government equal rights of citizenship in the British Empire—to demand a share in the administration of their own country—in fact to “demand Home Rule which is the *birth right of every man born under the sun*”. It is the duty of the several district-Congress-committees and district branches of Home Rule-leagues, not only to enlighten the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

semi-literate classes in their districts on the advantages on Home Rule by occasional lectures and free distribution of small pamphlets on Home Rule but to *create in them a sort of bold and legal patriotism—a sort of British moral courage* to fearlessly demand Home Rule from the Government.

To enlighten the illiterate classes on the advantages of Home Rule is a more difficult task. If the Bill of the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale on the free and compulsory primary education had been passed in the Supreme legislative Council in 1910, education would have spread among the masses by leaps and bounds and the work of explaining the advantages of Home rule to the masses would have been easier. But we must take things as they are and do our best under the existing circumstances.

By the bye it may not be out of place to answer an objection of some critics against the Home Rule propagandist-work. It is argued that as the bulk of the Indian population is illiterate, the leaders of Home Rule Leagues should first take up the question of education, and discontinue the propagandist work of Home Rule till the masses are educated. These critics, we dare say, betray a miserable ignorance of general history. Let them take the case of any nation that has obtained self-Government and they will find that no nation has stopped to demand self-Government by the people and for the people till *all* the people in the nation were educated. Let us take the case of England itself. What was the case of England in 1215 when the people of England demanded and *actually* get the *Magna-Charta* from King John? What was the case of England when Simon de Montford called together the first English parliament in 1365? What was the case of England at the time of the *bloodless* revolution of 1688? Nay further more what was the case of England at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832? Education was made compulsory in England only at the end of XIX century? But the good old people of England did not sit silent till *every* person in the country land was educated. Japan tells us the same story. So in the

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

light of the examples of other nations who have obtained self-Government, leaders of Home Rule Leagues in India need not be silent till the masses are educated. Of course, they should and as a matter of fact, they are doing their humble best to support the cause of education among the masses.

Now the great question before the educated Indian classes and especially before the Congress leaders and Home Rule league-leaders is how to enlighten the great masses on Home Rule? How to make them take an active interest in the demand for Home Rule? To begin with the last is likely to appear to some to be an impossible task. But the experience of the present writer makes him bold to say that the task of enlightening the masses on the advantages of Home Rule and so preparing them to take an active part in the demand for Home Rule is not so very difficult as it is imagined to be. The present writer has tried to visit a number of villages in Karad Taluka of the Satara District for the propagandist work of the Congress and the Home Rule League. There are hundred villages in Karad Taluka and the object of the present writer in the propagandist work of Home Rule was so to work as to be able to say that "There is not a single village in Karad Taluka without one Home Ruler at least". The present writer began to work for this after his return from the last Lucknow-Congress. He had a mind to accomplish this task before the last provincial Conference and Home Rule conference at Nasik. He achieved it before he left for Nasik, addressing the people-not in public meetings as that is neither possible nor desirable in small villages but in groups of ten or twelve-of about seventy-five villages, and he can say now that there is not a single village without a Home Ruler. And he wishes to continue his work of Home Rule propaganda regarding the remaining twentyfive villages.

The people of villages *even in the absence of college or school education, can understand what Home Rule is if an attempt is made in Mahratti to enlighten them on the subject. Those people who can manage their home-work and field work*

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

do not find it difficult to understand what Home Rule is and what for the Congress and the H. R. League are started. A number of villages have their local grievances and when it made clear to them that the granting of Home Rule would sooner facilitate the removal of those grievances, they sympathise with the congress and Home Rule movement and are ready to become members of the H. R. league and pay its small subscription. The collection of the War-Loan by the revenue officers and village Officers has made the work of the Home Rule League an easy task. This great war has indirectly made even the remotest villages understand the duty of the Government and the people towards each other. The Revenue-officers are required to convene meetings of villagers and explain to them the duty of the people to help the Government in the present critical time. The leaders of the Talukas and districts too are helping the Government to enlighten the villagers on the War-loan. The present writer, while doing the propagandist work of Home Rule had many occasions to remove the suspicions and prejudices of hundreds of villagers. He found that people have more confidence in popular leaders than in revenue-officers and village Officers. He found it most difficult to convince the villagers that the money of War-Lone would be returned to them. The villagers argue in their own queer way that money taken by revenue officers and village Officers has never before entered their pockets again and so the money paid to war-loan will never be returned to them. When they were told by the present writer that the shrewd and economic merchants of Bombay had paid to the war loan not by hundreds and thousands but by lacs, they were persuaded to believe that there was some chance of the return of their money. The present writer had, on more occasions than one opportunities in public meetings convened by revenue-officers to explain to the villagers the benefits of depositing money in war loan, and to satisfy the doubts of a number of villagers. He was loyally and silently doing the propagandist work of

HOME RULE AND THE MASSES

the Home Rule league inspite of the advice of H. E. the Governor of Bombay and he is conscious that by so doing he has helped the Government of His Majesty the King Emperor by explaining to them the real benefit of depositing their money in war loan. The object of giving this personal experience about war-loan is to show that the masses in the villages, though not educated are shrewd and intelligent enough to understand their political rights if properly explained to them and they can *without being able to read and write* understand what Home Rule means. This propagandist work among the masses in villages is somewhat hampered by the local police. In some villages it was found that the police had made inquiries just after the present writer had left after registering some members from the villeges for the Home Rule league. In one village a sub-inspector himself asked the present writer whether he had addressed a public meeting. On being told that the Home Rule league was started to make him a District Superintendent of police in his old age, he smiled and went away! It is a happy sign of the times that people are becoming bold to be members of the Home Rule league inspite of the dread of the local police. But it is the duty of the provincial and district leaders especially of the non-official members of the legislative Councils to pay visits to district and Taluka towns and there deliver lectures to the semi-literate and illiterate classes. It is the duty of influential leaders to *create a sort of moral courage* among the people of all classes. People must be made bold not to be afraid of the police or government officers in their constitutional efforts for the demand of self-government or Home Rule. People must be taught to believe that genuine loyalty to the British Throne is *perfectly consistent* with a strong demand for Home Rule by constitutional methods. Unless the Congress and the Home Rule league leaders devote their time and energy to the creation of this moral courage among the masses to

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

boldly demand Home Rule from the Government of India, the British people will never pay any heed to the cry of Home Rule by the Indians. The resolutions of the Congress and the Home Rule league *must be strongly supported by the driving force of the masses*. There is a time, as Shakespeare truly says, in the life of a nation which does not often come. The present is such a time. Times are with us. God is with us. But He never helps those that do not help themselves. Therefore, Awake, O patriotic Indian leaders awake!! Arise!! Enlighten the masses on Home Rule and create a *strong moral courage* among them to support the Congress demand for self-Government i. e. Home Rule, or else be for ever fallen!!!

S. K. ALTEKAR.

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT ?

A *raison d'être*



(*Gulabchand Devchand*)

NEVER in the history of the human race has a greater question confronted a whole nation than the one which now confronts India. Shall or shall not India be governed by the chosen representatives of her people, and if she shall, how early is that consummation to be reached? This is the question which directly faces a thinking Indian, be he a prince or a peasant, a man of influence or otherwise. In a well-deliberated and honest answer to this question, is involved the whole future of the nation.

History is usually made by a generation that hardly lives to enjoy the fruit of its own labours. It is always reaped by generations yet unborn. It is, therefore, for the continuous existence of our country as a nation, that the present generation of educated Indians demands self-rule within the Empire, and not from any selfish interests of their own. In the building up of Indian nationalism, the human race has much to gain, and in the continuance of the political status of India as it is, the world has much to lose. This is said, not to invoke the help of others. Indians do not want the help of others. Indians wish to be helped by that great nation to which history has rightly assigned the credit of founding the mother of parliaments. Those who sneer at this are ignorant of history, of the broad day-light facts, or of both. For, is not the genius of the Indian nation endowed by Nature with a speciality of features? And in so far as those features are allowed to manifest themselves in art, culture, philosophy, and in social and political

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

organisation, they will broaden and deepen the foundations of human civilisation itself. A free and full life is needed for the people a fact which makes it indispensable that Indians should not be prevented by artificial barriers from developing their great gifts. Their present political status gives them no scope whatever for their full expansion and growth. They cannot experiment nor are they allowed to assert themselves and their peculiar inheritance as members of the human family.

But apart from that, the political status of India has become a question of economic existence. India is universally admitted to be the poorest country on the face of the earth. This is so, in spite of the gifts of nature, which she possesses in inexhaustible abundance. Her soil is rich in its resources; her climate is absolutely favourable for turning out every kind of produce; her mineral deposits are varied and immense; her peasantry is the most patient and hard-working in the world; her students have displayed great capacity and aptitude for scientific studies; her industrialists are no less competent and adventurous than those of other nations. With all these advantages she is the poorest country in the world. What is this state due to? If it could not be said that Government has systematically dwarfed her industrial and economical growth, it is at least true that Government has not taken vigorous steps to foster, promote and speed it forward, as has been done by other countries such as Japan which about 60 years back was far behind compared even with India herself.

India was once the richest country in the world. European nations vied with and even went to war with one another to capture the trade of India and to monopolise it. India hardly imported anything of importance in the days of ~~the~~ ~~past~~ and exported her surplus products on a large scale with great profit to herself. Thus she was economically independent from the earliest times till the advent of the British in India. She was self-sufficient not only in raw materials but also in manufactured commodities. But the economic fabric which stood the test of centuries,

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

each century adding materially to her accumulated wealth—despite dynastic changes and internecine wars—toppled down or was systematically ruined during the regime of the East India Company. The era of science had dawned upon Europe with the consequent revolution in the methods of manufacturing goods. The countries which could not take to new methods suffered and suffered very ruinously. India could not escape the inevitable results of this industrial revolution, and she has never since that time been made capable of taking her former place in the industrial world. The Government has played but little part in the industrial evolution of the country, such as we find at present. Whereas Japan had been sending out to Europe for the last half a century hundreds of her youths to learn the art of manufacture, Indian Government had, as it were, gone to sleep over the whole problem of the industrial regeneration of India. How many students have been sent by the Indian Government to learn arts and industry in Europe out of her vast population? How many of her industries have been systematically encouraged by Government? Have the methods that and are employed have been by other Governments, been ever seriously experimented upon in India? That is why India is not rich. With her vast unemployed population and with her almost unlimited resources in natural wealth she could be one of the wealthiest of nations. But the results so far achieved are nothing short disappointing.

Look at the state of her agriculture. That is the greatest occupation of the nation. That is the staple national industry. But it hardly enables the farmer to keep his head above waters in normal times. The Indian peasant is so patient and inured to hardship which he considers to be the visitation of Providence, that the consequences are far from being dangerous. It has been proved beyond the shadow of doubt that if agriculture is seriously undertaken as a national responsibility by the State and is carried on on approved lines both in point of appliances and the system of taxation in India, famines will become a thing of the past and the gamble in

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

rain will be heard no more.

If we turn from agriculture to commerce, we have the same woeful tale to repeat. Indians share but an insignificant portion of the benefits of their international trade which has been almost monopolised by non-Indians. But the hardness of the situation does not end here. Even the internal trade of India is not absolutely in the hands of her own countrymen. Foreign exploiters have succeeded in going direct to the fields to dictate their prices and make advantageous bargains.

The industry and commerce of a nation constitute the fountain-head of its wealth. From thence it filters down in different streams to the lower strata of society. The fact that India is not rich proves unmistakably that there is something very wrong with the state of her commerce and industries. A very small portion of the population of India is sustained by commerce and industry. Not that there is dearth of men willing to take up commerce and industry as their occupation in life, but commerce and industry afford no scope for those that are anxious to go in for them. The middle classes of a country are its back-bone. It is they who support and develop its arts and help to increase its wealth. But in India there is hardly a middle class in the strictest economical sense of the term. One who is really acquainted with the inner life of the nation, can alone have a true conception of the hardships under which they have to labour. There are no occupations affording a decent income to the youths of the middle classes. That is due principally to the undeveloped state of commerce and industry. With the advent of the scientific era, the artisans of the nation who formed a large section of the population, and in whose manufactured commodities a very large and profitable trade was carried on, have ceased to be a factor of any importance in the economic system of the country, and have sunk down to the level indigen agriculturists.

It is a matter of common knowledge that very little

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

proportion of India's population has been able to go out of their country to develop her trade and commerce. Most of those that have gone out, have gone out as indentured labourers to toil in the far off regions,—the benefits of their labour being reaped by those that are non-Indians. They have gone out in search of bread, because no bread could be found for them at home. India wants to prohibit the emigration of indentured labour because it is galling to her sentiment and pride as a self-respecting nation. But what is to happen if there is no outlet for the population of India which is growing decade by decade, in spite of the ravages of plague and famine which have become a permanent feature in the country? The increase is very little compared to the increase of most of the nations of the West. The reasons are not very far to seek. But, leaving them aside for the moment, the question is how far the soil of India is capable of sustaining the growing population of our country if there is no outlet for it? How sad and heart-rending has been the history of the emigration of Indians, every one knows only too well. Even the British flag has grievously failed to offer them shelter and protection. This is the problem which is now before the nation. The possession by the European nations of a very large portion of the earth's land surface does not mean that colored races should have no claims over it. The world is meant for the whole human race in common, and so long as the problem of going to and settling in a country which is likely to give bread remains where it is, human race can never be at peace. The turn of fortune's wheel helped the races of Europe to explore and take possession of the undiscovered regions of the earth. Does it therefore follow that the Asiatic races should be barred from being the denizens of such regions? This is a problem which *does* affect the future of India though it may not be considered as one of practical politics at the present moment. But how is India to assert her rights abroad if she is not the mistress in her own house? That is why we want to be heard in the management of our own affairs, so as t

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

shapes the destinies of the coming generations. No nation in the world has any moral right to prevent us from achieving our object, provided we do not infringe similar rights of other nations.

Even as commerce, industry and agriculture, our intellectual advancement has been tediously slow. One has simply to compare the educational statistics of our country with those of other countries to realise the lurid disclosure it makes.

Wherein lies the remedy? Does the remedy lie in shutting the doors of higher education, or in developing and increasing primary education to the requirements of the situation? It is not necessary for anyone to expatiate upon the benefits of education. To keep our neighbour in ignorance is the greatest crime that a man can do. To be allowed a full scope to develop his intellect and understanding is the birth-right of man and no Government can renounce the duty it owes to its subjects to afford facilities for such a development. Man is not born merely to be a machine for the production of human needs. Nature has assigned to him some higher purposes too, and they could not be served if he is kept in the bondage of illiteracy. Civilising surroundings alone are of no avail. To be enlightened is the very essence and purpose of man's existence. If that is not possible, the inventions of science and all the boasts of modern age may rightly be considered to have failed, so far as India is concerned. The backwardness of India in matters of education is a black spot on the administration of British India. Even the modest bill of the late Mr Ghokhle, the most modest ever proposed—could not pass the Imperial council because the government was not responsible to the people. But apart from that the whole of the educational system in India is not based on the requirements of the nation. It sorely needs overhauling, and a substantial grant of money to make it really subserve the purpose of education.

Perhaps the greatest defect in the administration of the country, as it is at the present day, lies in the military

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

status of the people under it. The present war is bound to revolutionise many a conception of civic rights and duties, and if it has brought home to the minds of Indians any vital lesson, it is this that they should be made capable of defending their hearths and homes against any foreign aggression. That is the fundamental need of a truly national life.

A nation's greatness lies in its many-sided activities and if military careers are not opened to Indian youths, she cannot be a nation in the real sense of the term. India's history from the earliest times has been the history of heroism and chivalry. Her gallant soldiers have proved, even at the present day, the mettle they are made of. The permanent existence of a nation is secured only by its capability to defend its home. And the fact that a nation has lost its independence or has been conquered does not mean that it should be deprived of the privilege of defending itself in times of emergency. But the question does not stop here. It is the most momentous of questions that will test the practical genius of our rulers when they come to undertake the after-war re-construction of the British Empire. If it is not looked upon in that light by those upon whom the responsibility of consolidating the Empire rests, the consequences will be simply disastrous. We hear of the concentration of the economic resources of the British Empire. We hear also of the concentration of its resources for defence. This is absolutely necessary from the Empire's point of view and its man-power will be a bulwark of strength to the whole Empire. But if India is not placed on the best possible footing for purposes of defence, her sons cannot but look upon the safety and integrity of the country with anxiety. With the rise of Japan as a first class power and with the admittedly rising power of China, the probable trend of events in the far East is unmistakable, and the most cautious steps have to be taken at the earliest opportunity to prepare against any possible danger. India cannot be a

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

negligible factor in the matter; and if the military potentialities of India are treated with indifference there may come a day evil for the British Empire, and no amount of after-event repentance will be of any avail. The British Empire's interests in the East are far-reaching and varied, and it would be both sagacious and statesmanlike to handle the question of consolidating the military resources of India in the light of the future issue. But in doing so the sentiments of the Indian people, which are already hurt to a very large extent, shall have to be respected. India does not want the commissioned ranks for her sons because thereby a portion of her money will come back into the pockets of the people. That question is never looked upon as a question of loaves and fishes. The question is one of creating a body of trained men of their own on whom the people can rely for the safety of the nation. In the military reconstruction of the British Empire, it is perhaps too early to forecast the part to be allotted to India. But there can be no doubt as to one fact. The military expenditure of India shall have to be increased and the Indian politician shall have to prepare to face it. In the already straitened finances of Government and with the people's power to pay taxes well nigh exhausted, it may perhaps be difficult to find out easily the means for further taxation to meet the military expenditure. The question of providing India with a navy too would be one of practical politics and it should be looked upon by Indians with sympathy. All this means increased expenditure. And the task of a Sir William Meyer is bound to be very trying. Much, therefore, can be done in the desired direction by a thorough retrenchment of expenditure in the existing military charges. If the strength of the total army now maintained by the Indian Exchequer is to be increased, if a navy is to be maintained by India, and if conscription is to have a place in the military system, the consequential increased expenditure can be met partly by enhanced taxation and partly by reducing the British Indian army. That should

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

be boldly done by British Statesmen. The military charges as they now exist and as they have existed for so many years in the past have had a lion's share of the people's money, and if a further developement of India's military resources is considered desirable, the cost must perforce be reduced to the lowest possible level without injuring the efficiency of defence. The Army and navy, if the latter is at all given to India, should be Indianised to a very considerable extent and this could be done only if political rights are conceded to India. So the concession of political rights to India is as much a matter of military efficiency of the British Empire as of justice to the people of India themselves. It is, therefore, urged upon British statesmen to view it with the importance it deserves. A happy and contented India and an India politically honest and sound, will not be a nightmare to British statesmen. If after the connection of a century and half and the vindication of India's loyalty in the present war, British statesmen are reluctant to trust the people, then they have not rightly grasped the spirit of the thoughts agitating the minds of Indians. In that case they may be said to have grievously failed to understand the psychology of the Indian mind. When India has an army and navy totally manned by Indians, and when her political status is raised to that enjoyed by the colonies, what on earth shall India gain by breaking relations with the kingdom whose territories extend far and wide and whose influence diplomatic and otherwise, is felt in all the quarters of the globe?

We want self-rule, because we want to utilize the resources of the state for the benefit of the people. All the powers and resources of the state are so far utilized, only in running a machinery of administration which is admittedly the costliest and beyond the limits of the Indian purse. In the polity of a nation the administrative machinery of the Government ought to play a very subordinate part. The function of an administration is only to carry out the will of the legislature. But in India the legislature and the adminis-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

tration are practically one and the same since the legislature is what the executive can determine it to be and the executive is recruited from the bureaucratic administrative machinery. There is a very large scope for the reform of them all. Mere efficiency of the administrative net-work cannot secure the progress of the people. In that respect our administrative machinery has been decidedly backward, and one has simply to look around to convince himself of the scantiness of the sum total of Great Britain's work in India in spite of her 150 years' rule.

At this stage it is no use dilating on the reasons of the defects of such an administrative machinery; for that, one has simply to recall the events of the last quarter of the 18th century when the foundation of the British Indian Empire was laid. The work of those on whom rested the task of conducting the affairs of India looked upon the consolidation of the Indian Empire as the best means of securing its permanency. This and the monopoly of trade for the benefit of their masters were the ideals before the rulers of the country at that time; and it was but natural in those times. The rulers were not responsible to the people, and they could not be. They were responsible only to those who employed them and only for seeing that the expenses did not go beyond the returns from revenue; there were no powerful foes in the neighbourhood and the administrative machinery went on working well. From time to time, there shone out a luminary in the person of an Elphinstone or a Munroe who gave full play to his imagination and saw visions of union of the West and East, and interpreted the mission of the British to India as one of preparing the people of India to govern themselves. But alas! those happy dreams have not yet materialised! The people of India are considered even after 150 years of British Rule unfit to manage their own affairs! What little progress the Indian people have been able to make, is due more to the energy of the people themselves. The Government have no doubt founded the Universities, but have not the people spent upon

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

education more than the Government have done? What little industrial progress the people have been able to make, is the sheer result of the people's commercial enterprise. It is no use telling the tale over again of the fiscal policy as determined for India by the Lancashire Weavers. It remains to be seen, whether the happy solution of that knotty problem arrived at under the stress of war, not without exciting the wrath of the interested parties, is an earnest of a progressive fiscal system built up in the interests of India, or whether it is only a war measure carried out to soothe a long felt irritation over the question. However that is by the way.

All these facts prove conclusively that the existing administrative machinery has failed to attain for the people a full measure of progress along modern lines, which our people should have made and which other peoples have been able to make. The present system has no justification for its existence, and it must finally give place to responsible Government in which the will of the people is supreme. Let us now see how far our Government is really a benevolent despotism that it calls itself. History will fail to give any parallel in that direction. Among modern states Germany is perhaps the only state which has made progress along modern lines under a despotism but there the despotism is national. That is why we desire to Indianise its personnel by holding competitive Civil Service examinations in India. And British subjects other than Indians, and who are otherwise qualified for service should come down to India to prove their worth. But no, that would be contrary to the combined wisdom of a Public Service Commission!

The function of the official Raj in India has been to levy taxes to meet the expenditure which is thought necessary for the preservation or the integrity of an efficient Government, for the maintainance of order within and for guarding against foes from without. But these are the functions which even the most primitive government did perform and performed well in the days gone

SABHA SARVAJANIK QUARTERLY

by. But that is not all that a human society wants or that a human society expects to get from its accredited rulers. In modern times the ideals of government have changed. To look after the prime needs of every citizen, to promote education and to secure general well-being and happiness are considered as concomittant functions of Government in these times. If an administration is unable to perform these functions, it has no title to its continuance.

The constitution of the Government of India was framed to suit the needs of a trading Corporation. Later on the Government passed on to the British House of Commons. All necessary checks and safeguards have been put there, which hardly leave any loophole from the British Parliament's point of view. But the result of these arrangements has been, that the constitution of the Indian Government has, much to the detriment of the people, lent itself to a dual control. Half a century back when no qualified popular agency could be found to assist the Indian Government, it was all that could possibly have been done. But the circumstances then prevailing have substantially changed, and with these changed circumstances, it is in the interest of the ruled that Government of India should be as independent of the Secretary of State as it is possible to make it, consistently with the interests of the people; and this could not be effected without granting to the people of India a very substantial share in Government; because without doing so, all the checks of a superior authority which could be exercised for the good of the people would have gone away without leaving any substitute behind. So the question arises of ending or mending the Secretary of State's Council. No mending of the Council can be effected by an increase of the Indian element in its composition, nor can it be done thoroughly in the interests of the people of this country so long as the Secretary of State has at times to look to other interests also. But it would not be of much avail even if the whole Council of the Secretary of State is composed of Indians, so long as the Council is only advisory.

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

The supreme authority of the Government of India is vested in the Secretary of State with certain checks, and a Council to assist him. All that the people of India want, is to transfer that authority, *in a substantial measure*, to the chosen *representatives of the people here*. How could that be effected without making the Government of India more free and consequently more responsible to the representatives of the people? It is therefore a constitutional requirement also, and it is thought desirable to do away with the duality of control by granting the people of India a substantial share of self-Government in advance of its full measure.

But leaving aside the Indian point of view, let us examine the case for self-government from the Imperial attitude. In the formation as well as in the sustenance of the world-wide British Empire, the loss of America has been the greatest lesson to British Statesmen. Many a paper theory had to be changed and many a new and practically sound principle had to be adopted. The most far-reaching effect of that loss to Great Britain has been that a principle came to be adopted that all the units of the British Empire should be considered as separate self-existing entities, and that whatever the constitution of those Governments might be and whatever the details of the administrative agency, the actual management of the affairs of those territories should not be mixed up with those of Great Britain or any other part of the British Empire, unless it was thought desirable to amalgamate the management of two adjoining territories. Therein lies the smooth workability of the British Empire. Each separate unit draws its powers to manage its affair from the fountainhead as embodied in the British Parliament which represents the British Democracy, and never does the British Parliament make any attempt to gain any direct pecuniary advantages by virtue of its being the supreme mistress of the British Empire.

That being so, each part of the Empire is a separate unit by itself for all practical purposes, and its revenues are

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

spent for her own expenditure. Such is also the case with India as the Indian constitution means. Then in principle and practice the British Empire does not exist merely for the benefits of Great Britain. The second question that arises is the question of defence. That arrangement could be arrived at only on a mutually helpful basis. And the greatest trial the British Empire was ever put to has proved beyond doubt that the different units of the Empire do not want to bind themselves to Great Britain with the tie of mere nominal suzerainty. All misgivings have been cast off, and on the bodies of those that have heroically shed their blood for the defence of the Empire will rise a consolidated and lasting fabric of the British Empire. All the units will constitute a source of mutual strength, because they shall have equal rights and similar duties. Therein lies the only safeguard against the destruction of the British Empire.

Hence soon after the present struggle is over, the British Empire will await its reconstruction on one and one principle only—whether India is such an insignificant factor that it may be lightly neglected? If not, will India be a willing party to the scheme of reconstruction if her sons have no voice in it? If that is not so, a responsible India shall have to be created and a responsible India could be created only by granting to her free political institutions. India should be made to feel that without losing what she should not lose, she is giving what she should give for the mutual advantage of the Empire which stands for justice, liberty and progress. A federated Empire will be a mere name if India is forced to act as others choose her to do. A contented India and an India militarily and economically efficient can alone be of real use to the British Empire and will be such a tower of strength to it as no enemy dare defy. It is therefore to the interest of the whole Empire that British people should soon realise the gravity of the need and should not hesitate to subordinate their vested interests to the solidarity of the Empire.

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

But all that may be true. Grant that it is true. Grant that a bureaucratic form of Government has proved unfit to secure to the people the necessary progress along modern lines,—progress economic and intellectual. Grant that such a form of Government by virtue of its having irremediable defects cannot be so progressive as in national interest it ought to be. Grant that India for herself and for the purposes of military requirements should have such a national military system as can come only through self rule. Grant that India is and would be a great and valuable asset to the Empire; in short grant that India ought to be self governing from all points of view, how could that boon be given to her, when she is not fit for it?

Let us therefore consider if we are fit for the management of our own affairs. Let us for that purpose assume that self-Government is granted to us, and see if we can prove worthy of that gift or not. What will be the salient features of a probable form of self-Government? There will be an Imperial Legislative Council with a certain number of members representing various Provincial Councils on the basis of population. Let the number of the members of this Council be 200. The members of the Supreme Executive Council may be kept at 6 or 8 as needs be. The Provincial Government may be similarly constituted with a district or a taluq as a unit for the purposes of election. Such a change of constitution presupposes a complete form of local self-Government. Now will not India be able to furnish 800 or a 1000 men to conduct the affairs of Government provincial and Imperial, with dignity sobriety and wisdom? Will there not be available from these a set of able persons to form different Cabinets? We do most emphatically assert that there will be no dearth of men, and they will not be lacking in the necessary political acumen, public spirit, and the spirit of cooperation,

Self-Government does not necessarily mean perfect democracy and hence it is not essential at this stage that there should be individual franchise extended on the basis of property or

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

educational qualification for direct representation to the Provincial Council.

What are the other qualifications that are needed? Will there be any lack of public opinion? Indians are confident that there will be none. With an extended scope for work, public opinion, which is already in existence and not in an insufficient degree, will grow more healthy, more varied more articulate and more sound. The present intellectual advancement of the people will permit the existence of such a responsible public opinion, as may be necessary to checkmate revolutionary, extremist or class legislation and to exercise a healthy control over the Councils.

There is already in existence an administrative machinery which will not require any drastic changes with the exception of providing some means by which the Indian element could be increased, if the constitution of the Government of India is changed. Whenever a change in an administrative department was considered desirable, it could be done by the Executive with the legislative sanction. So there is no room for any apprehension that if the form of Government is changed from bureaucratic to that of responsible control the administration will be thrown upside down.

But the Indian population is composed of many races, castes and creeds and therefore a democratic form of Government will not be suitable to India. We may ask those who raise this point to state their honest experience as to how far caste, creed and race have come in the way of the practical working of our existing legislative Councils. Has any particular caste, creed or race gained any special advantage from the Government? Can any one or more of them ask for a special treatment with regard to taxation or Government appointments or anything else? Each of them is practically non-existent as far as politics goes. Under the present Government, one class of Indians enjoying an ascendancy over another has been an impossibility. This condition is necessarily bound to be preserved with the legislative assemblies composed of members elected on merit and by constituencies of a

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

political nature, rather than by constituencies created on racial or such other considerations. Indians know of no one class having any ascendancy over another or over the whole population, except the English official caste, which practically enjoys the monopoly of the affairs of the Indian body-politic.

The Hindu-Mahomedan question is solved for is soluble; for, according to Mr. Lloyd George there is no human question which is not soluble. In a country which is the cradle of religions and which has a population that has learnt to live in peace and harmony for upwards of twenty centuries, in spite of race religion, and differences of creeds, there should be no cause for fear on that account.

Language too can absolutely be no bar to the acquirement and enjoyment of such institutions as are demanded. If that were a disqualification with the population of India, how could the Mahomedans rule, and how could the British rule for over a century? It is absurd to suggest that, because a population speaks many languages, there cannot exist a suitable and uniform Government all-throughout the territory. For an answer to that, the critic is simply referred to the condition obtaining in the modern United States.

General illiteracy is hardly an argument for not granting representative Institutions to India. And if that is an argument, who is to be blamed for keeping a highly intelligent, spiritual and philosophic-minded nation under the bondage of ignorance? And for the present, what prospects are there which hold out hopes for removing the defect even in the course of many years? One fails to understand how general illiteracy will hamper the governance of the country through representative institutions. India is decidedly intellectually more advanced than China, Persia and Turkistan and is really more advanced than the United States once were, when they liberated themselves from the control of the mother country.

But the educated classes of India are said to be a microscopic minority. We ask whether the so-called microscopic minority of educated India belongs ethnologically to one class or caste or

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

religion, and whether it has got any selfish interests to serve by the grant of representative system of Government to India? If not, how can that educated class gain such an ascendancy over the rest of the population as may be detrimental to the general interests of the nation? This educated minority is born of the people and lives among them, and therefore it is the only articulate class which says what the people have to say and feels what the people do feel. And even where representative institutions are working well and are firmly established; and even where a very large portion of the population is not illiterate, is not the educated minority only which really directs the affairs of a nation? If so, why should not the same thing come to pass in India? With the few opportunities that have been given to the people they have proved that they are second to none in fitness for any sort of work.

It is held that the forms of Government prevalent in the past disqualify the Indian nation for a representative system of Government. Nothing can be further from the truth than that. With the advent of the British in India the country had to undergo the most drastic changes in her governmental systems and hence some of its old special features are now obliterated from view. But some of them like the village Panchayat system could be safely revived and some remodelled to suit the new requirements. In her early history, India had evolved her Village republics, and her monarchical system was strictly *constitutional in spirit*, in so far as the wisdom of the nation could bring to bear upon the ruling prince, an effective control on the affairs of the nation. But whatever may have been form of Government in India in the past, it is absurd to suggest that a country is disqualified by reason of her ancient form of Government, to adopt a new form of Government. If that were true, the nations of Europe would not have had even their liberty and freedom and would not have been able to establish representative institutions. The present Indian constitution is the result of a

WHY DO WE WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

steady evolution in the popular direction and the experience in that behalf, on the testimony of some of the greatest English statesmen, is so far encouraging.

Indian history too does not disqualify India for self-rule. As a matter of fact India was before the days of John Company a self-ruling nation. Never was a more mistaken view spread far and wide, than that the Mahomedans were foreigners and that their rule was a foreign one. All that is pretty well known, and this is not the place to dwell upon it at length. All that can now be maintained is, that even conquest cannot disqualify a whole nation from being able to understand its own welfare and to devise means to achieve it through a representative system of Government, after it has passed through a certain stage of political evolution. India has passed through that stage and a sheer marking of time, by procrastinating the reforms that must be granted at the earliest available opportunity, would cause despair and will result in injury to the prestige and fair name of England. On abstract grounds also it may be said that no nation, whatever stage of civilization she may have reached, is unfit to rule herself through one system or other suitable to her. India *does* feel that she is able to rule herself and that no argument will ever convince her that she is not. Neither can it be expected of her consistently with her pride and honour as a nation, to tolerate even in the slightest degree, the taunts that Indians are unfit for Home Rule, which are given in and out of season by the opponents of the cause, whom India considers interested in the continuance of the present system. Young India and Old India—they are not two Indias. There is only one India and it is self-reliant and self-confident. An Indian, to whatever school of Indian politics he belongs, knows nothing less than this, that India is fit to govern herself and that free hand to shape the future of the nation as it likes through a system of self Government under the aegis of the British Flag, is the only panacea for all her present evils. India does not want to sever her connection with the British-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

a connection which is Providential, as an Indian with faith in future of his country sincerely believes it to be. The only thing she would urge is that the system of Government be made conformable to the wishes of the people. In the words of Mignet it should be remembered that when a reform has become necessary and the moment for accomplishing it has arrived, nothing can prevent it but everything furthers it. Great Britain therefore must be prepared in her own interests and in the interests of India no less in the interests of the Empire as well, to recognize this fact and help India to pave the way for achieving the greatness she is capable of. That will be an act of crowning glory and it will shed an eternal lustre over her history. The sooner she makes bold to do this act of justice, the better it will be for all concerned.

GULABCHAND DEVCHAND.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF HOME RULE.



(*R. P. Karandikar.*)

I N the arrangement of nature seasons find a place, and things in their turn find accommodation in particular seasons. Even so with politics. Subjects at one time beyond the range of practical vision have by efflux of time and in course of events applied for admission into the pale of practical politics. Even then it rarely happens that they get immediate entry within that ambit, but lie in the desk for favourable consideration. The subject of Home Rule for India is one of such matters. But there are distinct signs that it will not be out of season to have it before us. It has crossed the boundary of simple novelty and deserves more serious attention. For one reason or another all are agreed that Home Rule for India within the British Empire is an aspiration the entertainment of which is permissible provided the means adopted do not trench upon the laws obtaining in British India. It is clear that when we talk of Home Rule for India within the British Empire we distinguish between the functions of Home Rule and the functions of the Empire. Home Rule for India does not claim to extend its powers and functions outside the administration of the internal affairs of India. It leaves out of its scope foreign relations, the Army and also the Navy. When, at present, people talk of India within the British Empire, less account than deserves seems to be taken of the future reconstruction and the policy of the Empire. The idea of self acquisition known to Hindu law when treating of the property of a Hindu coparcenary, has something to do with the possession of India by Great Britain and Ireland. The situation as at present obtains is that the Britishers who left their own home in quest of fields new and pastures green finding ample

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

scope for their limited means cared very little to look back to the territories acquired by those that remained behind in the British Isles. India thus far had practically to do less with England's relations with the colonies than with foreign nations like China, Japan, America and others. When therefore Indian interests required encouragement, there was never sought this the intervention of the colonies; On the contrary England was appealed to when the colonies did not extend to Indians ordinary rights of a British citizen.

The South African trouble brought closer the relations of the colonies with England, and through England, with India as a part of the British possessions. The relations, due to external and imminent danger which brought together the Colonies and the mother Country and India, has given a different stand point from which to look at what constitutes the Empire. The mother country, the colonies look to as a coparcener or partner only. In that case, when questions on this basis come to be adjusted among the colonies and Great Britain it is not difficult to see that India will claim the attention of the Colonies and Great Britain. But what relations can India then accept as legitimate between herself and the Colonies irrespective of Great Britain? I may at once say that India will not be willing to co-operate with the colonies in the capacity of a dependency of the Empire. In that case India's relations, so far as the colonies are considered, will tax the political wisdom of Great Britain to the utmost. It is clear to my mind that England will raise India, in the interests of peace and prosperity, from the status of a mere dependency, to a position sufficient to withstand the endeavours of the colonies to throw it into hotchpot as so much property for common use and enjoyment. Though the Home Rule discussion therefore may not admit of foreign relations, it is essential that either the relations with colonies must not be classed as foreign, or special care will have to be taken when the Empire is coming to be reconstructed after the war. It is evident therefore that it is absurd to say that this future

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF HOME RULE

contingency is one in which India is not concerned, or that the discussion now on that point is premature. To my mind the termination of the war is in sight and rather than being in time, I feel we are late in pondering over this important matter. Our deputations must go England as quick as they can and no obstacle ought to be permitted to shake our resolve to move the British people in time. True they are involved in their difficulties, but time and tide wait for no man and colonies will not wait for India, though we may hope that England will wait before any negotiations for future arrangement of the Empire are discussed. I know under the public services commission report a few concessions may follow, but the main point that of raising the status of India from a dependency is of paramount importance and ought never to be permitted to be mystified by palliations and concessions. India's foreign relations, as noticed in connection with the powers of her legislative councils, include the relations of the British Government with the states inside the geographical limits of India. It has consequently been the tendency to exclude such geographical portions and exclude from consideration the interests of the inhabitants of such states. The existence of these several states in India is a matter of extreme importance, and while any attempt at intermeddling with the states on the part of the British Govt is very keenly watched by the rest of India, it is never considered expedient to allow the heads of the states to take part, as advisors of the Govt., in the administration of British India. The states and their subjects remain isolated from the national movement in the rest of India and their insular situation adds a little difficulty in solving the problem of Home Rule although no body denies that some of the states are so advanced in administration as to set an example to British Govt. Lord Minto at one time consulted Indian public opinion and his subordinate Govts., on the important question of forming an Imperial advisory Board whereon the leading Rajahs could find place along with local magnates, but the idea was not favourably viewed

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

by the bulk of the referees, and pronounced as unworkable and undesirable. The chance, of enabling them to be more in touch with the aspirations of rising India is slipping away and Home Rule leagues have to reckon that fact. The Indian states are scattered all over India and are to be found within the sphere of all local government. The following gives the area and population of the Indian states as compared with that of British India.

	Area Sq. M.	Population,
British India	773168	315132537
Native states.	675267	70000000
		Millions.

Practically however most of the laws of the Indian Legislatures are followed in the Native states; and as a result the inhabitants of the Native states are intimately concerned with the trend of public opinion in British India on the Legislative measures and other Acts of importance enacted in India, and in commerce and trade their interests are almost identical. Hence whatever improvements are claimed or secured in the administration of British India have a direct effect upon the Native states. The fact however that the laws in British India are *mutatis mutandis* applied or rather often times introduced by the respective ruling chiefs is responsible for one very great difference in the matter of codification. The states excepting that of Mysore, hardly care to go through the experiment of legislating for their states and their people through their own Legislative councils, and have in consequence given to their people no opportunity for the exercise of the elective franchise even to that limited extent to which Indians in British India are admitted. This defect in the administration of the various states has been largely responsible for the difficulty of the ruling chiefs being allowed by public opinion in India to hold any status in the representative institutions devised for India. It must be

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF HOME RULE

admitted however that the people have every right to be free and consulted by the ruling power in respect of any reforms, and it is more than likely that in any larger measure like Home Rule the ruling Chiefs will have a voice. From that point of view the opinions of the ruling chiefs are very valuable. There is however one relieving feature and that is that should the British Parliament be prepared to extend Home Rule to British India there is a guarantee supplied by the satisfactory management of most of the states by their respective rulers, that internal affairs if left to Indians will not suffer prejudicially. As observed above the states of Mysore Baroda and others have proved that it is safe to entrust the internal administration to natives of India.

Since autonomy within the British Empire is the goal of Home Rule it is clear as pointed out above that the functions affecting the foreign policy, the army and the Navy must be left outside its province; Not that India does not desire to be consulted in these matters but that the final decision may rest with those that are at the helm of the British Empire as distinguishable from the federated portions. The representatives of the British Empire in these matters would have to be, some of them at least, on the spot here in India, for the purposes of foreign policy and the army and the Navy. It does not matter, at the present moment, that there is no Indian Navy. Having regard to the extensive portion of India which is open to the sea and India's proximity to interests that require to be protected, there must be an Indian Navy, and it will not do to depend upon the existing Navy. Sooner or later the British power will recognize the necessity of having Indian Navy after the most modern pattern. The maintenance of a British representative agency in India for the above purposes does require an allotment of funds from Indian Revenues, and the Indian Navy will form quite as much separate and independent a branch of administration as that of the Govt. of India, as distinguished from those of local governments

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

and administrations. It comes very nearly to the establishment of a Council of Deputies in charge of the foreign affairs, and of the army and Navy: This Council would have a material interest in the systems of communication, such as Railway, Telegraphs, Post among other things, in which Home Rule has also a larger and more direct interest. This Council of Deputies will hold office directly under the Crown, and in the selection of such Deputies Indian Home Rulers may have some voice, though not more substantially in connection with the army and the Navy, still for the purposes of the Railway Telegraph and Postal interests and also on account of the several states inside India. In effect this Council of Deputies should have broadly speaking, connection with Home Rule somewhat similar to that enunciated by Lord Minto in his speech at Udaipur in 1909, when laying down the policy towards Native states.

The internal affairs of India will be managed just as they are now by officers appointed by the executive. The appointments to the Executive Council will be made by the Indian Parliament. There will be Local Popular Assemblies and these in their turn will elect members to the Indian Parliament. But this aspect of Home Rule requires separate and independent treatment.

R. P. KARANDIKAR.

Self-Government for India.



(*L. B. Bhopatkar, M. A. LL. B.*)

“SELF-government for India under the British flag” is the title of a political pamphlet written by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Shrinivas Shastri and published by the Allahabad Branch of the Servants of India Society. It contains a vigorous plea for the grant of self-government to India, and Mr. Shastri has supported it with apt quotations from the writings and utterances of eminent politicians regarding this burning question of the day. He has also added two useful appendices. The first gives the memorandum submitted to the viceroy by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to post-war reforms in India; and the second is a nice collation of the statements and pronouncements made by the responsible English statesmen touching India's services to the Empire in the Great War.

It is an undisputed fact that, barring a few idealists and visionaries who may be intending to work out India's political destiny on independent lines and irrespective of the current necessities of modern history,—there is hardly an Indian thinker or politician worth the name, who does not wish India to attain to the position of self-governing colonies under the protecting wings of the British Empire. India has come to intensely long for the day when the British Empire will be a Confederation of self-reliant nations, and has begun to abhor its present position of dependence and servility. The tendency is perceptible in modern history for nationalism to merge into internationalism, and the Indians hope that any readjustment of the Empire after the war will be in perfect concord with that tendency. India does not claim to be independent

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

of the Empire, nor does she desire to be so, she only wants to be elevated to the position and status of the Dominions and refuses to be retained into the debasing condition of a Dependency after the war. In a paper read by Sir Francis Younghusband at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on May 11, 1915, after paying a glowing tribute to the valour of the Indian army displayed on the fields of France and Flanders, he put India's case in a nut-shell as: "a more definite share in the councils of the Empire; a larger part in the management of their own affairs; a higher status altogether; the right to bear arms and to volunteer; a more equal social position; all these demands will be pressed. And the Chiefs who have stood so nobly by us may well hope to be granted a more prominent and effective part in the affairs of the Empire. The leaders of Indian opinion and the great mass and bulk of the people—have not the slightest desire, hope or ambition to sever the tie with England. In making their demands it is not severance but autonomy at which they aim; Self-government; indeed they want; but Self-Government within the Empire, not outside it." One can scarcely meet with a clearer and more clarified presentation of India's demand for Self-government than what is contained in the above excerpt.

But the round-table politicians or persons of their way of thinking argue that, in as much as India is not yet fit and ripe to enjoy the boon of self-government, it cannot rightfully be admitted on terms of equality with the self-governing parts of the Empire. The representatives of the Dominions go even a step further and argue that, if the affairs of the Empire, after the war, are to be and should be determined by the Imperial Parliament consisting of the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions, it logically follows that this Parliament should likewise control the government of India, the Crown Colonies and other British possessions. Mr. Shastri has exposed the hollowness of these contentions and pretensions, and has suggested that any attempt in that

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

direction will be nothing short of an open insult to India's loyalty and devotion to the Throne. India is already bleeding under the cruel blows inflicted on her national honour and pride by the self-conceited Colonies, and the reconstitution of the Empire which places or tends to place them in a position of overlordship, will not only be deeply resented by India, but will, in all probability, sap the foundation of her long-cherished aspiration to rise to the full stature of nationhood under the aegis of the Empire.

The argument regarding the unfitness of the governed to manage their own affairs is as old and stale as despotism itself. It has ever proved a convenient weapon in the hands of the governing class to postpone the legitimate demands of the subject people. Modern history and especially the history of the last four centuries gives a lie direct thereto. The history of the Colonies themselves is a sufficient refutation of this stock-in-trade of the so-called advocates of fitness and efficiency. In the early fifties and sixties it was exactly the cry raised by some of the British statesmen against the claim put forth by the Colonies for the grant of responsible government to them. But British statesmanship turned a deaf ear to that interested cry, and the subsequent history amply vindicates the liberal policy adopted by England towards the colonies in those days. The position which the colonies then held was not a whit better than what India at present finds herself in. If they have proved themselves equal to the task of managing their household, no one can, with a show of reason and without any undue predilection for Lord Morley's novel theory of the fur-coat, presume to say that India, impelled as she is by her political ideals and traditions, and initiated as it has come to be into the secrets of government, will emerge out of the trial with discredit to herself and dishonour to the Empire. Conceding for a moment that India has not yet grown capable of administering her own affairs successfully, it may be stated that it is just the reason why all the rights appurtenant to Self-Government should be bestowed on her without demur or delay.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Even Mr. L. Curtis, who is known more for his lack of sympathy towards Indian aspirations than for anything else, says in his book, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, "In the first place, the exercise of responsibility tends to increase fitness for exercising it. As everyone finds in his own experience, it is in having to do things that a man learns how to do them and develops a sense of duty in regard to them. And that is why political power is and ought to be extended to whole classes of citizens, even when their knowledge and sense of responsibility is still imperfectly developed." Mr. Curtis furtheron writes: "the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except as a means to it. The heritage of freedom cannot be wrapped in a napkin, nor buried in the field of those who are heirs to it. It can only be kept where boldly lent, increased by usury, and spread to the uttermost parts of the earth." The above lines are conceived in a spirit of lofty philosophy and philanthropy, and one only wishes that they will be acted upon by those for whom they are primarily intended. During the past hundred years India has passed through the preparatory stage under England's beneficent guidance and the vivifying touch of the western civilization has kindled in her heart the desire to recover the "heritage of freedom." If despite the above facts, anyone were to attempt to keep India in swaddling clothes on the ground of her unfitness to bear the burden of Self-Government, it is sure to prove abortive in the end. The sound-table political philosopher admits that in India the rule of law is firmly established and that India contains leaders qualified not only to make laws, but also to administer them. But he qualifies the above statement by adding the following to it: "National Self-Government depends not upon the handful of public men needed to supply cabinets and parliaments, but on the electorate, on the fitness of a sufficient proportion of the people themselves to choose

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

rulers able to rule." The principle laid down in the above lines cannot be said to be a sound principle of politics. Lord Morley in *Compromise* says: "what is important is the mind and attitude, not of the ordinary man, but of those who should be extraordinary. The decisive sign of the elevation of a nation's life is to be sought among those who lead or ought to lead. The test of the health of a people is to be found in the utterances of those who are its spokesmen, and in the action of those whom it accepts or chooses to be its chiefs. We have to look to the magnitude of the issues and the height of interests which engage its foremost spirits." Applying this test, India will not be found to lag behind in the race, and will show a number of leaders who will hold their own even against the foremost statesmen of England or the Colonies. Moreover, it is a mistake to suppose that India lacks in a properly qualified electorate. Education has of late vastly progressed and the political spirit has permeated down to even the lowest strata of the nation. Taking the ten major provinces, the total number of males and the total number of literate males of 20 and over therein, the percentage of adult literate males to total males stands as given below:—

Province.	Total males.	Literate males of 20 and over.	Percentage.
Assam.	3467621	220652	6
Bengal.	23365225	2363250	10
Bihar and Orissa.	16859929	1008137	5
Bombay.	10245847	921301	9
Burma.	6145471	1802573	29
C. P. and Berar.	6930392	356257	5
Madras.	20382955	2112038	10
N. W. P. P.	1182102	53244	4.5
Punjab.	10992067	565719	5
U. P.	2464183	1097097	4.4
	124213440	10500268	8.6

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

In the Philippine Islands the voters number only 200000 and they form only 4.4 P. C. of the total male population thereof. From the figures given above it is evident that the percentage even in the most backward provinces of India stands at more than what obtains among the Philipinos. If in the face of such a state of things America feels confident to extend self-government to the Philippine Islands, it is absurd to suggest that India is wanting in a proper electorate and as such does not deserve to sit in the same rank with the Dominions. Even English education has been making rapid advance in India, as is evidenced by the number of graduates turned out by the Indian Universities. Taking the figures for the ten years from 1903 to 1913 only, we find that 18953 Indians graduated in Arts, 3522 in Science and 6582 in Law, let alone those who graduated in Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering. The percentage of these graduates may be small in comparison to the total population of India; yet the figures are such as any nation can justifiably be proud of. Do not these graduates and other persons who have received English education deserve better treatment at the hands of the rulers, and will they not form an electorate as fully qualified as any that we come across in the Colonies or England itself? In a word, the contention of unfitness is one that will not bear close scrutiny even for a moment. For a number of years we have been treated to pious wishes and unctuous words of sympathy for our demands. In the language of Lord Lytton we have to say now, "we have long heard the big bow-wow of promise; it is time that we should see the tail of performance." Mr. Shastri has also outlined the scheme of reforms which should be effected in the Indian administration after the war is over. Though one may not see eye to eye with him in regard to all the principles emphasised by him in his scheme, yet the main principles are such as will not fail to put real and effective power in the Indian hands. Mr. Shastri's brochure is well worth perusal, and I congratulate him for having brought out his publication at an opportune moment.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

The times are indeed moving too fast for us and there are distinct signs in the air of the extreme likelihood of our making decided progress upon the past. It behoves us then to take the occasion by the hand, and to turn the opportunities given to us to the best possible account. Our environments are daily taking a newer aspect and putting on a better complexion. It is for us to penetrate the veil that hides the future, and to bring to bear all our zeal and earnestness upon the herculean task that lies before us. All our efforts in the cause of our Motherland are bound to succeed, as they have succeeded in the case of other nations. But if unhappily we meet with defeats and disappointments, we should consider them as mere stepping-stones to surer progress and brighter successes.

L. B. BHOPATKAR.

THE NECESSITY FOR HOME RULE

(Mrs. Annie Besant)

THERE are many ways of advocating Home-Rule, but I venture to think that the best way of all is much neglected by Indians, who stand too much on the defensive, and who would do better to assume a bolder tone.

It is admitted by all the allies that when peace is on the anvil, each Nationality shall have the right to choose its own form of Government. Alsace Lorraine is to determine whether it will be attached to France or to Germany; Poland, being torn asunder, is to decide on the form of its autonomy. Rumanians are to be allowed to join themselves into one state. Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, Slaves generally, are to have themselves recognised according to Nationality. Russia, having broken her yoke by Revolution, is calling a Convention to decide on the form of government preferred by her people. Last of all, Great Britain has actually decided that Ireland can manage her own affairs better than Great Britain can manage them for her—a most astonishing admission—and hands over to an Irish Convention, in which all parties shall be represented the shaping of a Constitution acceptable to herself.

Can this principle be laid down only on the far side of the Suez Canal? Is the atmosphere of Europe so different from that of Asia that the Rights of a European to freedom and self-government cannot be predicated of an Asiatic? To the colour of the skin so large a factor that a white skin indicated a man, and a coloured skin a Deva or an animal? If such a position is taken up, it will be necessary to forget that civilisation in Europe is a modern product, and that the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

millennium storied Empires of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, China, to say nothing of India, their contemporary, were all raised and preserved by coloured men.

If then the principle of the Right of a Nationality to rule itself be admitted, as all the Allies admit, it to-day, and if be true that they are fighting in this tremendous war in order to establish this principle, which alone, they say, can ensure a lasting peace, it is obvious that the principle applies to India also, that she has the Right to choose her own Government to create her own Constitution and to live within her own borders as a Free Nation, otherwise there will be no lasting peace.

Would it not be well, therefore, that India should take her stand squarely on this principle, and assert firmly her natural, inherent Right to govern herself in her own way? It is not a question of fitness or unfitness. It is not a question of castes or no-castes. It is a question of inherent Right, and to deny it is to assert the Prussian doctrine, against which civilisation is supposed to be fighting, that the Might of the strong hand is the only law of life. If this Right is denied to India, then the Allies are hypocrites. Great Britain's love of freedom is a farce, America's professions of Democracy are shams. If Great Britain does not apply her the principle she is fighting for there, then America, France, and Russia should force her to yield to Justice and Rightness.

Britain's plea of her own efficiency and of India's inefficiency is absurdly beside the mark. Germany is far more efficient than Britain, is better educated, better organised, and she based on her own superiority her claim to world-domination. But Britain passionately asserts her right to govern herself, and prefers her own blundering inefficiency to Germany's marvellous organisation.

Suppose that India has a similar feeling? Suppose that she prefers bad government by herself to good government

THE NECESSITY FOR HOME RULE

by Britain, who has the Right to say her nay? Britain claims India as her ward?—says she is responsible to civilisation for India who made her responsible, and to what civilisation? To the civilisation of gas-clouds and explosives, and murderous engines of destruction, invented by modern science? Is this civilisation fit to sit as judge over Indian civilisation?

Moreover, it is a mere assumption that India would govern herself inefficiently. The Indian states are more efficient in things that matter than is the British Raj. The change of authority from a foreign autocracy to an Indian Ministry responsible to an elected House of Representatives, and the replacement of foreign Commissioners and Collectors by Indians, would leave the great machine of administration practically but little touched. If very high ability be wanted, the Indians can supply it; but it is really too much to ask us to believe that Indians are incapable of taking the posts now filled by the young English men produced by the Civil Service examination, and carted off here to be thrust into posts to gain the experience they lack at the cost of the people they govern.

I agree with Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale that Great Britain has established posts, telegraphs, railways and the other "blessings of civilisation" for her own sake, and that in the essentials of good government, education, training of efficient citizens fit to take part in government, and the like, she has proved herself to be lamentably deficient. In village management, in local self government, in popular government she is shamefully behind the times.

Quite apart from the Right of a Nation to Self-Rule, arguments for its necessity may be drawn from India's poverty, the destruction of her industries, the absorption of her raw products, the dependence upon England in matters of trade and manufacture, and in the hindrances put in the way of independent action in education, medicine, transport, and many other things. The pressure of a foreign yoke is always felt, and the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

increase of coercive legislation, the interference with personal liberty, the internments, the long imprisonments without trial, are all evidences of the incompetency of the present administration. A country in which the average life period is 23.5 years is not well administered, though it may be thoroughly red-taped.

We need Home Rule because we need to be free to work for India's uplift, for decent education, for the raising of the submerged, for the free activity of citizens in a self-governed country for the destruction of the hated sense of inferiority, for the feeling that we are the owners, not the tolerated tenants, of our Motherland. We are hypnotised by the talk of the PAX BRITANNICA, "the blessings of British Rule," and all the rest of the jargon dinned into our tired ears.

Where Freedom lives not,
There lives no good thing.

ANNIE BESANT.*

* Received on 1st June for publication.

MARTYRS TO SWARAJ.

On 16th of June India was astounded to hear the provocative news that Mrs. Besant and her two worthy colleagues, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia were interned at Calcutta under the Defence of India Act. A wave of intense indignation and sorrow swept over the land and people wondered if a more flagrant violation of constitutional law could be imagined. If our opponents hoped to brow beat the Home Rulers no greater blunder could be committed, and discomfiture must await those who would stifle a healthy agitation. The internments has been a blessing in disguise, since, for the first time in its history our country has seen its people making a common cause against a common danger. India is awakened and whatever the bureaucrats might do, our success is assured. The country is now heartily sick of its ungracious political subjection. India is throbbing with the same impulse of popular freedom which is animating the democracies of Europe, and she is quite disgusted with the unconstitutional use of the Defence Act.

* * *

The people have rallied; and the moderates and the Nationalists have all become Swarajists. Mrs. Besant, and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia might only be anxious to see that Indians steadily maintained their united front, and discarded the idea of a separate peace. If we hold our positions and refuse to be coerced or bullied, we may expect a change in the political atmosphere. Let India speak her mind with one voice; let her speak out emphatically and we shall have seen the last of such autocratic vagaries.

* * *

As soon as the Sabha learned the news of the internments, a protest against the impolitic and unjust action was lodged with the Govt, and was also communicated to Mr. Arundale from whom the Sabha has received a most touching reply.

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY JOURNAL

1. The Journal will be published in January, April, July and October of each year.
2. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 2 inclusive of postage. Foreign subscription is 4s. inclusive of postage. Any single copy will be charged Annas ten or one shilling.
3. The Editor cordially invites contributions to the Journal. Anonymous Mss. will not be looked into. Every Ms. must bear the full name and address of the writer. Contributions should be addressed to the Editor of this Journal, and should reach him at least a month and a half before the publication of each issue.
4. The Editor does not bind himself to return articles not accepted.
5. All business communications should be addressed as follows:—'To the Manager, Sarvajanic Sabha Quarterly.'

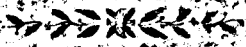
N. C. KELKAR,
Editor, Quarterly Journal
Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

Printed by S. N. Joshi, at the "Chitra Shala Steam Press"
818 Sadashiv Peth Poona City and Published by N. C. Kelkar
at the Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms, Shukrawar Peth, Poona City.

OLD SERIES
Vol. XXI, No. 3

October 1917.

CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE SABHA



The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajaniik Sabha

EDITED BY N. C. CHURKAR & A. L. C.

CONTENTS

	Pages
Progress of the Conference of India	
(G. B. Marathe M. A., B. A., M. A., D. Litt.)	7-165
Coastal Movement	
(M. B. Sant Esq. Industrial Conference)	10-174
Tilsee Population & Medical Aug.	
(Dr. K. G. Lonikar, B. A.)	18-180
Land Revenue Bill	
(Rao Bahadur Laxminarayana, M. A., B. A., M. A., D. Litt.)	21-190
State & Primary Education	
(S. V. Pantambekar B. A., B. A., M. A., D. Litt.)	41-230
Moving with the Times	
(Rameshandra)	50-215
What is Passive Resistance	
(By the Editor)	54-213
A happy event, &c.	12-217

All rights reserved

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

(Established in the year 1870 for representing to Government
the wants and wishes of the people of India.)

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS

PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak B. A. LL. B.

VICE—PRESIDENTS

Mr. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde B. A. LL. B. Advocate.

Mr. Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe M. A.

Mr. Balkrishna Ramchandra Vaidya.

MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR 1917.

CHAIRMAN—MR. NARSIH CHINTAMAN KELKAR, B. A. LL. B.

V. G. Joshi Esq.	R. D. Desai. B. A.
K. P. Khadilkar B. A.	Krishna-Shastri Kavade B. A.
S. K. Damle B. A. LL. B.	H. D. Sathé Esq.
B. B. Bhopatkar B. A. LL. B.	K. B. Naik B. A. Pleader
N. V. Chhatre B. A. L. M. & S.	M. V. Phadke, Pleader.
V. V. Behare Esq.	V. B. Joshi B. A. LL. B.
N. K. Sathaye Esq.	H. Ishwardas Esq.
H. R. Bhagwat B. A.	S. N. Modi Esq.
V. W. Bhagwat, L. M. & S.	G. Mayachand Esq.
G. S. Palsule, L. M. & S. (Ntl)	H. V. Tulpule B. A. LL. B.
L. B. Petkar B. A. LL. B.	K. G. Tokekar Esq.
S. R. Murudkar, Esq.	N. V. Bhide B. A. LL. B.
D. G. Sahasrabudhye B. A. LL. B.	G. V. Morwal Esq.
V. D. Talvalkar Pleader.	V. M. Potdar B. A. LL. B.

AUDITOR

Ganesh Sadashiv Marathye M. A. Actuary

HONORARY SECRETARIES

Laxman Balwant Bhopatkar M. A. LL. B.

Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale B. A. LL. B.

Ramchandra Vinayak Patwardhan B. A. LL. B.

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha

OLD SERIES Vol. XXI, No. 3 **October 1917.** NEW SERIES Vol. II, No. 3

PROGRESS OF LIFE ASSURANCE IN INDIA.



(By G. S. Marathe, M. A. A. J. A. Actuary.)

IT no longer needs any demonstration to show that just as safety-valves are absolutely essential to the working of a power engine, so Insurance of all kinds is indispensable to the commercial and industrial development of a country's resources. Nothing is dearer to an individual than domestic happiness and it is in this domain that Life Assurance plays a larger part. In England Life Assurance began to take a definite form in the eighteenth century, and in India it made its appearance for insuring the lives of European servants of the East India Company. It appears, that until half a century ago, foreign companies were unwilling to insure the lives of Indians. But when it began to appear, from a comparison with the statistics of pension funds etc., that Europeans living in India, instead of being superior lives from the point of view of Life Assurance, were perhaps worse, Indians began to be freely insured at special tropical

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

rates. The distinction of rates was kept up however; but a change took place when Mr. Slater, a high Government official who possessed actuarial qualifications, started the Oriental Life Assurance Co. in Bombay, which made no distinction between Indians and Europeans. The rates of the Oriental are a little less than the Indian rates of foreign companies, but almost all the Indian Companies subsequently started, have adopted still smaller rates. The Oriental is not, however, the first insurance company to be started in India. The Madras Equitable was started in 1829 and was given a separate Charter. It seems to be an aristocratic concern (perhaps restricted to Europeans), for the average sum assured per policy is Rs. 7000; while the same per life is nearly Rs. 9000. It has done no new business since 1910 and the subsisting number of lives assured is about 300. Pension funds were started from 1833, but a regular Life Assurance Company, the Bombay Mutual, was started in 1871. The Indian Life of Karachi was started in 1892, the Empire of India (Bombay) and the Bharat (Lahore) in 1896. The Hindu Provident Fund, started in 1891, has now become a Life Assurance Company. The Swadeshi Movement gave rise to a number of companies, such as the United India of Madras, the two Nationals and the Hindusthan Cooperative of Calcutta, the Cooperative of Punjab etc., all started in 1906. The total number of Indian Life Assurance Companies existing at present is about 32, while the number of Pension and Provident Funds is about 10. The total being 42. It need not be mentioned that a few of these are very shaky concerns. Besides these there are some calling themselves Insurance Companies but which come under the Provident Companies' Act. Many of these are doing business which belongs to that distorted kind of finance mis-called Provident Insurance, but which is named as Dividing Society Business, by the Government Actuary. During the height of the Swadeshi agitation such companies started up like mushrooms all over the country, especially in Bengal and Punjab, and secured thousands and thousands of customers. Like mushrooms, however, most of

PROGRESS OF LIFE ASSURANCE IN INDIA.

them disappeared after a short existence; while the Government Actuary is trying his best to convert the rest of them to some legitimate form of Life Assurance. These companies were fed principally by the poorest among the masses (monthly contributions being from Annas eight) and in going down they hit hard on these poor people and tended to destroy their confidence in all kinds of Life Assurance. The Govt Actuary has written strongly against such companies in his Blue-Books for 1913 and 1914 and specially against the principle of dividing away the premium received without making any adequate reserve. The companies, which made the most extravagant promises, were the quickest to go down, but those which adopted any form of legitimate Life Assurance alongside of the provident business, managed to survive a longer time.

Pension Funds have not made any substantial progress. The majority of the Funds that exist, have been started by Christians and Zoroastrians for their own benefit. In England most of the commercial and industrial firms or other offices which have a large number of clerical or other employees on their staff, create a Pension Fund the contributions to which are to be jointly paid by the employees and the employed. In India there is much scope for Pension Funds in the same way as there is for Cooperative Societies.

Life Assurance in India may be said to have turned over a new leaf since the passing of the Life Assurance Companies Act of 1912. It is modelled on the plan of a similar Act passed in England in 1909. One unsatisfactory feature in it is the full discretionary power given to Government for exempting any persons or companies partly or wholly from the operation of this Act. There is no reason to say that this power has been or is likely to be misused; but in the name of fairness it seems desirable that the Government Actuary should state, in his introductory note, the nature of the grounds on which some Societies have been exempted from the operation of this Act. In the absence of such

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

grounds for exemption, it is not possible to make any comments. The power of exemption has been used for exempting foreign companies with head offices in the British Empire from making the statutory deposit, under the Act, with the Government of India, on the excuse that they have already made deposits with their own governments. In my opinion, this is not fair to the Indian Companies, for this means a special facility for the foreign companies. Also this leaves these companies free to invest outside India all the money received from Indians. Apart from these minor things, the Act has been very highly beneficial to the cause of Life Assurance in India. As soon as the Act was passed, the Government created the post of Actuary to the Government of India, in the Commerce and Industry Department, and the gentleman selected to fill that post, Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, formerly Actuary of the Oriental, has amply justified the selection. He is taking special care to remove the irregularities and improve the position of Indian companies managed by Indians, which work he has to do without being too lenient or too harsh. I do not think I am exaggerating matters when I say that few of all the Directors of Indian Life Assurance Companies are really conversant with the practical side of Life Assurance, and Directors who understand the relation between Premiums, Claims and Valuation Reserves, can only be counted on the fingers of the hand. Every thing is left to depend on the Manager, who generally is a successful canvasser or the financial organiser. Every one of these Managing persons has a different idea about economy of management, and it is difficult to make them understand the scientific basis of Life Assurance. From my experience in England, I can say that even in England there are Directors who do not know the theory of Life Assurance, but there they always take the advice of the Actuary in important matters. All but the smaller companies have got one or more actuaries on their staff and sometimes the Actuary is the Manager as well.

The Government Actuary publishes Blue Books annually, giving the accounts and Actuarial Valuation Reports of all

PROGRESS OF LIFE ASSURANCE IN INDIA

Life Assurance Companies doing business in British India. He generally writes an introductory note which gives highly useful information. The contents of the Blue Book reflect great credit on the work of the Government Actuarial Department. In this note he gives a review of the Life Assurance business in India and gives summary Tables which illustrate the position of this business very clearly. The Note also makes many suggestions which are very helpful to Insurance officials. It would not be out of place here to refer to some of them. He says 'The question of what would be a safe surrender value.....should not be decided without actuarial advice.' At another place he says "Companies transacting Life Assurance business must not suppose that such business never entails more than a liability for a period to which the premiums paid relate..... In this connection it may be observed that those Indian Life offices which have not yet appointed an Actuary on their staff, and which can afford to do so, might with advantage to themselves, procure the services of some of those Indians who have passed the examination of Associate of the Institute of Actuaries, London. These companies could then have expert advice which would help them to build up a business on sound lines, and to avoid all crude and unsound systems such as the Combined Investment endowment of the Hindusthan Cooperative of Calcutta and the Dividing Insurance business previously referred to." About Indian Mortality Rates he says 'I am of opinion that the younger companies will not be assuming an excessive rate whether as basis of premium rates or in their valuations, if they adopt a rate equal to that given in the OM [5] table with an addition of 7 years to the age of the life.' It is worth pointing out, however, that no British actuary, while performing the valuation of any of the Indian Companies (except in one or two cases) has assumed so high a rate of mortality as given above. It would help the cause of Actuarial Science therefore, if Mr. Meikle (the Government Actuary) would inform his

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

professional brethren how he has arrived at the above conclusion.

Among other remarks by the Government Actuary, those about the effect of the war are very important. The principal British Companies have almost been able to keep up their former rates of bonus. The depreciation in the value of securities has been to a large extent counter balanced by an increase in the rate of interest. About insuring those under orders to proceed to the front he writes 'The great majority of the companies transacting Life Assurance business in India are unwilling to issue policies on any terms. Probably only half a dozen companies will now accept such a riskIt seems that if a combatant officer on services were to insure now, he would be required to pay each year a sum of not less than about 20 per cent of the net amount payable at death.'

Coming now to statistical information we find that besides the 43 Indian Companies, 17 British, 4 Colonial, 2 from Shanghai and one American, are companies which carrying on business in India. These figures exclude 16 Indian companies undergoing liquidation and 6 British Companies which formerly did business here, but do not do so now. The total sums assured amount to nearly 23 crores, out of which 2 crores and 24 lakhs are new business. Of the new business 77 per cent are Endowment Assurance Policies, 11 p. c. are ordinary Whole Life and 8 p. c. are whole Life Limited Payments. The average rate of annual premium payable on policies issued is 53 per thousand. The total income was 143 lakhs of which 119 lakhs were derived from premiums and 26 lakhs from interest and rents (less tax). The total expenses amounted to 22½ p. c. of premium incomes. If the expenditure on new business be assumed to be equal to the new annual premium, the renewal expenses come to about 120 per cent of the renewal premium income. The Life Assurance Funds amounted to nearly 667 Laks. During the year the Funds earned interest at about 4½ p. c. on the average after deduction of income tax. The total assets were shown

PROGRESS OF LIFE ASSURANCE IN INDIA

as worth 745 Lakhs, out of which nearly 444 Lakhs were in Government Securities. The total amount of paid up capital exceeded 35 Lakhs of rupees.

Coming now to general considerations, we find that India is making very poor progress in Life Assurance, hardly any progress at all during the last two or three years. The reason for this is not far to seek. Such progress depends upon the following things (1) Scientific experts (2) Efficient managers (including Directors etc.), (3) Capable canvassers (4) An appreciative public. (1) As for scientific experts, up till now, British Actuaries have been resorted to by Companies. But the fact that the Oriental G. S. Company of Bombay in addition to getting its triennial valuations performed by an Actuary in Scotland, has also appointed two junior British Actuaries on its staff at Bombay, shows that the combination of local knowledge with Actuarial theory is highly necessary for real progress. For the progress of Life Assurance in India therefore it follows that there should be a number of Indian Actuaries, who should be encouraged by the Indian Companies. There are at present only four Indian Actuaries one of whom is employed in the Government Actuarial Department. On account of the tendency with many insurance companies to go to a British Actuary, it would be difficult to encourage Indian students to go in for the Actuarial course. There is some reason to hope, however, that things will right themselves when the present commercial depression is over. (2) As for efficient management, so far as my knowledge goes, there are some companies whose managers are very efficient, but there are many others whose managers had the only qualification of inducing some capitalists to start a Company. They are perhaps good canvassers, but managing a company requires other qualities than good canvassing power. A large number of companies have been started by speculators for personal gain, who are eager to make their own pile without much looking to the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

interests of the Company. There are others again like the founders of the Hindusthan Co-operative, whose purpose is very honest when starting the Company, but who, owing to the want of expert knowledge, become tools in the hands of so-called business-men and spend large sums of money which are coming to their hands very recklessly. Keen competition is another factor which brings managers into difficulties, for, while unscrupulous companies are underbidding them all round, it is very difficult to resist the temptation to secure greater business by exceeding the limits they have set to themselves in the way of expenditure. There were a few companies which were started by regular swindlers, but I need not speak of them, as most of them have gone into liquidation. These swindlers found a good field in the companies started on the 'Dividing Society' plan in the Swadeshi agitation period, which were, it is estimated, about 1200 in number ten years ago. Out of these, the number remaining at present, is less than 90.

(3) About capable canvassers, special qualities are required in order to be a good canvasser, as difficulties come in the way due to social ideas. Among some communities service on any terms is considered more respectable than an independent profession and it is difficult to get good canvassers out of such a community. In my opinion, training is as much necessary for the profession of a canvasser as for any other trade or profession, and until we make some arrangements for the training of agents we cannot expect the best of results. I shall not go deeper into this question just now. I would only say that though an unscrupulous agent seems to show good results in the beginning he does harm to the company in the long run, and it is a matter for regret that the agents at present available for Indian Companies, belong more to the unscrupulous than to the respectable class.

(4) As for an appreciative public, substantial improvement cannot be expected in this respect in the present state of education in India. Among those who are capable of

PROGRESS OF LIFE ASSURANCE IN INDIA

understanding the benefits of Life Assurance, sometimes superstition, sometimes want of faith in all such commercial concerns, and sometimes a sort of disinclination to take even a small trouble (*e. g.* paying premiums regularly) come in the way. The apathy of the public, however, is a national weakness for the removal of which we have to depend on the solution of national questions of comprehensive importance.

Considering all these things, it seems that the first step necessary for furthering the progress of Life Assurance in India, is an organised effort by all the Indian Life Assurance Companies in the form of an Association consisting of representatives of the various Companies. Or it may be an association of individuals connected with and taking interest in the progress of Life Assurance in India. The first move in this direction should be made by one of the more important Indian Companies. If no such company is prepared to make a move, but if a number of persons express to me their belief in the utility of such an association, and promise me their cooperation, I shall take upon myself the responsibility of bringing about a preliminary meeting for this purpose. Really speaking four or more different associations at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta Lahore, &c., with one central association would be more desirable. Perhaps a Life Assurance Conference once a year might be suggested. But all such questions might be discussed at the preliminary meeting. I request, therefore, that all gentlemen interested in the progress of Life Assurance should let me know their views on this matter and address their communications to me at 351 Shanwar Peth, Poona City.

G. S. MARATHE.

The Swadeshi Movement.

(By] *M. B. Sant Esq., Secy. Indlrl. Conference.*)

THE question of the Swadeshi movement has been so often and so thoroughly discussed on public platforms in news-papers and other periodicals, that very little now remains to be said about it. Yet living, as we do, in an age of short memories and numerous distractions, no subject however important and vital to interests of a nation, can leave any permanent impression on the popular mind unless and until it is repeatedly dinned into their ears and its significance is brought home to them by diverse methods on different occasions. In the pregnant words of His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda "This economic problem is our last ordeal as a nation; it is our last chance." It behoves, therefore, every son of India to study this question carefully, and persist in putting into practice what we have all been preaching so long. Because practice is the only school of mankind and it will learn at no other.

The first faint beginning of the Swadeshi movement was made in Poona so far back as 1878 by an old veteran of that place, the late Mr. Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi, widely known as Sarvajanic Kaka who may be justly looked upon as its pioneer. He, however, failed to gather many adherents at the time; but like all truths which have the inherent property of manifesting signs of vitality whenever there is the least favourable chance, this movement came to be revived in 1890 and was fostered by men like the late Mr. M. G. Ranade. Again, for nearly 15 years the idea remained stagnant until it received a certain sudden

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

impetus in 1905. The credit of its revival, renewed vigour and vitality is largely due to Bengal, but the association of the movement with the partition question and certain other incidents which happened in its earliest stages about a decade ago, launched it into serious difficulties. A dark cloud of suspicion hung over its advocates and martyrs for a time, until the light of subsequent events dispelled the awful gloom to such an extent that the Government of India has itself now become an Indian Swadeshite by advocating in unmistakable terms the purchase of Indian goods even in preference to foreign articles by the different departments under its control, whenever possible.

Now what is the meaning of the Swadeshi movement, or what does it connote?

Pure and unalloyed 'Swadeshi' is the genuine sentiment that every son of India ought to do something for the Industrial welfare of his Motherland and this Swadeshi deserves to be cultivated in its entirety. By dint of self-help the movement honestly attempts:—

(a) To conserve the old existing industries of the country by introducing all possible and necessary improvements.

(b) To start new ones necessitated by modern civilisation in order to keep India as far as possible independent of foreign articles either of daily use or of luxury, and

(c) To create within the country itself a permanent market for home goods and raw products by observing a vow of self-help and self-sacrifice, affording by these means a legitimate support and protection to the home industry.

If there is any non-controversial subject before our country men which must appeal to the patriotic instincts of all communities, irrespective of caste or creed inhabiting this vast Peninsula, it is this Swadeshi movement. The domiciled Anglo-Indian, the Parsee, the Mahomedan, the Bohra, or the Jew, is as much interested in its continuance and progress as the Hindu. In the earlier stages of Indian History, when India was isolated

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

and self-sufficient, the need of this question never arose. It is only owing to the impact of the Western Civilisation heralding a new era of mechanical inventions and subjugating the forces of nature that the conditions of Indian life have been entirely upset, and the need of protection of home industry has naturally come to be recognised.

This question throws certain responsibilities on the producer and the dealer along with the consumer. It is within the knowledge and recollection of many of us that thanks to this movement, unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers have earned illegitimate profits and have been in a hurry to get rich by all means fair or foul. They exploited the movement by palming off as country-made goods articles of foreign make, by using false labels, trade-marks and other devices. Manufacturers put on the market unfinished inferior and worthless goods taking an unfair advantage of the movement. In fact as one of our friends has happily put it:—

“ This movement has enabled people to sell and produce candles that will not burn, soaps that will not wash, matches that will not light, and pencils that will not write. ” This picture may appear to be overdrawn. But it must be conceded that there is much truth in this statement and it teaches us that any movement based on sentiment alone, can never last long, unless it is nourished by other factors equally sound and encouraging.

Want of expert knowledge and enterprise among the Bankers, Manufacturers, Engineers and traders, low commercial morality, impatience to get rich at the cost of one's own countrymen, shyness of capital, the starting of industrial ventures without proper and sufficient investigation, lack of proper advertisement of goods for the purpose of creating market either in the country or abroad, all these and many other causes some within our own control and some beyond militate against swadeshism, and unless steps are immediately taken in the right direction there is no prospect of an abiding success of the movement.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

OUR DUTIES.

Our first and foremost duty is to organise and combine. Those who loudly complain of the industrial invasion of Japan since the commencement of the present titanic struggle, forget the fact that Japan does not believe in talk, platform speeches, lengthy discourses and discussions more or less of an academical nature, but in action, pure and simple. It is a country of cottage industry, properly organised on the principles of combination and co-operation without the aid of costly machinery, and in most cases without bounties or other forms of government help. In Japan, the mill-owners and other big as well as small traders form combines and by united action succeed in underselling articles in foreign countries, in a way which makes it impossible for the latter to compete with Japanese goods.

To ensure success of the Swadeshi movement, it is necessary to patronise the existing industries and also to start new ones to suit various centres in India. There is ample scope in the country for the expansion of the hand-loom and diverse other occupations.

The following measures should be adopted for the purpose of creating a market for indigenous products at home and in foreign countries:—

(a) For home market, shops should be opened in all important centres and in every town for the collection and sale of countrymade articles. A Directory of Indian goods and Industries compiled by the office of the General Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference will afford much help in organising these shops.

(b) There ought to be standing exhibitions of indigenous goods and productions of art at least in the principal cities of India.

(c) It is necessary also to collect specimens of foreign goods of various descriptions, which should be kept in view for the instruction of artisans and others desirous of studying

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

them for the purpose of producing similar wares. This system has already been adopted by Japan and has produced excellent results. The Commercial Intelligence Department of the Government of India has organised museums for the exhibition of Indian as well as foreign articles.

(d) Determination on the part of the people to buy genuine Swadeshi articles in preference to foreign goods, even if the cost is slightly higher.

(e) To organise exhibitions of machineries large and small, which is actually used in foreign country for the manufacture of different articles of daily use. These exhibitions of the processes of manufacture will be of greater practical utility than the mere industrial exhibitions of Indian articles organised now and then in the different parts of the country.

For the success of the Swadeshi movement and the diffusion of the Industrial ideal, there ought to be extensive schemes of Scientific and Technical Education undertaken either by a private agency or the Government departments. In addition to these, a nation bent seriously upon industrial advancement must prepare its younger generation for manual work, which should not be looked down upon, but assigned even a higher place than many other stylish but unproductive careers. Unless there is a harmonious and genuine combination of capital, brains, and sincerity of purpose, there can be no industrial progress.

These are only a few of the essentials of modern industrialism, which must not be lost sight of.

My remarks on the abuses of the Swadeshi movement and on the causes of its set-back, are likely to make some people despondent in regard to the future of this activity. For their sake, let me at once make myself clear on the subject by stating that those remarks represent only one side of the picture. Let us not ignore the bright aspect of the movement and the marvellous transformation which it has wrought both in the ideals and the actual life of the people. About twenty

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

years back gentlemen who could afford owing to their affluent circumstances to send their sons or relatives to foreign countries for training, invariably selected the I. C. S., I. M. S. and Barrister's courses, but a change has since then come over the popular feelings and wealthy persons or public associations started in the various parts of the country, choose mechanical or electrical engineering, textile engineering, pure and applied chemistry, agriculture and other technical courses for their students. The Government of India has allotted a certain number of scholarships purely for technical education. As a result of this impetus those places and posts which were formerly occupied mainly by foreigners, are now in the hands of Indians. The society for the advancement of scientific education started in Bengal, has alone sent nearly three hundred students so far to foreign countries solely for technical studies. The commendable activity of this as well as other similar institutions all over India, and the co-operation of the British Government and Indian States have already borne fruit. There are now in the country experts in glass making, paper and paper-pulp manufacture and some other industries, and also men capable of undertaking geological surveys and Mining industries. We possess a number of Electrical and mechanical engineers trained here as well as in foreign lands. Our spinning and weaving mills are run by our own spinning and carding masters and dyers. In the forest research work our chemists and experts are working on equal footing and side by side with European officials. In the agricultural department we have got our own botanists, entomologists and chemists showing equal aptitude with their European confreres. I have seen Indian Engineers in charge of the steamships of Indian Navigation companies. Many of us who have not paid much attention to industrial problems will be surprised to learn that high class gentlemen have chosen deliberately leather tanning and other despised professions and careers for their sons who are B. Sc's. of Indian universities. Can the Swadeshi spirit go any further? Yes. There is yet in the country a portion of the younger generation

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

which still shows an aversion to any profession or avocation requiring manual labour. So long as this feeling lasts, do not even dream of your economical emancipation. In other countries, sons of millionaires do not shrink from working as coal-hewers in the mines owned by their fathers. Let us take this lesson to heart.

The starting of swadeshi shops in principal cities has given a great impetus to this activity as each shop is a standing museum of country-made goods. In the midst, however of the gloom cast by the regrettable failures of our banks, there are also several features which are distinctly reassuring. The colossal enterprises, started by the distinguished sons of the late Mr. J. N. Tata with the aid of funds raised in India, I mean the Steel and Iron Works and the Hydro-Electric schemes of the Bombay Presidency, are an emphatic answer to the charge sometimes laid at our doors, that we are deficient in the capacity of organisation and combination. According to some pessimists, we may not be able to show a distinct advance owing to the vastness of our country, and the meagre information that we possess regarding our own activities, we may be moving in a circle; but that circle is continually widening and bids fair to encompass the whole world within the orbit of its activities.

There was a time not long ago when our dhoties used to come from Manchester, boots from Dawson, locks and shirts from White-Away-Laidlaw and Co. But now thanks to the spread of the movement and the energy and enterprise of our Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners, the prince as well as well the peasant can now be dressed from head to foot in an attire which is purely Swadeshi. If that is the case, may we not hope that captains of Industries and all who attend future conferences and congresses which include the Swadeshi in their programme may set an example to their other countrymen by appearing in a dress composed entirely of Swadeshi manufactures?

India occupies a unique position on the globe. Blessed

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

with fertile soils, an equable climate, favourable for the production of abundance of raw materials with an inexhaustible mineral wealth, India was and is still capable of meeting her own wants by producing articles of every day life. Yet it presents in the words of a well-known writer "the strange spectacle of a country formerly rich, prosperous and civilised but now with many of its industries on the border of extinction." The only way to solve our economical difficulty is by being swadeshi. The right of civilised citizenship implies freedom of purchase and use of commodities, and if Indians in their patriotic zeal for the revival and development of indigenous industries, prefer home-made goods to articles of foreign origin, there is no cause for despondency and the Swadeshi movement may yet prove an unmingled blessing.

M. B. SANT.



VILLAGE POPULATION AND MEDICAL AID



(*Dr. K. G. Lohokare, B. A.*)

In the earlier part of the last century at the beginning of the British rule the old fabric of the village constitution still prevailed. The country practitioner or the Vaidya held his place amongst the notables of the village and the town. The profession was handed down from father to the son and from preceptor to the disciple earning his livelihood by gifts from the patients he treated. The Vaidya attended to the population of his place and of the neighbouring villages also. Some of them were very successful and even earned opulence, and many a time received grants in perpetuity from the petty rulers of the country. The system of training was of a direct nature; books then were but few. The pupil remained at his preceptor's, pounded his mortar, sought out the herbs, prepared pills, churnas, matras, and rasayanas for him and under his direction. He learned by rote the scriptures of the 'Science of Life' and crept slowly in the domain of the three humours under the guidance of his Guru. A further period was spent in following his preceptor in his methods of diagnosis, science of Astrology for knowing the lucky time of treatment and his other clever knacks. A varying period of six to twelve years was taken up in this process of training and the pupil was then deemed fully qualified to follow the profession. His armament of fighting disease consisted chiefly of herbs growing plentifully in the neighbourhood, and the poor villager had but simply to collect some of them and use them as directed by his physician. A small gift from the peasant satisfied the physician, and the poor man had his medicament practically at a very little cost.

With the dawn of the British era a new regime of administration sprang up. The fabric of the village constitution began to disintegrate, and the importance of the Vaidyas too began to decline; the touch of western civilisation and the marvels of science attracted the attention of the important classes. The establishment of hospitals and dispensaries and the high estimation in which men of western education were held by the rulers, naturally made innocent and uneducated men to regard the western doctor with greater respect than the old Vaidya. The glitter of western civilisation dazzled the common people and there was a time when everything Oriental was considered as weighed and found wanting. Moreover, want of proper organisation for

VILLAGE POPULATION AND MEDICAL AID

transferring the valuable store of experience of the past, individual methods of training with a desire to retain to oneself the result of one's experience, want of aspirations to higher attainments in the scientific world, lack of encouragement and support—all led to the stagnation of what remained of the Eastern Science which could not hold its own against the Western well-equipped hospitals and other up-to-date facilities. Even when attempts were made to investigate and formulate the various branches of Oriental knowledge but half-hearted efforts were made by the scientific world to utilise the Indian Science. Even the Imperial Medical Service cannot be said to have done much in this field in spite of their usual zeal for the welfare of the masses and their thirst for finding better weapons to combat disease and add to the human comfort. The natural sequence was that the old science fell into disuse and the number of its ardent advocates diminished. The old physician slowly disappeared from the field in which he had been once so much esteemed before any other body of men were created to fill up the gap. This was a grievous loss to the village population, who in their hour of need did not know where to turn for medical help. The sad situation seems to have been well brought home to the public mind of late, and it is gratifying to note that the Imperial Government have started inquiry into the matter. It is, therefore, my humble attempt to place before the Government and the public my humble view of the question—how the rural population can be helped best in this matter.

It would not be out of place here if brief survey were made of the attempts made by the Imperial Government to introduce medical education in this country.

Following the principles of giving facilities for educating Indians in the Western Sciences even before the establishment of universities, medical colleges were started in Bengal Madras and Bombay. These were much more after the type of those of the British universities, but other institutions—the Medical and Engineering schools, were slowly growing up according to the needs of the administration. The first nucleus of medical schools in this country is found in the efforts on the part of the Surgeons of the Honourable the East India Company, when they employed sepoys to help them. Need for training them a bit, to make them useful assistants was felt and the outcome was the class of 'dressers' in the Madras Presidency. The idea was taken up by Bengal and Bombay, and vernacular training classes were started for supplying the military hospitals with assistants. The

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

origin of the Hospital Assistant Class lies then in finding out persons to fill the cadre of military requirements and no intention seems to have been existing then of putting them as civil practitioners. It is worthy to note here that in 1857 long after the Medical Colleges in Bengal (1835) Bombay and Madras were established, there were only 142 civil hospitals and dispensaries and that the numerical strength of the subordinate service was not such as to allow a chance of medical aid to the remoter parts of a district. A large proportion of villages, big and small and towns as well were without any such medical help still satisfying their demand at the hands of the Oriental Vaidya.

The policy of the extension of education as laid down in Sir Charles Wood's despatches of 1854 and thenceforth accepted by the Government of India for the extension of education, aimed at 'imparting general Anglo-vernacular education to enable the people of India to acquaint themselves with the Western Science'. Repeated efforts were made by appointing Commissions to reconsider the decision arrived at viz--'State control and education through the medium of English' and the result was that the policy was not only re-affirmed but upheld, and the necessity of imparting education in Western Sciences was brought forcibly home. As a result of this as early as 1866 the Madras Medical School began imparting medical education in English. The question then was of the medium of education, whether Vernacular or English, and the Royal Commission of 1882-83 decided in favour of English as the medium. With an increase in the number of civil dispensaries and hospitals, a civil subordinate service was established in 1878, concurring in views with those of a Committee appointed by the Bengal Government to inquire into the medical education.

The object of these medical schools was quantity first, and quality afterwards. With the introduction of schools of other branches of learning, even of university colleges, the same was the case at the beginning. Once an initiation was made quality was the thing to be thought of. But as in all other cases, so in medical schools too quality is steadily approaching a definite standard of efficiency. Such has been the regular, and steady development of all scientific education in India and it was seen in medical education also. The theory of a lower standard for getting more men in all branches as well as in this branch was then accepted by Government. But the aim was towards efficiency and not retrogression as required by the Honourable Dr. N. M. Banarjee to-day. If more quantity is desired at this stage, no retrograde steps in point of quality, need be taken to increase the outturn. In his zeal for an

VILLAGE POPULATION AND MEDICAL AID

increase of medical men the Honourable Dr. Panarjee, in his speech in the Viceregal Council in March 1916, not only goes back to the standard of quality of the medical schools at the time of their inception, but even thinks of dragging it still backwards almost to the early British period—a period of purely military requirements.

The proposition as moved by the Honourable Member and so sympathetically accepted by the Imperial Council, has one underlying principle. It is the problem of how to provide medical aid to the millions of suffering poor in Indian villages who die in the absence of any help. But how a greater outturn of ill-qualified medical men alone can solve the problem, is a question. I say ill-qualified because of the idea of a couple of years training in western medical science through the vernacular, as suggested by the Honourable Member for increasing the output of medical men. The law of demand and supply seems to be the only standard accepted by the Honourable Member without due regard to the commodity with which he has to deal. That seems to be the argument, but without recollecting that that increased stuff has to deal with human life a living parcel.

Even if the Honourable Member's suggestion was adopted in toto we cannot hope to supply all the villages in India with a doctor each. India being chiefly an agricultural country, teems with hamlets of but some 30 to 40 cottages. Such hamlets never had the opportunity of having a medical man for each and every one of them. Nor is it possible to supply them with one each even with every effort of a well-organised administration. At the most the larger villages can support one each and the neighbouring people will have to run to that place for medical aid. In spite of such an increase in the number of physicians the cost of medical aid cannot appreciably go down as is desired. Medical aid consists of two factors—men possessing medical knowledge and the materials to be used for relieving the sufferer. Facilitating medical aid will, therefore, mean increased supply of both of these. An increased supply of one of these alone (even without due regard to efficiency) cannot achieve the desired object of making it cheaply available. The cost of each of these factors goes to make up the total cost, and from the experience of many people in this matter, it may be said that taking an ordinary practitioner the cost of the other item is as great or even far greater than the cost of the first item—the physician even at the cheapest as he is now found in the subordinate class. What is, therefore, necessary, is not so much the cheapening of the present physician, but cheapening the material he uses

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

as weapons against disease. Which is better—cheap physician and costly drugs or the same physician adequately equipped with knowledge and cheap but efficacious remedies? What combination would be acceptable? It is the latter which any body would only be too glad to accept. Here then is a field for activities—how to obtain remedies available easily and at a cheap cost. Break the ground here and the problem of giving medical aid to the suffering poor would be solved. Every nook and corner of a remote district will be blessed with the boon of suffering humanity relieved.

The proper course then is an attempt at obtaining cheap remedies and it is incumbent on those who know to call the attention of Government and the public to such a fruitful source of remedies as the 'Indigenous Indian Drugs.'

But if it is only the greater outturn of medical men to which attention is to be directed, the object may be attained by any of the following ways:—

1. Increase in the number of medical schools and provision for greater accommodation in those already existing. Large numbers of pupils now available are turned away without being admitted into the medical schools and colleges for want of room. This is the real cause of shortage. Make room for them and within a very short period the supply can be considerably increased.

2. Some encouragement, if offered even in these days, will make a few practitioners resort to larger villages having no State or Local Board dispensaries. A small grant to make up the deficiency created by charging just as much as a poor villager can pay, will make at least some medical men move to country places. A grant-in-aid code on the lines of one in vogue for public schools in this country, allowing grants commensurate with the number of patients treated and a certain standard of efficiency, will go a great way towards diffusing a desire in medical men to shift to villages and in time to come the so much needed relief will be extended to many a place, large and small. The system will give splendid results, if the supply of properly trained medical men is adequately increased.

3. If a greater popularisation of the medical education is desired, the attention of everybody turns naturally to a course by which large numbers can be attracted to the profession. We all know how much of our valuable time of youth is spent in learning a foreign language. Many a boy has to drop behind on account of the want of means for prosecuting his studies in a lengthy course of secondary education. Let them be taken up before this stage. Remove the bar of a

VILLAGE POPULATION AND MEDICAL AID

foreign language and thousands with their full energies, will come to learn the art of healing. It is a question affecting a broad principle. But when once a certain number is trained in the foreign science, it can be very easily transformed by them into vernacular. The difficulty of text-books in the principal vernaculars of India, will be a great question here, but now there are so many men from every province highly trained in western medicine that there would be no difficulty in finding men who can be made to work at it. It is a question of demand and supply. Many would come forth to do the work, if they find a demand for it. Why, some of them will do it even with patriotic motives! The difficult task of transformation of the science into vernaculars, if once achieved, will relieve the terrible burden of the waste of youthful years and set many a lad to working ahead as is seen in Japan.

4. The last course open is to leave the choice to the Eastern schools of medicine. Men of standing in the profession, and learned physicians of the Eastern schools should be set to formulate a scheme of education in Eastern science under State control or patronage. This can be easily done and at practically less cost. A definite standard of education in theory and practical work (preferably a combination of Eastern and Western) can be demanded; education being imparted through the vernacular. Enough patriotic men of high education will be forthcoming to help the Government in such a proposal.

But the most important question is cheapening the remedies, and it can only be done by resorting to the easily accessible supply of the indigenous drugs. Many a learned man in Western Science has already spent some of his time in the subject and as many as a couple of dozen books are published till to-day on the subject. What is now desired is formulating them into a Pharmacopœa and standardising the remedies after the model of the B. P. If this work can be attended to, I submit, the great question of medical aid to the poor can be solved for ever. Men expecting an ordinary income will resort to villages, when they find that they are able to treat their patients at a little cost and earn for themselves a livelihood by even a nominal charge per head for their daily labour. This much is the expectation of an average medical man and he would very easily take to a village, if he finds so much income there. Why, in a group of villages at nearer distances young practitioners would even flourish and earn as much as even their city brethren, and in time to come they would occupy as important a place in the village constitution of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

these days as the old prominent Rajvaidyas. A grant-in-aid system at this stage would accelerate the diffusion of such practitioners throughout the country.

At any rate the problem is how to make remedies available cheap and not of finding out men who will be content to live on half bread. That could ever do more harm than good on account of the scanty knowledge—a course to be entirely deprecated in handling human lives. The real remedy lies in making use of the abundant indigenous drugs and thus lessening the cost of 'medical aid' and remembering that 'Little knowledge is always dangerous.'

My suggestions, therefore, are as follows:—

1. That a two years vernacular training in western medicine would produce inefficient and thoroughly unreliable men who would practise as physicians—a predicament scarcely to be contemplated without horror.

2. If the object is to make ample provision for medical aid to the village population in India, steps should be taken to diffuse a wider knowledge of medicine in the existing schools by admitting a larger number of pupils every year and by opening new institutions.

3. A complete course in vernacular is of course very desirable, but it cannot be undertaken immediately for want of suitable text-books in the vernacular. A beginning might be made to prepare the necessary text-books in principal vernaculars of the country under State patronage.

4. Along with the facilities for expansion of medical education, the cheapening of drugs and a lesser dependence on chemicals and drugs of foreign manufacture must be secured. The preparation of a Pharmacopœa of Indian Drugs should be undertaken at once. The task is comparatively easy, as a great deal of spade-work has already been done in the field.

5. Like public schools a grant-in-aid code for dispensaries in the mofussil might be framed laying down a scale of annual grant on the basis of efficiency.

6. Last but not the least important is the attempt to encourage a systematic study of Indian schools of medicine by standardising the teaching and granting diplomas under State control. Money spent on this would be very productive of good results and would secure the object far more easily and at less cost, as men of high training would come forth to help the cause through patriotic motives.

In one word:—

• Full training even in vernacular, and standardised Indigenous Drugs at cheap cost, should be the aim. '

Land Revenue Bill

(By Raosahib Laxminarayan, Kamptee.)

In the debate in the C. P. Legislative Council on the 15th and 16th January 1917 some of the official as well as the non official and nominated members sought shelter under the correspondence published in the Gazette of India dated the 8th July 1916 on the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon Decentralization, and passed the Bill into law in the teeth of public opposition. The Government of India's view of the agrarian problem as it confronts us on this side of India—which seeks to cast the whole blame on the ryot and to exonerate the Indian Land Revenue Administration from all responsibility in the matter,— is a view which a more just appreciation of facts would show to be at once incorrect one sided and unfair, and a scheme of ameliorative action founded upon it, is not calculated to meet the necessities of the case. It has to be borne in mind that Land Revenue in British India is not a mere financial item like salt or customs, opium or excise, but constitutes an important branch of the general Administration which is intimately bound up with the welfare and contentment of the masses of the population; and when it is administered—as it is in this province—under an avowedly empirical system which rests on an abstract basis and works on *a priori* theories, largely dissociating itself from practical considerations, there can be no matter for surprise if we find that in practice it leads to economic and social results the reverse of desirable. We see everywhere in this province that the land is more or less overassessed, and the State demand enforced with rigour; and on an unprejudiced consideration of the matter, it is impossible to resist the conviction that it is this double evil of over-assessment and stringency in collection that has brought the ryot in this

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

province to the verge of economic ruin, and made him more or less the helpless victim of the inclement seasons, and turned him into and a predial serf dependent upon the sawkars. Painful evidences of agricultural decline meet the eye on every side, and as we contemplate the Government of India's rosy-tinted picture of agricultural advance and prosperity, we cannot help thinking that this province evidently lies outside the range of the Governments' perspective. To clear some of the misapprehensions and misconceptions I would make the following observations on the Government of India Despatch.

We do not know to whom we owe the belated publication of the Despatches in the Gazette of India dated the 8th of July 1916 in consequence of which the Government of India shelved the recommendation of the Royal Commission to declare by an enactment the principles of Land Revenue Settlement in India. But in a way this has been well, for we are now able to behold in all its nakedness the extraordinary theory of State Landlordism by which the Government of India desire to push their claims to Land Revenue in India. The principles enunciated in the Despatch, and [the historical and practical] arguments used therein, are very strange and surprising. We desire that our public leaders should lose no time in realising the need for combined action at the earliest possible moment to demonstrate the unsoundness of the theories and arguments, and to ask for a definite modification of them, if the economic condition of the Indian ryots is at all to improve from that of a tenant-at-will of the State land-lord, into that of a cultivator who has *proprietary rights* in the soil which the State should preserve and protect as a primary duty, and from which it should derive its *revenue only*, according to its needs and not according to its supposed landlord right.

2. Apart from the question why so important a document should have been withheld from the Indian public for so unconscionably long a period, and what exact purpose is intended to be served by its sudden disclosure just now, it is

LAND REVENUE BILL.

extremely doubtful whether the long and laboured apologia of the Government of India for persisting in its present practice of assessing lands, will carry conviction with it. Indeed, the disappointment will be very keen that even so wide-awake a liberal statesman as Lord Morley was persuaded by the Government of India, in view of the then experimental stage of the councils-reform-scheme, to postpone "*for the present*" any action on the lines suggested by the Decentralisation Commission. Lord Morley did not traverse the various objections raised by Simla against the proposed change, but simply agreed to shelve the proposal "*for the present.*" The Bureaucratic clock-work generally moves slowly, but it must seem to the public that by shelving the despatch for six years, and then suddenly heaving it at the head of an astonished public, the Government have moved the hands of the clock so many years ahead, making it appear to all that the arguments for postponing action "*for the present*" still hold good.

3. The principle on which the settlement of Land Revenue in British India is based, is alleged to be that by ancient custom of the country the State is entitled to a *certain but undefined share* of the gross produce of all cultivated land. This is the sweeping doctrine on which the Government of India resist the demand that the principle of Land Revenue Settlement in India should be embodied in Provincial Legislation.

A "CERTAIN BUT UNDEFINED" SHARE.

4. No wonder that they should do so if the principle was in the form in which they have now stated it, namely, that the State is entitled to a "*certain but undefined*" share of the "*gross produce.*" One might leave logicians and grammarians to say exactly what a "*certain but undefined share*" implied, but one may take leave to say that it is very natural that, where the share of the State is claimed to be "*undefined,*" the Government of the State should be unwilling to define that share in any "*certain*" proportion. In fact, the Government of India claim that in agreeing to take that share out of the "*net*" instead of the "*gross*" produce of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

lands cultivated by the ryot and to lay down 50 % of that produce as a theoretical maximum claimable by the Government they have conferred great benefit on the ryot at the outset; and that by further relaxing the application of this theoretical-half-share rule by executive instructions, they have been able to benefit the cultivator of the soil in a way which a half-net-legislative-demand could not do if enforced by the Courts. The Government make a great point of the alleged fact that it does not appear from the record of the evidence taken by the Commission that the proposal to embody the general principles of assessment in an act of provincial legislature was recommended to them by any of the witnesses examined, or that they made any attempt to elicit opinion on the subject; but I wish to point out that the Government of India is entirely wrong in their contention that the Decentralisation Commission have given no reason for their recommendation and that it was not advocated by any witness who gave evidence.

THE VALUE OF EXECUTIVE INTENTIONS.

5. If we study paragraph 252 of the report which contains the recommendation in this behalf, it will be seen that it is one of a series of paragraphs dealing with the limitations which it is necessary to impose in respect of "enhancements of assessments at fresh settlements." This is the heading of the section, and the Commission, after considering the various suggestions which had been made by witnesses official and non-official, pointed out as a very natural and obvious remedy that such a limitation should be imposed by means of legislative enactment. No better demonstration of the value of this recommendation, we think, could be produced than what has happened to the executive good intentions which are specifically referred to in the Report itself. We were told in paragraph 251 of that Report that "The Government of India have now under consideration the possibility of laying down definite rules limiting the amount of increase in assessment which may be

LAND REVENUE BILL.

imposed at any settlement, and we think that this would be entirely within their functions. The public is yet to know, after about six or seven years, what has happened to this proposal. If it has ended in nothing, no further proof is necessary to demonstrate the soundness of the recommendation of the Commission. Can it be denied that the tendency of recent settlements in this province has been more definitely in the direction of the theoretical half-net maximum and less in the direction of any defined limit to the proportion of enhancement which ought to be made at each re-settlement?

WHAT IS THE ANCIENT CUSTOM.

6. But to deal first with this question of ancient customs of Rajabag in the produce of the land, on which the Government of India desire to take so secure a stand; if the principle that the State is entitled to take certain but undefined share of the gross produce of the land, means if it means anything at all, that the entire gross produce of the land is at the disposal of the Government of the country and that under the ancient custom of the country, it rests with the King or the governing authority to say what proportion he will take out of such gross produce, and to vary this proportion from time to time according either to his needs or his inclinations, or according to his greed or his generosity. It looks, indeed, a most startling theory, and we very much wish that the Government of India had quoted chapter and verse for the same. On the other hand we are prepared to quote chapter and verse to show that the earlier Sovereigns of India, from the time of Vedas to the days immediately preceding the British supremacy, never asserted such fundamentally unsound doctrines in support of even their wildest measures of exaction. We find that the Hindu Law-givers and Hindu philosophers have kept clear of the logical confusion which now obscures the Government of India between rights of private property in the soil, and rights of kings over the lands ruled by them.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

THE "MIMANSA" ON STATE OWNERSHIP.

7. Let us go to the earliest of these pronouncements, that are recorded in the Mimansa Sutras of Jaimini the philosopher who compiled his aphorisms in the period immediately following the composition of the Vedas. We will quote no less an authority on this matter than Sir H. T. Colebrooke to show how definitely the most ancient kings of India perceived the distinctions between a king owning private property in lands and a king possessing dominion over territories. Writes Colebrooke:—

"A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil in India, is discussed in the sixth lecture. At certain sacrifices, such as that which is called Visvajit, the votary, for whose benefit the ceremony is performed, is enjoined to bestow all his property on the officiating priests. It is asked whether a paramount Sovereign shall give all the land, including pasture-ground; high-ways and the site of lakes and ponds; and universal monarch, the whole earth; and a subordinate prince, the entire province over which he rules. To that question the answer is the monarch *has not property* in the earth nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained, and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy. The maxim of the law, that the King is lord of all excepting Sacerdotal "wealth," concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good. His kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation of wrong; and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders. But right of property is not thereby vested in him; else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subject abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the King's but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labours. It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike; therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince; but house and field,

LAND REVENUE BILL.

acquired by purchase and similar means are liable to gift." Yajnavalkya has even gone further than these authorities. He says that the King has no particular property in unclaimed or uncultivated land. If a subject chooses, he may occupy it without leave, giving the Raja his due.

THE SHASTRAS ON STATE-OWNERSHIP.

8. Let us next go from the Sutra--period to the Dharma Shastra period, to the days of Manu and other Law-givers, and what do we find? We find them enunciating the propositions that the King has a right to claim and collect a share of the produce or income from every source of a subject to the extent of one-sixth, one-tenth, one-twelfth or one-thirty as the case may be, according to the nature of the income assessed. It was, in fact, a kind of scheduled income tax. There is nothing whatever to show that the right claimed by the Government over the proceeds of the land, was anything more than the sovereign right to the land and to taxation of its produce when and as may be necessary. If we next go to the period which is to be typified by the Niti Shastras of Kautilya, Sukra, and Kamandaka, we find that they all have made a very clear distinction between the ownership of demesne land or crown property and the possession of Sovereign rights over the soil possessed by the ryots and cultivators of the soil. The Artha Shastra has the following:—

"The Collector—General shall attend to the (collection of revenue from) forts, country parts, forests.....

Produce from Crown lands, portion of produce payable to Government, religious taxes, taxes paid in money.....
.....come under the head of country parts

Having divided the kingdom into districts and having also subdivided the villages as of first, middle and last sort, he shall bring them under one or other of the following heads; villages that are exempted from taxation; those that supply soldiers; those that pay their taxes in the form of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

grains, cattle, gold or raw material....." Yajnavalkya says, 'Protecting his subjects with justice, he receives $\frac{1}{6}$ th of their merit.' Apastamba says "the king shall make them collect the lawful taxes (Sualka). Gautama says that the cultivators must pay to the King a tax amounting to $\frac{1}{10}$ th, $\frac{1}{8}$ th, or $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the produce. Baudhayana says, "Let the King protect the subjects receiving the sixth part" Narada says "Both the other customary receipts of a King and what is called the sixth of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue—the reward of a King for the protection of his subjects. Vishnu says that the King must take from his subjects as taxes a sixth part of the grain, every year Vasistha says that a King who rules in accordance with the sacred law, may take the sixth part of the wealth of his subjects. It is said in Chapter 67, Shantiparva of the Mahabharat, that $\frac{1}{50}$ th part of cattle and gold and $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of the crop may be taken by the King. It is further said in Chapter 69 of the same parva that a King who rules in accordance with the sacred laws, may take $\frac{1}{6}$ th part of the wealth of his subjects. The share of the King, therefore, under Hindu Law in the produce of the land, was distinctly limited to $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$ according to the varieties of the soil, or of produce, or the exigencies of the King. For the most part the share levied was $\frac{1}{6}$ as it is apparent from the allusions made by the poet Kalidas in Raghuvansha and in Shakuntala to the King's $\frac{1}{6}$ th share as the reward due to him for his labours. In the work of Parashara Madhaviya, the King's share was held to be $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce. This exposition of the law as it obtained under the Hindu rule, is confirmed by all those European scholars who have studied the subject at first hand. Colonel Wilkes, Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Sir G. Campbell, Professor Wilson, and John Stuart Mill—all agree in this exposition of the law.

9. In 1822, the Court of directors of the East India Company stated that the ruling power was entitled only to a certain share in the produce of the land. In introducing the Bill

LAND REVENUE BILL.

which became subsequently Act 1 of 1865, Mr. Inverarity who was in charge of the Bill, stated that the acknowledged principle of an equitable land assessment was that Government was entitled to a certain share of the produce, the deduction of which leaves the cultivator a wide margin of profits after payment of all expenses. The question was again raised in 1856, when the Court of Directors formally laid down in their Despatch, dated the 17th December 1856, that the right of Government is *not a rent*, but a *land revenue* only which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the Ryot whether he in fact lets the land to others, or retains it for his own cultivation. This same principle was reaffirmed by Sir Charles Wood in 1862, 1864, 1865 and by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1867, when the Despatches were sent directing the redemption of land revenue, and the extension of the permanent settlement in all the old settled districts. Judicial decisions without number can be cited in support of the same view. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in a case reported in 11 Moore's Indian Appeals, page 345, held that the relation of landlord and tenant *did not* exist between the Government and the owner of the lands which paid Jama or tribute. The holder's interest is an absolute ownership of the land, and the title of the Government rather resembles a seignory than that of a lessor with a reversion. Reviewing all these authorities, Westropp, the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, held it to be proved in 12 B. H. C. R. App. (59) that as far as the Hindu Law is concerned, the proprietary right of the Sovereign derives no warrant from the ancient laws or the institutes of the Hindus, and is not recognised by modern Hindu lawyers as exclusive or incompatible with individual ownership. The same principle was recognised by Subramania Ayyer and Benson in Venkatana-rasinha V.....amuddi Katayya, I. L. R. 20 Madras 299. The Mohamedan traditions are no doubt of a more arbitrary character, but in this province, fortunately for the country, the British Government succeeded to the rule of Hindu Sovereigns,

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

and Mohamedan precedents have, therefore, no application. In the Land Acquisition Acts of 1850, 1857, 1871 and 1894, the Government has unreservedly admitted the existence of these rights of private owners.

CONFUSION OF FEUDAL AND POLITICAL NOTIONS.

10. During the days of unsettlement and turmoil in the country, the produce of the soil was dealt with by adventurers according to their pleasure, and was later on collected and dealt with by the East India Company in a more business-like and peaceable way, tending to the security of some property rights to the cultivator of the soil. Hence may have sprung up the notion of treating the land of the country as the private property of the state or the ruler, and of seeking to regulate the demand of the ruler by means of periodical, often yearly, settlements between the cultivator and the Government which protected his means of subsistence. It was obvious to the earlier Anglo-Indian administrators of experience that the exercise of any extreme rights of state ownership by the Company who succeeded these adventurers, would have driven away cultivators, in other words, "would have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs;" and the principle of moderation in assessment was readily accepted as fair and expedient under the circumstances. The authorities had then to look for some general principle in preëxisting customs or methods for regulating their demand upon the land. As land revenue was the mainstay, indeed the only important source of revenue in those days for the East India Company, the question of treating it merely as a tax to be imposed along with other taxes on other forms of wealth or income, never arose. With the confusion of private and public rights, of political over-lordship of territory and feudal notions of the landlord and tenant inherited by British administrators, to which the system of forming the land revenue in India bore such a spurious parallel, the idea of regarding the very large receipts of produce of the soil by the state as being due to the exercise of a proprietary right became a very easy and natural process.

LAND REVENUE BILL.

STAGES IN THE THEORY OF STATE-OWNERSHIP.

11. This theory has since been at the back of the average Anglo-Indian mind, but those among the administrators who had any real experience in the country and who had bestowed any thought on the actual situation of the cultivators of the soil, in those days, never had any difficulty in understanding that the cultivators of the soil actually possessed the rights of property in the land. Time was in the history of the Land Revenue administration during the last hundred years, and whatever theory of State landlordism might be enunciated by Government, the rights of the cultivator in the soil remained unquestioned at any rate to a substantial share in its possession and enjoyment. We will now say that the dictum now laid down by the Government of India actually negatives the existence of such rights, but it seems clear that it potentially connotes power in the Government to deprive the roys of such rights by the exercise of the right to an "undefined" share of the gross produce. The long discussions which took place both in the India Office and in the Headquarters of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the middle of the last century, as to whether the land revenue in India is a tax or rent, is apparently beyond the recollection of those who framed the Despatch of 1910, but it shows the stages by which the Government are proceeding step by step in the establishment of their rights of the State landlordism. Matters have become much worse since the time when the Secretary of State finally vetoed the proposals of a Permanent Settlement in India during Lord Ripon's time.

12. The stages in the evolution of the new theory were marked long ago by Sir Auckland Colvin who observed in the seventies:—

"With the changed aspect of the day, the aspect in which the assessment of land revenue is regarded, has changed." "Increased security of fixed property" has given way to the "just rights of the State;" "freedom from the interference of the fiscal officers of the Government" is now thought

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

of little account when compared with "the sacrifice of any portion of that rental of the land to which the State is entitled." The question of a permanent settlement again arose with the series of famines of the seventies and was again shelved.

13. The Government of India cannot be unaware of the fact that for nearly half a century the land assessment system of this country has been the target of attacks, not only at the hands of Indian publicists of standing, but also of several impartial Englishmen as well, including members of Government. Every session of the Indian National congress, since its start in the eighties, has exposed its fundamental unsoundness and injuriousness. Every Legislative Council has been the scene of heated discussions on the subject, and even so imperious a Viceroy as Lord Curzon felt it necessary to enter the lists in an open controversy over it raised by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt. Mr. Dutt's arguments have remained unanswered and unanswerable to the present day. In their despatch the Government of India refer to Mr. Dutt's contentions but they are hardly able to meet them. On the other hand, the arguments of Government only strengthen Mr. Dutt's case. Mr. Dutt urged the necessity of a modification of the present system on two main grounds; first, that there is no fixity in regard to the amount of assessment payable by the ryot and second, that there is no legal redress against over-assessment. The way of Government brush aside these two charges is hardly convincing. As Mr. Dutt pointed the absence of fixity in the rate of assessment on the one side, engenders great uncertainty in the mind of the ryot regarding the fruit of his labours, and leads to excessive demands from the settlement officials, on the other. But the Government would appear to be of opinion that the effect of fixing this standard by legislative enactment would inevitably be to make the methods of assessment more strict. Arguments of this nature can cut both ways; for, with or without a limit, the tendency of the over-zealous officer will ever

LAND REVENUE BILL.

be towards over-assessment and it will be only a question of choosing the lesser evil. The average ryot, we are sure, will rather choose the prospect of submitting to official screwing-up with the assurance of reaching a limit of such pressure than one of unlimited pressure from a settlement officer. However, all such tendency towards over-strictness can be effectively checked, if safe-guards are provided, enabling the agrieved ryot to challenge the official estimates of the yield of lands. This brings us to the objection of the Government to any legal safe-guards. We are told that Government would never surrender to the civil courts its jurisdiction over land-revenue assessments, and Government quote approving by the following dictum of Sir Antony Maodonell laid down in December 1900:—

“The rule under which the Government takes only half of the assets, is a rule which Government has imposed on itself and it cannot allow any agency which it creates or maintains to judge between itself and the revenue tax-payer. It is on the Government that the responsibility must rest of determining how the rule should be applied in case of a class or an individual. It would be an unfortunate day, for the country, if the Government were to divest itself of this responsibility and place upon the civil courts the responsibility which it has hitherto exercised itself, and which it alone can exercise with due regard to the public interests and yet with the leniency which the circumstances of time or place may call for.”

14. The principle here enunciated is one of the most extraordinary character and reduces the position of the state in India to one of absolutism. You will thus see the excessive nervousness which the present generation of administrators was manifesting towards the jurisdiction of civil courts. But this jealousy or dread of civil courts does not seem to have been the characteristic of an earlier race of Anglo-Indian statesmen who laid the foundation of British rule in India, as the following extract taken from one of the earliest Bengal Regulations will show. The preamble to the Bengal Regulations II of 1793 runs thus :—

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

" All questions between Government and land-holders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenues, and disputed claims between the latter and their ryots, or other persons concerned in the collection of their rents, have hitherto been cognizable in the courts of Mal Adalat or revenue courts. The collectors of the revenue preside in these courts as judges, and an appeal lies from their decisions to the Board of Revenue, and from the decrees of that Board, to the Governor-General-in-Council in the Department of Revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure, whilst the Revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these Courts from their irregular, *summary, and often ex-parte* proceedings, and from the Collectors, being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions, whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that if regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the Revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity, can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them for administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property, and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing in its executive capacity, the rights and privileges, which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on land-holders. The Revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the Regulations, must be subjected to the cognizance of Courts of Judicature, superintended by judges, who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The Collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts but rendered amenable for them to the Courts of Judicature. "

LAND REVENUE BILL.

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis made a great improvement to the existing laws, which reflected the greatest credit on the Government of India by his Bengal Regulation II. He enacted a law by section II of the said Regulation which reads as follows :—

“ That from 1st May 1793, tee Courts of Mal Adalat, or Revenue courts, shall be abolished ; and the trial of the suits which were cognizable in these courts, as well as all judicial powers whatsoever heretofore vested in the Collectors of the Revenue, or in the Board of Revenue collectively, as a court of appeal, or in any member of that Board individually, shall be transferred to the Courts of Dewani Adalat.’

This enactment gave the ryot the right to sue the Government and its officials. This right was not touched by the East India Company because it was their intention that this land should be governed according to the ancient usages and laws of Hindustan. They all took their stand upon what was called an immemorial usage.

15. We have been told that the Government claim to assess land in this country, is based on the principle of state-ownership of land under ancient Hindu monarchies. But as was pointed out by Sir N. G. Chandawarkar at the Bombay Town Hall meeting on the 8th July 1916 last that the ryot, under the ancient laws, could sue the ruler if the assessment was exorbitant. Sir N. G. Chandawarkar traced the history of the question step by step and said that, in the ancient Hindu rules, it was clear from the law books, which were enforced as authorities even now, that there was a sharp distinction between the revenue and the judicial authorities, and the subjects had the right to sue the Government. The King was not to take more than a certain proportion of the produce—one-sixth part—and according to the Hindu Law a ryot could sue the King in respect of a wrong done to him. Under even the Mahomedan rulers that right was kept in tact. When the East India Company came into power, the power of the subject, to sue the Government, was again there. Hence, the objection of the Government to submit its decisions in matters of assessment to impartial tribunals, cannot be sustained on ancient practice. Nor does the present practice in re-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

gard to the State's purchase of private land for public purposes, and such other compulsory transactions between the State and the private individual, lend support to the practice in assessment of land revenue. If the present civil courts of the land are unsuited to hear assessment claims, special tribunals might be constituted in each district or province to adjudicate between the State and the ryot. But the present practice in which the State poses as the plaintiff, the defendant and the judge as occasion suits, cannot be upheld as just and equitable.

16. Needless to say that Lord Curzon's Land Revenue Policy of 1902 necessarily hardened the settlement policy of the Provincial Governments. Neither the Reform proposals nor the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation have had any effect in moderating the rigour of Revenue settlements since that time; and as we now have the doctrine of State rights in land, stated in such sweeping terms by the Government of India, it rests with us and our leaders to see whether the enunciation of such a doctrine to be put in force not under definite laws enacted by the Legislative Councils, but at the discretion of Revenue officers could be allowed or tolerated in the eventful times that will soon be upon us. I am, therefore, of opinion that the Government of India Despatch will be received with considerable disappointment in this country. It is one of the most unconvincing and bureaucratic documents which the Government have, in recent years, thought fit to publish, and from top to bottom it includes assertions which can hardly stand any scrutiny. In no civilised country are the people prepared to submit to taxation without the sanction of the legislature, and in India the bureaucracy has to justify not only the absence of such action but the denial of any right in the taxed to question the fairness of the assessment before the law courts. Lord Morley considered the despatch at a time when he had grown sick of his work at the India Office, and when he had more or less permitted himself to be fully governed by the men on the spot. In spite of all these considerations, the part played by the ex-radical Minister in this controversy, requires to be noted. It shows how India Office is not a guarantee against the acceptance of a policy based on most unstable grounds.

State and Primary Education



(*Shrikrishna V. Puntambekar Esq B. A. Bar-at-Law.*)

We live in an age when in the development of large National Policies or the undertaking of great public works of promise and utility, it is everywhere seen and realised that co-operation and organisation are the two essential factors. To be effective men must act together, and to act together they must have a common understanding and a common object. To give to any undertaking or enterprise an uninterrupted continuity and a successful footing and growth, individual efforts and management are found to be insufficient because they are spasmodic. Co-operation amongst a large number of individuals strengthened by an efficient organisation, has proved a great secret of success, a key to the solution of all difficult problems, and a panacea for many evils. Still more effectively has it been shown or proved by the history of advanced nations that the State or Government which represents the natural as well as the artificial co-operation and organisation of a whole people residing in a country for their own well-being, is the ideal body which should pay attention to the progress of its people, and initiate and originate, plan and start, establish and continue all things requiring its help, encouragement, advice or protection.

There is a class of new theorists who preach that the State should undertake to do everything and leave nothing to private effort or enterprise. They would throw the responsibility of every work on the State, and to reduce the individual, if not to a nonentity, at least to the condition of a tool or a machine. No body thinks that one could wish to reach this stage or to adopt this attitude, and to relegate individuality to the background. We owe many things to individual efforts originality and intellect. The position we want

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

to take, and the path we wish to follow, is to utilise the individual and the State both in their respective spheres. Objects which a few individuals cannot accomplish, the State must be asked to achieve. But we should not look to the State to do for us what we could and ought to do for ourselves. Otherwise all the individual virtues—daring and enterprise, originality and invention, honest competition and noble self-development would be lost, and man would sink into his primitive savage state. We believe there are many things which must be reserved for private efforts. We look to the State only when there are great undertakings in which the whole nation must co-operate and organise; and co-operation and organisation are only possible, if the State representing the sovereign rights of the community and, possessing all the resources of the nation, undertakes the duty and responsibility zealously on itself.

In these days of stormy activities and surprising efforts among some of the great nations to push forth their own interests, to dominate others and to crush the weak, the State cannot and ought not to sit idle and only think of peace and order in the land while a whole nation is being wiped out of existence. Many functions which were considered to be outside its sphere, have come to be entrusted to the State. Its activities have increased, its power has widened, its outlook has expanded, and its responsibilities have been enlarged. It has now to be seriously attentive to the progress and development of its people on all sides. It must manage and promote every movement for their health, wealth and prosperity. The State must now represent the nation and not any class or individual interests. Those days of whims, of boons and grants, of personal favour and despotism, are gone. Unless the State represents the interests of the nation, it hardly deserves to be called a State or Government. The right of the State to exist must be based solely on the support accorded to it by the enlightened and educated popular will and favour. There are no exaggerations. They are current coins, genuine not counterfeit. One may go so far as to say

STATE AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

that the State must be as the parent to the nation, an ever acting force ready to do every thing by moulding its policy, promoting its healthy evolution, and leading it to higher and brighter paths of knowledge and activity.

In the light of what has been said above it may be seen that in a country like India primary education is systematically possible, only if the Government takes it wholeheartedly into its hand. If we desire that it should spread throughout the country as early as possible, there is no other agency to do it than the governing authority itself. To be made free and compulsory, primary education must be in the hands of a body which can easily finance it and which possesses power to make it practicable. People will pay money in the shape of taxes, subscriptions and donations for the spread of such education. They can start a few institutions and make some isolated attempts even successfully. But to give to a scheme of primary education continuity and success, and to provide up-to-date facilities for its regular working, there must be a central body with powers to make rules and regulations and to enforce them. This is certainly not possible for scattered individuals to do, unless they can form an All-India Primary Education League on sound lines. If this were possible and the Government of the country were to recognise its work, and to enforce its rules and regulations, and the body itself were to work ceaselessly and earnestly, we would not look to Government for the sake of developing primary education. But it is easy to see that we have not advanced to a stage that an All-India Primary Education League could be formed and successfully maintained. We shall have to get such a League, if formed, accepted by the people as well as by the Government. Acceptance by the people is necessary for the support they give and the interest they take, and of the Government for the authority they bestow and allow it to be exercised and enforced.

It is not the writer's intention here to undervalue the attempts of enthusiastic individuals and popular bodies. Their exertions in the cause of education are always praise-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

wothy and to be worthily followed. But at the present stage of our progress we must make our Government assume the responsibility of imparting primary education to all the people of our country. It is the only agency suitable for its continuity, management and maintenance. It has all the facilities which no other body can have.

Now the attitude of apathy in making suggestionsto Government on the part of those who can think about this problem, is due to the fact that their suggestions have no value and find no appreciation in the eyes of those who have the power to do something for their realisation, and thus the suggestions remain in effect a dead letter. Much less are they given any trial. Hence no body can be expected to put forth proposals or offer suggestions always to end in nothing. But though the state of things would make one apathetic and despondent, we should not for that reason, cease our work of making suggestions and of trying, as far as we can, to get them adopted.

In the light of the above remarks let us see if the following tentative proposal helps us in our cause in any way. The people of our towns and cities have ample opportunities to send their children to primary schools. It is true that even now all the children who want to enter a primary school, do not find accommodation, and that if all the children of school-going age were to attend primary schools, the existing number of schools would be found to be inadequate. But as long as we cannot compell all, nor all are inclined to go to school, we must leave the question of primrry education in the cities as it is at present except that we must try to supply the want of primary schools whenever there is a demand for them. The field for our zealous edeavours in encouraging Primary Education, is to be found in villages. It is here that the greatest sorespot in the eyes of education lies. If we want to out the rank-growth of illiteracy in villages and to make them literate and cultivated fields, we should employ ourselves in studying the village conditions and in finding suitable ways for promoting our object.

STATE AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

It is a useful principle in practice to see what one can do with the material already existing, when one has to start expensive schemes, and when these schemes besides being costly are not readily acceptable though useful and necessary. Besides they cannot be easily worked out. Hence it becomes all the more necessary to utilise existing advantages in order to see that our schemes materialise and get a start.

There are always some agencies in villages which can promote literacy and give encouragement to its spreading there. In every village there is at least one individual if not more, who is literate, though generally there are more. This individual can read and write intelligently, keep accounts and teach, if encouraged, the elements of primary knowledge and make the illiterate literate. He is generally a Brahman who is required for performing the religious rites and ceremonies of the village people. Without him they cannot do. All the religious, festivals and marriage ceremonies require his sanctifying presence and priestly help. Then there are others who know as much as he knows. They also can be made use of in our scheme.

Therefore the greatest problem now before us, is how to encourage these persons to teach and the illiterate persons in villages to learn. The easiest way to make an ordinary or average man to do a thing is to hold out before them prospects of material rewards so that their slumbering desires and energies may be aroused. Even if they do not at all generally realise the value of any sort of education in their ordinary walks of life, they will not remain silent or indifferent towards education if some hopes of material gain or prosperity were given to them when they are asked to receive it. Unless any pecuniary advantages are offered to them, they will not care much for education. To take to it is quite new to them and they do not always realise its advantages.

Now it is the experience of many that if a farmer is allowed to pay less revenue than what he has to pay along

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

with others, he would think it to be a boon. Hence in the scheme of spreading literacy if he is told that he can pay so much less than others as land-tax or is exempted from some taxes which he pays directly, provided that he makes his sons or daughters literate and trains them to a certain standard, he would be very glad to do it. The chief point is this that he must know he will enjoy certain pecuniary advantages above others—especially his neighbours—and then he will be encouraged to do what we ask of him.

Similarly all literate persons in a village must be told that for every boy or girl they make literate, they would get a certain fixed remuneration. This prospect of pecuniary gain would encourage them to enlist boys and girls and their parents in the cause of primary education. It would be a constant incentive to them to make continued efforts in winning over recruits to the standard of literacy and knowledge so that they may fight against their enemy—namely folly and ignorance. In these days of hard struggle for life and of poverty in India, these literate men of villages who find time hanging heavy on their hands, would consider it a stroke of fortune, if they realise that their spare-time and lazy leisure can be utilised remuneratively themselves and advantageously to others. If this simple scheme were thoroughly worked out in all its detail and applied, it is the present writer's humble belief that much would be done to promote primary education gradually amongst the masses. Here there is no compulsion but one's own desire resulting from the hope of gain. And as far as the villager is concerned, he not only gets education free, but has some distinct advantage over his neighbour in being exempted from paying a particular tax which his neighbour has to pay.

It will be proper now to consider the number of difficulties that may arise in making this scheme acceptable. There are two difficulties which will have to be solved, before we conclude our subject. The first difficulty is that the Government would be unwilling to make a reduction in its land-revenue in favour of those who educate their

STATE AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

children as stated above, and the second is how to get the money required to remunerate those who are going to educate those children.

The policy of the Government has been again and again to declare that it has got the interests of the masses primarily at heart. If so, the Government should boldly take the step of giving the money of the masses for the education of the masses and not spend it in other unnecessary matters. To ask us who now know how our money is not often well spent, to believe that there is no money for education is more than ridiculous, or more than what we can believe.

The other difficulty is also of a similar nature. If the Government is sincerely desirous of spreading primary education in India, it can very easily offer inducements to the village literates in a hundred different ways. As a matter of fact this want of funds is chiefly due to increased expenditure on objects and services the necessity for which arises rather than the needs of education in this country. All difficulties would easily disappear as soon as the policy of Government is changed to that of active help, co-operation and encouragement.

Even allowing that the Government wants to keep its items of expenditure as they are and spend the amounts allotted to each branch of expenditure as usual, without remitting or decreasing in any way the amount of its revenue, we should like to suggest that our export duties should be increased on those goods (e. g. jute) in which we have a monopoly, and new taxes should be laid on the incomes of foreigners in India who are making abnormal profits in industries such as Tea-farming, Railways, Mining, all of which are in their hands. We know that most of the proposals that come from the people are not accepted but looked upon as abnormal and impracticable when the vested pecuniary interests of the foreign capitalist community are attacked. What in our eyes appears just and reasonable is considered quite the other way by the community and its powerful and influential

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

supporters. It is only when Government have identified themselves with the people and their interest, that conflicts of interests would not arise between the ruler and the ruled, between the State and the people. Whatever may be said about these proposals, it is our intense desire that the abnormal gains and enormous profits of foreign capitalists should be reduced for providing for education and increasing facilities for its growth.

Then there is another cause for supplying money to make the scheme successful and that is to tax the people themselves. To ask for an educational cess from the people when they are already overtaxed, would be considered as a crime against these from whom it will be levied. Many would say in such cases we prefer illiteracy to education, if it is to cost us our half-day meals and thus to keep us half-starved and emaciated in body and mind. Who would go in for education, if it were to pinch him severely in the stomach. The pangs of hunger could not be borne for the pleasure of literacy. Children cannot be deprived of food for the babbling of alphabets, or the muttering of words and sentences from books or the recording of numbers and accounts on slates and note-books. Retrenchment in other items of expenditure, or increase of export duties on the articles of monopoly, or large income-taxes on the vast profits of foreign capitalists in the cause of education, should be undertaken. Then only educational schemes will be financed and made successful for now and for future. Every memorial subscription that will be henceforward raised and collected, should be utilised for the end in view. Or even, for every marriage ceremony that is performed or dowry taken, there should be some fixed contribution taken from the parties. Or even now that the taxes on income, salt and other things have been raised on account of the war, they should be maintained and utilised only for the advance of education.

If it is a fact that we worship education as a benevolent goddess, and if our present life and surroundings have demonstrated to us the utmost importance of its spread and growth, then why sit idle. Let us build up and promote primary

STATE AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

Education amongst the masses who are every thing to us. They are the mainstay of all our movements and ambitions in this world. If we are at all gravitating towards liberty in thought, word and deed, and if education alone is making it possible, let the boons of such education be made practical by encouraging the teacher to teach and the untaught to learn. If superstition and foolish ideas or customs are to be eradicated, then the portals of the temple of education should be opened to all, irrespective of any social prejudices, so that people may rise higher and higher on the ladder of civilisation and salvation. Thus this humble scheme of encouraging the teacher and the taught, is worth trying to spread literacy and to give knowledge, to receive education and to better oneself; and thus to raise the value of the society to which he belongs, by holding out prospects of material advantages before the both. If the value of education as education is not understood then let hopes of worldly gain lead men toward it. If what the enlightened world expects from the spread of education is true and desirable, then let the ignorant and the stupid be purified by its doses. If our complex modern life cannot be without its guidance, then let those who have to lead it, do homage to and drink at the fountain of education and knowledge. If hostile persons are neglectful of and apathetic to its advance, let interested ones remove obstacles from the path and promote its growth by personal example and help. What good it contains we must receive, what advantages it holds out we must secure, and what culture and civilisation it promises, we must build up.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

Moving with the Times.



(By Ramchandra)

If the Indian atmosphere is now charged with the compelling power of a progressive idea, it is the movement of P. R. or atyagraha as Mr. Gandhi would put it. Ever since its successful adoption during the up-hill struggle for human rights carried on by the meek Indians in South Africa about four years back, P. R. has come to be recognised by a down-trodden people as an effective weapon in their armoury of agitation. Surely our Indian brethren have shown considerable resourcefulness in discovering new methods of peaceful campaign for improving their political status within the last decade. They were the first to make boycott a lever to lift up India, and they were also the first to employ P. R. as a means to secure redress. Whoever the originator of the doctrine of P. R. may be, Mr. Gandhi has avowedly been its exponent preacher and pioneer. He has been more than its leading light. But thanks to the miraculous changes wrought by the cataclysm in Europe, the P. R. movement has been inaugurated under better auspices. Had the movement been attempted four years ago in this country, the educated world would have been convulsed with party-strife. Four years back it would have been a signal for the party-fanatics to engage in bitter feuds. It would have precipitated the worst internecine quarrels and wrangles. With the war, however, has come wisdom and sobriety; and with the brightening prospects was restored to the people their sagest and trustiest leader-Lok Tilak. It was he who hoisted the flag of concord and conciliation at Belgaum in the interests of the Motherland. The Motherland wanted unity; she was sick of discord and disruption; and Lok. Tilak sounded the note of amity and harmony, of "forgive and forget." Under his wisest direction the

MOVING WITH THE TIMES

17th Provincial Conference at Poona first placed before the Nation the Ideal of *Home Rule* which from the misty horizon of an academic idea, has descended into the realm of practical politics in an incredibly short space of time. The Fates are now hammering to snap the shackles of India. And why? because the country wants to get rid of them immediately. The fusion of parties in Maharashtra was heralded by a fresh Provincial gathering in Gujarat which ten years ago had witnessed a rift in the lute. The union was cemented at Lucknow—the lucky City of the kings of Ayodhya, where both Hindus and Mohammedans sang at the altar of India the chorus of Swaraj and of Union and Progress. The agitation for Swaraj has now come to stay. Under the guidance of the Maharashtra and Madras Home Rule Leagues the country has fast been imbibing the Idea which would bring them liberty, glory and honour. Unfortunately the bureaucracy was goaded on by the enemies of Indian liberties to repress the Swaraj movement even during these anxious times when India has been giving all that she had, to enable Great Britain to beat down the central Powers. The loyalty of the swaraj leaders was disregarded, their help in the prosecution of the Empire's war was unheeded, and their honest intentions were misunderstood. Veiled threats were uttered in the Madras Council and the Government of Madras forthwith interned Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues in June last. The whole country already much exercised over the question of Swaraj, was at once convulsed with indignation and anxiety. Despair hovered overhead; but the leaders were sanguine and the people determined to follow them through thick and thin that they might prevail upon the Imperial Government to compel the bureaucracy in India to desist from the policy of repression, and to make amends for its lapses by releasing the leaders of political thought. The times were favourable; the release has been accomplished; for, the Indian nation was prepared to assert its existence and stand by its birth-rights, not by force of arms but by force of will, not by violence but by sacrifice. This is genesis of Passive Resistance.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Mr. Gandhi appears to be reluctant to use the word Resistance and would prefer the word Satyagraha which is also an excellent equivalent. None would find the least fault with the intentions of Mr. Gandhi. No one would, for a moment, deny the highest honour due to him as a man of saintly character. But in his undoubted zeal for Satyagraha Mr. Gandhi has given an inferior place to Shastra-yoga. If Shastra-yoga were inferior because it involves what Mr. Gandhi would call *himsa*, England, India and the Allies would stand condemned before God for so much slaughter ! The conclusion is monstrous. This is not a place, however, to discuss the ethics of the present war, but of the two, Satyagraha and Shastra-yoga, neither is inferior to the other. India is disposed towards Satyagraha in her political struggles not because she regards Shastra-yoga as *himsa*, but because she is loyal and faithful. Because she regards all officials, whether bureaucrats or not, as *citizens* of the same Empire, as brethren of the same household. Against the enemies of Britain who have declared war on her and who are brandishing swords and bayonets, India has resorted and will resort not to Satyagraha but to Shastra-yoga, as she has been doing in Egypt, Flanders and Mesopotamia.

In what light, then is *Satyagraha* viewed by its most authoritative exponent ? This is a most pertinent question and fortunately we are allowed to be acquainted with Mr. Gandhi's personal views in this respect. According to Mr. Gandhi a satyagrahist is and must be a person of religious tendencies, as satyagraha is itself a religious impulse and implies no hatred. A preparation for the practice of Satyagraha involves a proper training on moral principles and the formation and development of a strong moral character. He must not quail before corporal suffering which is perhaps the most essential feature of the creed. All this is well and good, nay, too much stress can never be laid on the probable personal suffering to which a satyagrahist exposes himself. He must not bend his knees before suffering; he must not tremble and whine; he must not shuffle and evade. He must suffer patiently

MOVING WITH THE TIMES

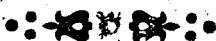
and calmly. That is the crucial test. But there is another which is apt to be overlooked, and upon which the satyagrahist should rather be more explicit. There must be among the people a keen love of liberty, a growing national consciousness and a determination to stand by Justice. Faith in a righteous cause is the strongest Soul-Force. Such a faith must be wedded to an invincible determination to help the salvation of the whole nation. The mind must be perfectly free and pure and serene. To be brief Satyagraha requires a complete subjugation of the grosser self to the higher self, and consequently it is most difficult to evoke the aid of Satyagraha by a very large number of people so as to adopt it on the most approved lines. It is likely to be misunderstood, it is likely to be misinterpreted. But suspicions will vanish and doubts will melt like the morning mist by the high personal character of the personage who would testify to his faith and sincerity by his own suffering. In short, Satyagraha, in its working form, is a kind of ordeal passed through in the cause of Justice and Liberty, just as, in older days, there had been instances of martyrdom for the sake of religion and creed. The aspect is different but the earnestness and resolution that impel action or forbearance remain the same. So far the theoretical side. In its practical working Satyagraha must undergo modifications which circumstances demand. And although the aid of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha may not be invoked in the immediate future, popular mind is irresistibly leaning towards it, in as much as it completely accords with their temperament and traditions, and with the turn the events may take. Blessed are the peace-makers, and let us hope that Mr. Montagu's visit will usher the longed for era of peace and good will.

RAMCHANDRA



What is Passive Resistance

(By the Editor)



NO one who had taken a part in, or even closely followed, current politics during the last few years, would raise the question of a definition of Passive Resistance. It was only in 1913 or four years ago that Mr. M. K. Gandhi, together with hundreds of his Indian followers in South Africa, entered into a struggle of Passive Resistance against the South African Government; and the word Passive Resistance was then bandied from one end of this country to another by the entire body of politicians and publicists, supported by officials including the Viceroy himself. It is difficult to imagine that the word Passive Resistance being then used by all these people without its meaning being understood. But I have no hesitation in attempting a definition and explanation of this term Passive Resistance, if it is likely to remove any cobwebs of real or assumed ignorance about its nature.

Passive Resistance means a resisting response offered, by way either of an action or forbearance, to an extraneous stimulus in the nature of an unjust command or the operation of an unjust law or rule of law.

A popular definition of Passive Resistance was given by the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale in his speech on the subject of "Indians in the Transvaal" delivered at the Town Hall Meeting at Bombay on the 9th Sept. 1909.

"What is this passive resistance" he asked? And he supplied his own answer as follows:—"Passive Resistance is resistance to an unjust law or an oppressive measure and a refusal to acquiesce in that law or measure and a readiness to suffer the penalty instead which may be prescribed as an

WHAT IS PASSIVE RESISTANCE

alternative." Mr. M. K. Gandhi also once gave a definition of Passive Resistance while lecturing before the Jermiston Literary and Debating Society. He defined it by the simple word 'Soul-force'; and he mentioned Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates as instances representing the purest form of passive resistance.

Passive resistance is, in one sense, a contradiction in terms. For, while the word 'passive' denotes the absence of all tendency to resist, it is coupled with the word resistance itself. Passive Resistance would literally mean suffering resistance. But both the words have apparently their own use. For while the word 'resistance' indicates the end, the word 'passive' indicates the nature of the means by which that end is to be achieved. The passive resister does decidedly intend to offer resistance, but he does not intend by that resistance to cause injury or suffering to any one except perhaps himself.

Though passive resistance must certainly be contrasted with active resistance or the use of physical force, still it is not necessarily exclusive of a positive action. Whether the act of passive resistance will be negative or positive will entirely depend upon the nature, positive or negative, of the command or rule of law which may have to be opposed. Thus when an unjust tax is levied the act of passive resistance would be negative i. e. the non-payment of the tax. But when on the other hand the law prescribes a prohibition or a negative injunction against a particular act being done in a particular manner, then the act of passive resistance would have to be positive as happened in the case of Mr. Gandhi and the other passive resisters in South Africa, who committed the positive act of entering into the Transvaal without conforming to the particular conditions prescribed for being lawfully in that country.

Passive resistance, if it is to be used in this country in practical politics, will certainly have, under certain circumstances to amount to or even take the actual form of disobedience to law or lawful authority. But this disobedience would be

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

largely limited or conditioned; for it will practically be disregarding only one particular provision of the whole Penal Law, viz., that which makes it penal to disobey a lawfully promulgated order. An Indian passive resister will not have taken an attitude of opposition to or disregard of the Penal Law in general. He would not be contemplating any offence against the State or the person or property of any individual. He would be concerned, only under particular conditions, with what is ordinarily the duty of a law-abiding citizen viz. to obey orders lawfully promulgated. But there must be a limit to this kind of law-abidingness. For an order of law, though duly and legally promulgated, may really be unjust, or inequitable and may sometimes be even inconsistent with the merest self-respect. The moral duty of a citizen under these circumstances would stand up opposed to his legal duty; and provided a man is prepared to suffer the consequences of his disobedience it has been recognized as permissible to him to practise that disobedience. Theoretically there is nothing which Government does that is not in the nature or in pursuance of the lawful authority vested in them. And if the doctrine of passive obedience to law were held to be inviolable under any conceivable conditions the term passive resistance would not have been even heard of. Mr. Gandhi did not pretend that the Transvaal Ordinance was not a duly or legally promulgated order or rule of law. But he regarded the ordinance as entirely inconsistent with his self-respect as a British citizen and he decided simply to disobey it, as that might be after all the best means to cure the legal malady in the Transvaal State and vindicate his own position as such citizen.

As the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale has observed " If we strongly and clearly and conscientiously feel the grave injustice of a law and there is no other way to obtain redress I think refusal to acquiesce in it, taking the consequences of such refusal, is the only course left to those who place conscience and self-respect above their material or immediate interests." Also as the Lord Bishop of Madras, speaking at a meeting of the citizens of Madras held to express thanks to H. E.

WHAT IS PASSIVE RESISTANCE

ridiculous and consequently want of sympathy. A hotly debated demand, I mean debated among the people themselves, cannot be a proper objective for passive resistance.

As regards the organisation for passive resistance much would depend upon whether the grievance complained of is merely local or general. In the former case the problem of the passive resistance will have to be faced and solved by the homogeneous community of the particular locality. Passive resistance is a thing which will not spread by mere sympathetic contagion. There is such a thing as sympathetic strikes known in European countries, where the labour organization is strong. But the sympathetic or objective strikes are after all neither so extensive nor so deep-rooted as the substantive strikes. The total absence of the Boycott movement in certain provinces of India, and the existence of it in only a very mild or tempered form in certain others, when the movement spread like wild fire in Bengal a few years ago, can be explained only on the supposition that, while the other provinces generally sympathised with the Bengalees and were prepared to fraternise with them, the merits of the grievance of the Partition of Bengal were not as much intellectually perceived elsewhere as they were in Bengal itself. The partition of Bengal was, after all that was said and done, a more or less local grievance. What applies to a local grievance, also applies to a personal grievance and with greater force.



SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

a thing, as if it was not already and otherwise his duty to his country to buy home-made goods. The Boycott is only a more open and accentuated form of Swadeshism. As for resigning posts of emolument under Government, Government never thrust upon any one the duty of rendering paid service to them, and resigning such posts is only practising an option which was equally open at the beginning. As regards honorary posts there is an obvious distinction between one set of them and another, as for example, posts of Hony. Magistrates etc. on the one hand, and membership of the Municipal or, Local Board and the Legislative Councils on the other. The one feature common to both these sets is that there is no Government compulsion upon any one to accept any one of them. But whereas the first set of posts denotes a kind of subservience, the other set denotes a kind of independence. We think that though something could be said on the side of giving up honorary Magistracies, which might come in the way of a citizen exercising his fullest rights of free speech and action in politics, very little can really be said on the side of resigning memberships of the Municipal or Legislative Council etc. For, the function exercised by the holders of these posts arise out of their being, to that extent, a part and parcel of Government; and there is no manifest advantage in relinquishing them peacefully. A municipal or Legislative Councillor does not absolutely suffer in his political work or agitation by being such a councillor. His position imposes absolutely no limitations upon his political activities. On the other hand, a political worker or agitator enjoys, if anything, an extraneous advantage by reason of his being such a councillor. To give up posts on the Legislative or Municipal Councils would be, therefore, to give up an advantage won already.

Co-operation with Government is to a certain extent unavoidable for one who is or wants to be a *practical* politician. The only obvious limit to such co-operation is the one laid down by individual self-respect which of course ought never to be sacrificed even by a practical politician.

It is, however, conceivable that Legislative and Municipal

Congratulations of Poona

On 26th of Sept. a huge public meeting of the citizens of Poona and Cantonment was held under the auspices of the Sarvajanik-Sabha, to congratulate Mrs. Besant, and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia on their release. Lok. Tilak the President of the Sabha occupied the Chair. The proceedings were most enthusiastic, and prominent citizens took part, Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, S. K. Damle, Bagade Vakil, Dr. V. C. Gokhale and Mr. Ghaswalla Bar-at-law being the principal speakers.

The President in summing up, paid a warm tribute to Mrs. Besant's energy and singleness of purpose, and pointed out that but for Mrs. Besant the Theosophists in India would never have lent their influence, money and talents to the cause of Home-Rule. The following Resolutions were passed unanimously.

I This Public meeting of the citizens of Poona & Cantonment offers its hearty congratulations to Mrs Besant and to her worthy colleagues Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, upon their release from undeserved internment, and expresses its satisfaction at the triumph achieved by constitutional agitation in this respect.

II Now that a just and statesmanlike policy has been inaugurated by the release of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, and by the removal of restraints on Mr. S. M. Paranjpe (of Poona) and others, this Meeting hopes that Government may be pleased to extend the benefits of the same liberal policy to Messrs. Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and other Indian gentlemen who have been deprived of their liberty for political reasons.



SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Practical politics requires that the objective of the passive practical resister should be such that it may be within the immediate power of the authority concerned to grant redress of or remedy. Thus e. g. the cancellation of the order of Mrs. Besant's internment would have been a proper objective for the passive resister from this point of view. A mere stroke of the pen on the part of Lord Pentland could unmake it as it had made it. But on the other hand the Congress Scheme, that is to say, the whole scheme and nothing but the scheme cannot very well be a proper objective for passive resistance from the same point of view. For it is inconceivable that even assuming that the Government were in a mood to grant Self-Government to India, Government could issue a decree embodying the grant of the Congress Scheme of Self-Government without altering even a single detail in it for better or for worse. The Congress Scheme of reforms will have to be taken in the spirit and not in the letter even by Congressmen themselves. When men say that the Congress-scheme embodies the minimum of our demands, it only means that we have in our minds an abstract standard of effective popular control over the administration to which any scheme of reforms offered by Government, if it is to be acceptable, must roughly approximate. Much more unreasonable would it be to proclaim passive resistance for attaining "Self-Government" in general. In the first case the Congress-Scheme has at least the merit of giving a vivid outline and the substance of the particular demands one, two, three, four, &c. which we want. But the mere use of the undefined word "Self-Government" is sure to land both the Government and people in a veritable labyrinth of cross-purposes, even assuming Government to be in the most generous mood.

The objective of passive resistance should be such that on the side of the people at any rate it should prevail an absolute or almost absolute unanimity of opinion as to its merits. To practise passive resistance for an objective which does not comply with that condition would be to court mere

A Happy Event

After four-and-ninety days of internment Mrs. Besant and her co-workers Messrs. Arundale and Wadia have been released. The episode has from the beginning been, on the part of the Indian Administration, full of blunders and miscalculations. Each day of the internment that passed added to the embarrassment of the Government and to the volume of the popular agitation carried on systematically for the release of the interned leaders. Never has any popular agitation been more successful. The success is due to various reasons, the principal among which is that while the Bureaucracy has learned nothing during the last decade so far as Indian policy was concerned, the people have profited immensely by the course of events. The Administration resorted to the same time-worn expedient of coaxing the various unstable elements among the population, but popular leaders had foreseen the move and were prepared to meet it. The lessons of the present war have also helped our cause to a great degree. The understanding between the Congress and the Moslem League promises to be abiding, and the popular assembly is no longer a house divided against itself, and the Mesopotamian muddle has disillusioned the British Cabinet and exposed the true character of the Bureaucracy in India, which is uncommonly expensive in peace and hopelessly inept in war, which regards deference to public opinion as a sign of weakness, and the necessity for taking the public into confidence as a sign of disaster. Whatever the outcome of Mr. Montague's visit to this country, one thing is certain to happen ; and it is that the Government of India, if it does not become responsible now, must in a great measure become amenable to public opinion, and public opinion it-self is sure to become stronger and more organised, emphatic and more assertive. The release of Mrs. Besant is an earnest ; and the release of Messrs. Mohammed Ali and Shaikat Ali must follow at no distant date.

THE

POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY JOURNAL

1. The Journal will be published in January, April, July and October of each year.
2. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 2 inclusive of postage. Foreign subscription is 4s. inclusive of postage. Any single copy will be charged Annas ten or one shilling.
3. The Editor cordially invites contributions to the Journal. Anonymous Mss. will not be looked into. Every Ms. must bear the full name and address of the writer. Contributions should be addressed to the Editor of this Journal, and should reach him at least a month and a half before the publication of each issue.
4. The Editor does not bind himself to return articles not accepted.
5. All business communications should be addressed as follows:—'To the Manager, Sarvajanic Sabha Quarterly.'

N. C. KELKAR.

Editor, Quarterly Journal

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

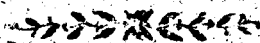
Printed by S. N. Joshi, at the "Chitra Shala Press" 818 Sadashiv Peth Poona City and Published by N. C. Kelkar at the Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms, Shukrawar Peth, Poona City.

OLD SERIES
VOL. XXI, No. 4

January 1918.

NEW SERIES
VOL. II, No. 4

[CONDUCTED FROM THE AUTHORITY OF THE SABHA]



The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

EDITOR . . . N. O. KESKAR, B. A., LL. B.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Sabha's Memorial to Mr. Montague	1-12
The Sabha's Address to Mr. Montague	12-20
The Sabha's Deputation to Mr. Montague	21
Unreasonable Reasonableness (Annie Besant)	22-23
Young India and New India (G. S. Arundale M. A.)	24-26
War-issue and India's Place (B. P. Wadia)	27-30
Towards the goal (Rao Sahib D. Laxmi Narayan)	31-39
The Triangle of Self-Government (L. B. Bhopalkar M. A., LL. B.)	40-47
An National Democratic State (C. V. Vaidya M. A., LL. B.)	48-55
Notes on the Congress-League Scheme	56-69

All rights reserved }

{ Price 10/- 4 annas.

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha

(Established in the year 1870 for representing to Government
the wants and wishes of the people of India.)

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS

PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak B. A. LL. B.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Hon. Mr. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde B. A. LL. B. Advocate.

Mr. Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe M. A.

Mr. Balkrishna Ramchandra Vidya.

MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR 1918.

CHAIRMAN—MR. NARSINH CHINTAMAN KELKAR, B. A. LL. B.

V. G. Joshi Esqr.	Krishna-Shastri Kavade B. A.
K. P. Khadilkar B. A.	H. D. Sathé Esqr.
S. K. Damle B. A., LL. B.	K. B. Naik B. A., Pleader.
B. B. Bhopatkar B. A., LL. B.	M. V. Phadke Pleader.
N. V. Chhatre B. A., L. M. & S.	V. B. Joshi B. A., LL. B.
V. V. Pehare Esqr.	S. N. Modi Esqr.
N. K. Sathaye Esqr.	G. Mayachand Esqr.
H. R. Bhagwat B. A.	H. V. Tulpule B. A., LL. B.
G. S. Palsule L. M. & S. (Ntl)	K. G. Tokekar Esqr.
L. B. Petkar B. A., LL. B.	V. M. Potdar B. A., LL. B.,
S. R. Murudkar Esqr.	Dr. K. G. Lohokare B. A.
D. G. Sahasrabuddhe B. A. LL. B.	A. V. Phadnis.
V. D. Talwalkar Pleader.	J. S. Karandikar, B. A. LL. B.
S. G. Lawate.	K. M. Phatak.
N. V. Joshi.	V. M. Bhat, B. A.
P. V. Joshi.	

AUDITOR

Ganesh Sadashiv Marathe M. A. Actuary,

HONORARY SECRETARIES

Laxman Balwant Bhopatkar, M. A., LL. B.

Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale B. A., LL. B.

Ramchandra Vinayak Patwarthan, B. A., LL. B.

The Sarvajanic Sabha

ON

POLITICAL REFORMS

I THE MEMORIAL

II THE ADDRESS

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha

OLD SERIES
Vol. XXI, No. 4

January 1918.

NEW SERIES
Vol. II., No. 4

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,
Poona, 9th November, 1917.

FROM

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES,

The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha,

Poona.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. E. S. MONTAGUE M.P.

Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

We have been directed by the General Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to submit for your favourable consideration its views in respect of the present administration of India, the Indian aspirations in regard thereto and the principles embodied in the announcement made by you recently in the House of Commons, and published for general information in the Gazette of India Extraordinary issued on 20th of August 1917.

1. At the outset the Sabha respectfully offers to you a cordial welcome to this land, and begs to express its sense of gratefulness to you for your resolute purpose of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

studying the Indian situation on the spot, in consultation with the Government of India, and also with the representative bodies here, and to ascertain what measure of self-government can be granted as a distinct step towards the fulfilment of the ultimate goal of conferring on India representative institutions and responsible government. The Sabha believes that your visit to India as the Secretary of State for India, especially at the present juncture, not only marks a new departure from the policy hitherto followed, but will also go a long way in allaying popular restlessness, and cementing the bonds of devotion and loyalty, which the Indians cherish towards the Crown and the British Empire, and which have abundantly been proved in the present world-war. The Sabha hopes and trusts that your visit will result in the fruition of your desired object as well as the hopes which the Indian people have based upon your visit.

2. The announcement referred to above recites the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to India to consist in "increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire". The Sabha believes that the main and the most important portion of this announcement consists, not in the association of the Indian representatives with the Bureaucratic administration, but in the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India with a view to the realization of responsible government in this country in the interests of the Empire. The present world-war has demonstrated that India is no longer a mere dependency to be governed from a distance mainly by the power and resources, military as well as naval, of Great Britain, the centre of the Empire. As observed by Mr. Lolyd George, the war has completely demolished the old notions about interrelations between the different constituent parts of the British Empire. Ten years ago it was little thought that India, a mere dependency, would be

MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

called upon to render substantial assistance to the Empire in a world-wide contest. It was then considered sufficient for all practical purposes of administration, if India could be kept ready in a position to defend herself against the half-civilized tribes on her frontier, and could be able to maintain internal peace with an army, British and Indian, just enough for the purpose. This was the policy which the Bureaucracy has hitherto pursued—with the result that with a population equal to one fifth of that of the whole earth, India is unable to put into the field for the defence of the Empire, an army proportionate to its vast man-power and resources, not because she is unwilling to do so, but because she has been governed in a manner which operates as an artificial restraint on the military and administrative capacities of her people. Certain reforms, it is true, have already been granted; and notably among them the Morley-Minto Reforms, by which the association of Indians with the present Government has been secured to a very great extent. But the real control still remains in the hands of those who have been administering the country on the lines indicated above—viz. of looking only to the internal peace of the country and of keeping it in a state of dependence so as to exclude all real participation by the people in the government of their country. Although it has been announced again and again by responsible statesmen that the present war is being waged mainly for the purpose of establishing democratic institutions all over Europe, it is impossible to suppose that it cannot have any effect upon Asiatic powers, politically as well as economically; and it is certain that India as a part of the British Empire will hereafter not only have to maintain her position amongst her strong and progressive neighbours, but may at the same time be called upon at any moment to substantially contribute, both in men and money, towards the defence of the Empire, not only in Asia but also in other parts of the world. This double possibility should always be kept in view in formulating reforms and in overhauling the admini-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

strative machinery of this country. Association of Indians with administration in a greater degree will come and is bound to come in the train of the introduction of responsible government in India; but such association merely by the grant of a few more seats in the Legislative or the Executive Council cannot by itself render India capable of grappling with the political exigencies of the immediate future.

3. The present world-war has further demonstrated that unless steps are taken to reconstruct and rehabilitate the British Empire on the basal principles of federation, and unless all the parts thereof are granted an equal voice and status in the determination of Imperial policy, the Empire will never gain that solidarity and strength necessary for its maintenance and defence, and for the propagation of its mission of establishing liberty and freedom all over the world. The trend of Imperial politics necessitates the bringing into existence an Imperial Council composed of the representatives of the various component parts of the Empire, legislating about Imperial matters, and clothed with sufficient executive authority to carry them out. This goal has been clearly adumbrated in your memorable speech on the Mesopotamian Commission thus: "I see the great self-governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home-Rule country, but a series of self-governing Provinces and Principalities, federated by one Central Government". Should such a scheme of Imperial federation become an accomplished fact—and it is hoped that it will be so—it is but due to India that she should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The question of the establishment of a truly Imperial Parliament, by which the various units in the Empire can be kept in touch with one another more effectually than is possible at present, so that they may mutually work together for the good of the Common-wealth, has been in the air for the last few years,

MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

and appears to have taken a firm hold on the public mind. Even responsible British statesmen have wakened up to the necessity of such a Federal Parliament and have in a sense given an earnest thereof by convening the Imperial War Conference. Considering the position which India holds in the scheme of the Empire, the British public owes it to India no less than to itself to grant her the right to send her elected representatives to such a Parliament, and to accord her a status therein similar to that of the Dominions. If such a Parliament comes into being and yet India were not to be raised to an equal status with the Self-governing Colonies, it will lead to the unhappy result that India will have to submit in future not only to the control of the Bureaucracy but also to the yoke of the Dominions—a result, which will not only mar India's efficiency as an integral part of the Empire, but will be regarded as derogatory to her national self-respect, and insulting to her loyalty to the Throne and the Empire. The Sabha further submits that if India alone is to be kept in such a subordinate position, her subjection to bureaucracy cannot fail to react upon the self-governing members of the Empire, and to hamper its progress by placing as it were a millstone round its neck. The Sabha has, therefore, every hope and confidence that the far-sighted statesmen, responsible for settling the Imperial policy, will not allow Imperial affairs to take such an untoward turn.

5. When once this position is conceded, it will readily be seen that any change in the administrative machinery of India, that falls short of an immediate and full-toned grant of responsible Government, is sure to create rather an anomalous situation. In the Sabha's opinion, if India is to be really an integral part of the British Empire, it is absolutely essential that she should at once begin to enjoy all the rights which the autonomous Colonies have been enjoying, and will enjoy after the reconstruction of the Empire. The political education and training, which India has received under Britain's beneficent guidance during the last fifty years and more, have sufficiently equipped

SARVAJNIK SARHA QUARTERLY

her to undertake the responsibilities of her new position, and to satisfactorily and efficiently discharge her duties pertaining to it. And there rests no higher obligation upon British statesmanship than to rise superior to all insular prejudices and groundless apprehensions, and to meet the Indian demand boldly and in a liberal-minded spirit.

6. To whatever extent the principle of evolution may ordinarily play its parts in the history of nations, there comes a time and arises an occasion when the old order of things has got to be completely revolutionised, if real advance is to be secured by a community on the path of political progress. The present is the time in the history of India, when time-worn conceptions and theories of Government will have to give place to modern ideals and requirements. The history of the Colonies and of the Philippine Islands affords an instance of what is stated above. The Indian Government is an indefensible system of Government. To quote your words, Sir, it is "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antidiluvian" to be of any use for modern purposes. It may be benevolent in its intentions, and has done for the Indian people all what a bureaucratic Government is capable of doing; but it was and has recently been proved to be most inefficient; it can safely be characterised as an anachronism and an illogical system of Government. It never expressed, does not express and can not express the will of the people, so long as it is run on the present lines. It did not allow the Indian people in the past to control their own destinies, and will not do so in future, unless it is completely overhauled and made instinct with the life and vigour of democratic ideals. It is an accepted canon of political science that good Government can never be a substitute for self-government, and that it is only the enjoyment of the rights of responsible government and the discharge of duties involved therein that can make a nation realize and appreciate its manifold advantages. It is fervently hoped that these principles will enter largely into the solution of the Indian questions. It may be that India, in the beginning of

MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

its new political career, will not be found equal to the task of enjoying responsible government as fully and efficiently as the Colonies. But in the words of an eminent political writer—“it is nobler for a nation, as for a man, to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality, however blindly and vainly, than to live in irreproachable decency under expert guidance from without”. Gladstone also has said in words of profound wisdom, “It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds;—but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit.” It is thus the paramount duty of the British public to remodel the system of Government here on the lines of the Government that obtains in the Self-governing parts of the Empire.

7. Several objections, either entirely futile or purely imaginary, have been raised against the Indian agitation for self-government. But they have been, times out of number, convincingly refuted by Indian thinkers and politicians with the aid of statistics and historical illustrations. The Sabha does not deem it necessary to traverse the ground over again except in the case of a few, which seem to carry with them an air of plausibility. The first of these objections is that though India may have a number of public men competent to form cabinets, it lacks a sufficiently large electorate possessing political experience to choose rulers fit and able to rule. The dictum laid down in the above assertion cannot be said to be a sound principle of politics. The history of the Dominions reveals the fact that they did not command a large electorate when responsible government was granted to them. Neither Japan nor most European countries possessed such electorates in the beginning. Moreover, the decisive sign of the elevation of a nation's life is to be sought not among the ordinary men, but among those who lead or ought to lead. The test of the health of a people is to be found in its foremost spirits, and not in the mind and attitude of the average man. Applying this

SARVAJNIK SABHA QUARTERLY

test, India will not be found to lag behind in the race, and will show a number of leaders who will hold their own even against the renowned statesmen of any Self-governing and civilized country in the world. It is also a mistake to suppose that India is wanting in a properly qualified electorate. While the average percentage of adult literate males to total males in the ten major provinces of India is 8.6, it is only 4.4 in the Philippine Islands. If in the face of such a state of things the United States felt confident to extend Self-government to the Filipinos, it does not and cannot stand to reason that it should be denied to the Indians on the ground that India is not upto the mark in the matter of a proper electorate.

8. Another objection is raised by the Anglo-Indian commercial community to say that the safety of British capital invested in India will be endangered by the conferring of self-government on the Indians. But it hardly admits of very serious consideration. India is not the only country wherein British capital has been invested. The British capitalists have advanced capital to almost all the countries on the face of the earth, to at least a few of them without even a stable government, and to an extent greater than that in India. Have the British investors come to grief there? Or is it in any quarter seriously suggested that England should acquire political control over such countries? If not, what is there to apprehend that British capital will be unsafe here? The Anglo-Indian brethren should bear in mind that the Indians have been demanding Self-rule and not anarchy. It is a well-ordered form of Government, controlled by the voice of the people and paying due regard to the various interests, that India has been agitating for, and there is nothing in the nature of such a government to make British capitalists really anxious about the safety of their investments.

9. Much has been made now-a-days of communal representation for the different communities in this country on the basis of separate electorates, in any scheme of re-

MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

representative government to be introduced in India. The cry is raised by some Anglo-Indians and a few Indians probably acting under their influence. It is said that India is not a nation but a congeries of communities whose interests must always be properly represented in the national assembly. The concession of a separate electorate for the Mohammedans in the Morley-Minto Reforms has also the effect of stimulating the demand for a separate representation by other communities also. But the Sabha regrets that it is unable to endorse such a demand. The case of the Mohammedans in India is entirely peculiar, and the Sabha regards the question as closed by the compromise which the two great communities accepted at Lucknow. But to extend that principle to the numerous sub-sections of either the Hindu or the Mohammedan community is, in the opinion of the Sabha, sure to prove disastrous to the future political well-being of this country. What the Indian leaders desire is to introduce Western political institutions in all the strength of their liberal spirit, and not to mix them up with the caste, and communal system; for, the recognition of cast creed and communities in the future Indian polity will only serve to emphasize the exclusive spirit of the different communities of this land. The Village Panchayat is an ancient representative institution; but even there the village was represented not by creeds or communities but by a common vote granted to all interests and professions, and the same principle can safely be followed in the system of franchise to be formulated for the purpose of the Legislative assemblies. Every caste has in general a trade or profession of its own and it will naturally have its own representatives when these trades and interests receive their proper share of representation. Such a representation will be a representation of interests and not of castes as such, which, in the opinion of the Sabha, will never contribute to the progress of liberal institutions in this land, in fine, the times are indeed moving too fast and the political situation is daily putting on a newer complexion. It behoves, there-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

fore, the British statesmen to bring all their zeal and earnestness to bear upon the task that lies before them, and to courageously grant India at once a fully representative and responsible system of government. The experiment has been tried in the Colonies, and it has been proved to be eminently successful. And the Sabha is firmly of opinion that, if tried in India, it will bear richer fruit and will be attended with brighter success.

10. If, however, British statesmanship were still to cling fast to the notion that the development of self-governing institutions can only be gradual and by "slow degrees, then the Sabha takes the liberty to suggest that His Majesty's Government should at once lay down the time-limit within which the goal of responsible government here will be attained. The announcement made by you in the House of Commons only defines the intention of His Majesty's Government to confer Self-Government on India. But it has in it an element of uncertainty, in that it makes the British Government and the Government of India the judges of the time and measure of each advance which the Indians are to make towards responsible government. There is nothing in your announcement which would definitely bind those Governments to effect substantial changes and those too at regular intervals, in the machinery of Government here. Where is the guarantee that this declaration will not be like the promises that have not been fulfilled and the pledges that have remained unredeemed? For a number of years India has been treated to pious wishes of sympathy for her demands. The Sabha, therefore, submits that a section may be inserted in the Government of India Act or a Royal Proclamation may be issued stating twenty or twenty-five years as the period within which responsible government will be realized in India. It will at once ensure full confidence in the intentions of Government, and prevent a waste of energy over unnecessary agitation. That was the policy adopted by the United States towards the Philippine Islands, and it is hoped that England will follow suit with regard to India.

MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU.

11. But if the British statesmen are not prepared to assign any time-limit for the realization of responsible government here and for making India a really powerful part of the British Empire, the Sabha submits that they will at least introduce the scheme of reforms passed jointly by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. The scheme embodies the minimum of the Indian demand for political reforms. Nothing short thereof will satisfy the Indian aspirations or will be taken as a substantial step towards the accomplishment of the goal. What India is badly in need of is the elective majority in all Legislative Councils and the subordination of the Executive to the Legislative authorities. The Legislative Councils, as at present constituted, are, at their best and highest, only glorified debating societies, and their members, but gilded nonentities. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary in the interests of the cause of political progress to make them truly deliberative assemblies by vouchsafing therein elective majority to the people, and by making the Executive feel that they are not the masters of the Legislative Councils, but only their servants, and that their real function is to carry out, without let or hindrance, the behests issued by such Councils. Unless the afore-mentioned two rights are immediately granted to India, any number of minor reforms effected in the Indian administration will be mere airy nothings.

12. There are many other questions of detail e. g. the division of India into provinces on linguistic basis, the apportionment of members in the Imperial and Provincial councils the formation of special electorates and so forth, which have been differently dealt with in different schemes of reform formulated by several public bodies and leaders. But the Sabha respectfully submits that these details may properly be reserved for consideration after the general principles indicated above have been accepted and settled. Strictly speaking, most of them are appropriate subjects that should be decided by the Legislative Assemblies to be created for

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

India, and discussion on the point may, therefore, be aptly postponed for the present. When the general principles of Indian representation are settled by a Parliamentary Statute, there will be ample time to settle the details by rules and regulations to be passed thereunder, as has been done by the Government under the existing Government of India Acts.

13. To sum up, it is the firm conviction of the Sabha that it is only the full-fledged form of representative and responsible government that will enable India to cope with the political exigencies of the future. But if the responsible authorities still be inclined to hold the view that India should be granted that form of government only by stages and instalments, then the Sabha submits that they should first lay down explicitly the time-limit within which responsible government would be realized here, and at the same time should immediately adopt *in toto* the joint scheme passed at the Lucknow Sessions of the Indian National Congress, as embodying the irreducible minimum of the Indian demands in that respect. The Sabha has refrained from expressing its views in regard to the Native States, as it is a question that should best be solved by the States themselves. The Sabha earnestly prays that you will be pleased to bestow upon the situation your best consideration and give an impetus to the movement for knitting the Empire including India in the bonds of mutual service and affection.

We beg to remain

Sir,

Your most obedient servants.

L. B. BHOPATKAR, M. A., LL. B.

D. V. GOKHALE, B. A., LL. B.

R. V. PATWARDHAN, B. A., LL. B.

Hon. Secretaries.

THE ADDRESS.

To,
HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FREDRIC
JOHN NAPIER THESIGER, BARON CHELMSFORD,
P. C., G. M. S. I., G. C. M. G., G. M. I. E. &c.
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

AND

To,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDWIN SAMUAL MONTAGU, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.
May it please Your Excellency,

sir,

We, the members of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, beg to submit this humble address to you both, on the present unique occasion when for the first time in the history of British rule in India His Majesty's Secretary of State has personally come to India to discuss with H. E. the Viceroy, the Local Governments and the representatives of the people important measures of political reform leading to the goal of responsible Self-Government in this country.

The Sabha is a public association some fifty years old constituted on an entirely elective principle. It was founded with the object of creating in the Maharashtra and the Deccan a mediating body between the Government and the people. Its self-chosen function was to afford to the people facilities for knowing the real intentions of Government, to educate them in understanding and usefully criticising Government measures, and to help them in securing their rights and redress of their grievances by representing to Government the real facts and circumstances and the truly popular point of view in matters of public importance.

The Sabha was founded at a time when education was just beginning to spread in this Presidency. The first generation of our University men had then hardly been well-settled in life, and the official administration was still in a nebulous condition. The old order had been completely changed,

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

but a new order was yet to take its place. It was a period of uncertain light, half-twilight, half-dawn, and yet the glimmerings of a nascent public life were clearly visible. Indian gentlemen who had received western education were for the most part absorbed by Government service; but they were the natural leaders of the public, and the differentiation had not then been so clearly marked, as it is now, as between officials and non-officials, so far as the business of making representations to Government on behalf of the people was concerned. The Chiefs and Sardars of the Deccan also could freely and openly take part in the work of public associations along with the commoners. Public life in this Presidency was in the primary stage of its making, and the Sarvajanik Sabha was one of the only two or three public bodies upon whom had devolved the entire duty of interpreting the popular views and wishes to the authorities.

This work of acting as interpreters between the Government and the people the Sabha has done for nearly the whole of the period of its existence. And the Sabha was fortunate in receiving, in this work, the help of some of the best and the greatest public men whom the Deccan has produced during the last fifty years, viz.,—the late Mr. Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi, the late R. B. M. G. Ranade, the late R. B. K. L. Nulkar, the late Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplunkar, the late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, the late Hon. R. B. G. V. Joshi, and the late Dr. Vinayak Ramchandra Patvardhan. The Sabha used to submit to Government exhaustive representations on important legislative as well as executive measures of administration; and the Sabha was always ready and anxious to interpret to the people the views of Government, if they were taken into confidence about them. But the accumulated experience of the Sabha, as voluntary interpreters between Government and the people, was, we feel constrained to say, mostly disappointing. A rough estimate shows that out of a total number of 108 letters, petitions and memorials addressed by the Sabha to Government, including under this term res-

THE ADDRESS.

possible heads of official departments concerned, as many as 64 went absolutely unheeded or failed to evoke any reply whatever; about 28 were answered by something like a formal acknowledgment; and only about 16 were honoured with any sort of an official notice on the merits of the question. It was evident that representations of public bodies were not regarded as worthy of serious consideration, and the best consolation that public associations, like the Sarvajanik Sabha, could lay to their hearts was that they were at least doing their own duty by the people in formulating definite matured views on administrative questions and making them available to Government, if Government cared to profit by them.

The right of petitioning and memorialising is a time-honoured and cherished popular right, but the experience of the Sarvajanik Sabha, along with similar other public associations, went to show that non-official representations to Government can hardly have a chance of being heard so long as the people's representatives had no recognised official position somewhere in the administrative machinery. The officials naturally feel that no lawful duty rests upon them of taking notice of popular representations, and though etiquette and courtesy may go to a certain extent to link the official with the non-official agencies in this respect, there can hardly ever be such an exchange of views on, or criticism of, merits of public questions as would be worthy of the importance of the Government measures concerned; or of the position or influence of the public leaders who might make themselves responsible for representing the popular opinion on the same. The right of petitioning carries with it no corresponding obligation upon Government to reply to them or to take them into consideration, and the necessity of representative government began to be keenly felt when the efforts of public associations proved absolutely unfruitful in making any impression upon the prevailing system of administration in even the smallest matters. •

The birth of the Indian National Congress was mainly due

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

to the conspicuous failure of public associations, working as separate or isolated units, in the different Provinces of India. A greater organisation of public opinion was deemed necessary to produce some impression on the mind of Government; and this could be best secured by the organisation of an All-India Public Association. The National Congress, founded in 1885, was practically an aggregate of the same public leaders as had already distinguished themselves, or were about to do so, in the different public associations in the country. But they had hoped that by coming together and forming a national body they would become better entitled to speak in the name of the nation and would also gain strength by co-operative effort in the national cause. And the expectation proved not ill-founded after all. For the Congress succeeded within a few years of its birth to attract the attention of Government. At one time it seemed, as if Government would welcome the Congress as an accredited interpreter of national views and aspirations, and give it a recognised place in the system of Government, which may assiduously, if not formally, allow itself to be influenced by public opinion. But before long the Congress was regarded as being too much of a political body, and came to be stigmatized as the antipathic opposition of a microscopic minority of the population who had no valid right to speak for the nation. The damper of inattention or even disfavour could not, however, extinguish the National Congress, as it had partially extinguished individual public associations. The Congress, being vitally connected with the nation, their efforts acted and reacted upon each other, and each lent its strength to the other, so that within about 25 years of its existence the Congress succeeded not only in definitely formulating national views upon every public question of importance, but also in educating the nation right upto the lower strata of it in practical politics, and in enabling it to shape and openly proclaim its goal of a national and responsible Self-Government within the British Empire.

THE ADDRESS.

The National Congress very wisely commenced with propagandism of the reform of the Indian Legislative Councils; and after a fruitless advocacy of the reforms of minor administrative details, it has come back to rely upon a thorough reform of the Legislative Councils as the only ultimate solution of every vexed question of practical politics in India. The refusal by Government of the demand for reforms even in small matters has had, paradoxical as it may seem, the effect of their emphasising and clinching the highest demand *viz.*, for a Legislative Body composed mostly of popularly elected members, wielding full power of the purse, and exercising the fullest control over the executive.

Isolated public associations in India may be said to have parted with the dominating influence, which they exercised in the different provinces of India, since the advent of the Indian National Congress. The associations, however, having been conscious and willing helpers in the creation of the national body, are quite content to remain in the different provinces as subordinate bodies, more or less loosely affiliated to it, and working as so many feeders and nerve-centres of the great central organisation. 'Having a true sense of perspective and proportion, they feel' that, while it is for them in the future, as in the past, to develop and focus popular opinion in comparatively smaller areas on comparatively lesser questions of official administration, it is for the Congress, as a non-official National body, parallel to the Imperial Legislative Council, to take cognisance of the highest political problems such as affect the interests or the well-being of the whole nation. Even individual public associations, however, cannot but feel that there can be no decisive or abiding reforms in the administration of this country, unless it is given to the people themselves, as represented by their elected deputies in the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, not only to shape the policy of administration, but also to enforce it at the hands of an executive agency responsible to themselves. The secret of success, from the point of view of

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the people, lies solely in responsible and representative government, without which both the people and the Government might go on for a century, tinkering with administrative reforms without improving the situation in the slightest degree.

For these reasons, and also those stated at some length in the memorandum annexed hereto, the Sarvajanic Sabha expresses its entire approval of, and loyal adherence to, the scheme of reforms which has been formulated by the National Congress in consultation with the Indian Muslim League. And being in touch with the real feelings of the public, so far as its humble sphere of work and influence goes, the Sabha unhesitatingly submits that popular discontent cannot be allayed unless and until the demands in the Congress-League Scheme are fully granted to the people. Organised public opinion in India may have a comparatively recent origin, but it has developed with the combined momentum of the inherent political genius of the people of the Deccan and Karnatic together with the best education in Western politics. Speaking for this Presidency, we may safely say that the people here have been used, in comparatively recent times, to conduct political administration in all its departments. It is evidently claimed by the British Government that by establishing the *Pax Britannica* they have removed from this land the greatest curse which afflicted the people of this province; and there is hardly any work of intellectual development or administrative efficiency which the people of this province may not now be trusted to do under the assured reign of a pervading peace. Of the first British Governor, who came to rule over this province a hundred years ago, it has been said that the great success which he achieved in settling and administering this province was entirely due to allowing himself to take up the threads of administration as he found them, and to allow the indigenous political institutions of the country a fair chance without any unnecessary interference with, or change in, them. And in this the concluding year of the first century of British Rule after the sub-

THE ADDRESS.

version of the Maratha Government, it would be an unparalleled glory to British statesmanship to rehabilitate the people in Self-Government, though it would be, as it necessarily should be under extremely altered and also improved conditions. The British will have completely vindicated their title as the high-priests and the arch-custodians of the sacred fire of political liberty if, within a century, they could allow their political tutorship of the people in this province to so richly fructify as to establish in the land a system of Self-Government participated in by the people on as wide a basis as possible.

In welcoming you, Sir, to this Province the Sarvanik Sabha feels certain that it is welcoming a statesman who is sincerely intent upon doing all that can be done by way of reforming the present system of administration, so that the highest administrative efficiency may be combined with the greatest degree of real participation by the people the government of the country and the most effective control of the people over the executive. And the Sabha sincerely trusts that you will take into your most favourable consideration the Scheme of reforms as formulated by the National Congress and the Muslim League. No human brain ever produced a cut-and-dry scheme of constitutional reforms which could not be improved upon. Perfection here, as elsewhere, is a pathetically vain quest. But of the scheme in question it could certainly be said that it has been produced by some of the best political brains in the country and affords a fairly wide working basis for a determined experiment in reform. In conclusion, we wish you god-speed in this your self-imposed task of political benevolence; and we assure you that the eyes of a loyal but expectant nation will follow you on your return journey to England, in the hope that God will grant it to you to be able to persuade the British Parliament to sanction by formal legislation the national demand for Self-Government in India, reinforced by your own favourable re-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

commendation and the favourable recommendation of H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General as the result of personal observation and inquiry on the spot.

We beg to remain

Sir,

Your obedient servants,

B. G. TILAK,

President.

G. S. KHAPARDE,

B. R. VAIDYA,

S. M. PARANJPYE,

Vice-Presidents.

N. C. KELKAR,

Chairman.

L. B. BHOPATKAR,

D. V. GOKHALE,

K. V. PATVARDHAN,

Secretaries.

THE SARVAJANIK SABHA DEPUTATION.

The deputation on behalf of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha waited upon H. E. the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, on 24th December 1917 at 12-30 P. M. in the Government House at Bombay. Prof. S. M. Paranjpye, Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, R. M. Sane, S. K. Altekar, K. T. Jadhav, S. R. Muradkar, S. Modi and L. B. Bhopatkar formed the deputation. Lok. Tilak and Mr. K. P. Khadilkar could not be present owing to their having already proceeded to Calcutta to attend the Congress. Prof. S. M. Paranjpye, who headed the deputation, read out the address, and presented it to H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu in beautiful velvet case embroidered with lace-work. After H. E. the Viceroy thanked the deputation Prof. Paranjpye introduced the members of the deputation individually both to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. The Memorandum embodying the Sabha's views in regard to the political reforms and the address are printed elsewhere.

UNREASONABLE REASONABLENESS

(*By Mrs. Annie Besant*)

The opponents of Home Rule—Self-Rule, Swaraj—are moderate and sane persons, Indians and non-Indians. They lay great stress on "reasonableness" in contrast to the wildness of Home Rulers, and they present us with a sheaf of reasonable unreasons which tend to produce laughter rather than conviction.

First, we are to have a "reasonable share" in the Government of our own country. The rest of the government is to remain in the hands of irresponsible and passenger-foreigners, who come here young, gain experience at our expense, and carry off their experience to another country, where they continue to live at our expense as workers against our freedom. It is obvious that their share of the government is opposed to all right reason, and is profoundly unreasonable. No such unreasonable state of government is found anywhere else in the civilised world, in which foreigners claim to rule a Nation, save where naked despotisms have conquered by the sword and rule by the sword, as Russia, Germany and Austria ever dismembered Poland, which remains in a state of underground rebellion.

The 'reasonable share' of a country in its own government is the whole government of the country. The question of sharing in fact only arises when the country chooses to become or to remain part of a many-Nationed Commonwealth, and then it would have only a share in the commonwealth government, the other shares going to the other Nations. India should reject as unreasonable a share in her own government. India desires freedom, and freedom is incompatible with any foreign Nation being a copartner in her

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

government. Freedom in shares is an unreasonable proposition, only acceptable to those whose freedom has been drugged by the opium of habit.

Next, we are asked to restrain our desire for Home Rule within "reasonable limits." The reasonable limits of Home Rule is the Home itself. Household arrangements are controlled by the household, the control is not shared with the neighbours. India is limited by her own borders, and those borders form the reasonable limits of her rule. There are no others which can claim the sanction of reason, or be regarded as anything more than reasonable unreasons.

Next, we are told that it is unreasonable to claim Home Rule unless we are capable of Home Defence. We are ready to dispense with British soldiers a few years hence, when we have partly recovered from the unreadiness for self-defence due to our disarming by Great Britain. But it is profoundly unreasonable to taunt us with the incapacity for self-defence created by Great Britain, and incompetency caused by her legislation. Out of the same mouth flow two incompetent propositions: "You were all fighting till we imposed peace, and if we left, you would fly at each others' throats"; and "You cannot fight to defend your borders, nor fly at the throat of a foreign invader." Both can not be maintained outside the realm of unreason. As a matter of fact Sikhs, Jats, Panjabis, Gurkhas give a pretty good account of assailants of our borders, and the so-called Bengali sheep have shown their value as an ambulance-corps in Mesopotamia, and the young men being now trained for the front are said to be particularly keen. Again we have two incompatible and therefore unreasonable assertions: "Indians prefer British rule and do not want Home Rule;" and "We are obliged to keep Indians disarmed, because we are afraid to trust them with arms, lest they should turn them against us."

Our very reasonable demand is "give us Home Rule and then you can arm a free and contented India as the strongest bulwark of the Empire." From the British point of

UNREASONABLE REASONABLES.

view this is probably the strongest argument in favour of Home Rule. For Britain is in deadly need of man-power and has exhausted her own resources; she has wrought a miracle in the number of men she has sent to the battle-fields; but she can do little, if any, further more. She *must* fall back on India, or make an inconclusive peace and prepare for another war—a ghastly prospect. But she dare not arm India until India is free.

Moreover, she would act reasonably in handing over to India her own government; for, the war has placed on India a terrible burden of taxation, and it would be wiser again from the British viewpoint to leave Indian financiers to grapple with the problem of raising taxes where there is no taxable margin.

It is unreasonable to ask us to wait for freedom until the British educate us, seeing how little way we have made in education under their rule compared with other nations. The Philipinos when they received their Magna Charta, had only a percentage of 4.4 educated. English electors are still permitted to sign by their "mark." Our raiyats, though so illiterate, are quite capable of choosing their members; for, political and literate capacity are not conterminous. To say: "we have not educated you in 150 years, but we hope you will kindly wait our leisure for a few centuries more" is decidedly reasonable unreason.

Let us have done with all these shams, and boldly say that we are determined to have Home—Rule, and will not cease agitation until we get it. Only by agitation have we reached our present position and brought Home—Rule within the sphere of practical politics. Only by agitation shall we gain it. "Agitate, agitate, agitate," said Dadabhai Naoroji. A Nation in bondage that is so unreasonable as not to agitate would be unworthy of freedom, would be a nation of cattle, not of human beings. Only liberty befits a Nation of men.

YOUNG INDIA AND NEW INDIA

(George S. Arundale.)

The invitation of the editor to write for the SWARAJ-NUMBER will doubtless produce a series of admirable articles on the purely political aspect of Home Rule. For my own part, while fully realising that without complete political re-organisation no progress is possible for the Nation, I nevertheless hold that Home Rule in Government is of no more importance than Home Rule in education, and that it is of vital issue to introduce reforms in education, simultaneously with, or even precedent to, the introduction of reforms in Government. Speaking in Chelmsford (England) the other day, Lord Haldane—the greatest educationist the Empire possesses—said that “ at the foundation of all reconstruction after the war lay the solution of this problem of education. ” He declared that however important the ‘ franchise bill ’ now before the House of Commons might be, of more urgency still was the education problem. In England, the agitation for educational reform goes on side by side with the agitation for political reform. The Labour Party, largely through the instrumentality of the *Workers’ Educational Association*, has recognised that the old theory of brains being needed by capitalists and only hands by the working classes is entirely outworn. The new educational cry is that brains should go with hands and hands with brains. In other words, we must train the young citizen both to create with his mind and to create with his hands. This cry, vital as it is to England’s future, is none the less vital to the welfare of India.

In India we are still in the period in which manual labour is regarded as fit only for the lower classes of the community. The whole industrial regeneration of this country

YOUNG INDIA AND NEW INDIA

depends upon the renunciation of this superstition and its replacement by the truth that it is not the work itself that confers dignity but the spirit behind the work. It will be useless to have Home Rule in India unless we have a sound system of education. We need to avoid the defects of the American system by which the few become rich and great while the many remain poor and lowly. We dare not tread the road that leads to the trust system. We must not be misled by the statement made by certain politicians to the effect that when Home Rule comes everything else will also come. To a certain extent the statement is true. But the system of Government we may adopt will only be rendered flexible and susceptible of modification by succeeding generations as we take into consideration and provide for the ideals which animate the younger generation of to-day. Doubtless, we must adopt our Home Rule policy to existing circumstances, but we must construct with an eye to the future as well. We must study the new spirit as manifested in young India, striving to forecast, and to prepare for, the future as it shall be to those who to-day are young. Our scheme of Self-Government must not only suffice for the needs of the moment, but also, as I have already said, be capable of giving full scope to the spirit of the New Age.

It would be folly to wait until Home Rule is an accomplished fact for the introduction of a national system of education. It would be just as if the military authorities waited to train a new army until the existing armies had won all the victories of which they were capable. We have to train our young men to take the places of their elders in an India far different from the India of to-day. By the time the younger generation reaches manhood, India will be comparatively free. We must from now so train our young men that they shall be ready to bear the burden and responsibility of that freedom. I would appeal, therefore, to all true patriots not to be deluded into the belief that there is no hurry for the introduction of a national system of education. National

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

education is the completion of Home Rule. We must train our young men from this very instant in the spirit of the New Age, and endow them with the capacities India will require from them. India will rise largely through industrial regeneration, and we must, therefore, lay special stress on industrial education.

The Board of National Education exists to prepare young India for New India, and its work is vital. Everywhere National schools should be brought into existence, on however small a scale they may at first have to start. We must begin as we can. It does not matter what kind of buildings we have, or whether there are only half-a-dozen pupils, or even whether the teachers are not specially qualified. The spirit matters more than anything else, and all the rest will come in good time if the Board of National Education receives adequate support. The great thing is to make a beginning. As the French say, it is the first step that counts. We shall not be able to have the expensive buildings the Government likes to put up. We may not have trained teachers with the spirit of teaching trained out of them. Our apparatus may leave much to be desired. But if in every village and in every town a few sensible and patriotic parents can be found willing to prepare their sons for New India, the great sacrifices of the elders of to-day will not have been made in vain, and into the forms of Home Rule shortly to be established shall be poured a youthful vitality ensuring for India a place second to none among the nations of the world.

WAR-ISSUE AND INDIA'S PLACE

(By Mr. B. P. Wadia.)

The progress of the War in Europe is taking a strange turn. The affairs in Russia and the situation in Italy joined to the fact that the American army will not be ready for some considerable time, raise doubts in one's mind. It is clear that unlike the early period of the war, now the passing of time is very beneficial to the Germans. In the first two years of the war, delay was dangerous for the Central Powers, and every day gained by the Allies added to their strength. Now, reverse seems to be the case.

Then, as far as the military point of view is concerned, the Germans have the advantage of being possessors of Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and a portion of Rumania; they are knocking at the gates of Petrograd; their line is not yet completely broken in France; they have driven back the Italians; General Falkenhayn has arrived in the East; of course we are not forgetting that the Allies possess German colonies, have made advance in France and have moral and financial support of almost the whole of civilisation.

Possession is nine points in law. Putting aside for a moment moral considerations, if Belgium and Serbia and the rest of European lands conquered by Germans are to be handed over to the Allies, then, on the principle of area for area, the Allies will have to return the conquered German colonies. If moral principles were to prevail, then the only sane and proper way would be to abandon the aid and interference of diplomatic circles, and let each nation and race, on both sides, decide for itself the form of Government it would have for its own. That would be the triumph of Democracy and would produce a just and desirable condition everywhere. It would enable the Germans themselves,

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

to begin with, to deal a blow to Prussianism and militarism, and thus give satisfaction to Democracy, all the world over, and its present great head and exponent, Dr. Woodrow Wilson. It would enable each people to make use of the opportunity to reform and settle internal problems, and thus open up the road to swift progress everywhere; it would bring peace nearer in sight. The military spirit nurtured and fostered for many years in Germany, cannot be speedily killed by anyone else save by the Germans themselves. The latest events of the war indicate to us that a world-alliance is not enough to crush German militarism. From within, and not from without, can it be wiped out of existence. The German people, and they alone, can crush Prussianism. The more opposition given to the enemy from without stiffens the backs of the German people. Opposition, military or economic, and boycott, moral or trade, tend to perpetuate War. Therefore, unless the Allies obtain a different angle of vision and take steps more in consonance with their ideals in the conduct of the war, the cause of Democracy is not likely to gain solid ground. The doctrine of "resist not evil" taught by the Christ, or "beings follow nature what shall restraint avail?" taught by the *GITA*, applied to War-conditions interpreted in the light of obstacles put in the way of the German people by the fear of the Allies brings to us a line of thought and reasoning which should be made use of in the interests of Democracy. Our contention gains strength when we take into account the indirect effect produced on the German people by Dr. Wilson's speeches and notes. If the ideals, for which the Allies are fighting, are truly democratic, early announcements of a policy upholding the principles we have above referred to, should be made.

Such announcements would lead some of the Allies into facing peculiar difficulties. Take for instance, Great Britain. If a declaration that each nation and race must be the arbiter of its own political destiny, is made by the

WAR—ISSUES AND INDIA'S PLACE

Allies every component part of the British Empire would naturally claim to adopt the doctrine for its own internal affairs and Great Britain must be prepared to face that contingency in Egypt and in India. By this method can Dr. Wilson's pledge in his famous declaration of war which brought America on the battlefield regarding the rights of all nationalities, be kept without producing trouble anywhere. Further, if such a declaration is made by the Allies, the people of enemy-countries would be assured in their fight for liberty and free political institutions against their own respective governments. If this policy is adopted by the Allies, the world, as a whole, including the enemies, will be convinced of the real issue of the war as put forward by the Allies, viz., rights of small nationalities and upholding of democratic principles.

Economic and trade interests, among other things, may tend to perpetuate the life of diplomatic negotiations and pronouncements, instead of broad and open enunciation of policies. In that case this War of Ideals will have to be continued to be fought by methods which are foreign to the domain of those ideals. This would mean "fight to a finish" and militarism will decide the how and the why of Peace. For this purpose, huge and huger armies, vast and vaster quantity of ammunition and all their attendants will have to be supplied to the financial advantage of a very few, and untold misery of the great majority.

Now, in preparing these huge armies, of all the Allies Great Britain has the supreme advantage of numbers because of her possession of India. By gross negligence of her Indian Government, due to their distrusting the people, a splendid field for rearing armies has been lost. For many years past the Indian leaders repeatedly urged the Government to abolish the Arms Act and trust the Indians to carry arms. Since the outbreak of the war, this problem has been discussed from all points of view and the result has been the feeble attempt which brought into being the Indian Defence Force. The policy which inaugurated it is not devoid of distrust on the part of the Government in

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the people of India; the way in which it is being worked is not altogether satisfactory to those few Indians who have joined the I.D. F. against heavy odds and to the detriment of their own and heir nation's self-respect. The result, as was expected from the outset, is not a success and we are afraid that will continue to be so.

Now, the way in which the great war is progressing, coupled with the tendency towards it of the Allies—*vis.*, "fight to a finish" necessitates that the Indian Government should without any further delay, take steps to build up a really good Indian army. There is a double object which must appeal to the government: (1) The supply of armies for fighting purposes in Europe, and elsewhere; (2) the defence of Indian frontiers against enemy attacks if such a contingency arose, which does not seem altogether unlikely if we reflect on the Russian situation, and the importance military and economic, of possessing Baghdad and Mesopotamia which Germany earnestly craves. It is not easy to say whether the dreams of Fan—Islamism are all dispersed or are thickening to take material form and shape. There are other war considerations which would make a thoughtful Government seek co-operation from the Indian public to a greater extent. While there is a tendency towards co-operation, the earnestness on the part of the authorities are not deep or wide-spread enough to dispel the mist of mutual distrust that hangs heavy between the rulers and the ruled. What change might come about in the military matters as a result of Mr. Mantagu's visit, we cannot fully imagine, but let us hope he will do something which will ensure an early victory in the war to the benefit of the Empire as a whole, including India. His work in this connection will naturally take him in thought to post-war days, and the situation of India surrounded by alien powers, as also the possession of the British Commonwealth, its safety and prosperity in years still unborn. And the Indian public await the result of his work.

TOWARDS THE GOAL

(By Rao Sahib D. Laxmi-Narayan.)

We can not escape the influences of our tradition or environment. In declining to accede to the grant of further powers to the English in India, Sir Charles Wood in 1861 quoted with approval the words of a well-known philosopher and statesman,—“ *Armed with the prestige of the ruling nation they have the feelings inspired by absolute power without the sense of responsibility.*” What Mill said then still holds good to-day, for the system of Government is the same, though happier influences have come into play. But the fact remains that the only sense of responsibility which could act and has acted as a check on the Civil-Service of India, was its self-imposed sense of duty. It is a great check no doubt, but not sufficient when a struggle comes between pre-conceived ideas and rigid traditions of power and efficiency on the one hand, and the nascent growth of popular aspirations on the other. Viceroys and Governors may come and go, but the great service remains, dominating the life of the people and practically free from all responsibility except what it owes to itself. They form the Executive Council of the Viceroy, with the exception of one solitary Indian member—a recent addition. They also form the Council of the Secretary of State with the addition of two Indian members. They thus constitute a Court of appeal over themselves. They furnish rulers to six provincial Governments out of nine. The great departments of State including education are under their control and the inspiration and the motive power of Government comes from them. Influence, patronage, authority, power, dominion, the Government itself, are all in their hands; and they would be more than human if they did not desire to maintain their position, if from no other motive than at

SARVAJANIKA SABHA QUARTERLY

least from a laudable ambition of handing on their heritage unimpaired to their successors, and an honest belief that the service as constituted was essential for the good of India.

2. Now the question is what India wants. Against this state of things we have a people rapidly awakening to self-consciousness; thousands of our boys are receiving education on Western lines in Indian Universities based on Western models; hundreds of them are daily flocking to the Universities of Europe, America and Japan and on their return home spreading the knowledge that they have acquired. You may chain Prometheus, but the fire is lighted and cannot be extinguished. India wants a higher life, a wider sphere of activity and usefulness. India wants that her Government should be consistent with her growing self-respect and intellectuality. India wants that the presumption, which has all along existed, and which the Board of Directors in 1833 made a vain attempt to despal, namely, that the Indians can only rise to a certain limit, should be removed from the precincts of her Court, as it has been from the Statute Book, and the door to her services should not be closed by artificial barriers against her own sons. India wants that her children should have the same rights of citizenship as the other members of the Empire enjoy. India wants the removal of vexatious hindrances to the liberty of speech and freedom of the press. And above all, India wants that her Government should be an autonomous Government under the British Empire. Then only the great benefits, which have emanated from British rule and which carry with them the memory of doles, will be sweetened with the sweat of her brow.

3. The ideal that we must pursue is that of co-operation and comradeship of joint partnership on equal terms. I do not say that it must materialise to-day, but I do say that every step that we take, or ask the Government to take, must point in that direction and we must reach the goal of

TO-WARDS THE GOAL

Self-Government by rapid steps within the course of a decade. From the very extent of India and the diversity of her population, we must have a system of Government modelled on the lines of the Commonwealth of Australia, or the United States of America, modified according to Indian conditions and presided over by a representative of our Sovereign. In this constitution all we find a place, the Englishman as well as the Indian, the prince as well as the peasant, and all communities, by a judicious combination of methods of election.

4. It is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired by orientals through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it. "*It is liberty alone*", said Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "*which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds, but it is far safer than the counter doctrine,—wait till they are fit.*" The best training grounds for Self-Government are therefore the institutions of Self-Government and I should again quote the authority of Mr. Gladstone for it "*Free institutions alone qualify a people for Self-Government. If you deny the people free institutions, you take away from them the most useful academies for training in Self-Government.*" Self-Government is the order of nature and the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its own destinies—such is the omnipotent fact inscribed by Nature with her own hands in her own eternal book. But do we govern ourselves? The answer is "No." Are we then living in an unnatural state? Yes, in the same state in which the patient lives under the administration of the physician. We have passed through a period of probation and a period of trial under the auspices of one of the most freedom-loving nations in the world. And

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

we claim that the period of probation may now fairly terminate, that the leadingstrings may be taken off, and the child having emerged into the dawn of mature manhood may at any rate be entrusted with the management of his own affairs. If it were otherwise, the circumstance would imply the gravest slur upon the character of British rule in India; for it would mean that after even one century of British rule and English education, we are still unfit to appreciate the principles and to practise the art of Self-Government. But I have no fears on this score. In our province, local self-government has been remarkably successful. We have it on the highest authority; for no less a personage than Lord Hardinge has declared that in every province of India local self-government has on the whole been a success. It would indeed be a marvel if it were otherwise. Our Panchayat system is as old as the sun and the moon and is graven on the hearts and the instincts of the people. Self-Government is, therefore, nothing new to the habits or ways of thought of the people of India.

5. From time immemorial India's progress has been inward and not outward as that of the world's other nations. Long before the first stone of the first pyramid was laid in Egypt, long before the world's other nations began to learn the A-B-C of civilization, long before the civilised Roman Empire was brought into existence by its hardy pioneers, long long before the first page of the world's history was written, we Aryans had attained the height of civilization—an event which is altogether unprecedented. By our side nations rose and fell; by our side earthly vanity rode on its pompous horse to its grave; by our side revolutions and resurrections reared up their heads and subsided; by our side kingdoms formed and dissolved; by our side the world's manners and customs changed in all possible ways; we Aryans, who have settled down near in India, are still practically the same as we were in times of yore. And why?

TO-WARDS THE GOAL

What is the secret of this? It is because the other nations elsewhere went blindly with their materialistic progress all round, we Indian Aryans always thought of our own selves and went on with the progress of spiritual growth. We had religion foremost in our minds, and whatever we did was built upon the solid foundation of our infallible religion. Hence, we stand here to-day, just as we stood thousands of years before.

6. But still a sort of amazing interrogation may come up in the air: "*Why then all this cry for Self-Government and the like?*" Certainly, the amazed are right in putting this question. It seems to them that for the calm and always quiet Indians to clamour like this, all on a sudden, means that they are really trying to bring about a change in themselves. But still there are some among us who dare to assert that this is only superficial change. They dare to establish that this is not a cry for change, but a cry for self-defence. We ask for Self-Government, not to conquer the world with a Germanic ambition, but to protect ourselves from disappearing into the air. From the time immemorial we Indians are a free nation. We never, in our lives, thought of subjugating another nation, nor do we think of it now, nor will we think of it hereafter. All we want is to ease ourselves from the burden of an un-British system, which we are carrying on our head. We want in our land the ancient Panchayat system. We want in our land full liberty of speech and action for every man. We want in our land laws and regulations agreeable to the whole population. We want in our land to make the executive subordinate to the legislature. We want in our land the separation of Executive and Judicial functions now vested in one person. We want in our land the expenditure of money among ourselves. In short, we want to live, live like a real nation, in the way which we think to be the best fitted for us all. Thus we ask for Self-Government, not to bring about some changes, not to live a changed life, but to keep up our ancient life, to continue our ancient

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

life in our ancient way. India ruled herself in ancient days according to her own manners and customs. India wants to rule herself to-day to preserve her own manners and customs. India wants to rule herself to-day to preserve her ancient traditions. India cries not for change, but for the stability of her ancient traditions. India of to-day cries for a to-morrow that she may live like the India of yesterday.

7. India's cry for Self-Government is a thoroughly religious cry. It has religion for its foundation and not the materialistic thought of the misguided West for world-domination. India for ever the same.

8. Why should India resent to bureaucratic Government? Her government has always been that of one man's sway whether she was an empire or broken into states of varying dimensions. Why should she object to the government of an outside bureaucracy? My answer is: The days of the lotus-eater are gone, the world is swinging onward on the uplifting ropes of time, and, in Europe, the war of nations, now in progress, will knock off the last weights of mediaeval domination of one man over many, of one race over another; it is not possible to roll back the tide of wider life which is flowing like the warm gulf-stream through the gateways of the West into the still waters of the East. You may abolish the study of English history and draw a sponge over all its enthralling story of freedom; you may bar Milton and Burke, Mill and Spencer; you may bend the Indian universities to your will if you like, fetter their feet with obstructive statutes, but you cannot bar the imponderable influences of an expanding world. If English rule in India meant perpetual domination and perpetual tutelage, an increasing dead-weight on the soul of India, it would be a curse to civilization and a blot on humanity. As Lord Morley truly and with deep insight says: "*Political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope,*" and his other im-

TO-WARDS THE GOAL

portant utterances which I repeat with this one sums up the whole position of Indian problem. He says: "*the meddling wrongly with economic things that is going to the very life, to the very heart, to the very core of our national existence.*" This meddling wrongly with economic things is the whole evil from which India suffers, and the only remedy for it is "*Political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope.*" And these political principles are summed up in Self-Government. Self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In Self-Government lies our hope, strength and greatness.

9. Let us together lift our eyes to the pole-star by which we steer our bark, the pole-star of Self-Government. No self-respecting, honourable man can remain content to live in his own country as an alien, shut out from the higher avenues of its public life, denied the common rights of citizenship, holding life, liberty and property at the will of officials, not by the judgment of the law. To be content with such a state of things would be to be less than a civilized human being, would be to prove himself to be a dumb cattle rather than a man. To live without freedom is to die daily; it is not life, but a living death. By all the memories of our glorious past, by all the fame of our noble days, by all the hopes of our splendid future, for the sake of the generations of the yet unborn, who shall bless us as the builders of a free nation, or curse us as traitors who welded more strongly the fetters on her limbs, let us consecrate ourselves to the service of the Mother-land.

10. Now is our time; we must throw away our lethargy: Let us gird up our wist-cloth on and head forward to our goal; and that goal is not unworthy of our highest aspirations: it has satisfied the dignity and self-esteem of the French in Canada; and of the Boer in South Africa who to-day are the staunchest supporters of England; and when it comes to us, as I am sure it soon will, it will strengthen and not weaken the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

bonds that unite England and India. To the spiritual framework of the East has come the inspiration of the West. Let us combine the patience of the East with the energy of the West and we shall not fail. We are better situated to-day than Italy and Japan was in 1860: We are beginning to feel the strength and growing solidarity of the people of India. India has realised that she must be a vital part of and equal partner in the Empire and she has worthily seized her great opportunity. In the melting pot of destiny race, creed and colour have disappeared. If India has realised this, so has England. Through the mouth of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, the English people have said to us: "*We welcome with appreciation and affection your proffered aid, and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or class where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and futures, we here hail with profound heartfelt gratitude your association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops under a flag which has a symbol to all of a unity that a world in arms cannot discover or dissolve.*"

11. It is no use looking backward, no use vain regrets. Let us be ready for the future and I visualize it. I see my country occupying an honoured and proud place in the comity of nations. I see her sons sitting in the Councils of our great Empire, conscious of their strength and bearing its burden on their shoulders as valued and trusted comrades and friends, and I see India rejuvenated and reincarnate in the glories of the future broadened by the halo of the past. What does it matter if a solitary raven croak, from the sand banks of Jamuna and the Ganges I hear it not, my ears are filled with the music of the mighty rivers, flowing into the sea bearing the message of the future. Let us live as the ancients lived in the purity of heart so that the message may be fulfilled; let us forget the narrow barriers of man's creation; let us be humble and forget the pride of self; let us

TO-WARDS THE GOAL

step across the barriers of prejudice; let us always keep our hand to the plough, preparing the soil for the harvest of the future; let our heart-strings be attuned to God and Country and then no power on earth can resist the realisation of that message, the fulfilment of Destiny that is ours. And assembled in the tabernacle of the people, let us pray to Him, who knoweth all hearts, to grant us grace and strength that we may deserve and bear this future and this destiny.

THE TRIANGLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

(By L. B. Bhopatkar, M. A., LL. B.)

Every sensible man recognises that a foreign rule is not in itself a natural thing; and if it exists, it has to justify its existence. It may have established good government or efficient administration, but it cannot be acceptable to the people, if it is not responsible to them. The bureaucratic form of government, under which India has been governed for the last fifty years and more, has been condemned in scathing terms by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, in his memorable speech on the Mesopotamia Commission, and rightly so. The bureaucracy here has inherited all the vices of the Company's Government, without getting itself imbued with some of its saving virtues. It is not only at times despotic in its actions, but is totally unsuited to modern conditions and requirements. No wonder, if the din and clash of the war should have rudely awakened the British public from its lethargic stupor, and should have impressed upon its mind the dire necessity of effecting such reforms in the Indian administration as would place some measure of control of Indian affairs in Indian hands. Lord Sydenham and other rank imperialists of his way of thinking have been exerting their utmost to thwart the British statesmen in their endeavour to consider fairly and squarely the Indian demand for Home-Rule. But signs are not wanting to show that the voice of these stormy petrels will hardly meet with even a faint response in the British mind. The burthen of their opposition is, that India, being peopled by coloured races, is not fitted for Self-Government, and that the Indian problem is more social than political in its nature. It is not my present purpose to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the above assertions. Suffice it for the present to say that the Indian

THE TRIANGLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

situation, instead of revealing the so-called unfitness of the coloured races of India for self-rule, betrays merely a coloured vision on the part of the ex-Governor of Bombay and others.

There is no doubt that the war has already inflicted untold misery and will entail heavier sacrifices on the belligerent nations, till it sees its end. But it has also proved a blessing in disguise. It has brought all the parts of the British Empire into such close union, as no other event would have been able to achieve, and has at the same time disclosed the weak spots in the British constitution, which in ordinary times the British public would not have been alive to. There is a feeling abroad amounting almost to a reasoned conviction, that unless and until the fabric of the Empire is reconstructed and made to rest more upon enlightened self-interest than upon blind sentiments, and unless all the constituent parts begin at once to enjoy all the rights and to share all the responsibilities of the Imperial position, there is little or no prospect of those parts being permanently hooped together in bonds of mutual love and united service. This conviction has been shared in by the Dominions and India, and the agitation in the Colonies for greater voice in Imperial matters and the same movement in India coupled with the demand for Self-Government are clear indications thereof.

Viewed in this light, the Indian agitation for Home-rule ceases to be a question of parochial or even national interest, and assumes at once the size and proportion of an Imperial problem. Considering the facts that the Indian people are the inheritors of a great though by-gone civilization, that they have been sufficiently long under England's political training, that India holds a strategic position in the scheme of the British Empire, so much so that it can be safely styled as the pivot thereof, and that no other unit of the Empire can place such vast resources in men and material at the Empire's service as India can, it is but proper on the part of the British statesmen to immediately confer on India respon-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

sible Government and make her a living and integral part of the British Empire; and the Congress and the Muslim League should have, at their Lucknow sessions, boldly made a bid therefor. It is hoped that the last year's mistake will be repaired, and a joint scheme will be passed this year, embodying a clear-worded demand for full-fledged form of responsible Government.

It must be frankly admitted that the Congress-League scheme, though it marks some steps in political advance, falls far short of the necessities of the Indian situation. It is true that it demands the expansion of and the elective majority in Legislative Councils, the popular control of the national finances, the subordination to some extent of the Executive to the Legislative authorities and so forth. But it is defective, in that it does not lay as much emphasis on other reforms as it lays on Legislative ones. It appears that the defects have crept in on account of those responsible for framing the scheme having looked at the Indian problem from an entirely Indian point of view. This is evidenced by the greater portion of the scheme being taken up by the reform of Legislative and Executive Councils, with only a suggestion or dash here or there of other reforms equally necessary and urgent, and by the fact that the Indian leaders appear to have been engaged in propagating the former, may be at the cost of the latter.

It is indisputable that inasmuch as in modern polity Legislative Assemblies do form the fountain-source of all power and authority, men's thoughts and energies should naturally be concentrated upon bringing them to a pitch of perfection. But this can hardly hold good in India's case, as Indian conditions differ entirely from those which obtain in independent or autonomous countries, and the clear and almost unnatural demarcation made here among the various departments has no place in the systems of Government in vogue therein. The question therefore is, can the Legislative Councils reformed under the Congress-League scheme satisfactorily solve the Indian problem and satisfy the needs of the Empire, granting for a while that

THE TRIANGLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

the scheme in that respect is accepted by the powers-that-be? The answer is bound to be in the negative. The Legislative reforms will assuredly widen the powers of the elected members, and will associate them in a greater degree with the governance of the country. But will it spell prosperity to the nation or open up new vistas to its view? India wants the Legislative Councils to be liberalized, but she also wants something more, without which all Legislative reforms would be a mere sham and a shadow without substance. Self-Government is triangular, and unless all the sides of the triangle are equally improved and developed, the Indians cannot be said to have made real advance in the path of political progress. The introduction of only one set of reforms in the Indian administration will no doubt improve matters a bit; but it will scarcely lift up India from the political slough in which she is wallowing at present.

The Congress-League Scheme, in its last section, makes mention of matters, naval and military, and urges the Government to throw open the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks to Indians and to provide for their selection, training and instruction in India. Further, it says that the Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers. It is sad to think that these reforms, which, in all conscience, should have found probably the first place in the Scheme, should have been relegated to an unimportant position. Be that as it may, there are certain grave and glaring disabilities under which the Indian people have been labouring for the last many years. The most irritating of the lot is the bar which has been placed in their way of securing a natural outlet for their martial spirit, and of rendering active service in the cause of the Motherland and the Empire. The Arms Act, the disqualification of the Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the Commissioned ranks of the Army have not only emasculated the most virile races of India, but have also tended to perpetuate in their minds the galling sense of racial differentiation. All the enactments bearing on the above form a blot on the

SARVJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

Indian Statute-Book, and the sooner it is wiped off, the better will it be for the fair name which British justice holds for being even-handed. The right to carry arms should therefore be granted to Indians on the same conditions as are applicable to Europeans. The Indians should also be allowed to enlist as volunteers, and measures should be adopted for the creation of a national militia in India.

The present war has clearly demonstrated that the main object of the Central Powers is more to cripple England's naval and the consequent commercial supremacy, than to extend their territorial limits; and that they will not desist from their fell purpose, till they try their level best to accomplish it and perish in the attempt. It is also evident that in all future wars it is millions upon millions of men who will have to take the field and bear the brunt of the new-fangled Prussian militarism. The outstanding question therefore is, whether it will be politic on the part of the British nation not to utilize the immeasurable resources which it can command in India in this respect, and whether the Indian leaders will be justified in fighting shy of these matters and not placing them in all their baldness before the British public? It is submitted that a mere tinkering with this question by giving nine commissioned posts to Indians or by allowing few of the educated classes to recruit will probably land the Empire into greater difficulties.

The disabilities imposed by the Arms Act and other statutes have dwarfed the growth of the Indian manhood, and have reduced the Indians to an abject state of utter helplessness. It should, therefore, be the paramount consideration with the sovereign authority, especially in the light of the world-currents disclosed by the war, to revive the dying martial spirit of the Indian races, and to utilize it towards the furtherance of the Indian and Imperial interests. The days of scenting political danger in Indian quarters, and of the stock plea of the military problem bristling with unnamed, probably unnameable difficulties are happily over; and the

THE TRIANGLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

time has arrived when the Indian and the British hearts must beat in unison and in a concord of mutual trust and sympathy for the promotion of the best and the highest weal of the Empire. It behoves then the British statesmen as well as the Indian politicians to realize the gravity of the situation and to formulate a scheme, whereby in the course of a decade or so the Indian people will be brought in this behalf on a par with the United Kingdom or the self-governing Dominions. Till this problem is boldly tackled with and solved in a liberal-minded spirit, the Empire runs the risk of being disrupted into unconnected fragments, and India, of suffering from all the ills of political stagnation. What the Indians desire most is not the control of military or naval matters, but a larger opening and liberal consideration of their rights, so far as these departments are concerned.

During the last three centuries the Western nations have been scrambling for the economic domination of the world, of which the present war is only an outer manifestation. It is almost certain that after the war is over, the British Empire will have to be not only politically reconstructed, but also economically reorganised. And naturally the most vital question crops up, as to what policy England should adopt towards India in this behalf? Is India to be condemned forever to the servile position of a country supplying only raw materials to England and others, or is it to rise to their economic level?—This is the situation which the Government and the Indian thinkers will have to face and decide upon in the near future, and upon the right solution of which hangs largely the economic salvation of India, for the matter of that of the British Empire. Will the interests of the Empire be served better by keeping India as a dumping-ground for the finished articles of other nations, or by making her self-contained and self-sufficing, as a result of her economic renaissance? The war has proved that in times of trouble naval supremacy counts for little, and will in future count for less; and that in coming wars the issue will be decided solely by the comparative su-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

periority in air-craft and mechanical arts. If the nineteenth century was the century of navies, the twentieth will be the century of Zeppelins. If such a state of things comes to pass, supposing that a war breaks out, will India, occupying the economic position which she does at present, be able to supply her own needs; and can the other parts of the Empire, cut off as they will be by thousands of watery miles, satisfy them? If not, will not India fall an easy prey to her enemies? And will not the Empire lose thereby the brightest jewel in the British diadem? It is thus one of the highest duties of the Government not only to grant India complete fiscal autonomy but also to spread immediately and at any cost a net-work of institutions for the diffusion of the technical, industrial and scientific knowledge among the people, with a view to enable India to cope with its economic necessities.

But all these reforms are sure to prove abortive, unless at least primary education is imparted to the vast masses of India. The modern educational system here dates from the Despatch of 1854, and though more than sixty years have passed, India has not been able to achieve a fractional part of what other nations have accomplished in this field during the same period. None can gainsay the fact that without a sound educational system, by which the people will be trained and equipped to fight the battles of modern life, it is hopeless for a nation to make any headway, either politically or industrially. Germany's educational system has come to be the envy of other nations. Looked at from this point of view, evidently the Government has been culpably negligent in this matter. Every civilized country recognises and accepts the education of children as a primary duty resting upon the State, and at an enormous cost has been giving elementary education to every child. The result has been far beyond the fondest expectations of the most hopeful souls. The Western nations have come to realize that elementary education means not only a mere capacity to read and write, but it also implies the stiffening of the moral backbone and the

THE TRIANGLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

greater economic efficiency of the individual. Nay, we read that the Right Hon. Mr. Fisher, the Education Member of the British Cabinet has inaugurated a vigorous policy of making even *secondary* education universal, and has rightly said in one of his speeches, "if we are ever to compete on equal terms in the markets of the world, our people must one and all have that outfit for life which is implied in the term general education." When England has thus embarked upon a policy of imparting even general education to all, and thereby to focus all latent or patent national intellect towards national purposes, the cold indifference, that is displayed by the authorities towards every proposal for making primary education free and compulsory throughout India, is sufficient to point a moral and adorn a tale. The question of primary education here is of supreme importance, and it is hoped that steps will be immediately taken to sow it broadcast. The whole of India's future is inextricably bound up with it, and India will not and cannot be a real partner of England and the Colonies, unless this question is solved in the only way in which it can be and should be solved.

In a word,—it is the harmonious combination of reforms and greater opportunities in legislative, military as well as economic fields, as broad-based upon the wide diffusion of elementary education, that can raise India in the comity of nations and enable her to fulfil her political destiny.

AN ANCIENT DEMOCRATIC STATE.

(By C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B.,)

MR. D. R. Bhandarkar in his contribution to the Bhandarkar Research Memorial Volume says " The theory of the existence of a Vikrama of B. C. must now be given up finally." I am afraid the time has not *yet* come when that theory as propounded by me and others can be finally given up or abandoned. For, no other theory has yet been offered in its stead. What has been indubitably established and admitted all along is that previous to 450 A. D. in the records *yet discovered* the era of 57 B. C. is styled the era of the Malava-Gana reckoning. The name of Vikrama in connection with this era has not yet been discovered prior to 500 A. D. But the question remains, what event in connection with the Malava people does this era connect itself with? That there has been an era of 57 B. C. used by the a Malava people gives rise to the further question which must be answered, viz, what event in connection with the Malava people does this era commemorate? For the starting point of an era there must be some event. One cannot simply remain content with the knowledge that the era is called Malava-Gana era in prior epigraphic or other records. In the absence therefore of any other theory or suggestion, as to the event connected with the starting of this era, I think the present hypothesis that it commemorates the victory of King Vikrama of the Malava people over the S'akas of northern India may be accepted on the basis of a long-standing tradition, even though the name of Vikrama has not yet been discovered in early records. For *absence of mention* is not a conclusive proof of the non-existence of a person of the name of Vikrama in connection with the Malava people. I hold and I think with reason that the non-existence of a Vikrama of 57 B. C. has not yet been established. A Vikramaditya is mentioned in

AN ANCIENT AUTONOMOUS STATE

Hala's Saptasati which it is attempted to assign to about the 10th century A. D. and not to the first as it purports to be. But even if this is so, the existence of Vikrama may yet be taken for granted, unless and until it is shown that some other person or event, connected with the Malava people is commemorated by this era. One epigraphic record mentions the *Jaya* or victory of the Malava people and I think this is not at all improbably the victory of the Malavas over the Northern Sakas in the first century before Christ. Who this Malava people were and how they might have had a victory over the Northern Sakas at Karur as commonly believed and reported by Alberuni and what *Gaṇa* means, I propose to show in this paper, in which I also will try to show why probably Vikrama's name may not have been mentioned in the older records, while that of the *Malava Gaṇa* is prominently mentioned.

The Malavas are undoubtedly a Punjab people of historical fame. Their name is mentioned in both the Mahabharata and the Greek histories of the conquest of the Punjab by Alexander. Both belong to almost the same time viz. to about 300 B. C. The Mahabharata in its last form belongs to about this period as has been shown by me elsewhere. In the Mahabharata the Malavas are usually associated with the Kshudrakas, both names being sometimes put together as मलवशुद्रक. In Alexander's histories both these people are sometimes mentioned together and sometimes even confounded. They were a very warlike and sturdy race even according to the Mahabharata and also according to Greek historians who state that they offered a very stubborn resistance to Alexander. The Malavas appear to have inhabited that part of the Punjab which surrounds the junction of the Bavi and the Chandrabhaga (called in Greek histories, Hydrates and Akesines and in Sanskrit सरावती and अकिनी). Their chief town is said to have been the same as modern Multan and Alexander received almost a mortal wound in fighting with the Malloi in the citadel of this town. Eventually they made their submission to Alexander and accepted his dominion.

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

We will quote here some description of them and this event from Greek histories of Alexander's conquest. "The Malloi were a race of independent Indians; they were most numerous and most warlike." "Envoys came from the Malloi still surviving and from the Oxydros came leading men of their cities and their provincial governors. Their error in so long delaying submission was, they said, due to the fact that they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy which they had never lost till the time of Alexander's arrival." (Arrian, page 154 Invasion of India by Alexander—McRindle). "A hundred ambassadors came from the two nations above-mentioned (Malloi and Oxydros). They were men of uncommon stature and dignified bearing. They informed him that they surrendered into his hands their cities and their territories and that he was the first to whose authority and protection they had entrusted their liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate." (Ditto pages 248-49). These two extracts are enough to show how warlike and strongly attached to freedom and independence the Malavas were.

The sway of the Greeks in the Punjab lasted for a short time only. But it is no wonder if even during this short Greek rule many of the Malavas should have left their land to preserve their independence and gone southwards to what is now Central India, to wit, the fertile plains about Ujjain and Mandsaur. In fact this part of the country has actually come to be called ever since by their name viz, Malwa. Now in the days of the Mahabharata this part of the country was not called Malwa, but was called Avanti. In the various countries mentioned in the conquest of the south by Sahadeva this part is called by the name of Avanti. So also in the names of peoples or countries given in the Mahabharata this part of the country is still called Avanti. Strangely enough even Kalidasa uses this name in his मेघदूत. It is not quite certain when this old name of the country came to be changed into Malava, but it certainly was its name in the days of Huen Tsang. But the Malavas were there long before him and their era

AN ANCIENT DEMOCRATIC STATE

was also there very long before the name of the Malava people was given to the country. Probably the conquest of Ujjain by the the Sakas in 78 A. D. and their supremacy there till about 400 A. D. prevented the name of the country being changed into Malwa. But the Malava people were there long before the western Sakas and hence the prevalence in this part of the country notably about Mandsoore where the Jayastambha of Yasodharman was discovered of that era, which is called Malava-Gana era. Now what is the meaning of this term *Gana* ?

The word *Gana* according to my view clearly means an independent tribe of people under a democratic form of government. This term, it seems to me, was since a long time before the Mahabharata, applied to a people who had no kings, but who had a democratic constitution. That the Malavas whom Alexander conquered were a people of this kind is apparent from the description of them in Arrian and Curtius Rufus. The extracts already given support this view very clearly. They were a brave, independence-loving people and no kings are mentioned as leading them or fighting at their head. Their cities and representatives are mentioned but no kings. That there were democracies in Ancient India and even in the days of the Greeks under Alexander, is clear from many observations of these Greek historians. We will quote one express statement. Such people were numerous in the Punjab, the province settled by the earliest Aryan invaders, who having come in numbers and confronted by few Dravidian people, formed entirely independent communities. They are expressly said by Greek writers to be under democratic form of Government. For instance, it is recorded about the Ambasti (अम्बस्ति) " that they dwelt in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed." (The invasion of India by Alexander—McRindle).

These people lived next to the Malloi and Oxydrae and offered Alexander at first stubborn resistance and then submission in much the same way as the Malloi did. (See description

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

of the same or a similar people at page 252 ditto by Curtius Rufus. It seems clear that the Malloi or Malavas lived under a democratic form of government. For even in the Mahabharata no king of theirs is mentioned though these people are always mentioned as taking a prominent part in the great national civil war. Malavagana means therefore the democratic tribe of the Malava people.

The word Gana ordinarily means a people, a compact people or a cognate set of things, but the word when applied to people meant in the Mahabharata or ancient Indian times, a democratic tribe. Such ganas are distinctly mentioned in the Mahabharata, and they are always clans from the Panjab or the hills beyond i. e. to the west and north of the Suleiman range and the Himalayas. The Samshaptaka gana (संशप्तक गण) are the most prominent, the invincible, inveterate fighters of Arjuna; but other Ganas are also mentioned in the Mahabharata; e. g. the उत्सव-संकेत the नारायण and the गोप्त and so on. They are tribes of bold independance-loving warriors who were not subject to any kings; for no kings are mentioned when they are conquered either in the Digvijaya or at any other time. These Ganas therefore seem to be tribes like the present frontier tribes Afridis, Mohamands and others who were sturdy warriors and clansmen under democratic form of government as at present the existing frontier tribes are.

But this is not a matter of mere conjecture. In the Mahabharata in the Rajadharma section of the Shantiparva, we have a distinct chapter describing how these ganas are to be brought under subjection or are to be coaxed. In fact Yudhishtira was confronted with the same problem with regard to these Ganas, as the British Government is with regard to the present frontier tribes and the methods recommended are the same. In chapter 107 Yudhishtira asks a question about the ganas who, he says, are incapable of carrying on counsel in secret, and who are capable of being destroyed owing to disunion. (भेदमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्षये । मंत्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहुनामिति मे मतिः ॥ ८) Here the democratic form of their government

AN ANCIENT DEMOCRATIC STATE

is clearly indicated. Then again in Bhishma's reply it is said that the ganas are of great use to the sovereign (द्रव्यवन्तश्च शूराश्च शक्यशाः शाक्यपारगाः । कृच्छ्राः स्वापत्सु समूढान् गणाः सन्तास्यन्ति ते ॥ तन्मानमानयितव्यास्ते गणमुख्याः प्रधानतः । न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मंत्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥ etc.,) The most valuable political maxim is here enunciated, applicable not only to Ganas but also to all political bodies 'आभ्यन्तरं भयं रक्ष्यमसारं बाह्यतो भयम्' ॥ " Fear from *within* is to be guarded against; fear from *without* is always of no consequence " That the ganas formed a homogeneous people descended from the same race and caste appears from the following जातीयौ च सदशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदशास्तथा । भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिद्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ॥ From these descriptions the character of ganas or democratic tribes will be clearly apparent and the Mahabharata uses the word gana with regard to such specifically constituted tribes. The Mahabharata also speaks of democratic leaders when it says that a particular kind of good action or merit gives a man the leadership in a gana. The expression used is गाणपत्यं च विन्दति, गणपति meaning clearly the leader of such a gana which was always a prized position.

It is often said that the Indian Aryans are strangers to democratic form of government and that they had always lived under despotic rulers. This is quite erroneous as will appear from the above extracts from Greek writers of the days of Alexander as also from the Mahabharata referenes to *Ganas*. The Buddhist records also speak of democracies and aristocracies in Kosala, Videha and other places. In short till the beginning of the great empire of Asoka there were many democratic peoples in India and they formed a formidable set of warlike peoples whose friendship and assistance were sought by powerful kings. And these ganas were both brave and prosperous. They were generally of one race and almost caste and usually of the Kshatriya caste of one family. The Malava *Gana* was a people of this kind and this is the meaning and importance of the word *Gana*. This people left the Ravi river in the Punjab some-time about 320 B. C. and gradually migrated to Central India and settled in that country. They preserved their name and

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

their characteristic form of government and were thus called the Malava Gana. Malwa has always been and was specially then sparse of population and warrior tribes have constantly migrated from the north to this part of the county which is very fertile but is not very fecund in population. The present population ever contains many sections who have come there in their memories from the Punjab like the Jats or the Rajaputs from Rajaputana. Between the 3rd and 2nd centuries before Christ therefore we may take it that the Malava-gana migrated into and settled in Central India.

It is not at all improbable that the Malavas in the next century (100 B. C.) should have gone to the assistance of their original country to get it rid of the oppressive and uncouth Sakas who had taken possession of the Panjab. They must have still had connections with their old country and this explains how and why the Malavas of Ujjain and their leader whoever he may have been, went so far north as Karur near Multan and fought the Sakas and destroyed and expelled them. These Sakas as elsewhere shown by me disappeared from northern India exactly about this time and their disappearance can only be explained by a signal defeat. This event is very probable and may well be connected with the victory of the Malva people mentined in an inscription. And it is this victory consistently placed in India's history about this time gave rise to the era of 57 B. C.

The Malava Gana in Malava may gradually have changed their form of government into a kingship; but this is not necessary for believing that their king or leader in this memorable fight was Vikrama. Vikramaditya is mentioned in Hala's Saptasati and Hala unquestionably belongs to the first century A. D. i. e. about a century after this victory. It is said that this work belongs to the 10th Century A. D. but how can Hala's name be associated with it? Some work of his must have existed and individual Aryas may be declared as of a later date, though, I, for one, do not think that any is of later date. Vikrama's name is thus of an older date than

AN ANCIENT DEMOCRATIC STATE

450 A. D., and I am confident that inscriptions or works of earlier date (especially Jain works) may yet be found giving Vikramaditya's name. The reason why earlier recorded dates mention the era as Malava Gana reckoning is not far to seek. In the first place an independent warlike people like the Malavas may not mention the name of the king or leader who fought the great battle. The idea of a subsequent joining of the name of a Vikrama who never then lived, is much like a similar absurd theory that the Pandavas never existed and that their name has been subsequently inserted in the great Bharata Epic of India. Such is the usual bent of European minds to represent things as different from what they are usually and generally said to be. But for such abandonment of current and straight traditions the most cogent proof is required; and until that is forthcoming these traditions cannot be abandoned. Secondly there appears to me to be a very strong reason also for the name used. The era is named Malava Gana or Malava people era in contradistinction from the other era which was also prevalent at the same time, viz the Saka era of A. D. 78. Now this era also does not mention the event it commemorates nor any king but a simple people. In Central India for a long time, from the beginning both these eras were prevalent and both were named after the people that started them. Hence the era of 57 B. C. was usually distinguished as the era of the Malava people or clan and the era 78 A. D. was styled as the era of the Saka kings or people, the word *kings* being often used. It is, I think, for this reason that records mention Malavagana era. But this does not prove that no Vikrama then existed or led the Malava people against the Northern Sakas and earned the title of Sakari. Even Kalhana in the Rajatarangini mentions the tradition of the Sakari Vikrama of 57 B. C. as prevailing in Kashmir since a long time,—a tradition which cannot yet be ignored.

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME.

(*By the Editor.*)

The framing of a Scheme, like this, of constitutional reforms would be a difficult task if the scheme were either intended to be an ideal scheme, or if it were to be prepared without any data based on experience. The framers of the present scheme fortunately labour under none of these disadvantages. The Scheme which the I. N. Congress has sanctioned is not an ideal but only a workable scheme. It may lack the romance of idealism; it may not do full justice to even the present-day aspirations of the Indian people; it may not be possible for a constitutional theorist to label it with the name of any particular among the accepted or clean-cut forms of Government. But it has this chief merit that it is regarded by a body like the National Congress as a scheme embodying constitutional reforms which will satisfy them to begin with. It marks only the first stage of the journey to the goal of full responsible Self-Government. It is simply tentative and will most surely be improved upon as time passes and experience is gained, both in regard to the working of the system of greater popular representation now proposed, and to the working of the elemental factor of indirectly responsible government which is now being newly introduced into the governmental machinery in this country. Further, the scheme is essentially based upon the constitutional fabric which already exists, but of which it is an expansion and a development in the direction of giving the people of the country a more effective voice in the administration than they at present enjoy. The Scheme far from offering any violent change in the Government of India Act, as it now stands, is

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME.

calculated to be admirably dovetailed into it by the proper manipulation or amendment of only a few sections thereof.

The main ideas underlying the Scheme may be stated to be the following:—

(1) Complete emancipation of the Indian Government from the Secretary of State for India.

(2) The grant of full autonomy to the Provincial Governments.

(3) The expansion of the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, upon a popular basis.

(4) The securing of the power of the purse to the representatives of the people.

(5) The remodelling of the Executive governments upon a partially popular basis.

(6) Provision for external as well as automatic control of the Executive government by the popular Legislatures.

(7) Securing complete freedom for the Judiciary from the Executive.

(8) The raising of India as a whole to the status of an equal partner in the Empire by securing to her a permanent and honourable place in the highest Councils of the British Empire.

Notes on clauses in the Scheme.

(1) The plan of the Legislature adopted in the Scheme is unicameral. A two-chambered Legislature has several advantages, especially in the nature of balancing unequal interests and preventing overhasty action. But a Provincial Legislature may be uni-cameral in view of the fact that it will have comparatively less important matters entrusted to it and that there is not likely to be much of a diversity of interests so far as the constituents of the Province are concerned. The adoption of the unicameral form of the Provincial Legislature renders it necessary that the whole of the Legislative Council should not be elective, but that a small fraction may be composed of nominated members among whom may be included (1) Administrative officials (2) Experts, whether

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

official or non-official and (3) Nominees required for special representation of important minorities or interests. Preferably, however, administrative officials may not be given a place in the Legislative Council with a vote. They may be allowed to attend the meetings of the Council and take part in the debate, but may not be allowed to vote. While on the one hand, their vote may have an undesirable effect upon the weaker elements in the Council, their own position, being in a minority, will not be very dignified. On the other hand, if they attend and speak without voting, they will have the needed opportunity to put the official case in any matter before the Council and will yet leave the Council to freely choose upon its own responsibility.

(2) The minimum of 125 stated for the strength of the Provincial Legislative Councils in the major provinces is not excessive. The strength of the Legislative Council must depend upon the number of districts in each province, and also the number of special constituencies therein if any. It is obviously necessary to make the District a unit for the purpose of representation in the Council; and as the landed interests and trade interests must be separately represented, each District will have to be given at least two seats for direct territorial representation. Provision must also be made for the representation of the educated classes, because they represent, if not any material interests, the interests at any rate of culture, enlightenment and progress. The educated class, being in a minority, is bound to be submerged in the vote of the proletariat if a system of direct voting be resorted to, as it will have to be done in fairness to the proletariat itself. Provision will have, therefore, to be made for a third seat for the educated electorate in each District, at least in selected Districts, in which education may have made substantial progress. The number of Districts in the Bombay Presidency is 26, with an average area of 4730 square miles and an average population of 7,54,000 persons. Three members for one District is certainly not too much, when we see that an area of

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME.

about 1,000 square miles and a population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs will thus be represented by a single member.

(3) This clause contains two chief points: (1) direct-representation and (2) breadth of the franchise. The evils arising from the present system of indirect election are obvious. The voters do not thereby get into first-hand touch with the Legislative Councils. The results that may be obtained, if the primary voters were allowed to vote directly, would be different from the results now obtained through the intervention of the electoral colleges. The electoral mandate is a thing which has not yet come into existence in India, and even if it were familiar it would be difficult to enforce it. Under the present conditions a candidate for the Council-elections may safely disregard the wishes of the people—the ultimate voters—caring only for the vote of not more than a hundred immediate voters. Direct voting is the only method accepted in every self-governing country. It is in force in India with regard to the elections by Mahomedans; and it would rouse the masses of the Hindus also if they get the consciousness that they have after all secured a voice in the Government of their own country. The labour and the cost due to the preparation of an electorate-roll in each District and the holding of periodical election is simply negligible.

The limits at which the franchise may be fixed can be a moot point. Thus for example, one would like to know how many landholders there are in the Bombay presidency, who pay rupees 10, 25, 50, 75, and 100 as land assessment to Government annually; or how many income-tax assesses there are who pay the tax on an annual income of rupees one thousand or more; or how many persons there are who have passed at least the Vernacular School Final, or the Matriculation or the English School Final examination, or an examination equivalent to it—It is difficult to standardise the necessary qualifications for a voter of the Legislative Council. But so far as the property—qualification is

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

concerned, it may be laid down that the payment of the land-assessment of rupees 50 or an annual income of rupees 500 should entitle a person to a vote in the council-elections. The income of a person who has passed only the Vernacular School Final, may not come upto this mark of 500 rupees a year. But he may be said to have earned a vote by reason of his education, though elementary. Education, must have a premium put upon it in any scheme of franchise.

(4). The arrangements accepted by the Hindus as well as the Mahomedans in respect of their respective shares in the seats on the Legislative Councils must be accepted as final, though they are open to certain serious objections. Following the Mahomedans, the sub-castes among the Hindus also have begun an agitation for communal representation; and clause 4 of the Reform Scheme, especially the words "adequate provision should be made for the representation of *important minorities* by election" are construed by some as giving to the sub-sections among the Hindus the same privileges as the Mahomedans. This interpretation is doubtful at best; and an attempt to make provision for each division or sub-division among the Hindus must result in an unworkable absurdity. Clause 4 really applies only to non-Hindu minorities such as Jains, Christians, Parsis &c. The Jains number 4, 89, 000 persons in this Presidency; but they do not apparently want communal representation, not at least a majority among them. The Christians in this Presidency number about 2, 45, 000; but so far they have not asked for separate communal representation. The Zoroastrians number 83, 000; and it is to be noted that they have claimed communal representation only in the event of Government accepting the demand made in this respect by some other communities. A recent memorial presented to Government by Sir Jameshetji Jeejeebhoy as the head of a few other Parsees distinctly says that on principle they object to communal representation; so that the demand they make sounds rather like a timely indirect protest against the grant of communal representation than a real demand for the same.

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

The Lingayats in the Bombay Presidency number about 13, 39, 000; and with the exception of the Marathas, Kolis, and Kunbis they form the most important subsection among the Hindus in this presidency. Being returned under the name Hindus, they cannot verily say that they are non-Hindus. By race they are Hindus; there is no doubt as to that. As for religion they may be classed as Shaivas; for they worship the same deity Shiv as the Hindu Shaivas do and venerate the Shiv temples like the non-Lingayat Hindus, though they of course build Shiv temples of their own. The feelings between the Lingayats and the Brahmins are, it may be admitted, not of the most friendly character; but if we leave aside religious sentiments there is nothing in the secular interests of the two communities which requires separate communal representation, either for the Brahmins or for the Lingayats. The latter are generally traders and merchants, and are decidedly more wealthy than the Brahmins, and if provision is made for representation by the trading classes in each District their voters will exceed the Brahmin voters in number.

The Marathas in this Presidency number 32, 00,000 and the Kunbis 24, 89, 000. These are more friendly with the Brahmins than the Lingayats or the Jains; and the voice that claims separate communal representation for these is a small, almost an inaudible, voice. The agitation *against* such representation has proved far more keen and widespread than agitation in its favour. The Marathas are backward in point of education, but they belong to the race of Shiwaji; and among the Native Chiefs some of the more important are Marathas. They therefore naturally resent being characterised as backward, though they would of course like any degree of gratuitous special protection that may be given to them.

The depressed or untouchable classes in this Presidency are Mahars 14, 71, 000, Mangs 2, 74, 000, Ramoshis 60, 000, Chambhars 3, 06, 000, Bhangis 94, 000, say about 20 lakhs in all. These are most backward in education and follow, for the greater part, professions which naturally render them un-

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

clean and necessitate as it were, their living apart, from the general society. It must take years and years before these can be expected to come in line with the other units of the society. They are for that reason entitled to some protection; but it is yet a forlorn hope that, even supposing separate representation was given them, they should be represented in the Legislative Council by one among themselves. They may best be represented by a Maratha or a Brahmin who has liberal views in social matters and who has made the regeneration of them his special object of care. The depressed classes are neither large landholders, nor traders, nor of course educated men; so that they cannot possibly take advantage of the general franchise. To enable them to return a member by their own vote, not only will a special electorate have to be formed out of them on the communal basis, but the qualification for the franchise will have to be reduced to low !

It will be seen from the above facts that the problem of separate communal representation is beset with great practical difficulties, apart from the valid objections to it on the ground of principle. The sole reason, alleged by those that demand this special treatment in representation, is that the Brahmins, being more educated and more influential, naturally command the elections and that the non-Brahmins, though they may wish to be represented by one of their own class returned by their own votes, find it almost impossible, because few men among them are so learned or influential, or so well-versed in public affairs as to be returned to the Council or to do full justice to the work there when so returned. Given the needed protection they hope they will be able to send their own men to the Councils and that the men, when they actually enter the Legislative Council, will learn their proper business by practice in course of time.

(5) The Governor or the Governor General will, under the scheme, remain rather as the representative of the Crown than the real head of the Executive Government for which the Exe

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

outive Council will be collectively as well as severally responsible. But much less will he retain the capacity of the head of the Legislative Council. The watching of the Legislature from a distance, and exercising the veto on behalf of the Crown will be his more appropriate functions than presiding over the actual deliberations of the Legislative Council and thus directly participating in the Legislative business. The union of the post of the Governor or Governor-General with that of the President of the Legislative Council might be justifiable when the Executive Government was responsible for Legislation, owing to the fact that the non-officials, even if they were appointed on the Legislative Councils, were in a minority and could only criticise but could not carry out any Legislative measure. Under the new scheme, elected non-official members are to be in a majority, and consequently the responsibility for legislation will be theirs at least in those matters which are proposed to be kept open to them, and the officials, if they must be there, will be there more to give advice and offer informing criticism, than to affect the course of Legislation by their vote. Moreover in the Legislative Councils, enlarged as under the scheme, there will be far many more days of actual and strenuous business than at present, and the Governor-General or Governors will find it impossible to attend for all the time required. The reason against the inclusion of officials in a Legislative Council, viz.—that they have to spend so much time out of their own office room—is intensified in the same proportion as the Governor-General or the Governor stands to the ordinary official. And if an official vice-President must after all be appointed to relieve him, then why should not a permanent and full time President be elected in stead, from among the members themselves of the Legislative Council ?

The position of the President of the Legislative Council should approximate as nearly as possible to that of the Speaker in the Parliament. He must be, for his own

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

sake, free from all other duties, and for the sake of the members of the Council he must be a non-official enjoying their confidence, so that the Legislative business will go on without hurry and in an atmosphere of freedom and pure reason.

(6) This is a small but an important matter. When a question is put and answered, it becomes in a sense the property of the Council. And just as other members may move amendments to a Bill or resolution brought forward by another member, in the same manner one member may be at liberty to take up the question and the answer, and vicariously carry it farther upto the limit of the right of asking supplementary questions. Just as one member who is present may actually ask a question of which notice may have been given by another member who may happen to be absent, so also the quick-wittedness required for putting a supplementary question may very well be supplied by another member for a proper fulfilment of the purpose for which interpellation is allowed. The new practice, demanded as a reform, already obtains in Parliament.

(7) (1) a and (b). Complete Financial decentralisation is a necessary basis of Provincial autonomy. If we may use the word 'limited' and 'unlimited' in this connection, we may say that the purposes of imperial or central administration must be necessarily limited, and the purposes of Provincial administration will be naturally unlimited. The Imperial Government should therefore concern itself with raising the revenue and making disbursements in only those departments for the administration of which it has reserved responsibility to itself. But the total expenditure on the spending departments of Imperial administration is calculated to exceed the revenue of the earning departments having an imperial aspect; hence the provision for contributions by Provincial Governments. These may increase or decrease according to the circumstances. But it is one thing to make a fixed contri-

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

bution and quite another to share revenue. In 1858 most of the revenues raised in all the Provinces were Imperial, and Provincial Governments had to carry on departmental administration within the limit of allotments made to them by the Imperial Government. The relations will now be changed, in that the Imperial Government will receive contributions, while Provincial Governments will be entitled to the fullest benefit of the elasticity of the earning departments. The position however will not be completely reversed because the Imperial Government too will have some earning departments exclusively to itself.

7 (c) Within the limits allowed to it, a Provincial Government should be absolutely free to earn what it can and spend what it must. But the Scheme requires that no revenue or loan should be raised, or no expenditure incurred by the Provincial Government without the sanction of the Legislative Council. The Financial independence claimed for the Provincial Government must necessarily be exercised under popular control, because it is the people after all who have to supply the needed revenue by taxing themselves and it is they who should see that it is expended for their benefit.

What applies to the financial administration must also apply to the general administration of the Province. The Provincial Governments must be emancipated from all control on, and interference with, the administration of departments entrusted to them. But these Governments cannot be allowed to hold this administrative independence except as trustees for the people. The decentralisation that we want is decentralisation ultimately for the benefit of the people and not to the benefit of the Provincial Governments. We do not want the Government of India to be deprived of its power of control and supervision simply in order to set up a despotism nearer home. Mere change of the centre of absolute power from Delhi or Simla to Bombay or Madras will do us no good; on the contrary we will lose the only one chance we have in the

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

control, uncertain or freakful though it may be, by the Imperial Government.

(7) (e) The Resolutions, even if carried, have under the present arrangement, no binding force; they are mere recommendations which may or may not be adopted by the Executive Governments. Official opposition, under the scheme, will be allowed two lives. If a resolution be not vetoed it will mean of course that it is accepted willingly. But the resolution may again be moved and carried in the next year in spite of the veto, and then, according to the scheme Government must act upon it whether willingly or unwillingly. It is only through resolutions that official policy can be altered or modified, or a new popular policy inaugurated. This provision of an automatic binding force conferred upon resolutions is meant to give finality to popular recommendations as part of the method of popular control upon executive administration. But it should be noted that even after resolutions acquire this binding force, they may not be acted upon, or kept in abeyance. The scheme makes no provision for this contingency, as the members of the Executive Council or Ministers as they may be called, are under the scheme irremovable. A bill under similar circumstances, that is to say not vetoed or passed a second time after a veto, can give a remedy in a law court. But resolutions however binding on the conscience of the Executive Government, could not be enforced in a law-court.

(7) (f) and (8) This is in accordance with the principle of Parliamentary practice. The Government may make themselves ordinarily responsible for fixing days for the meetings of the Legislative Councils; also for setting the orders of the day for the Council business. But Government may dodge any adverse motion by refusing to give a convenient day or the required length of time for the same, and hence the necessity of these provisions.

(9) That the permission of Government should be re-

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

quired for introducing a private bill is a state of things which lays the axe at the root of all Legislative independence, and hence the clause is necessary. It however excludes money bills from its purview.

(10) This provides for a double veto upon bills passed by a Provincial Legislative Council: one a negative veto in that the Governor may not assent to a bill so passed; and the second a positive veto in that the Governor-General may veto a Bill passed and even assented to by the Provincial Governor. This double veto ought to remove the misgivings of those who fear that an elective majority in the Provincial Legislative Council may make any laws it may please and so drive the Government into an absurdity or impossibility.

II

(1) This only re-affirms the present practice, and also keeps in tact the limitations upon it by the use of the word 'ordinarily.' The reservation of the highest places on the Executive Government for non-officials who will be supposed to be recruited from the British aristocracy for many years to come, is a relic of the old jealousy which the British felt for the Civil Service, and also of the practice of the aristocracy to monopolise the patronage for itself. The practice, however, is in line with the feeling of the Indian people who always realise that the men of the Civil service cannot take large or statesman-like view of things and that their minds move in narrow grooves and lean towards despotism. Men who come fresh from England bring with them fresh breeze of political freedom.

(2) It is now too late in the day that Lieutenant Governor and Chief Commissioners should be retained without any reason or rhyme. There is hardly any province now in India, except the Frontier Province, which is not fit to be placed under the rule of a Governor and a Council.

(3) In England or other self-governing countries the Ministry is not recruited from the permanent Civil Service. Permanent officials are very useful in their own way; but they cannot aspire to become Ministers. That is

SARVAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY

the privilege reserved for non-officials who are elected by the people and enjoy their confidence. The matters of policy in administration must always be decided by elected Ministers, who may or may not be removable within a fixed period.

(4) At the end of five years, the Legislative and the executive governments should start life anew, half of the members of the Executive Council being for the present elected non-official Indians and the other half *apparently* being nominated non-official Europeans. The Civil Service is to be kept out of these posts, and so must also be members of the Subordinate Services.

III

What applies to the Provincial Legislative Council also applies to the Imperial Legislative Council *mutatis mutandis*. The number of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council has necessarily to be larger than that of the Provincial Legislative Council. The constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council may be realised to be somewhat as follows:—

- 30 Nominated officials and non-officials, and experts.
- 40 Mahomedans.
- 50 Elected by territorial electorates in all the Provinces.
- 18 Elected by non-official members of the Legislative Councils.
- 12 representing special interests.

150

(9) and (13) A Bill may not be assented to by the Governor-General and may thus be indirectly vetoed. This is in itself a great safeguard on the side of Government, and there is no provision in the Scheme for automatic binding force being conferred upon a Bill, as in the case a resolution if passed a second time. Further, even when the Governor-General has assented to a Bill passed by the Supreme Legislative Council, the Crown can, under the Scheme, exercise its veto upon the Bill within one year. This is a further safe-

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

guard which should remove the fears of those that apprehend that the popular majority in the Supreme Legislative Council would run amok and tilt in a light-hearted manner at imperial interests.

(6) This is meant to emancipate the Provincial Governments from the interference and control of the Imperial Government. To appreciate the significance of this clause it may be compared with Sec. 45 of the Government of India Act of 1915 which makes the Local Governments responsible and subordinate to the Imperial Government in the smallest details.

IV

(7) The words 'as far as possible' in the clause make it uncertain what powers will under the scheme, be reserved for the Secretary of State for India. Thus for instance the State Secretary will no longer possess the power of holding the Civil Service examinations or making appointments in that service. But he will apparently have the present power to declare war or peace, as contained in Sec. 44 of the Government of India Act. As a safe proposition however, it may be stated that the Secretary of State for India will continue to have all those powers which are not expressly taken away under the Scheme. Under the Scheme the State Secretary's Council goes; but the Secretary himself will have a large number of residual powers not taken away by the Scheme expressly.

V

Clause (3) perhaps throws more light upon IV (7). The constitutions of the self-governing Colonies do not even so much as mention the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Under the Scheme however the Secretary of State for India has more importance than the Colonial Secretary.

- VI

Legal provision to give effect to this recommendation can be made only when legislation will be undertaken by the Parliament for constituting an Imperial Parliament or Imperial Conference, or Imperial Cabinet.

Ready For Sale.

THE CASE FOR
INDIAN HOME RULE

Being an exhaustive argument supported by the best and most eminent authorities, by way of a general introduction to the Congress-League Scheme of Political Reforms in India

BY

N. C. KELKER, B. A., LL. B.,
Secretary, Indian Home-Rule League, Poona,

&

Editor, Kesari and Maharashtra.

Price Rs. 2. By V. P. P. Rs. 2 Annas 5.

*Can be had of the Indian Home Rule League Office,
Poona-City.*