

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE news from the Italian front is distinctly refreshing. It has been officially announced that the Austrians have been defeated from Montello to the sea and are recrossing the Piave in disorder. One important effect of this Italian victory has been to create enthusiasm for the Allied cause. For the moment the prospect was rather gloomy. The great German drive in the West had changed the situation in a remarkable manner, and if the enemy could add to this success an Italian victory he would have stood before the world as an invincible military power. Even more important than this is the proof that this victory gives of the new spirit of the Italian army. In October last, General Cadorna had obtained sufficient information about the intentions of the enemy. But the pacifist elements among the men under his command were too strong to make his efforts to withstand the attack successful. On the present occasion, it must be remembered, the Austrian stick had not the advantage of the steelhead of the Germans. Still the description of the battle shows that the Italians have rendered a good account of themselves. There is, however, one disquieting circumstance in all this. It is that we do not know exactly how matters stand in regard to the important position of Montello. If this has been cleared of the Austrians and they are altogether on the other side of the Piave, then we can subscribe also to all the eloquent descriptions of the battle furnished to an admiring house by the Italian Premier. Otherwise we must wait and watch the progress of the operations for a longer period before we can share in the very optimistic estimate of the war situation on the Italian front which appears to be so common in some quarters.

MRS. BESANT, in company with the stalwart who, according to the *Madras Mail*, "has decorously rattled to the side of Mr. Montagu," continues to be the object, in the Madras Presidency, of foul attacks and fouler insinuations. It is being represented that she is receiving secret instructions from Government, is prepared to express approval of the coming reforms, however short they may fall of the Congress-League demands, etc., etc., and distrust of her is being sedulously spread in certain quarters. This has moved Mrs. Besant sorrowfully to contrast, in the *Commonweal*, the devotion with which leaders are followed in Ireland, through evil report and good, and the suspicion which is raised against them in this country. "In India," says she, "there is scarcely a leader who is not, at some or other, blackened by slander invented by his fellow-countrymen and thus weakened in his usefulness. Generally, his assailants are those who aspire to leadership, but who are either too young or too mediocre to win it." To the ill-success due to want of experience and abilities, mentioned by Mrs. Besant, it is right and also charitable to add a want of mental balance as among the reasons which lead certain ill-conditioned persons to raise an unnecessary alarm, at a moment when confidence in leaders is a supreme necessity.—*En passant*, we have not fallen into the mistake ascribed to us by *New India*, in our summary of the very sensible speech made by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar recently. We have neither misapprehended nor misrepresented it.

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WHILE it is being alleged against certain prominent Congressmen and Home Rule Leaguers that they are prepared to abandon the essential features of the Congress-League scheme and have pledged their word to Mr. Montagu to accept any alternative scheme that may be put forward by him, however inadequate,—the truth of which allegations is stoutly denied by those concerned—, the one gentleman of whom it can be said with truth that he has expressed his willingness to depart from the fundamentals of the Congress-League scheme is the Nationalist leader, Dr. Moonje. For it has come to light that the doctor, on behalf of himself and his party, promised to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces his support of the Montagu scheme, even if it should fall short of the Congress-League scheme, provided only that the Government of India undertook to complete the whole movement towards responsible

government within the maximum period of fifty years. We see no reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement in the C. P. Government's press note, especially because we remember Mr. Tilak having publicly expressed his satisfaction—and it is on record—with a scheme which guaranteed self-government within the space of fifty years. We are not concerned here to examine the soundness or unsoundness of this view, but we wish emphatically to point out that if a departure from the scheme propounded by the Congress and the Moslem League in important particulars constitutes a defection from the national cause, it is Dr. Moonje and the party whose spokesman he has represented himself to be, that can justly be held guilty of it. Accusations of having agreed to jettison the Congress-League scheme, made against certain home rulers, are malicious and false, and have been contradicted as often as they are repeated.—The correctness of the statements made in the press note has since been challenged, but we do not know if it is urged that Dr. Moonje's position has not been correctly represented.

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THE above press note, issued by the C. P. Government, also shows certain other gentlemen in those provinces as having made their co-operation with Government in the matter of recruiting contingent upon Government adopting certain suggestions of theirs, which presumably relate to the grant of commissions, the opening of military schools, the repeal of the arms act, and so forth. While it is indubitable that the Government are committing a grave blunder in ignoring the just and imperative demands of the people on these several heads, it is also true that the attitude of the leaders in C. P. is equally unsound, and stands in flat contradiction to the spirit which is enjoined upon the residents of Gujarat by Mr. Gandhi in his appeal to them. The superiority of Mr. Gandhi's advice of unconditional help arises from this fundamental fact, which is not given its due weight by those who take the opposite view, that our help at this juncture, without stipulating any conditions, is at least as much in our own interest as in that of the Empire, for, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, "the easiest and the straightest way to win *swarajya* is to participate in the defence of the Empire." If this is granted, what Mr. Gandhi says in the sequel follows as a matter of logical corollary. "To sit still at this crisis, waiting for commissions, etc., is like cutting the nose to spite the face. ... Even if Government desire to obstruct us in enlisting in the army and rendering other help, it is incumbent upon us to insist upon joining the army."

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AN inspired Simla telegram, published in an Anglo-Indian newspaper, bids us cease from criticising the press *communique* announcing Government's decision as to the commissions and regard the conditions governing the grant of them as liberal. The paper, in its editorial comments,

faithfully echoes these sentiments. According to it, it is only now that any widespread desire that commissions should be granted to Indians has found expression. The extracts, quoted in another column, from the writings of military men of acknowledged authority, will convince the writer of the article in our contemporary that the question is of a slightly longer standing than it has knowledge of or cares to admit. The pre-occupation of the war, which is brought into requisition to cover all sins of omission, if not of commission, should be no justification for delay in solving what is pre-eminently a war question, and it should rather help the authorities in offering generous terms. Our contemporary indeed thinks that the terms *are* so, and bases this positive conclusion on the negative reasoning that the "*communique* contains nothing to warrant the suggestion that the Army will not take as many men as it can get who are fitted to become officers." So, to our worthy contemporary, it is a mere question of fitness, how many men will be eventually granted commissions, while all those who are not concerned to play the part of apologists of Government, agree in thinking that it is the distrust of the people of India which alone has deterred Government from making a liberal concession for some half a century. But what of the rigorous limitation of admissions to Sandhurst to the number 10—during the war?

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THE one satisfactory part of the announcement regarding the grant of commissions is that the Indian cadets, while at Sandhurst, will be treated in precisely the same way as the British cadets, and, we are assured, after they pass out and are granted commissions, they will be on a footing of perfect equality with their British fellows, no difference whatever being made between the Indian and British officers. There was some reason for misgivings on this score, as Mr. Lovat Fraser in his "*India under Curzon and after*" indicated the possibility of a different course being decided upon. Mr. Fraser says in that book, a further large extension of the principle of direct commissions

"appears to involve the consideration of two important points. The first is whether, if a large additional number of direct commissions are to be granted, the Indian officers so created are to have the same *status*, or a higher *status*, than officers promoted from the ranks. The second is whether Indian officers are to enjoy the same rates of pay and pension as British officers, in accordance with the principle adopted for Indian members of the covenanted Civil Service. If a large number of officers drawn from a new class are admitted to the native army, such a demand will assuredly arise. To meet it would involve a heavy additional expenditure; but no doubt these difficulties will be duly considered before the scheme is promulgated."

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THE *Bombay Guardian*, a Christian newspaper takes "grave exception" to the resolution on conscience clause, unanimously adopted by the Bombay educational conference. According to it,

the very purpose of mission institutions is "to point the pupils to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world" and for a missionary to let these institutions sink to the level of purely secular schools and agree to an arrangement which "withholds the Bread of Life from the youth of India" is to betray the high trust bestowed upon him by the Master. This a very high conception of the task of the missionary and certainly does credit to his religious zeal, but let it be clearly understood that what Indians want is not that the teaching of the Christian Scriptures be abolished in missionary institutions, but that it should not be forced upon those who are unwilling to profit by it, and that it should not be in the power of the missionaries to deny secular education to those who care for it alone, to the exclusion of religious education, in State-aided institutions. That to so deny secular education to those who refuse to submit to an indoctrination in a foreign religion is to use indirect compulsion, the *Bombay Guardian* candidly admits, when it says: "We do not think that the great proportion of Parsee, Muhammadan, and Hindu parents would consent to their sons and daughters attending Bible classes if Government insisted on a conscience clause permitting them to stay away."

THIS passage should be well pondered over by those missionaries who, like the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, put in a strong plea for real freedom being allowed to students and yet resist the introduction of the conscience clause. The Rev. Holland says:

"The point for which I wish to plead is that whatever be our method, our Christian propaganda shall be really free at every point—that it shall never rely on compulsion as a weapon. . . . We are here to preach Christ to those who will listen and receive; not to an audience collected by compulsion."

If it is so, the present system, on the *Guardian's* own showing, stands condemned. The specious argument frequently advanced by missionaries that the Government grant has no concern with religious instruction but is given only for secular education, has been repeatedly answered. Lord Morley has once for all neatly exposed the fallacy underlying it in the following words:

"The State may disclaim all concern in the sectarian teaching, but as the school in which it is given could only be kept open on condition of State aid, it is the shallowest quibble to say that this State aid does not go to the maintenance of the sectarian teaching which would not be so given without it."

THE *Tribune* says that "Mrs. Besant is guilty of something more than a glaring inconsistency," if, after her previous explanations in a different sense, she now adduces the reason, in defence of her vote at the all-India Congress Committee's meeting against the sending of the Congress deputation to England immediately, that she feared that the Committee would choose such men as would yield too readily on important points in the Congress-League scheme. In that case, our con-

temporary thinks that she is guilty of the distrust of the older leaders when they have done nothing to deserve such distrust, but expresses a doubt as to the fact of Mrs. Besant having tendered such an explanation. We have only to refer our contemporary to *New India* of the 4th inst., in which it is expressly said: "We may now say for Mrs. Besant that she voted for delay in sending the Congress deputation, because she was afraid that . . . inadequate reforms would probably be accepted by those" chosen by the Congress Committee meeting.—The *Tribune* questions the propriety of our speaking of the Home Rule League deputation as sticking to the Congress-League scheme against all odds and winning it from an unwilling British Cabinet. Here we have merely expressed the belief of the Home Rule Leaguers and their readiness to take exclusive credit to themselves for a staunch adherence to the fundamentals of the Congress-League scheme, which claim of course we cannot allow.

THE Hon'ble Mr. Stone, the Director of Public Instruction, Madras Presidency, in his latest quinquennial review, greatly deplored the lack of educational facilities for secondary education. They were confined only to a few large centres and pupils who wanted to go in for secondary education had to be away from their homes and reside amidst unwholesome environments. He therefore earnestly pleaded for a wider expansion of secondary schools so as to place secondary education within easy reach of all students. We are glad to know that the Madras Government have at last seen the necessity of adopting measures to remedy this defect. They have recently passed an order raising to the grade of secondary schools 17 of the existing incomplete secondary schools, 2 under municipal management and 15 under local boards. They have also decided to place at the disposal of the local bodies the whole of the expenditure required for preliminary equipment and half of the estimated recurring expenditure. This is undoubtedly a notable departure and as such should be warmly welcomed. The other provincial Governments, we hope, will follow suit.

THE Punjab Government have recently issued a press *communiqué* extending a general measure of clemency to some of the persons convicted in the dacoities committed in the Multan, Jhang and Muzaffargarh districts in the spring of 1915. Those whose offences involved outrages upon women or were of a violent nature will not be allowed the benefit of this concession. We are glad to learn, however, that such cases are not numerous. The sympathetic attitude displayed by the Punjab Government will be greatly appreciated by the people of the province. It is bound to have, besides, a very ennobling influence on the culprits themselves. We congratulate the Punjab Government on their generosity and hope that they will extend clemency to other suitable cases.

### COMMISSIONS AT LAST !

" MOUNTAINS are in labour, and out comes a wretched little mouse." The long awaited announcement of the Government of India on the question of King's commissions has been published at last, and it will be sure to give rise to even greater disappointment than such long-expected events proverbially do. The justice of the demand for commissions in the Indian army by Indians was in theory acknowledged by all thinking Englishmen even before the war; the magnificent outburst of loyalty on the part of Indians in the early days of the war convinced many an enemy of Indian aspirations that the grant of this just demand will not lead to political disaster; Mr. Montagu's promise of August 20 last and the more recent undertaking given at the Delhi Conference less than two months ago apparently completed for ever the history of one episode in India's grievances. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. The War Office, the Government of India and our opponents have proved too strong for justice, loyalty and promise; for when the Indian, good easy man, felt sure that his military greatness was a-ripening, a killing frost in the shape of this announcement has come to shatter all these hopes.

Indians had till now fed themselves on hopes even against appearances and whispers. The much trumpeted announcement of last year resulted only in giving commissions to nine Indians that had got them once before; the net result of this was, we are told, the loss of a few years' seniority by the men thus apparently favoured. One of these favoured (?) few has given up an honourable military career, decorated by several high distinctions, and taken to the civil line in disgust at the treatment within the course of a year. The feeling on this matter was so pronounced at the Delhi Conference that it would have been an open fiasco if the authorities had not promised that commissions in the army would be freely given to Indians and proper institutions for training officers would be immediately established in India. Now, look at the actual fulfilment of this promise. There are apparently four ways in which commissions would be open to Indians according to this dispatch. You surely cannot dream of asking for more avenues!

The first of these is " a certain ( blessed word, which covers anything from two to two thousand or more) number of substantive King's commissions in the Indian army to selected Indian officers who have distinguished themselves in the present war." When every Tom, Dick and Harry of fair complexion in England or India is getting commissions in England and India, it is interesting to observe the number of words which can be twisted into so many reasons for not giving any commissions at all. What is to be understood by " specially distinguishing oneself" and by " a certain number?" It is by the way interesting to note the admission

that the commissions given so far were not substantive but merely nominal or rather adjectival. A man may have won the Military Cross, the military medal or even the Victoria Cross, but he can easily be brushed aside as not having " specially " distinguished himself or because the " certain " number has been already filled up. We shall be surprised indeed if even ten Indians get the King's commissions through this avenue.

The second avenue is frankly nominal, for it deals only with *honorary* commissions. This does not interest the general public in the least; there are already several Indian princes holding such honorary positions and it is not likely to bring the end of the war a bit nearer or make India appreciably better prepared for self-defence if the terms " Lieut.," " Capt.," or " Major " are added to the list, already fast increasing, of various titles of honour like Rao Saheb, Diwan Bahadur, or even Mahamahopadhyaya or Shams-ul-ulama, which " carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension," to use the words of the announcement.

The third avenue is opened in these words: " A certain number of temporary, but substantive, King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates, nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army." Mark here again the qualifying words which can be used as so many loopholes to escape from this promise. But, even interpreted in the most liberal manner, what does this amount to? The explanation attached will make this clearer. First of all, these are to be temporary only. The men selected are to be retired after the war—with permission to wear the uniform of the rank held at the time of retirement. Very gracious indeed! If the war ends in two or three years they will be altogether stranded with no career or even preparation for a career. Then again the men in civil life are to be *selected* by local Governments " from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting in the present war." As regards the former part, every one knows how Government makes these selections. A well-known instance is the old Statutory Civil Service, to which selections from "good families" were made in such a uniformly bad manner that people wondered whether the object was to discredit the capacity of Indians for administrative posts by showing these statutory civilians up as failures. The second part really shows the idea at the bottom. These are to be really rewards for recruitment. Of course, no objection can be made to some special recognition being accorded to a zealous recruiter. But the qualities required for recruiting are not necessarily enough for a leader in battle. How many men who have become officers in England would have earned their commissions, if this test of recruiting had been applied to them? Is one to conclude then that what Government wants is mere sepoys and that

it has thrown out this bait for recruiting owing to dire necessity, but that it does not really like to see many Indians holding the King's commissions? What Indians want is a military career open to everybody, "*carrières ouvertes aux talents*," and this is what the concession does not give. We do not mean for an instant that commissions should be given merely on the result of a competitive examination, but that everyone who is qualified by good physique, character and education should have this career open. We know that to be a member of an aristocratic family is not necessarily a proof of ability—often it is the exact reverse—and these various conditions, attached to the grant of commissions, are not at all what was wanted or what will satisfy the demand of educated India.

But wait, there is the fourth avenue to the King's commissions "The Government of India have also decided, with the approval of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India, to nominate ten Indian gentlemen annually during the war for cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst." Prodigious! As many as ten! Gentlemen between 17½ and 20! During the war! What more do you want? These ten gentlemen, after their training at Sandhurst, are more than enough to officer the five lakhs of men that are to be raised every year! Let us suppose that the war lasts for ever. Assuming that the military life of an officer is about twenty years—in days of war, we are told, it is to be measured by weeks or even by days rather than by years—this would give us two hundred Indian officers at a time after twenty years. During peace time, when the strength of the Indian army was about 150,000, the officers in that army numbered about 3300. The number of men required to officer the Indian army that is being raised or has been raised would be about ten times the number. In any serious scheme of a national army, which would be the bulwark of India's freedom and a pledge of the sanctity of India's soil, we must have a respectable percentage of the officers required recruited from the children of the soil. The proposals made are nothing but a cruel joke towards educated Indians. How much even of these ridiculous proposals is actually going to be brought into operation is altogether a different, and not quite so certain a, matter.

The proposals say nothing about the officering of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force. They obviously mean that there is to be no Indian officer holding the King's commission in this section. We put it to Government in all seriousness whether this is likely to make that section the success that we all desire it to be. After all it is native bravery and military training that can avail a country in these days of whole nations in arms in any effective scheme of national defence. For this you must go the right way about it.

The measures of Government outlined above are no answer to India's demand. It would almost have been better if such proposals had not

been published at all. For the proposals have only made clearer the fact that the military authorities at any rate will show no practical sympathy with the legitimate ambition of India's sons to defend their motherland. They are apparently more afraid of Indians in India than of the Germans, Turks or Pathans who may, as a remote possibility, venture to invade India. These measures are certainly not measures begotten in a spirit of generous confidence. Educated India is at heart loyal and yearning to show that it is so. A bold policy that would appeal to the heart is what is wanted. But you asked for bread and you get a stone.

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MYSORE.

THE ninth Birthday Session of the Mysore Economic Conference, which met this year under the presidentship of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, finished its deliberations during the course of the last week. The opening address of the Dewan is able, lucid, and inspiring. It breathes a spirit of genuine earnestness and gives an unmistakable indication of the fact that the Mysore State is bent upon utilising all its energies in the direction of ameliorating the economic condition of its people. The proceedings of the Conference, will be read, we are quite confident, with immense profit by the officials in British India whose efforts for the development of its resources have so far been very spasmodic and half-hearted. The only comprehensive enquiry undertaken of late was that of the Holland Commission. This Commission was hailed with intense enthusiasm by the Indian public as they regarded it as an honest and sincere attempt to grapple with the economic problem. Owing to other preoccupations however, the Commissioners have not been able to present their report. This inordinate delay has chilled the public ardour and made them somewhat indifferent to the final outcome.

The Dewan in his speech referred to the low standard of living prevalent in this country, and he rightly observed that the continuance of the present objectionable system was due to lack of incentive and suitable opportunities. Nothing at all was done to take the public mind out of the groove of thought into which it had fallen. According to his estimate, the average wealth of Mysore was Rs. 338 per head of population whereas in the United Kingdom it was Rs. 6000 before the war. In production, the average income of a Mysorean never went beyond Rs. 40 per head, while in the western countries it ranged between Rs. 500 and Rs. 700 per head. When such a state of things can be remedied, it is the clear duty of the State to see that sufficient wealth is built up in the Districts and a sufficient margin left which would give the people some staying power in times of distress. The Dewan at the outset gave a succinct account of the actual work done during the past year by the three central committees. The Industries and Commerce Department was reorganised and the latter was constituted into a distinct branch

under the immediate direction of a separate officer. In spite of numerous difficulties in the way of procuring machinery steps were taken for the manufacture of soap, installation of a plant for lac-dyes and varnish and the foundation of a metal work factory. A sum of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs was advanced, for the encouragement of private industrial enterprises. The attention of the Agriculture Committee was directed to the extension of fruit culture, development of sericulture, cattle and sheep-breeding, use of better manures, forest and fuel plantations and the organisation of rural credit. Propagandist work was carried on by the publication of leaflets on tank repairs, scientific distribution of water for irrigation purposes, well-sinking and care of live stock. The Education Committee continued to look after the further development of the several schemes started at its instance, such as the fostering of industrial education, opening of taluka and village libraries and the extension of the Boy Scouts movement.

For purposes of actual work, the State is divided into 100 unit areas. The work of the Progress Committees in these areas does not, it seems, come up to the expectations of the Dewan, who has pleaded for more energetic and sustained activity. The scheme for enlisting the part-time services of honorary workers is a most desirable feature of the Conference organisation. So far they have been successful in gaining the active support of about 8000 workers.

After giving a concise *resume* of the work actually done, the Dewan proceeded to give an outline of the plan of work in the future. The programme, we are glad to note, is very comprehensive, including as it does agricultural, industrial, and commercial development, and incidentally the development of education in all its branches, as it forms the bedrock of all progressive activities.

The agricultural production has increased by 50 p. c. in ten years. The Dewan observes that it is quite easy by scientific water regulation alone to increase it still further by 30 p. c. The mineral wealth of the State is hardly yet touched. The question of forest development has only recently been taken up seriously. There is plenty of wastage of water, which can be profitably harnessed for productive purposes. The Dewan rightly insists upon the development of State trade and industries. He has set before the people the ideal that 1/5 to 1/4 of the total population of the State should be employed on industries and trade. We concur with the remarks that there should be ample provision for literary and professional education. In the case of the latter, there is still a great leeway to make up. The Dewan, therefore, rightly suggests the preparation of estimates of the number of men and women to be kept under training and intends to provide for them in institutions either within or without the State limits. He thinks provision should be made for short courses for the benefit of adult population. He has also under consideration the question of starting continuation schools in each

district for training youths from 14 to 18 years of age. The instruction imparted will be in two grades corresponding to the secondary and primary grades of general education. The continuation school will teach agriculture, commerce, business, elementary engineering, minor crafts and industries. The most interesting item of the programme is the future development of towns and villages. Every town should have extension areas and "industrial suburbs." There must be carefully laid out plans so as to give encouragement to intending settlers and prospective industrialists. It is proposed to have in every town a town-hall, a library and a reading room, an Enquiry Office and a museum, a bank or a branch bank, a branch chamber of commerce, co-operative societies, an association for looking after the interests of the public, co-operative store, hostels and boarding houses, usual educational institutions, and a vigilance committee. The ideal is undoubtedly a very high one, but we are quite confident that under the able and energetic guidance of a minister of the calibre of Sir M. Visvesaraya, and with the whole-hearted co-operation of the enlightened people of Mysore, the State will be able to realise it at no distant date.

#### ACCEPTANCE AND NON-ACCEPTANCE.

THE discussion about 'acceptance' and 'non-acceptance' is no doubt of academical interest; but even in academical discussions, it is desirable that the cob-webs of the mind should be swept away and that we should be perfectly clear in our ideas. The *Mahratta* of the 2nd instant says: "If the new situation helps us in accelerating our progress, who would not take advantage of it?" The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* also says: "In saying that we shall not 'accept' Mr. Montagu's reforms if they fall short of the Congress-League scheme, we do not mean that we shall boycott the reformed machineries of legislation."

Practically speaking, therefore, the *Mahratta* and the *Patrika* seem to take a conscientious objection only to the use of the word "acceptance," and not to the real thing denoted by it. Their position can be described best by the word, hairsplitting. But no amount of hairsplitting can help anyone to get over the fact that the word "acceptance" is perhaps the only right word at present in the English language to describe the attitude of all those who will not obstruct actively or passively the operation of Mr. Montagu's scheme, but will co-operate with him to make it a success and a stepping-stone to future advance. If the *Mahratta* or the *Patrika* can give us a better word for the purpose, well and good; but meanwhile it is idle for them to pretend that this is not the fit word. It simply takes my breath away to hear anyone talking a "gulling" or "deceiving" the public into the use of this word.

Both the *Mahratta* and the *A. B. Patrika*, seem to labour under a terrible misapprehension so far

as the use of this word is concerned. They apparently think that once we express ourselves to the effect that we "accept" Mr. Montagu's scheme, we sound the death-knell of all hopes of future advancement and bind ourselves hand and foot, so to speak, and cease to move forward. The *Mahratta* has given expressions to this baseless fear in so many words: "Acceptance would again demand from us a cessation of agitation on our part," and the *Patrika* quotes these lines with approval; but let them answer this simple question. They say that they will "accept" the Congress-League scheme. Suppose Mr. Montagu gives us the Congress-League scheme in toto. In that case, will their "acceptance" of it in any way mean that they will stop dead with the Congress-League scheme forever as the last full measure of our national destiny? Will they "cease to agitate" thenceforward?

No, self-government on colonial lines is our goal, and unless and until we reach that goal there can be no question of anyone among us being "quite satisfied" with anything less and stopping short on the onward journey. Neither the *Mahratta* nor the SERVANT OF INDIA, neither 'extremists' nor 'moderates' will rest and lay down their oars so long as the nation has not passed through all shoals and rocks and quicksands and safely reached the harbour of our hopes, the glorious port of our dreams, Home Rule, and cast anchor there. There can be no question of anyone stopping short of this our one ideal, be he extremist or moderate. To raise such a question, therefore, is absolutely irrelevant and positively mischievous. It is unjust, uncharitable. The acceptance of Mr. Montagu's scheme by anyone can and will never mean the complete and final cessation of our political activities anymore than the acceptance of the Congress-League scheme can mean. Therefore, this has got nothing to do with the question of acceptance. The *A. B. Patrika* has referred to the Minto-Morley reforms and the part played in their advent by the late Mr. Gokhale and other 'moderate' politicians in meaningless terms. I ask the *Patrika*: When Mr. Gokhale "accepted" those reforms, did he give an undertaking to Government that he would thenceforth renounce all claims on behalf of his country? On the contrary, did he not agitate for further progress and actually draw up a scheme much in advance of the Minto-Morley reforms? Then, where is the sense in saying that "acceptance" means political suicide? Is it not travesty of the truth to say so?

The *A. B. Patrika* has perhaps unintentionally stumbled into the right analogy in referring to the Minto-Morley reforms. I assure the *Patrika* that "acceptance" in the case of the Montagu scheme means no more than what it meant in the case of the Minto-Morley reforms—no more nor less.

Of course, if Mr. Montagu's scheme is too inadequate to be of any real value, if it is such as to dupe us into silence without substantially taking

us forward, then no patriotic Indian can have anything to do with it. But if it is a solid measure of present reform and, further, if it contains all the germs of future development that we want, I do not see why we should not accept it for the time being in the sense in which we accepted the Minto-Morley reforms, on the score that it does not fulfil all the terms of the Congress-League scheme in all respects. As Mr. C. P. Ramasawmi Aiyar has said in his recent Gokhale Hall speech, that the scheme is not perfect, it is not sacrosanct. It is just our scheme. I daresay nobody thought of sticking to every letter of the scheme when it was first drawn up. And if Mr. Montagu's scheme fulfils the spirit of our scheme, there is no reason why we should not say that we accept it for the time being. This way statesmanship lies: this seems to me merely common sense.

That is why I am glad that the two foremost exponents of what is known as the extreme left wing of Indian politicians, have agreed to utilise Mr. Montagu's reforms to the fullest extent; though they shudder at the very mention of the word "acceptance" and protest against it rather too much. I am glad that they have thus set their face against all vague and loose talk of passive resistance and boycott in which some of their ardent followers are already indulging. In this they have only followed the eminent lead of Mrs. Besant who in her *Commonweal* of the 24th ultimo has declared herself unmistakably on this most important point. Her attitude, as stated there, seems to me the only sensible one that any body can adopt on this vital question of questions at present affecting our welfare.

Yet, strange as it may sound, her *Commonweal* note has given rise to a regular battle of words in the columns of the *Hindu*. Mrs. Besant has been actually accused of having sold the country to the Government! These unworthy attacks have drawn from her a spirited reply in which she has compared some of her critics to Marat, "friend of the people" of the Reign of Terror fame, to "run wild" with whom she, for one, is not prepared and has re-stated her position most clearly thus: "I prefer the Irish policy which fought inside the Parliament for Home Rule to sulking outside"—a sentiment to which nobody outside the lunatic asylum will take exception.

This is the only sensible, the only practical view. Nay, this is the only possible view that any one can reasonably take under the circumstances. Let me illustrate my meaning by referring once more to the Minto-Morley reforms. We all know that very many good folk did not "accept" those reforms. We have it on the authority of the *A. B. Patrika* that the Nationalists "held aloof" and "boycotted" those reforms. Well, what happened? The Minto-Morley reforms did not fly to pieces; they came and they were welcomed by a large body of responsible opinion in the land; they have remained on the statute-book ever since: the country as a whole has made the best possible use

of them, with the consequence that we are now going to get more and greater reforms. Does anybody fancy we could get any reforms now, but for the fact that we got the Minto-Morley reforms then? Yet, some of us have not ceased or abated even by a jot their abuse of those who secured for us those reforms then and are engaged in similarly abusing all those who are honestly fighting to secure further reforms now. But mere abuse never altered the trend of history. History repeats itself, and, in this instance, the history of the Minto-Morley reforms is about to repeat itself in the history of the Chelmsford-Montagu reforms. Non-acceptance, therefore, means nothing, unless it means passive resistance and positive, downright obstruction, which the *Mahratta* and the *Patrika* are so ready to disclaim.

S. M. M.

## IRELAND AND LORD MORLEY.

### VII

VERY often a cause gets inextricably identified with a person and not unoften the person himself begins to loom much larger than the cause he represents. When the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by the Lords, naturally the question of Mr Gladstone's resignation came to be bruited about. How important personality is in politics may be gauged by the following words of an Irish leader spoken to Lord Morley at this juncture :

"It is not the Bill. It is the man. He is the personification of their cause before Europe and the World. For him deliberately to step down and desert them will be regarded as the crowning betrayal of Ireland by England. By their cause, I don't mean a Parliament on College Green. It is resistance to the bullying agents, swaggering landlords, braggart Orangemen—that is the cause. His voluntary disappearance would be the triumph of this whole gang of oppressors".

Mr. Gladstone, however, retired but Lord Morley stuck to his task. His was a very keen sense of duty and though he fully realised that no other honourable course was open to Mr. Gladstone but to retire, he also knew that for himself he must go on with his task. Lord Rosebery came in as the Prime Minister. Lord Morley had only to pick the many prizes that lay at his feet but his duty was by the Irish. "We were under a special moral obligation to the Irish, because it was reliance on our fidelity and honour that had induced them to part company with their own chief." The situation in Ireland was daily getting more critical. The Chief Secretary's life itself may be in danger any day. Open daylight murders sometimes took place in crowded parts of towns and not one witness could be found to say he heard or saw anything. Lord Morley graphically describes one such scene. His wife was very insistent that he should leave Ireland and run no unnecessary risks. He wavered for a minute but only for a minute. A talk with Lord Rosebery and the thing was settled; he refused to allow domestic considerations to interfere with public duties and

responsibilities; the new Prime Minister, despite Lord Morley's protests, truthfully announced to the world "that though offered a Secretaryship of State, (Lord Morley) had felt it (his) duty to decline any post which at this juncture might separate (him) from the cause of Ireland".

It would be interesting to note that on the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, when Mr. Asquith came in office, Lord Morley did not care to get a higher office than that of the Secretary of State for India which he held at that time, as he was engaged with the momentous question of reforms. Let Lord Morley himself describe the scene :

"He (Mr. Asquith) hoped that I should remain with him, and would like to know if I had any views for myself. 'I suppose,' I said, 'that I have a claim from seniority of service for your place at the exchequer but I don't know that I have any special aptitude for it under present prospects; and I am engaged on an extremely important and interesting piece of work. As you know, my heart is much in it, and I should be sorry to break off. So, if you approve, I will stay at the India office . . .'"

To come back to the Irish story, Lord Rosebery began badly so far as Ireland was concerned.

"The new Government sailed out on the crest of the wave, and the very next day found itself in the trough of a boiling sea. The new Premier had let slip to the Lords a sentence about England being the predominant partner, whose assent was requisite for Irish self-government. This made it certain that our Irish friends would bear down upon us without loss of an hour."

On this Lord Morley gave sound advice to his Chief and asked him to be more careful when talking about Ireland. The remaining months of his Irish office Lord Morley passed in looking after Irish affairs, quelling disturbances, spreading a more sympathetic understanding of Ireland, holding out the olive branch wherever necessary, taking long tours in restive parts and working long hours in his office.

In 1894, Lord Morley along with the rest of the Government resigned after suffering a "scratch defeat" in the House of Commons. In the General Election that followed Lord Morley lost his Parliamentary seat for Newcastle as he had looked more after the interests of Ireland than those of the Newcastle workingmen. A few months later, however, he was invited to stand for the five Montrose Burghs and he represented this constituency to the day that he was transformed to the House of Lords. His Irish office definitely came to a close. Extremists thought him a failure; others made a juster estimate of his administration. Successful or not, the fact remains undoubted and undisputed that Lord Morley did his best and worked his hardest for bringing about a happier state of affairs, both economic and political, in Ireland. About ten years later he was called to the India Office to an equally delicate and difficult task which he performed with remarkable courage, foresight and persistence despite the most influential opposition of King and Peer besides the Indian administrators, the story of which may best be read in his letters to Lord Minto published for the first time in his *Recollections*.



## VIII

Thick clouds hang over Ireland as I pen these lines. The latest news (24-5-1918) of German intrigue, of arrests and attendant difficulties and dangers make the prospects look more and more gloomy. The great apostle of Ireland's freedom, Mr. Gladstone, has gone to his rest, the great friend of Ireland, Lord Morley, has retired from public life in evident disgust. There is no figure in England who should make Ireland's cause his own. The preoccupations of the present war are many and serious. Ulster and the rest of Ireland, Unionists and Nationalists, Catholics and Protestants, landlords and tenants, are all as divided as ever. Ireland has many a lesson to teach to India. Ireland and India are the two problems that British statemanship has not yet solved, or, as some would say, has not honestly cared to solve. But one feels that many a knotty Imperial question can be answered by the sympathetic handling of the two countries; and all honour to Lord Morley who showed the unerring path that alone can lead to success, to the peoples' happiness and to the unshakable consolidation of the Empire and to the union of all His Majesty's subjects in one unbreakable bond. Will not England even now wake up? We all hope she will.

( Concluded. )

SRI PRAKASA.

## REVIEWS.

## MRS. BESANT'S VIEWS.

THE BIRTH OF NEW INDIA by MRS. ANNIE BESANT. Theosophical Publishing House. December 1917. Price Re. 1/8.

It cannot be gainsaid that Mrs. Besant occupies a front rank among Indian publicists at the present time. By her religious and by her political work, she has raised herself to a *status* from which she could speak as from a "watch-tower." In the book under review, we find a number of Mrs. Besant's writings and lectures, varying in length from 2 pages to about 25, which give us a rough idea of the work that Mrs. Besant has been doing for a number of years past. The dates also of the various writings and speeches could be seen to be distributed over a wide area, and we find in the volume before us some of the select utterances or writings of Mrs. Besant on a variety of topics. The publishers have made four large groups of the writings and speeches. In the first, they give us some of Mrs. Besant's utterances on political matters, in the second on educational, in the third on social, and in the fourth on religious matters. A fifth section gives us Mrs. Besant's farewell letter to her "Brothers and Sisters in India" on the eve of her internment in June 1917. Such of our readers as are unable to purchase the numerous writings of Mrs. Besant can find in this small volume sufficient material to form an idea of Mrs. Besant's all-sided work.

In the political section, we find a number of topics which give us an idea of Mrs. Besant's views on "India, her Past and her Future," "The "Swadeshi movement," "Federalism," and the "Indian Self-Government," which last appeared in the *Commonweal* in 1915. Mrs. Besant's political opinions are well-known, and we think we shall not be justified in commenting on her political views in this short review. So we leave this section alone.

In the educational section, we find one or two important essays, namely, those on the necessity for religious education, which was originally delivered as a lecture in 1908, and the other on the Education of Indian Girls, which was first written as an independent pamphlet in 1904. In the first, Mrs. Besant analyses the conception of the basis of morality, and out of the three possible bases, namely those of Intuition, Utility, and Religion (which, by the bye, has been her favourite theme), she selects Religion as the true and solid basis of morality; hence her argument is, if you want morality, and this could not be gainsaid by any social reformer, you must have religion. The necessity for religious education, according to this lecture, consists in the fact that morality ought to be preserved. Morality is the key-stone of the social fabric, and if you neglect religious education, you destroy morality. In the pamphlet on Indian Girl's Education, which Mrs. Besant wrote so far back as 1904, she tells us that this education has various sides, the religious, the literary, the scientific, the artistic, and the physical. Speaking of the religious aspect, she says (p. 151): "Where any girl shows capacity for deeper thought, philosophical studies and explanations should not be withheld from her, so that opportunity should be provided for the reappearance of the type (in India) of which Maitreyi and Gargi . . . were shining examples." Speaking of literary education to be imparted to females, she says (p. 152): "Vernacular literature in Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, is sufficiently rich in original works and translation to give full scope for study and to offer a store of enjoyment for the leisure hours of later life." Of the scientific aspect, she says (p. 153) that "a knowledge of sanitary laws, of the value of food stuffs, of nursing the sick, of simple medicines, of first-aid in accidents, of cookery and household management and the keeping of accounts" is necessary to the Indian wife and mother. Of the artistic education, she says (p. 154) that "drawing and painting are arts in which some girls find delight and their deft fingers readily learn exquisite artistic embroidery and needle-work of all kinds." And, lastly, of physical aspect of female education, she says (p. 155) that "nothing is prettier than to see a group of girls moving gracefully to the sound of their own young voices, in and out, in mazy evolutions, with clapping of soft palms or clash of light playing sticks." These remarks of Mrs. Besant are very well worthy of consideration at the hands of those who have

devoted themselves to the education of girls, and we strongly commend these people to read the whole essay.

The remaining parts of the book under review take up Mrs. Besant's social and religious views. We find here Mrs. Besant's utterances on caste, on Indian women, on widow-remarriage and such other topics. We also have a glimpse of Mrs. Besant's most vital work concerning religion and theosophy. We may say that the religious section scarcely does any justice to Mrs. Besant's voluminous works on religious and theosophic matters. The view that we actually get is very incomplete. It does not take us into the heart of the occult side of Besantism. We have only a few of her general utterances on theosophy in particular, and religion in general; and we must wait till another great theosophic work comes out from Mrs. Besant's pen to pronounce our opinion on Besantism.

### SELECTIONS.

#### A MILITARY CAREER FOR INDIANS.

IN view of the recent official *communiqué* on the grant of commissions to Indians, the following excerpts from an article contributed by Lieutenant Colonel R. D. Osborn to the *Statesman* in 1881 will be found interesting.

If we had an army of Englishmen at home officered entirely by Frenchmen, the rank and file of which were excluded from any rank above that of sergeant-major, we should not expect them to be enthusiastically devoted to the State. We should consider such an organization a piece of sheer madness, and a continual menace to the public safety. Yet in India we prepare a mine of precisely these materials, and, sitting down calmly upon it, declare that in no other way can we obtain any chance of security. At last it explodes with the most disastrous consequences. We are amazed; and after due deliberation, prepare another mine exactly the same in every respect, and declare once more that in this way, and in this way only, is there any hope of the stability of British rule in India.

The exclusion from a military career, and the consequent quenching of warlike ambitions and discouragement of manly pursuits, have already engendered throughout British India a certain effeminacy of disposition which deteriorates the character far more than anything we can supply does to elevate it. . . It is startling to contrast the manner in which the chivalry of Hindustan served their Muhammadan conquerors, and the manner in which our sepoy's served us. Mahamud of Ghuznee comes down into Hindustan some twelve or thirteen times, carrying fire and sword in every direction, profaning and destroying every sacred edifice he can get at, carrying off enormous quantities of wealth and thousands of captives, and regards India simply as a preserve in which the Muhammadan may gratify his love of plunder and his love of fighting. Nevertheless, his son Musaood has no difficulty in obtaining from his ravaged country armies of devoted Rajpoots, who, under their ancestral chief, cross the Indus, march through Afghanistan, and, in the regions of Khurasan, beyond Herat, repel again and again the incursions of the Seljuks. Under the Mogul sovereigns, the Rajpoot chivalry were the main bulwarks of the throne, and never deviated from this loyalty, until driven to do so by the persecuting policy of Aurungzebe. It cost us, on the other hand, a mortal effort, to get our sepoy's across the Indus. A regiment, a few years ago, broke into open mutiny because it was ordered to

the Straits; and we should find it absolutely impossible to do what Aurungzebe held to be the easiest thing in the world—to keep for sixteen years a Rajpoot chieftain and some thousands of his followers on military duty in the passes of the Hindu Kush overlooking Balkh. Whence this extraordinary difference? There is only one answer. The Mogul Emperors adopted heartily and completely the policy of trust; we have chosen that of suspicion. They drew no distinction between conquerors and conquered; we have acted as though the two were creatures different in kind. The consequence was that Akbar's greatest generals and most devoted adherents were the men his grandfather had conquered; whereas we, at the close of a hundred years and at a time of extreme peril, could hardly find a Native officer to afford us the smallest assistance. Lastly, when Aurungzebe departed from this noble and equitable policy, when he commenced to distrust and persecute the conquered race, they turned upon him, and his power fell to pieces as speedily almost as it had arisen.

Lastly, we come to the officering of the native regiments, and the mode whereby we propose to acquire for the native officer that larger career which he may justly demand at the hands of the English Government. The first difficulty which confronts us is the extreme reluctance which the European feels to any combination of circumstances which might place him in a position of subordination to the native. It is idle to say that such a feeling ought not to exist, or that Government is concerned with the public good and not with the unreasonable sensibilities of individuals. In providing for the public good, individual sensibilities are invariably a most important element in the problem, and to ignore them when they are so keen as in the present instance, would be to insure public disaster rather than public good. Government must make use of such materials as it possesses, and legislate accordingly, not according to some ideal standard of what those materials ought to be. The difficulty, however, though great, is by no means an insuperable one. We would officer the native regiments generally with the same number of European officers as are provided at present; but attached to each brigade, there should also be one regiment containing only two European officers, a commandant and a second in command, who should also perform the duties of adjutant. All the other grades should be filled up by native officers, on pay befitting their advanced rank. There would, perhaps, be five or six such regiments in each provincial army. In the first instance, these higher appointments should be filled by the most deserving native officers in the army as at present constituted; but it should be laid down that for the future no native officer should be promoted to these grades without a knowledge of English, and having passed the examination incumbent upon European officers in receipt of staff pay. All native officers should, in fact, be permitted and encouraged to pass the examinations laid down for the English officer, and be held entitled, when successful, to the same pecuniary rewards. Few who are acquainted with the native character will doubt that they would eagerly avail themselves of such opportunities. And we entreat our readers not to run away with the idea that these standards of merit would result in inundating the army with the ubiquitous Bengalee Baboo. Setting aside the discretion which mingles so largely with his valour, it is an utter mistake to suppose that the Bengalee is intellectually more than the equal of the up-countryman. The Bengalee Baboo likes to appropriate that distinction to himself, because it is the only one which there is any probability that others will accede to him. But it is, we are convinced, a delusion, generated by the accidental circumstance that in Bengal the people have enjoyed facilities for the acquisition of the English language which have only recently been extended to the upper provinces. So far as my own experience goes, I am of opinion that the Punjabee is as much the superior of the Bengalee intellectually as he is physically. The people who hold the Bengalee to be so marvellously

clever are Englishmen who know little of the people living more to the northward.

The merit of this plan is that it would greatly improve the status of the native officer without any way making him the rival of the European. At the same time, the pay of the lower commissioned grades should be increased. The greatly increased cost of living renders this an act of simple justice and almost a necessity. And a proportion of commissions should be set aside in each regiment for men promoted from the ranks, the greater part should be thrown open to the gentry of India, who, though desirous of entering upon a military career, are naturally reluctant to enter the ranks as private soldiers. These commissions should be given by nomination, and only to the members of good families. The sole preliminary test insisted on should be a knowledge of English, but the young cadet should be for a while entered into the service as a probationer, and only held to become a commissioned officer when the commanding officer of his regiment had reported him as fit for such a position. In course of time, as Englishmen became familiar with the sight of the native officers in the same positions as themselves, the spectacle would lose its horrible aspect, just as we now regard with equanimity the presence of a native judge upon the bench of the High Court. When that good time had come, the system might be extended; and the accident that there are no longer officers sent out from England for the express purpose of spending their lives in India, renders it very easy to do so. Supposing that our provincial armies were established and duly officered, supposing, too, that the native regiments, par excellence, those, we mean, officered throughout with natives, had been found to answer in every respect, and it was proposed to extend the system; this might be done, in the first instance, by discontinuing the appointment in them first, of an European second in command, then of the commandant, and filling up the vacancies thus obtained with natives. Then in other regiments, as vacancies occurred, from whatever causes, they might be filled up by promotions from the native commissioned grades, instead of fresh admissions into the Indian staff corps from His Majesty's regiments.

Thus, step by step, and after the lapse of many years, the native mercenary army would be gradually converted into a national force. No injury would be inflicted upon any European officer. Promotion would be in no way delayed; only the admissions into the Indian Staff Corps would be restricted in number until they altogether ceased, and that singular creation became numbered among the things that were. A native force established upon these principles, and supported by English cavalry, infantry and artillery, would be precisely similar in constitution to the auxiliary troops of the Roman armies. These latter were all raised and officered among the conquered people; they formed the bulk of the Roman armies, and generally bore the brunt of the fighting, the Roman legion, like Napoleon's Old Guards, being held in reserve, and only brought up into action at critical moments.

The following is from General Sir George Chesney's "Indian Polity" (1863).

So far then as the army is concerned, the Queen's proclamation on assuming the direct government of India is a dead letter. This proclamation declares that "our subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." To a very large number of the most important class of Indian gentlemen, descended in many cases from ancestors who held high military office under former rulers, the only palatable, and indeed the only form of public service practicable and possible for them is the military; and that is closed to them. While this is the case it cannot be said that the promise held out in the proclamation is fully acted upon.

It may be, indeed has been, said that the change of

policy here advocated would be dangerous; that men of rank and influence raised to high military position might take advantage of the position; that the Munity might have had a very different ending if there had been men of rank and ability in the army to take advantage of the opportunity. Plain speaking is here the best. Nothing will be concealed by silence, for this defect in our military system is so prominent as to be the subject of constant comment. The studious exclusion of Indians from all but the humblest places in our army is so conspicuous, that only one inference can be placed upon it—that we are afraid to trust them. And the danger from one point of view may be freely admitted. The Indian people are not held to us by any feelings of attachment. When in almost every country of Europe men are found plotting against their fellow-countrymen; with the experience of Ireland before us, it would be absurd to expect that loyalty in India should take a higher form than expediency, the recognition that our rule is the best available at present and that, is too firmly established to be attacked without risk. But apart from any question of justice or good faith, it is surely safer as a matter of policy to have men of talent and ambition with you, their interest enlisted in our system, as offering possibilities of high advancement, than that their only chance of escape from a life of obscurity and inaction should be felt to lie in subversion of our rule and the anarchy attendant on such a revolution. There can be little room for doubt on which side the choice should be taken. Too much time has already been lost before entering on the course indicated by policy as well as good faith. Meanwhile contrasts, not to our advantage, are publicly made between the Russian system, its ready assimilation of the races brought under its influence and the utilisation of ability which might otherwise be dangerous, and our hard and fast repressive system.

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