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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

UNLESS non-co-operators claim the bad weather which prevailed in Madras during the visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught as of their making, they must admit that with all their ingenuity they were unable to affect the grand welcome which the southern metropolis had arranged for the representative of the Royal house. The seats, galleries and roads were so crowded that many people who went to catch a glimpse of the Duke had to return disappointed. And if the tramwaymen had not chosen that very day for the strike, the crowd would have been larger. It is true that most of the shops in the main Indian bazaar were closed, but as the Royal Duke did not pass through it he could not have noticed the hostile demonstration. A meeting had been widely advertised to be held on the beach at the same hour as when the Duke was due to land; but it was meagrely attended until a part of the crowds that had welcomed the Duke flowed towards the place of the meeting. If any non-co-operator is simple enough to think that his propaganda drew the crowds, we shall not grudge him the happiness. Some of the Nationalist leaders who would ordinarily have participated in the social functions connected with the visit, no doubt, kept themselves aloof; but they were so few that only their personal friends could have felt their absence. We hope that the failure of non-co-operation will be as complete everywhere as it was in Madras.

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MR. KASTURIRANGA AIYANGAR is a boon commentator to lawyers who do not relish the Congress advice to boycott law-courts. At a

meeting of his party held on the beach in Madras over which he presided, while admitting that the Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation called upon lawyers to make greater efforts to give up their practice, he said: "I have no doubt that those lawyers who having other means of subsistence or who are in no other way hampered in giving effect to this resolution will have any hesitation in giving effect to it." So lawyers who have to earn their livelihood by the profession may well hesitate to obey the Congress resolution. Or perhaps they have to make a greater effort at hesitation. They will no doubt be interested to learn that Mr. Belvi, the Nationalist leader of Belgaum, who renounced his practice on the occasion of Mr. Gandhi's visit to that place has resumed it. He thinks, it would appear, that he yielded in a moment of weakness and now must follow the dictates of his conscience. Better late than never, even in a matter of conscience.

* * *

IN reply to an English correspondent Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*: "I do really believe that anarchy will be preferable to a continuance of the orderly humiliation and emasculation of a whole nation"—that is, to British Government which he has paraphrased in his own way. His belief "in the ultimate goodness of human nature" makes him "reject the fear that, immediately the British withdraw, other nations will be ready to pounce upon India. And if they will be ready, India will respond either by using the same matchless weapon of non-co-operation or will, when the paralysing aim of Britain is removed, produce a nationalist Pratap or a nationalist Akbar who would make effective use of brute force." We wonder how many, out of the several thousands that acclaimed his non-co-operation resolution at Nagpur and support it in the country, share his optimistic belief either in the ultimate goodness of human nature or the efficacy of his matchless weapon or in the likelihood of a national hero springing up at a moment's notice. How ready the Punjab Hindus will be, for instance, to offer soul-force against the frontier raiders we should like Lala Lajpat Rai to consider and answer. But is not Mr. Gandhi giving away his whole case by mentioning an alternative to his matchless weapon, by falling back on a Pratap or Akbar in the last resort? We had thought that he was such a profound believer in non-violent non-co-operation that he would rather see the entire popula-

tion of the country swept out of existence than fight evil by brute force. So the application of soul-force may not be the last word in the settlement of human affairs?

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IF there is little wisdom in counting one's chickens before they are hatched, there is less of it in counting on promises glibly made under patriotic influence at a public meeting or a conference. Like election and lovers' promises, they too should be taken at a discount, the percentage varying with the person making the promise. There is Mr. Shaikat Ali's famous promise of a crore of rupees for the new Muslim university at Aligarh, but we do not think that outside his excited audience of students, any person took him seriously. Mr. S. R. Bomanji who recently promised Rs. 10,000 per month for non-co-operation until *Swarajya* is achieved, has other patriotic promises his credit. We have all of us heard of his promise of one lakh of rupees for Home Rule work, made when the agitation for Home Rule was most popular, but not of its having reached the next stage towards fulfilment. We hope the course of the present promise will be more rapid and fruitful. The form in which it is made is somewhat strange: Rs. 10,000 a month till *Swarajya* is attained. One would think Mr. Bomanji was interested in its postponement and had offered a premium on delay and slackness of effort.

* * *

IT is generally overlooked that Mr. Gandhi's promise of *swaraj* in nine months for this country is conditioned by the honest carrying into effect on the part of a very large section of his countrymen of his programme of non-co-operation. Another indispensable condition upon which he has been insisting is an indissoluble Hindu-Moslem unity. A third one has now been added. A consistent friend of the depressed classes, Mr. Gandhi lays as much stress on the removal of untouchability as on Hindu-Muslim unity. Indeed he regards the former as a sin, without whose removal *swaraj* would be unattainable. It is a matter for satisfaction to note that in giving expression to this sentiment, Mr. Gandhi is proving the wisdom of the attitude of the Liberals towards the depressed classes. He cannot be unaware that they have earned nothing but scorn and ridicule at the hands of persons, who now profess to be his followers, at any rate in the Deccan, for holding the views which Mr. Gandhi has this year forced down their throats at Nagpur. But the point is whether Mr. Gandhi can seriously hope to wash out this sin in nine months. While Hindu-Moslem unity may for purposes of argument be taken to be an accomplished fact, he would be a bold man who would assert that the orthodox and bigoted elements in Indian society would lay aside their prejudices within that brief period, shake hands with their brethren of the depressed classes and regard them as their absolute equals, even though the promised reward be complete *swaraj*.

THE prophetic impulse seized the *Janma-Bhumi* when it began to comment on the acceptance of ministership by the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, and it has delivered to the world the important message that one day a Governorship will be offered to the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, which he will accept because Mr. Paranjpye has accepted the ministership. Not being gifted with prophetic vision, we cannot see how the one follows the other, for Mr. Paranjpye's acceptance of office is a matter between himself and the Deccan Education Society with which Mr. Sastri has nothing to do. When a governorship will be offered to Mr. Sastri we dare say the public will find time to pronounce on the propriety or impropriety of his accepting it, whatever the rules of the Servants of India Society might say. Any speculation on the subject at the present time, we humbly submit, however fascinating to some individuals, is likely to prove too premature. With so much constructive, obstructive and destructive public work going on in the country, we wonder our contemporary could afford to waste one of its precious shafts on so idle a fantasy.

* * *

WE regret to record the death of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar C. I. E. who was for long the most prominent Congress leader of the Central Provinces and Berar and who was chosen to preside over the Bankipur Congress of 1911. He was the leading spirit of the Indian Industrial Conference, of which he was secretary for several years. Like several other ex-Presidents of the Congress, he joined the Liberal Federation to give the full weight of his support to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and seceded from the Congress when it broke away from its old moorings. Recently he accepted the office of additional Judicial Commissioner and was also appointed President of the Central Provinces Legislative Council, but the hand of death has snatched him away before the first meeting of the Council was held. In these days of unrest and non-co-operation, a President of his experience, knowledge, sobriety and faith in the Reforms would have been invaluable to the C. P. Council.

* * *

THE Provinces suffered another great loss in the death of Rao Bahadur B. D. Shukul. He was the undoubted leader of the Hindi speaking part of the Central Provinces and an enlightened talukdar. He rendered great service to the cause of co-operation in the Provinces as president of the provincial co-operative bank and at the time of his death had just been appointed Governor of the Co-operative Federation in succession to the Hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar on his appointment as minister. He did yeoman service as member of the local legislature and later of the Imperial Council which latter he resigned as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. By temperament he was a Liberal, though he could not break away from the Congress. The Hindi portion of the

C. P. will find it difficult to fill the void in public life created by his untimely death.

* * *

THIS year's meeting of the South Indian Liberal Federation which is popularly known as the *Justice* party, was attended by several prominent non-Brahmin politicians who have hitherto dissociated themselves from the viruluous anti-Brahmin campaign of that party. There was commotion when a delegate asked Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai who had been requested to speak to a resolution whether 'he was now enamoured of the *Justice* party' and the Dewan Bahadur replied that he had not joined it still. After coming into power the *Justice* party has been, very wisely in our opinion, doing its utmost to carry all the non-Brahmin councillors with it, so that its position in the legislature may be secure against all defeat. In order to do it successfully, it will have to give up its extreme anti-Brahmin position, and we have every reason to hope that it will do so. Even if its position in the Council did not require any strengthening, perhaps it would have modified its attitude towards the Brahmins all the same, for placed in a position of responsibility and trust, it could not continue in the exaggerated posture assumed for propaganda. There are other evidences to show that the Madras Ministers have made such a beginning as should dispel all the fears that were entertained about them. It augurs well for our proving our fitness for full responsible government even to the satisfaction of prejudiced critics.

* * *

OF the many functions, which failed to attract sufficient notice in the press owing to their being held at Nagpur just about the time of the Congress, the presentation of an address by several associations of depressed classes to Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor was one. The occasion was utilised for acquainting these friends of India with the scandalous way in which the depressed classes are denied even the most elementary rights by the very persons who are so loud in demanding immediately complete *Swaraj*. Suffering from a lack of educational facilities, these people were naturally led to expect the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education all over India, as a result of the powers conferred by the Reforms Act; but the advent of the non-co-operation movement has disappointed their expectations. It is no wonder therefore that they look upon that movement as a great obstruction to their progress and are strongly opposed to it. Mr. Gandhi having declared himself against untouchability, they looked forward to the adoption of strong measures on the part of that leader for the removal of that disability, but he had done or was doing nothing to solve the problem. The anti-untouchability resolution passed by the Calcutta Congress in 1917 under Mrs. Besant's leadership has so far remained a dead letter. A similar resolution has again been passed at Nagpur; but it

remains to be seen whether it is going to meet with a better fate.

* * *

THE session of the East African Indian National Congress held at Mombasa in the early part of December last was a particularly important one, as it was held very soon after the publication of Lord Milner's policy in regard to that colony. The Congress has adopted a resolution demanding complete equality of status with Europeans, and asking for the redress of the more important of Indian grievances. Strong objection was taken to the policy of racial segregation, whose operation has since been suspended. The existing restrictions on the ownership of land by Indians in the uplands having aroused strong opposition in Indian circles, their removal was demanded as a matter of elementary justice towards a people who have done so much to make the colony what it is to-day. The Indian community has only two nominated "representatives" on the Legislative Council as against sixteen to safeguard the interests of white settlers who are about one-fourth of the former. Lord Milner had suggested that Indians should be given the right to elect these two representatives on a special franchise. The Congress has rightly rejected this proposal and has urged the desirability of Indians being given the right of vote on the same basis as that granted to Europeans on a common register. The president, Mr. Jeevanjee, has suggested that the number of Indian representatives on the Council, should be equal to that of European representatives, though the resolution in question is silent on the point. The Government of India have supported all these demands.

* * *

While all the entreaties and prayers of non-officials could not succeed in inducing the U. P. Government to look upon election with favour as a means of constituting village panchayats, the new regulation published by the Cochin Government contemplates the creation of similar bodies on an elective basis in the State. They will not consist wholly of elected members, the discretion "whether all or any of the panchayatdars should be elected" in a given panchayat being left to the Diwan. The franchise will be conferred, as in Bombay, on all males of 25. One of the arguments urged by the U. P. Government for resisting the non-official demand for elective panchayats was that as the bodies were intended to exercise judicial powers, it would amount to throwing judicial appointments open to election, which was thoroughly unsound in principle. But the Cochin Government does not consider such arguments strong enough to induce them to withhold judicial powers from the panchayats which they wish to bring into existence under the new regulation. Their experience of the past seven years' working of these bodies is very encouraging. More than half the number of villages in the State have got their own panchayats which now number 58, 27 of them being also village panchayat courts.

CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE resolution on non-co-operation passed at the Nagpur Congress is described as the result of a compromise between the two sections of Nationalists who were unable to agree at the special session at Calcutta on the programme, while they both adopted the principle and policy of non-co-operation. How precisely it is a compromise is not clear to the average mind. While some interpret the resolution as indicating a distinct advance on the position taken up at Calcutta, others maintain that it is a weakening of the grip. Indeed there are some who think that the only obligation imposed by the Nagpur resolution is that of propaganda,—of talking about sacrifice, not making it—and they are positive that the party of 'principle but not practice' has gained by strategy a complete victory over the whole-hoggers. The text of the resolution is unfortunately (or advisedly?) so worded that much could be said on both sides. It has indeed been a marked feature of recent sessions of the Congress that whenever there has been a pronounced difference of opinion between considerable sections of the delegates, a settlement is arrived at, not by each party yielding a little of its position but by adopting an elastic expression which each party could so interpret as to suit its own convenience. It is 'compromise' only with accuracy and elegance of expression and in no other sense. For a time each party is pleased with its own interpretation and is thankful that the fissiparous tendency was overcome and national unity preserved. But really nobody is the better or wiser for the device.

Mr. Gandhi's own view is expressed concisely in an article in *Young India*. It is this: "The Congress has told the parents of school-going children, and the lawyers that they have not responded sufficiently to the call of the nation and that they must make greater effort in doing so. It therefore follows that the lawyers who do not respond quickly to the call for suspension and parents who persist in keeping their children in Government and aided institutions must find themselves dropping out from the public life of the country." But Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, representing the school of 'principle but not the programme,' took a very different view at a beach meeting in Madras. He thought that the non-co-operation resolution had 'undergone a good deal of modification'; it had been strengthened (no doubt) and 'made practicable'; it formed a constructive programme. It provided for a 'substratum of education' by appealing to parents and not directly to students under 16, and by asking them concurrently to start national institutions. As to college students: "it does not say that all the students should be withdrawn. Those who feel it in their conscience and who feel their capacity to do national service should without hesitation leave colleges and betake themselves to national service" or study in national colleges. Regarding this

matter, he says, there was practical unanimity and so on.

But to go to the resolution itself. Both the Calcutta and Nagpur resolutions are long and inconvenient for quotation. We shall however recapitulate their main features. The Calcutta resolution consists of a preamble, an expression of opinion and advice. The main opinions expressed are 'that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs' (Punjab and Khilafat) 'in future is the establishment of *swarajya*' and 'that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and *swarajya* is established.' Then follows the advice which is intended to apply particularly to the classes 'who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion' and which is to constitute the beginning or first steps of the policy, the paragraph opening with the words, 'And inasmuch as a beginning should be made.' The steps recommended are the surrender of titles and honorary offices, boycott of levees and durbars, gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, gradual boycott of courts by lawyers and litigants, boycott of service in Mesopotamia and of Reformed Councils and the immediate revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The principal part of the Nagpur resolution runs as follows: 'Now this Congress, while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-co-operation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that *the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put into force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the all-India Congress Committee and that, in the meantime, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf.*' (Italics ours). Then follow certain directions regarding boycott of schools, law-courts &c.

Now, as this resolution reaffirms the Calcutta resolution, we must suppose that the policy adopted and the steps recommended therein remain in force and there is no weakening. This view is strengthened by the use of the words 'should continue' at the end of the passage quoted above. But then we are also told that *the entire or any part or parts of the scheme should be put into force at a time to be determined later by the Congress or its Committee.* This means obviously that no part of the scheme is now in force. It can come into force only after the time is determined and declared by the constituted authorities. This view is further supported by the words *in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it*, so that even the steps recommended further are not part of the scheme but only preparatory. Those who claim for the Nagpur resolution an advance over that of Calcutta take their stand on the words 'reaffirm' and 'should

continue' while the others rely on the words italicised above. A natural interpretation would undoubtedly favour Mr. Gandhi's view. But it should be remembered that owing to the attribution of a mandatory character to the resolutions of recent sessions of the Congress, the party that was in a minority at Calcutta was obliged to be silent and inactive, in hiding so to say, until the wording of the Nagpur Congress gave them an opening. It is only natural that they should take advantage of every cover that it offers. The net result is a ridiculous confusion caused by two contradictory or inconsistent sets of expressions being included in one resolution in the name of compromise.

INDIANS IN FIJI.

WHILE the attitude of the Government of India in regard to the East African question created general satisfaction in India, that relating to the Indian position in Fiji has become the subject of much adverse comment in Indian circles. Their action in refusing an enquiry into the events of February last has laid them open to much misunderstanding. It is suspected that they are anxious to draw a veil over those regrettable happenings and to keep back the facts from the people. On the Indian side, however, much anxiety is felt for the welfare of their countrymen in Fiji especially after the troubles they had to pass through in the early part of last year. The news that more than a half of the Indian population in that colony was preparing to leave for India after selling off their property, which must result in a considerable depreciation of its value, is hardly reassuring. Practical-minded people will not resort to this extreme step, except when they find life impossible in the existing conditions. Many of these people have been out of India for the whole of their lives. Owing to prolonged stay in a foreign land some of them have perhaps lost caste with their fellows in India. Under these circumstances, they would not lightly run the risk of beginning life afresh in a country which, though the land of their birth, has, by long domicile elsewhere, become almost a foreign land. They have not yet left Fiji only because shipping facilities are wanting.

The circumstances that have brought about such a state of things are well-known; but a recapitulation of the more salient features may not be out of place. After the indentures were cancelled at the beginning of last year as a result of the pressure which the Government of India, backed up by public opinion here, brought to bear on the Fijian Government, the Indian coolies engaged on sugar plantations struck work in order to obtain better wages and better conditions of work. It should be remembered that the wages they were then receiving were totally inadequate to meet the high cost of living occasioned by causes beyond their control. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which is the largest employer of Indian

labour, and is making enormous profits out of the sweat of these poor people, could have easily met the Indian demands and prevented a crisis. Instead they refused to budge an inch. Between them and the Government, which is largely under their thumb, they appear to have decided to force the labourers into submission by a resort to military force. The Government set about the business in right earnest and appealed to New Zealand for aid which, needless to say, was cheerfully given. A warship with a number of troops arrived on the scene and took its own share in settling the strike to the satisfaction of the C. S. R. and coercing the Indian labourers to return to work on practically the old terms. The Indian coolies, suffering from harrassing treatment on the plantations and living on starvation wages at home, found themselves faced with a serious situation. In Mr. and Mrs. Manilal they had two leaders whom they respected and to whom they looked for guidance and advice on every occasion of difficulty. Their deportation at the beginning of the strike produced exactly the same results that followed the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the deportation of Drs. Satyapal and Kichlew in the Punjab in connection with the agitation against the Rowlatt Act in 1919. Another Jallianwalla Bagh was enacted, though on a smaller scale. The measures adopted in both cases for crushing the spirit of the people were equally harsh and cruel, and persons of both sexes and of all ages were subjected to all sorts of indignities and humiliations. Being thus made painfully conscious of the utter helplessness of their position, a large number of our countrymen long settled in the colony have been asking to be repatriated to India. But the Government there has been putting them off on one excuse and another. Want of the necessary tonnage is represented as the only difficulty in the way of the return of these people; but it is equally clear that the interests of the C. S. R. have not a little to do with the leisurely manner in which their repatriation is being carried out. They are evidently apprehending a shortage of labour and the visit at the beginning of last year of a deputation headed by the Bishop of Polynesia (of all people in the world) to negotiate with the Indian Government for a supply of labour on new terms, is a clear indication of the fact that this fear was universally shared in the colony. The delay in finding ships for our countrymen is therefore easily accounted for. So far only about two thousand Indians seem to have been enabled to come back. At this rate, it would take nearly a generation for the rest of the Indian population in Fiji to return. This does not necessarily mean that we are insisting upon their return. Our view is that they should come away only if on a careful investigation into the conditions of life and work in Fiji it is found that there is no satisfactory alternative for them but to do so. We are not unmindful of the difficulties they will have to face on their arrival here. But they are not insuperable. Any way they do not

justify their remaining any longer in a land where their self-respect is perpetually violated.

There is thus a clear case for an enquiry into the causes of the disturbances of February last and the methods adopted to suppress them, and we earnestly urge the Government of India to lose no time in arranging for the despatch of an Indian deputation composed of persons who by their eminent position and character would command public confidence. Such a demand is being constantly made ever since those regrettable occurrences became known here. Pointed attention was drawn to it by the Hon. Mr. Sastri at the last session of the Indian Legislative Council when he interrogated the Government on the subject. Sir George Barnes' reply that an inquiry was considered unnecessary has caused deep disappointment in India; but whatever the attitude of the Government may be, there is no disposition in Indian circles to regard the incident as closed. It is to be hoped therefore that the Government of India will bring this strength of feeling to the notice of the Fijian Government and urge them through the proper channel to afford all possible facilities to the delegation which they may send from here. The Indian community in Fiji being at present leaderless will find itself at a serious disadvantage without the presence among them of a genuine advocate of their cause. Mr. Andrews, a more fair-minded and trustworthy friend than whom it would be difficult to find, is peculiarly fitted for this task by reason of his close study of the Indian situation as it exists in Fiji. Another advantage in his favour is that having visited the islands on a previous occasion, he knows the people there and they know him as they do no one else. It is true that the white settlers are deeply prejudiced against him, but that would be their attitude towards anybody going from here. Moreover, when he goes there with the support of the Indian Government and the Indian people behind his back, the prejudice of the settlers may not be a great handicap. We have no doubt that the people of India would want him to proceed to Fiji in advance to help their brothers in the preparation of their case.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

ALL those who have the good of this country at heart will agree that the new ministers ought to undertake bold measures for the educational uplift of the masses and their general improvement, if the reforms are to be made a success. Compulsion will have to be introduced in primary education on a sufficient scale to ensure the covering of the whole field in the course of ten years; steps will have to be taken to encourage the backward and the depressed classes to shorten the gulf that separates them from the advanced classes in matters of secondary and higher education. Excise policy will have to be so determined as to guarantee complete abolition of drink in a few years. This will require money and that will have to be

found; these reforms have waited long enough and they cannot possibly afford to wait any longer.

The fear that new taxation will add to the strength of agitation in the land or that it will strengthen the non-co-operators ought not to deter the ministers or their supporters from undertaking these measures. In the first place it is no part of the non-co-operation programme to obstruct the working of the reforms by creating obstacles in the path of the new councils. They have been asked by the Congress to hold themselves aloof from the reformed councils and not to hamper their work. They have also been asked to bring about unity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins wherever that has been seriously impaired and this task cannot be achieved if they oppose the educational uplift of non-Brahmins under the reforms. Of course, it may be maintained with some show of reason that the imposition of fresh burdens on the people will add to their discontent and indirectly strengthen the hands of non-co-operators. But neither should the other side be lost sight of. It ought to be equally borne in mind that if the new councils are unable to show any striking progress, there will be greater discontent and the non-co-operators will have a stronger case against co-operation with Government. They will be able to say with a greater show of reason that the reforms are unworkable and useless and that co-operation was not to be thought of until more extensive powers are conferred on Indians. This danger is greater than the first and must be averted. The surest means of fighting non-co-operation is to show to the mass of the people that reforms are not illusory as the non-co-operators say and that they can be made to yield substantial results.

This shows the heavy responsibility which the new councils are called upon to discharge. Non-co-operation is there and so also the discontent. But these cannot be made a plea in justification of a timid policy. Those who are in the councils and those who have assumed office have done so with open eyes, fully realising the difficulties under which they have to work. The policies they will chalk out must be such as will contrast most favourably with those pursued by the old Government. Let them remember that even under the old regime expenditure on education, sanitation and medicine has been more than doubled in the last four or five years. They will not be regarded as having been justified in co-operating with Government unless they are able to set up a pace more rapid and better calculated to tackle successfully the problems of mass education and prohibition of drink. The number of non-co-operators is large; but the number of those who have kept themselves aloof from it is tremendously larger; and advocates of co-operation cannot hope to save this mass from the disastrous movement unless they are able to demonstrate the utility and value of co-operation.

There are also other reasons why the ministers and their supporters ought to inaugurate effec-

tive measures for educational and other uplift. Indians can justify their claim to greater political power before the Parliamentary Commission that will be appointed nine years hence to examine into the working of the reforms only by showing that they have achieved a substantial progress under them. The authors of the joint report or the Joint Select Committee had chiefly mass education in view when the latter wrote, "They attach much importance, however, to the educational advancement of the depressed and backward classes, and they trust that the subject will receive special attention from ministers," or when the former laid down that "Educational extension and reform must play an important part in the political progress of the country" and expressed a strong hope that a "widespread" educational "movement" "will be taken up and carried forward boldly by the reformed councils." Any blenching from the course so clearly indicated will obviously mean a frustration of the political aspirations of the people.

Nothing is known of the policy of the co-operationist leaders in Bombay, but the proceedings of the recent conference of the Madras non-Brahmins, the party in power, bespeak bureaucratic caution and vagueness. Fierce champions of mass education and uplift of the untouchables as they have been, one looks in vain for any definite statement of policy in the resolution of their conference on education. It simply speaks of "a very early introduction of free and compulsory education" and asks "that a very much larger proportion of funds available for education be spent on primary, secondary and technical education." The conference should in fact have indicated the period in which universalisation of primary education was to be accomplished. It is absolutely essential that the ministers in the advanced provinces at least should so determine their policy as to bring about this result in the course of ten years. The non-co-operators have filled their path with enough obstacles. But they cannot hope to secure substantial support from the masses and the general public unless their proposals are such as will evoke enthusiasm among them.

V. R. KOTHARI.

INDIA'S SAINT.

INDIA is drifting into anarchy. To understand what is now happening in India one must first understand Mahatma Gandhi, and then the state of the clay which he is moulding. The saint or Mahatma has India at his feet; the *intelligentsia* differs from him in private, rarely in public; property differs from him and trembles; the Government, any Government, differs from him (because he goes to the root of all Government), and thinks it best to—wait.

The last time I saw him he was sitting cross-legged on a mattress on the floor, eating a dish of

rice, and surrounded by a semi-circle of squatting disciples. All he wore was his small white convict cap and a pair of coarse white trousers. "Why have you not brought Mrs. Wedgwood?" said he. On the whole, I was glad I had not, for I know few things more unpleasant than being perched up on a chair, in boots, when all around are silent strangers on the floor.

Gandhi specializes in giving up, in reducing the wants; his recreation is fasting, and making his disciples fast. He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one could carry him as one does a child, and he makes one feel like that towards him. He is as serious as any child, and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy, without Tolstoy's past, and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity.

He tells me that when first he came to London, he took lessons in dancing and elocution to fit himself for the polite world. But he is a Jain, peculiarly averse to taking life, and, while still a child, he had already found the efficacy of non-resistance; he now came upon Ruskin's "Unto this Last" and the dancing lessons ceased. A loathing of civilization, especially Western civilization, grew up. He read Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of Heaven is Within You," and it fitted in. In South Africa, in the early years of the century, he was still nominally a lawyer, but the practice died out, and instead the gaols of the Transvaal and Natal began to be full of his disciples. The last cure for oppression by Government is to be completely indifferent to whatever Government may do. Non-recognition of law, non-co-operation with the State which is the embodiment of civilization was born in South Africa. It is a terrible weapon, but it can be used only by those who are prepared to lose all. That is a condition which is just beginning to be understood by Indian Nationalists, and they are beginning to shy. It does not deflect the Mahatma. Three times he was gaoled; once he was left for dead, murdered by his own followers for imagined treachery.

In South Africa, too, he wrote his first book, "Indian Home Rule," and sketched the same scheme. If you would destroy English rule, you must go to the root—cease to use the schools and law courts, refuse to plead, go to gaol gladly. "The Western civilization has corrupted you. Cast it out—by non-co-operation." But he is not so much interested in destroying Western rule as Western civilization, Western wants, and the parasitic work of towns. Such cotton clothes as he has are hand-spun, hand-woven, and hand-made. His food (when not fasting) is too simple to create fear of gaol fare. (Only, he does use a high-powered motor and the railway train [third class], and the Philistines jeer!)

All this shows why he has such a hold on India, the land of resignation, and also why the fear of him grows too. He takes the students away from the colleges without asking the parents' leave, saying, "Follow me." Education may be a universal need, but educationalists are a Western product, and they squirm. Pandit Malaviya will even fight for his child, the Benares University. Parliament and Council are the machinery of Western government, "Do not join them!" and the Indian politicians, exasperated by Punjab Martial Law, give up them, too, and hand the Councils over to the Moderates. They do not like it, but they obey. I fear he tolerates Democracy as little as Autocracy on account of their last two syllables. Only he cannot get the lawyers to leave their practices or officials to leave their posts. Only—Gandhi himself is not mighty enough to destroy Western civilization, even by precept and practice, or by his hold on the masses—masses crying, "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai"—"to Gandhi the victory," though that victory lead them they know not where. Gandhi alone is not enough to drive India to anarchy. There are his allies, the Moslem fanatics; and there is the Government, which, for fear of prestige, dare not apologize.

The Saint's allies are not of his own sort. Shaukat Ali is his stable companion, and Shaukat Ali, once a cricketer and now a fanatic, stands seven feet high and five feet broad, in a great green cloak and a high, white astrachan cap. Shaukat Ali is a likable, big, bluff, hearty man, when you meet him; but his ideas of the virtues of passive resistance are hardly skin deep. He works up the Moslem "Ulemas" and "Peers," and procures "fetwas," and gets the whole of religious fanaticism boiling. He calls the mixed crowd "brothers," but the only brothers he recognizes are brothers in the faith. The Sultan of Rampur (his native State) has taken from him his family, his goods, and home. He has lost all except his sixteenth-century faith. "Tell the Government that I am too fat to run," he says to those who warn him of imminent arrest.

A revision of the Sevres Treaty will hardly appease Shaukat Ali. For him the British are kafirs for whom there is no place in India. And the strength of the non-co-operation movement is among the Moslems. It is the Moslem college that the students have deserted or captured. It is the Moslem seats on the Council that find no electors or candidates. It is the recalcitrant Moslems who feel the first and full weight of the social boycott. The Hindoos, writhing under memories of Martial Law, understand neither the man nor the cause, and are a little nervous of the whirlwind; while Shaukat and his brother, Mahomed, would even stop cow-killing to cement the alliance and remove the rule of those who have trampled on the Khalifa and on the people of God.

The clay in the hands of these men is India.—

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD.

(From the *Nation*.)

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, DECEMBER 30.

WE are all but at the beginning of a new year, and it is to be hoped, for the welfare of India, that it will be a happier, more peaceful and more prosperous one than the old that is now expiring. You have had a very fair share of troubles, and a respite from misfortune will doubtless be more than welcome.

LABOUR CONFERENCE ON INDIA.

The Labour Conference on India, held in London recently, was not quite the successful affair that it was intended to be, due in some part to the provocative attitude of Mr. Horniman. The principal resolution, as originally drafted by the organizing committee, of which he was a member, stopped short at taking note of the fact that a policy of non-co-operation had been adopted by the main body of Indian Nationalists. It was this resolution that Mr. George Lansbury spoke to and supported. But Mr. Horniman, going behind the agreed formula, strongly urged the audience to adopt a much stronger resolution, in complete opposition to the policy adopted by the Parliamentary Party, and an amendment was accordingly passed, accepting and approving of non-co-operation. Mr. Lansbury was not present at this stage of the meeting, but subsequently wrote to the Press disapproving of what had been done, and stating that, had he been present, he would have voted against the resolution as amended. Any other attitude on his part would have led to grave misunderstanding, and it is clear that Mr. Horniman has not served the best interests of India by his incitement to an ignorant audience to approve of a policy, of which they could not possibly understand the implications. It is most unfortunate that Indian propaganda in this country should be left in the hands of a small body of somewhat irresponsible people, who vie with each other in extremism of language.

NEW ZEALAND IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS.

I have had the opportunity of seeing what is understood to be the form in which the New Zealand Immigration Restriction Amendment Act finally passed last September. The measure, as originally drafted, confined the privileges of unimpeded immigration, subject to certain general requirements, to persons of British or Irish birth. It would thus seem that white Britishers not having the good fortune to be born in the United Kingdom would be liable to restriction. Doubtless the inadvertency was discovered, for the Irish part of the measure disappears, and the expression "person of British birth" appears to mean nothing more than a person born a British subject. But when we come to the significant exception, we discover that "a person shall not be deemed to be of British birth and parentage by reason that he or his parents or either of them is a naturalised British subject, or by reason that he is an aboriginal Native of any Dominion other than

the Dominion of New Zealand or of any colony or other possession or of any protectorate of His Majesty." It is the second exception that is specially important, from the Indian point of view. What is "an aboriginal Native etc."? It is entirely a matter of legal proof and judicial interpretation, and the onus is on the New Zealand Government to prove that an Indian immigrant is an aboriginal Native of India. I doubt very much whether this is possible and it would seem that the Dominion Legislature has, as is not uncommon with some of these Legislatures, tied itself up in a legal quandary, and if the matter comes to be tested, judgment will go against the New Zealand Government. It will, perhaps, be a useful lesson in how not to legislate.

MORNING POST ON THE WAR-PATH.

The *Morning Post*, being unable to discover the name of the next Viceroy, has now announced that it is possible to state that the office has been offered to and refused by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Earl of Reading, the Chief Justice, Lord Willingdon, and the Duke of Devonshire. One other prominent but unnamed personage is also referred to. But the *Post* can be quite amusing in other respects. Commenting upon the manner in which the recent Council elections have proceeded in India, the egregious paper remarks:—

"Such are the conditions under which the Reforms scheme comes into operation. The past twelve years have witnessed a constant series of attempts on the part of the British Government to liberalise the Government in India, followed in each case by a fresh accession of discontent and disturbance on the part of the people. Mr. Montagu capped all previous efforts in this direction by his declaration for responsible government, in August, 1917. Since then the situation has been growing continually worse. The reforms, when they appeared in draft, were pronounced by the politicians to be disappointing and inadequate. Their appearance (in a final form) is followed by a dangerous and widespread rising. At the present moment the anti-British feeling throughout Northern India has notoriously risen to a point never-known before. Nothing but the consciousness of the physical force still in the hands of Government keeps this animosity from breaking out into outrageous manifestation. We are actually reduced to such a position that it is a matter for congratulation that the plan of self-government is not returned upon our hands, rejected simply because it comes from us. That we owe simply to the fact that there are a sufficient number of Indians in the country educated enough to see where their own interests lie. Good will does not enter into the matter. Mr. Montagu has had his triumph. Non-co-operation has not prevailed outright. But we cannot wonder that there should be a reluctance among eminent men to take up the office of Viceroy under a Secretary of State whose policy presents such a record of total and dismal

failure. The hesitation of others, of which we speak elsewhere, suggests that Mr. Montagu may be presented with the opportunity of going out himself to consummate the mischief that he has so elaborately prepared. In that case the resources of Providence, which has a way of getting the British people out of the results of its negligences and ignorances, would indeed be sorely taxed." Spiteful, isn't it? And of such is the kingdom of Heaven. Even the *Telegraph* is reduced to a couple of columns of the old familiar reactionary abuse. Apparently the Tories can never learn, and yet, if the present Coalition Government goes out of office, as the foolish prophets in India foretell (the wish being father to the thought), it can, in the present circumstances only be replaced by a Tory Government, and then you know what to expect. Mr. Achariar appears, from the summary of his presidential address that has been telegraphed here, to hold Mr. Montagu in somewhat higher esteem than one would have expected so ardent a Nationalist to do. It is significant that the *Westminster Gazette*, whose sympathy with Indian reform is genuine and cannot be gainsaid, severely criticises his appeal for an economic boycott of persons and things British.

India has to mourn the death of Judge Frederick Mackarness suddenly last week end. His illness was very short, and his death totally unexpected. His loss will be greatly felt.

To-day Earl De la Warr was married. His mother, Muriel, Lady De la Warr, has been one of the most ardent supporters of India's claim to self-government, and her son may be the first Socialist Peer. Stranger things have happened. He is not yet quite of age.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN APPEAL TO THE MODERATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA

SIR,—Thanks to the resolution of the special sessions of the Congress held last September, your party is now in a position to dominate the new Reformed Councils (*sic*)—a situation that increases your responsibilities and puts you on your trial before the Bar of History. As sincere Moderates having the good of the country at heart, you are expected by the country to at least secure the passing of measures which will put an immediate end to the drink evil, the slaughter of milch and agricultural cattle, and the export of food grains at a time of scarcity and famine in India. Dry America is the ideal of many a high souled American and I should expect you to be no inferior to them in your desire to have a Prohibition Law throughout India which will make millions of people happy, increase their savings and raise the moral status of our people. The slaughter of milch and agricultural cattle is indefensible both on economic and humanitarian grounds. Their export to foreign countries is equally indefensible and the country requires you to put an immediate stop to these. India is now almost famine-stricken owing to the failure of rains and hence you should not allow a single grain of food to leave India. The much vaunted fiscal autonomy of India under the reforms will be put to the test in this matter. These three are the crying needs of the country and you will be judged by the way in which you acquit yourselves in these vital matters.—Your, etc.

CHIMANLAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR,

Vijapur, Baroda State.

APPLY THE TEST TO NATIVE STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Mr. Bernard Houghton writes: If you would lay bare the true ideals of a body of men, or of a Government, see on what objects he or they spend their income. In order to apply this test to the Government of India, let us observe certain figures of their expenditure during the past two years. That is preferable to the figures of the current Budget, for Budget allotments have a habit of increase or decrease by transfer or otherwise, whereas the figures for these years are known and definite.

Total Expenditure. Army. Education. Sanitation.
(In millions sterling.)

1918-19	127	45½	4	½
1919-20	144	57½	4½	¾

Having given these figures, the writer concludes that no more damning judgment of the Government of India can be found than in these figures.

Let us apply the same test to some of our Native States. It has to be remembered that they have not to bear any huge outlays on their Army, a paternal Government having kindly undertaken to protect them not only against outside aggression but also against inside rebellion. They have not also to bear the heavy drain of the Home Charges. And yet what do we find? Take the figures from any stray report of any Native State that comes handy, and you will find therein an equally sad tale of education and sanitation being woefully neglected. We find in the latest report of a Native State "somewhere in India" that whereas the actual expenditure is shown at Rs. 7,39,597, education has only Rs. 24,226 and sanitation has only Rs. 8,499. Thus these two items that are the most directly beneficial to the people cost the State only Rs. 32,725 out of a whole disbursement of Rs. 7,39,597, i. e. Rs. 4½ out of every hundred rupees are devoted to education and sanitation! We shall take another State, and here also we find that out of total disbursements of Rs. 3,12,500, education consumes the colossal sum of Rs. 10,000, and medical relief less than 4,000; a total of Rs. 14,000. Again, we reach the same proportion, that is, less than four and a half rupees out of a total expenditure of Rs. 100!

Can any more damning judgment of the administration of these States be found than in the above figures? And yet these may be regarded as typical of all the others with only a very small number of honourable exceptions. And, let me emphasise again, such a state of things exists in these "specks of indigenous rule saved from the aggression of the Britisher"—States which are relieved from the military and home charges which are a ruinous dead weight upon finance in British India. Indeed, the ignominy of the neglect of education and sanitation is so great that, were it not for the watchful eye of the Imperial Government that has prescribed a Regulation Administration Report to be annually submitted, and which requires items to be shown separately therein, they would have been long ago conspicuously absent from the Administration Reports. We know of a State that actually enters these items as miscellaneous! The result is that as soon as you enter the territories of a Native State, the ill-kept public roads, the inadequacy of medical relief and starvation of education obtrude themselves on your notice in a most disagreeably emphatic manner, and you do not need to be informed that you have quitted the British area and have entered into a Native State region. A few days' halt will make you painfully aware of the low state to which the people have been reduced by long periods of oppression of various sorts. You will hardly ever find any newspaper being published, not to mention of any bold criticism therein on the conduct of the Administration. The people as a rule have long forgotten what the right of free discussion means. Thus in a very short time you will come to realize that you have come to live in a benighted region, and unless you discreetly keep silent, you may find yourself ordered to quit the territory within 24 hours. Is it any wonder under these circumstances that no one would gladly enter into a Native State area if he can help it? The subjects of Native States indeed suffer in both

ways. As residents of India, they have to bear their share of the general indirect taxation and the high prices due to war and other causes. In addition, they have also to bear their own special taxation and disabilities imposed by their own rulers. On the other hand, they are not able to obtain the benefits which are afforded to British subjects. Possibly the rulers might be in blissful ignorance of the real state of things; but they must understand that they will be the first to suffer when any general disturbance occurs, and they will then realize their weakness in the absence of the strong protection of their own subjects. They ought never to forget, as they seem to be doing now, that, much more than in the case of the British Crown, the surest shield for them is the contentment and active support of their own subjects. They are sadly mistaken if they think that the community of race between ruler and subject will save them from the volcano which they are sedulously preparing under their feet.—Yours, etc.,

POLITICUS.

SELECTION

THE CRISIS IN INDIA.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, President of the present session of the Indian National Congress, has long been one of the most noted public men of South India. He is a man of considerable individuality—that is, he has vigorous intelligence, an independent way of looking at things, tenacity of purpose, and courage. The idea that any constitution granted to or secured by India, should, to be worth the name, embody a declaration of the citizens' rights, is believed to be his more than any body else's. Our impression is that his political views have generally approximated more closely to those of Mr. Tilak than of any other leader. He is looked upon as the chief leading light of the "Nationalist party" (using the word "party" in a loose sense) in Madras. It was therefore only natural for the country to hope that he would be able to bring a new light to lead the Congress out of the *cul de sac* into which it allowed itself to be led in a moment of paroxysmic petulance. That hope, we are afraid, is not likely to be fulfilled by the address of Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya. It is no doubt interesting in parts; it shows a keen power of analysis and criticism in respect of the Reform Act; it is emphatic in its disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's programme of Non-Co-operation. It is learned. It is declamatory. But it practically leaves us where we were. The one suggestion that Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya offers—namely, that Mr. Montagu should be requested to move His Majesty the King to establish full responsible government in India by Letters Patent promulgated in exercise of the Royal prerogative—is made in obvious and utter disregard of all those English constitutional principles and practices of which he displays such minute knowledge in the other parts of his address. Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya has not succeeded in giving to the nation that lead for which it has been anxiously turning to every reputed possessor of wisdom and intrepidity.

CONGRESS IN TANTRUMS.

Verily, the Congress has been engaged in a process of groping for the last two or three years. It was made to renounce its faith in the old steady and perseverent, though somewhat slow and undramatic, methods of progress that its creators and builders were pursuing. It was made to unlearn the lesson that Dadabhai Naoroji and Mehta, Ranade and Gokhale strove to inculcate all their lives—the lesson that we have to march towards the goal by successive stages and that we cannot jump or fly towards it, that every new development should be the natural growth and outcome of the existing conditions, and that we have to win what we aspire for—not by heroics, nor by melodrama, nor by bluff, nor by Stoic-like self-immolation—but by affording practical proofs of our capacity for greater power, by impressing the world's public opinion with the righteousness of our cause as well as the reasonableness of our claim, by building up our own character and manhood in all ways and by all the means we

could devise or get hold of. From this old teaching the Congress turned away finally in 1918, attracted by the gospel of intransigence. Then came the infuriating catastrophe of the Punjab; and impotent intransigence had to give way to Non-Co-operation. But it has not taken long for the country to perceive that the newer gospel is as unsound in theory and as unfit for practice as any gospel could be. The nation is therefore to-day crying for a new light. It is distracted as it never before was. Fanatics never robbed it of balance of mind and steadfastness of vision. It yearns for one who can restore calm to its soul and faith to its bosom. Where is he?

WANTED A GOKHALE.

It is no partisan exaggeration to say that the type of political worker the country needs to-day is that represented by Mr. Gokhale more than any other. To say so is, let it be noted, not to detract from the value of other types. We shall be ready to admit, for instance, that to move the minds of the masses and breathe into them the spirit of high resolve, or to intensify public feeling and create an atmosphere of wholesome awe for the bureaucracy (conditions without which the work of the nation-builder and of the statesman must be a pitiful affair indeed) it required leaders with gifts and powers of an order altogether different from those that characterised Mr. Gokhale. It is not necessary for proving him great to pretend that he could be all things for all times. Such a claim could no more be made for him than for either of the other two who, by a curious lack of the analytical habit in the study of character, are popularly named as his rivals in the temple of fame. His was it to toil patiently and hopefully at refining and constructing out of what material was ready to hand. No one who has read history to any purpose will be ready to subscribe to the theory that all kinds of leaders would be equally well in any given situation—that, in fact, there are no distinct and separate types at all, that he who produced a fine drama could have produced as fine an epic, that he who excelled as a parliamentarian could have achieved similar success as an ambassador. The history of a country is a happy tale of elevating effort and well-won success in so far as it produced a Cromwell when a Cromwell was needed and did not substitute a Pitt or a Palmerston instead; and it could not be a tragic tale in so far as the country produced a Walpole or a Cromwell when the requisition was for a Gladstone. Each type of leadership has its own place and its own time. The times in India call for a man of constructive genius—one who can bring back the collected strength and the serene hope that have fled from us—one who could revive our faith in the old principle of "ordered progress" and turn the nation's energies to self-regenerative tasks, not despising to make use of such little means as even chance may provide to educate ourselves. The distinctive tenet of the school to which Mr. Gokhale belonged is the belief in the efficacy of *evolutionary* methods of human improvement. What exists is taken by it as the inevitable basis for what is yet to be designed and achieved. It never forgets that our hopes for the future are necessarily conditioned by our circumstances of the present. Society is an organism whose growth can be natural and healthy only when it takes place as the consequence of its own inner vitality and normal functioning, and not as the consequence of any external and artificial aid. We cannot entirely and once for all jump out of ourselves. There are rigid limits, moral as well as material, to our capacity to change; and to attempt to change beyond those limits is to imperil even the little good we now may hope to attain. Those with whom it fell to Mr. Gokhale to work had a firm grasp of this doctrine of *evolutionary* development. They were Liberals; they strove not to revolutionize, but gradually to "liberalize" the spirit, the temper and the outlook of the country.

WHERE LIBERALISM IS.

Liberalism in India is the name, not of a creed, but of an attitude. Its antithesis here is not Conservatism—for, of this there is none or little left anywhere; much less is it any economic gospel like Socialism. The true opponent of Liberalism in India to-day is,—if we must name so complex a thing in a

single word—"jumpiness" (no adequate word to be sure). People have become so thoroughly disgusted with the existing state of affairs and to such exasperation have they been driven by the remorseless obduracy of the powers that be, that they would, if they could, jump out of the present situation into the vague something that is the inspiring ideal of their hearts. They have not the patience to walk towards it step by step—clarifying their own vision of it at every step. This path of steady-footed progress seems to them so long and so tedious. They would like to reach the goal by one or two heroic leaps and bounds—not being in the mood to deliberate about likely chances and risks. In this "jumpiness" or impetuosity lies the real difference of the honest adversaries of the Liberals. The Liberals and the others would both move, for all practical purposes, in the same direction, towards the same destination; but their gaits and paces are different. The Liberal recognises the importance of Time, by itself, as a factor in the development of human affairs. Like Turgot, he knows "that there are some evils of which we do well to bear a part, as the best means of mitigating the other part. He cherishes no hope of clearing society of the intellectual and moral debris of ages at a stroke" (Morley). Such a futile hope—cherishing which is the easiest way to meet with soul-embittering and exasperating disappointment—is possible only to minds not sufficiently heedful of the lessons of history. They alone can venture to dispense with the good offices of Time. Mr. Gandhi, for instance, would like us all to attain to his level of self-restraint and cheerful endurance within the attractively brief span of twelve months. It is unquestionably a noble wish, a sublime wish. We all, too, may share his zeal for it; and many among us have indeed pledged themselves honestly to work for its realization in their own lives. But there are moments when the fleshy instincts in men get the upper hand; and the spirit is absent-mindedly given the go-by. That is poor human nature, and a fact of nature is not to be abolished by merely wordy or intellectual argumentation. The sages of India, who were no careless students of human nature, held that man's journey towards purity and perfection is not always a matter of a few months or even a few years, but often a matter of many incarnations. Even the best seed, put into the best soil, must rest there overnight if it is to germinate. Such is the indispensability of Time.

"ONE STEP ENOUGH FOR ME."

In having "learnt to labor and to wait" lay the peculiar strength of the Indian Liberals. That they were not in any degree less insistent or less emphatic on national self-discipline and self-exertion—on the avoidance of dependence on Government for anything at all—than either Mr. Tilak or Mr. Gandhi, is evident from the second part of Article I of the Congress. It says: "These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means—by bringing about a *steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.*" In this task of building up the country's resources both morally and materially, their guiding principle was to proceed from what exists to what it suggests as the next best,—not to take a leap into the unknown, but to take a survey of the prospect at every stage in the journey and then to set the next foot forward, not troubled by obstacles, not dismayed by the steep ascent ahead. In this attitude and temper—and not in their respective attitudes towards Reforms—lies the fundamental difference between the Liberals on the one side and the Non-co-operationists and the so-called Nationalists on the other. The true mark of the Liberal is measured optimism,—freedom from despondency or despair and from the impatience and desperate action that it gives rise to,—undisturbed persistence in the path of national *self-education and self-improvement.*—Karnataka.

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