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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Lord Winterton. IN offering a hearty welcome to Lord Winterton, we hope he will make as profitable a study of India during this his first visit as did Mr. Montagu. Lord Winterton served in Mesopotamia during the war and is believed to sympathise strongly with Muhammedan aspirations. During this visit he will not only have the opportunity of knowing at first hand the intensity of Indian Muhammedan feeling towards the Turkish question but also of the feeling roused all over the country by the Premier's speech. His visit will not have been in vain if he studies the working of the various legislatures and understands the keen desire there is for full provincial autonomy, the Indianization of the commissioned ranks in the Army and the abandonment of the repressive methods in meeting political discontent. We hope he will take an early opportunity of visiting the Punjab and will see for himself the physical and moral results of the lathi policy that was till recently pursued there so recklessly. We hope he will not allow himself to be led too much by his official hosts and realise how, without taking another step in advance immediately, including at least full provincial autonomy, the present political discontent cannot be allayed.

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Smyrna. THE flames of the ghastly pyre on which the fair city of Smyrna is slowly burning to death, are shedding their lurid light on the abominable "policy" which has inevitably led to this final tragedy. Though "policy" can hardly be called, what is really an absence of

all definite policy—an unprincipled dodging, a micawber-like hope for something to turn up, a constant manoeuvring to out-trick rivals. The "victorious" Allies, with Mr. Lloyd George at their head, have from the moment that Turkey sued for peace been concerned with one thing only, and that is, how to prevent any one of themselves from gaining any special advantage over each other. As the precious "entente" degenerated more and more into a relationship, resembling nothing so much as the yoking together of two vicious mules, this negative attitude gave way to positive enmity—France backing Angora, England, Greece. But whilst France has been all along quite clear and definite in her object—viz. to prevent a British hegemony at Constantinople and to get the commercial exploitation of Anatolia into the hands of her financiers—England's policy under the baneful "guidance" of Mr. George has been void of any clear aim or objective, let alone principle.

* * *

Constantinople. IT is often forgotten today that England and France forced a perfectly unwilling Greece into a highly unpopular war against the Central Powers, invaded her territory when she was still a neutral Power, flouted her protests and rights of sovereignty as so many "scraps of paper" and waged from a Greek base war against the countries with whom Greece was at peace. When at last she gave way to the big bullies and joined the Entente against Turkey, she was promised the moon—provided she would fetch her down herself. Equally unwilling to treat Greece as a friend or Turkey as an enemy, Mr. George has today only succeeded in alienating every Greek sentiment, without gaining a vestige of Turkish confidence. As a result, we are on the brink of a second world war, once more to be waged for the key of East and West: Constantinople. The entry of Russia is described as being on the side of Angora: whatever the description today, those who think that the Red Army of the Soviet Government is coming merely to the help of the Kemalists out of love for them or spite against England, are profoundly mistaken. Trotskij's hosts may take Constantinople as the "allies" of Kemal Pasha: but they will not remain there as such, and remain there they will. For the freedom of the Straits is a question of life and death to all countries bordering on the Black Sea: of whom Russia is the chiefest. As always, everybody is shouting for the freedom

of the straits, when really he means his own *sole possession* of the straits; and as everywhere else, such an international question cannot be solved by any one nation but, only by a League of All Nations Surely Constantinople is meant by nature to unite East and West: how long will man pervert it to keep them disunited?

* * *

Hereditary Priests
—the Moral Aspect.

WE regret that the progress of the Bill which Mr. Latthe introduced in the Legislative Assembly last year was interrupted in the Council of State. The object of the Bill is very simple: it is to relieve the Hindu non-Brahman communities in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces from the legal liability under which they lie to pay for the services of the village priests even if they do not wish these services to be rendered to them. At present watarand priests can levy fees from people even if the latter do not require their ministrations and the civil courts recover such fees. This is clear injustice and ought to be removed. The Assembly has passed the Bill, but the Council of State decided last Friday to defer the consideration of the measure to the next session, owing to the opposition offered by some members on the grounds that the Bill interferes with religion and that it involves the confiscation of hereditary rights. The former objection, advanced by Mr. Khaparde who, as is usual with most Nationalists of Maharashtra, holds very advanced views in politics and hopelessly antiquated views in social matters, has no foundation in fact, for, if anything, the Bill gives non-Brahmans freedom to employ non-Brahmanic rites, which is but fair. Ignorant of theology outside of their mechanical offices, spiritually dead, worldly in character, the priestly class have lost the respect of the people, because they have ceased to deserve it; and having lost the people's respect, they cannot exact the people's money. We must say that, whatever the Nationalist feeling may be, all the Liberals of Maharashtra are not only in favour of the Bill, but rejoice that the non-Brahman communities no longer sit quiescent under the wrong that is being done to them, but resent it deeply.

* * *

—the Legal Aspect.

THE other objection, urged by Sir Lelsie Miller, that the Bill would have the effect of dispossessing the priests of the right to which they are entitled, does not appeal to us. Even now if non-Brahmanic rituals are used the Courts do not enforce the payment of the dues of the Brahman priests. This, we understand, is the present state of the law on the subject, and if so, even now the hereditary rights of the village priests are being infringed. Mr. Latthe's Bill will not trench more upon these rights than the decisions of the Courts have already done. But this is a matter on which the narrow legal view expounded in the Council of State cannot be allowed to prevail. The privileges, which Brahman priests enjoyed when the ancient village organization was

in force, cannot be maintained when that organization has for all practical purposes broken down. Nor are these privileges in consonance with the spirit of the times and no harm will result if they are swept away. We claim to have some knowledge of the sentiments of the Brahmans on this subject, and we think the Brahmans do not prize these rights very dearly, as is imagined by outsiders. Anyway the Liberals will wholeheartedly support this attempt to do bare justice to the masses of non-Brahmans, and that all the Liberal leaders in the Central legislatures, like Messrs. Joshi, Kamat, Kale, lent their support to the measure is proof of it.

* * *

The Police Bill.

THE Legislative Assembly acted wisely in insisting upon the introduction of certain important amendments in the Police Bill. With the principal objects of the Bill—the prevention of the dissemination of sedition among the police force and the prevention of attempts to induce the police to withhold their services except in certain recognised ways—all parts of the House had full sympathy, but apprehension was felt, and not without reason, that the provisions of the Bill were too widely drawn and would, in the absence of due safeguards, prove an engine of oppression of innocent persons. The Government could no doubt point to the English Act of 1919, which the present Bill closely followed, but the Indian police have acquired such a notoriety for *zabardasti* and inspire such a fear in the public mind that it was rightly felt that the powers that could be safely entrusted to the policemen of England must be hedged round with reservations and checks in India if they are not to result in hardship in practice. Accordingly first the Select Committee and then the House put in several amendments with the object of restricting the scope of the measure. It was made clear that the disaffection against which the Bill was directed was "disaffection against His Majesty" and not mere economic discontent, and that it was subject to the explanation added to Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. Again, *bona fide* attempts to procure the withdrawal of policemen from their duties in a lawful manner were definitely excluded from the operation of the penalising clauses of the measure. It was well that the Assembly tried to render the Bill as harmless as possible. The Bill passed the Assembly on Monday last.

* * *

The Milch Cow
Resolution.

IT is admitted that Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab are contributing a disproportionate share of their revenues to Imperial expenditure and that they are entitled to relief as early as possible. But inequalities which have grown in generations cannot be set right in the twinkling of an eye and so the utmost that the Meston Committee could do was to recommend that these inequalities should be gradually removed in a few years. It was of course not expected that the adversely

affected provinces would accept the Meston Committee award quietly and there was some agitation against it. But it grew very much stronger after Bengal had managed to get considerable relief for this year. Madras, the worst sufferer, conducted the agitation with much energy and skill, though its methods were sometimes melodramatic, as was the adjournment debate in its Legislative Council on knowing the fate of Mr. Schanlal's resolution in the Assembly. However much one sympathised with Madras and other provinces, it was difficult to foresee any other fate for the resolution in the present financial condition of the Government of India, whose deficit has been greater than that of the Provincial Governments. The Finance Members rightly challenged the supporters of the resolution to show how it could be accepted without either additional taxation or inflation of currency. Mr. Rangachar no doubt urged that the sum of Rs. 2 crores involved in the resolution could be easily borrowed by Government. That might ease the situation this year, but would not really solve the difficulty. The amendment asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission for reconsidering the financial relations of the Provinces with the Central Government, was, we think, very properly defeated; for what is now wanted is not advice but funds. Our only hope is in retrenchment, particularly in the military department, with a sane frontier policy. The country is therefore eagerly awaiting the labours of the Inchcape Committee. The lean "milch cow" of Madras cannot hope to grow fat unless fed by that Committee.

Ireland.

OUR London correspondent writes:—

In Ireland people have not yet recovered from the shock of General Michael Collins' murder, so soon after the death of Arthur Griffith. Whether acting President Cosgrave and General Mulcahy can replace adequately the two dead leaders remains to be seen. But that the Free State government adheres to the spirit and the letter of the Treaty is clear from the exchange of communications between it and Mr. Churchill. The funeral of Michael Collins was a national event in Ireland, over half a million people being present along the six-mile route. It is to be realised that both the military and civil leaders of Ireland are very young and very inexperienced in administration and the need of administrative experience in or under the Free State Government is becoming obvious. Lord Macdonnell, formerly Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, and a convinced Home Ruler, has set a splendid example in the declining days of his life, by offering his services to the Free State Government in any administrative capacity and inviting fellow-Irishmen with administrative experience to do similarly in the hour of Ireland's need and peril. Emergencies bring forth the man, and Lord Macdonnell's action should prove to be the finest thing he has ever done in the course of a distinguished career.

It is universally hoped that there may now rally to the standard many other capable and distinguished sons of Ireland who have hitherto been silent or estranged.

WHILE in India the sense in which *That Blessed Word.* Mr. Lloyd George was using the word "experiment" is still being debated, it may be useful, to give the sense, in which the *London Times* understood it :

"Mr. Lloyd George, in his eagerness to reassure the Civil Service, went to the extreme of putting under doubt the whole new system established by the Reform Act. He said it was "an experiment" and that in certain circumstances it might be reconsidered, implying that it might be withdrawn. To speak in such terms of the new system is to undermine the authority which is essential if the reforms are to have any chance of success. The reforms are not an experiment. They are law; they are an integral part of the law by which India is governed.

It thus condemns the interference of Downing Street with Simla :

The Government of India, in the process of carrying out the reforms and confronting the rapid changes which daily arise in the awakening India, is too often hampered by unnecessary and ill-calculated interference from home. The time is past when India could be governed by Whitehall.

The fact is, that at one time Indian publicists had to complain that England left matters too much to the autocracy of the men on the spot, while now after the Reforms we have to fight against the autocratic interference and dictation of the British Parliament.

WE congratulate the Gokhale Education Society of Bombay, of which

Mr. T. A. Kulakarni is Chairman, on having completed its new school building in Girgaon Back Road, the pleasant ceremony of opening which was performed the other day by the Hon. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. The Society was started in 1918 with five life-workers and one educational institution; but during the last four years its progress has been so satisfactory that it now has thirteen life members and seven institutions of which three are high schools. It is very gratifying to note that the discerning generosity of Bombay enabled this Society to expand its educational work and possess the new school building, in spite of the unusual financial stringency that prevailed last year. But its needs are growing and in its latest report an appeal is made for Rs. 3½ lakhs to meet the immediate requirements of its different institutions. Its high school in Parel, which is much handicapped for want of a building, is specially deserving of help from mill-owners, as most of the boys who get education in it will form the skilled labour of mills. A noteworthy feature of the curricula of the schools of this Society is their technical sections in which the boys are required to learn and practice weaving, tailoring etc., which not only teach them self-reliance and a useful trade but add to the resources of the institution.

PROSTITUTION IN BOMBAY.

THE public are indebted to the *Indian Social Reformer* for having published in full the report of the Bombay Prostitution Committee. It was an influential and representative committee whose opinions are entitled to the greatest weight. The report is not unanimous; but that fact is not surprising, since for many decades there have been two schools advocating different methods for meeting the evils of prostitution—regulation and abolition. The former is prevalent notably in Japan and France, while England has been the champion of the latter. The majority report is signed by 11 out of 15 members, while one member has signed the minority report subject to an important reservation. The minority accept the statement of facts as made by the majority and reject only their conclusions and recommendations. On a careful consideration of the whole report we feel no hesitation in giving our full support to the majority report.

The terms of reference were simple and comprehensive, being "to consider means of remedying the evils of prostitution in Bombay". The committee, however, have confined their investigation and recommendations to open prostitutes, that is, those living in brothels, who according to the census enumeration are about 3000 and according to the figures supplied by the police about 5000. The committee have not concerned themselves with the much larger class of clandestine prostitutes who according to one estimate are as many as 40,000 and among whom are included hereditary prostitutes. The reason given by the committee for thus excluding the clandestine prostitutes is that they can make no useful recommendation regarding them, prostitution in itself not being an illegal profession nor fornication a crime in any country. The field being thus narrowed, the majority recommend that brothel-keeping, procuring women and letting houses for brothels should be made offences by legislation. In this they have followed the Burma Act II of 1921. They are willing that the punishment for solicitation should be enhanced from eight days' imprisonment or a fine of fifty rupees to six months' imprisonment or a fine of hundred rupees, but would prefer detention in certified "homes" to either imprisonment or fine. They also recommend whipping as a form of punishment to male offenders guilty of importing women for prostitution or of procuring women.

The majority of the committee suggest that the suppression of brothels should not be sudden but rather gradual. The existing law is sufficient to enable the Government to deal with foreign prostitutes, who, they recommend, should be sent away as early as possible to their own countries with free passages and necessary apparel. They expect that a good many of the dishoused prostitutes will go back to their homes, as they did when abolition was introduced in

Colombo and Rangoon, on the suppression of brothels; but, as a large number would still remain, they recommend that State-aided privately managed rescue homes should be brought into existence to receive and keep them under a liberal discipline. They suggest that for the present the enforcement of the law proposed by them may be left to the ordinary police. They do not recommend the appointment of women police, in view of the difficulty of finding suitable recruits in India, with the necessary education and character, for the difficult work. They, however, recommend that a Vigilance Committee be formed of the representatives of the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Seva Sadan, Salvation Army, Social Service League and other bodies which are doing welfare work in Bombay; that persons recommended by them be enrolled as additional police; and that if they should be forthcoming in sufficient numbers, all offences connected with prostitution be transferred to them from the purview of the regular police.

On the side of hygiene, they recommend that every facility be given for the treatment of men and women suffering from venereal diseases, by opening wards in hospitals and starting special dispensaries in various parts of the city. At present, it appears, there is no hospital in Bombay at which a sufferer from venereal disease can count upon being admitted as an in-patient. The committee refer to the Geneva convention, on subscribing to which as a member of the League of Nations, the Government of India would have to provide hospital treatment for sailors suffering from venereal diseases; and rightly observe, "it will be humiliating to see provision made for a class which is mainly not indigenous, in response to outside pressure, on a better scale than that provided for our own people." There is no doubt that the incidence of venereal diseases is very high in Bombay, particularly in the labour population. A census taken by the League for Combating Venereal Diseases, in the E ward of Bombay Corporation which, we are told, contains some of the biggest hospitals and a large part of the segregated area, revealed the fact that 28 to 30 per cent. of all the outdoor patients were venereally infected, while in the outdoor department of the Motlibai Children's Hospital no less than 18.3 per cent. of the patients had congenital syphilis. The committee observe:

"Our witnesses have it clear that a large proportion of those who would gladly resort to treatment are unable to obtain it. If wards were available where prostitutes and others were treated under humane and liberal discipline, we feel sure that a great many carriers of disease could be detained under treatment till they were rendered non-infective."

The work of spreading education about venereal diseases the committee are content to leave in the hands of the League which has been started for combating them. But they make a recommendation to Government to assist in the introduction of sex instruction in schools—the instruction being given to older boys by carefully selected teachers—

and in the preparation of simple and cheap text books for the use of parents and teachers.

These frankly abolitionist recommendations are unacceptable to the minority consisting of four members. Three of them—two civilians and a military officer—are more or less regulationists, and have refrained from recommending compulsory weekly medical examination only because the medical witnesses convinced them that it was impracticable. The fourth member of the minority, an Indian lady doctor, has specifically disapproved of regulation; and as she is opposed to abolition also, she would appear to support a policy of *laissez faire*. The chief argument of the minority is that public opinion in India, which has from time immemorial approved of hereditary prostitution, is not yet ripe for the abolition of brothels; if properly educated, it may become ripe for it about 20 years hence. They hold that if brothels are suppressed, the number of clandestines will increase, who, not being under any check, will spread infection more effectively; that their lot will become harder, being driven to live with nominal husbands who will subject them to intimidation, bullying and want; and that by flaunting vice all over the city instead of in a restricted area, they will create the impression that Government wanted not to suppress but encourage vice. They are therefore in favour of the continuance of the present system of segregation; some minor improvements, however, being secured by relegating the brothels to back streets, eliminating pimps, inducing the prostitutes to undergo voluntary medical examination once a week, and by more vigilant inspection ensuring that they are reasonably and humanely treated, like the inmates of the foreign brothels.

The minority are quite mistaken in supposing that public opinion in India is yet unprepared for the abolition of brothels. What public opinion has tolerated for centuries is hereditary prostitution by individuals or members of certain castes, living in separate homes. The brothel system, in which a person keeps a number of prostitutes as debt-slaves for his or her own gain, forcing customers on the wretched inmates up to the limit of human endurance, irrespective of their physical condition, is the creation of the modern capitalist regime and quite foreign to Indian traditions. With this organised traffic in vice public opinion in India was never in sympathy. If the majority report had proposed the abolition of prostitution itself as a profession, there might have been some force in the contention of the minority. But that they have not done. So as to the other objections of the latter. We see little force in them and the majority report has met them all fully. The majority have pointed out that when brothels were suppressed in Colombo and Rangoon a large number of the inmates went back to their homes, and the same will no doubt happen in the case of the Bombay prostitutes. And for such of them as will be left houseless, the majority have suggested that temporary homes should be provided at the expense

of the State but under private management. They have recommended a gradual, and not a sudden suppression of the brothels so that there may be no difficulty in finding accommodation for the dishoused women. They have thus taken care to see that no brothel prostitute will be driven on the streets. It is very likely that many of them will join the clandestine class. This the minority consider disadvantageous to the prostitutes and harmful to the community at large. But as the majority have pointed out, it is not so at any rate in India, where the hereditary or other clandestine prostitute is never so degraded or cruelly treated as the brothel inmate. The change would therefore not be for the worse. And the clandestines are so numerous, about 40,000 as already stated, that an addition of two or even three thousand will make no appreciable difference. The minority have failed to give due weight to the main contention of the majority that brothels and segregation increase the demand for prostitutes by advertising the supply, while they are absolutely useless in checking the spread of disease and what is worse they have soporific effect on public opinion. The suppression of brothels is therefore desirable alike in the interests of humanity and decency, and we most strongly urge the legislature and the Corporation of Bombay soon to give effect to the recommendations of the majority report.

RAILWAYS AND THE BUDGET.

IV.—ROBBING REVENUE TO PAY CAPITAL.

The Railway Budget for 1922-23 contains a charge on the revenues amounting to Rs. 503'62 lakhs representing annuities payable during the year in discharge of liabilities incurred by the State on account of Railways purchased from companies. During the course of the debate on the demand for Railways, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas made a proposal to transfer the amount to capital (page 3124 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II.) a proposal as eminently reasonable on grounds of principle, as it was on grounds of expediency in the present financial difficulties. The East Indian, the Eastern Bengal, the Sind, Punjab and Delhi, the Great Indian Peninsula and the Madras Railways have been purchased by the State from old guaranteed companies. The purchase price was fixed at £ 69,788,430 representing the companies' stock plus a premium of as much as £ 28,041,387, or a total of £ 97,829,817. (Pages 15 and 32 of Vol. II of the Railway Administration Report for 1919-20.) The premium payable by the State represents at the time of purchase, the inflation in the market value of the companies' stock brought about by the high rate of interest guaranteed by the State itself to those companies during the currency of the contract. (Page 241 of "Indian Railways" by Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasada Tiwari.) Out of the purchase price of £ 97,829,817 a sum of £ 15,985,652

has been paid off by creation of debt and the balance of £ 81,844,165 is being discharged by a terminable annuity at the rate of £ 3,094,029 per annum, so that the annuitants will have received at the end of the period the full value of £ 81,844,165 plus about £ 100 million, on account of interest on capital payments deferred (Page 284 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1919-20.)

The liability on account of Railways purchased from companies is discharged by these principal methods either singly or in combination:—

- (a) Direct purchase by cash.
- (b) Purchase by payment in form of India Stock specially issued for the purchase.
- (c) Purchase by means of terminable annuities. (Para 2, Chapter 11 of the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21.)

When a Railway is purchased by cash payment, as in the case of the Tarkessur, the Dacca, the Ranaghat Krishnagar, the Kalka-Simla and the Nilgiri Railways, the amount involved is recognized as a capital charge. (Pages 276, 277, 279 and 280 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1919-20.) Again when the purchase price of a Railway is paid by the issue of India Stock, as in the case of the Oudh and Rohilkhand, the South Indian, the Indian Midland and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, this amount also is admitted as a charge to the Capital Account. (Pages 278, 280, 281 and 282 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1919-20 and Para. 2 Chapter II of the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21.) When, however, the purchase is effected by means of annuities as in the case of the Railways mentioned in para. 1, ante, the amount involved is, for some occult reason of finance, not included in the capital account (vide foot-note on Pages 276, 277, 279, 281 and 289 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1919-20.)

The broad principle adopted in commercial or productive undertakings in admitting a charge to capital is that the expenditure must represent a material asset, the cost price or the market value of which is not less than the amount of the expenditure involved. It is in pursuance of this principle that the cost of constructing new railways or new works on existing railways and interest during the period of construction is charged to capital. The same principle demands that the cost of purchasing railways should also be charged to capital, for whether you construct a railway yourself or get it ready-made, as in the case of railways purchased, is absolutely immaterial to the question of the allocation of the amounts concerned, as already shown before. The Government follow this principle when the purchase price is paid in actual cash down or by the issue of India Stock, and one would have thought that annuity payments made in purchase of Railways were also debited to capital; since no matter what method you employed

in discharging your purchase obligations, it could not shift the liability from one head to another any more than it could from one person to another in a private transaction i. e., whatever the method adopted for payment of the price of a purchased article the debtorship remains unchanged. But not so where Government or rather their accounts are concerned.

Let us see what the Hon'ble the Finance Member has to say on grounds of principle to the proposal put forward by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. He said that out of Rs. 503.62 lakhs, Rs. 336.62 lakhs represented interest and was obviously a charge against revenue, while as regards the balance of Rs. 167 lakhs, being in redemption of the capital, it was in the nature of a sinking fund and according to all commercial practice would be rightly discharged by revenue (page, 3129 of the Leg. Assembly Debates Vol. II.). We do not at all admit that interest is always a proper charge against revenue; when a new work is under construction the charge for interest on the sum spent is a legitimate charge to capital (Indian Company's Act, 1913, VII of 1913, Section 107); and in the case of the railways purchased, until the payments towards the liability incurred by purchase cease, the interest paid should form a capital charge. But even admitting for a moment that this interest would not be a legitimate charge against capital, we hold that the general revenues have fully discharged their liability for all payments on account of interest. As stated before, the liability for interest amounts to £ 100 millions (equal to Rs. 150 crores at Rs. 15 to the pound) while the general revenues have up to the end of 1921-22 already paid over Rs. 158½ crores and are entitled to a refund of at least Rs. 8½ crores. (See figures in appendix 7 to " Indian Railways " by Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasad Tiwari and in Budget for 1922-23.) This disposed of the claim made by the Hon'ble the Finance Member for Rs. 336.62 against the general revenues of the year 1922-23 and also for any further payments in subsequent years.

We shall now turn to the bill for Rs. 167 lakhs preferred against our clients—the general revenues—during the year 1922-23. This bill is still more easy to dispose of in favour of our clients. This payment is admitted by the Hon'ble Finance Member himself to be in redemption of capital. It is also described in Government Accounts as being in discharge of capital obligations (Vide foot-notes at pages 276, 277, 279, 281 and 283 and headings of the Statement at page 284 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1919 20.) To say, therefore, that the amount of Rs. 167 lakhs is a proper charge against revenue is a contradiction in terms. This portion of annuity is an instalment towards the liquidation of a productive debt and all productive debt is an indisputable charge against capital. This has often been admitted by Government themselves in their annual Administration Reports on the Railways in India. For instance, in para. 4 of the Report for 1910, it is

stated, "The financial result to the State during 1910 of the working of State Railways.....was a net gain of Rs. 298.75 lakhs (£1. 99 million). This result, however, is arrived at after inclusion in the charges against revenue of a sum of Rs. 13.108 lakhs (£ 874,000) representing the portion of annuity payments in redemption of capital. Omitting this item, *which is not properly a revenue charge* (Italics ours) the true result for the year is a net gain of Rs. 430 lakhs." This statement we find almost substantially repeated in at least two subsequent years and in others there have been mere verbal variations of the same statement. A previous Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir William Meyer, also has towards the end of para. 67 of his speech introducing the Financial Statement for 1914-15 in so many words already admitted that *annuity payments are really of a capital nature*, amounting as they do to the discharge of debt. (Italics ours). Again at page 4 of Vol. I of the Railway Administration Report for 1916-17 occurs the following passage; "The net working profit from State Railways.....would have been more had it not been that certain Annuity.....payments *which really go to the discharge of debt* are included in the Railway Revenue Account." (Italics ours).

We have thus disposed of the theory that annuity payments in purchase of railways are not a capital charge but are really chargeable to revenue. As regards the contention that the sum provided annually for redemption of the capital is in the nature of a sinking fund and that according to all commercial practice it would be rightly discharged by revenue: we have heard of sinking funds created out of revenue to cover the costs of eventual renewals, and this to prevent capital being made to pay twice over; but we have never heard of such funds being created to wipe out the original cost from capital which would undoubtedly be the actual result of the present system as stated in the evidence given by Mr. H. W. Badock, formerly Deputy Accountant General at the India Office before the Committee on Indian Railway Finance and Administration of 1907 (answers to questions Nos. 3068-3072). This procedure while it lasts, leads not only to an understatement of capital but also of the net working profit to Government from railways (para 6 Chapter VII of the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21). And when the annuity payments cease and the original cost of the railways is wiped out from capital, the net working profit to Government from their railway property would come to be overstated.

ECONOMY.

THE BIHAR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

IV.—GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.

THE frequent characterisation of Bihar and Orissa by the Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das as a baby province has perhaps given rise to an impression

in the older Provinces that the Bihar and Orissa Council is in a very backward condition and has a great lee-way to make up before it can hope to reach the standard, say, of the Bombay Council. Such an impression would be unjust to Bihar and unduly complimentary to Bombay. I will readily admit that, in knowledge of facts and in constant and unflagging watchfulness, all our Legislatures have yet to learn much, but, as things stand at present, the Legislature of Bihar and Orissa is on a level with that of almost any other Province. Of course this Province has its own peculiar difficulties, the most serious of them being the overwhelming preponderance of the landowning interest. On this point "Bihar and Orissa, 1921"—a very useful publication—gives interesting figures. Of the total electorate some 76 per cent. were raiyats and only 7 per cent. landowners, and yet in the composition of the Council as it resulted from this electorate, the ratio of tenants to landowners was nearly reversed. For in a Council consisting of 76 elected members as many as 45 (or 60 per cent.) may be said to represent landowners and only 6 (or 8 per cent.) cultivators. In fact, the landowning interest is more powerful than would appear from these figures, for among the elected representatives of professional and urban interests, mostly lawyers (19 out of 76), there must be some who either own lands themselves or at any rate are in the interest of the landowners. But, leaving that out of account we can be sure at least of one fact, that "the landlords form a compact party with a considerable majority over all others combined" ("Bihar and Orissa, 1921," p. 15). This predominance of the zemindar class was not much in evidence in the last session of the Council, for there was no question before the Legislature on which there was a violent conflict of interests between the landowning and the cultivating classes. But when the Bihar Tenancy Bill comes on for discussion, at it will in the next session, or when radical improvements are proposed, as they ought to be, in the tenancy laws of Chota Nagpur, I am not sure that some of the members reputed to be "tribunes of the people" will not range themselves on the side of the enemies of the people's cause. The only thing that saves the situation on such occasions is that the Government itself generally favours the tenantry and in face of its support, the landlords, though numerically so strong, have to yield in the end. But there is absolutely no hope for one who wishes to go further than the Government is prepared to do in protecting the interests of the raiyats. I must say, however, that I have not myself been a witness to such a sequel, but from what I know I fancy such will be the case.

The clash of interest between Hindu and Moslem members, which is such a disturbing factor in some of the other Legislatures, is happily not so marked in the Bihar and Orissa Legislature. This Council is not without its extreme advocates of Moslem interests; but for one thing,

they are not very influential or particularly able, and, for another, the more moderate element among the Mahomedan representatives form a set-off to them. For instance, in last month's sitting of the Council, the proposal to extend separate communal representation to municipal boards, in the interest of the Mahomedan community, was resisted by Khan Bahadurs Khwaja Mohamed Nur (since appointed President of the Council) and Fakhr-ud-din, the Minister of Excise and Education. Another noteworthy feature of this Council is that the Mahomedan representatives are not always impelled to side with the executive Government as, unfortunately, is too often the case in some other councils. They are often critical of the policy of Government and only a little less vocal than Hindu members. The Government's position is not, however, quite so desperate, for it can generally count upon the support of many landlords, and the representatives of the planting and mining interests, but still it sometimes finds itself pushed into a tight corner, e. g. on the resolution relating to repressive measures, when the Government sustained a bad defeat. There is no opposition between backward and advanced communities, such as one notices in Bombay and Madras, but that happens not because the advanced classes are more reasonable and accommodating, but simply because the backward classes, of whom there is no dearth in this Province, are too weak and too little self-conscious to make any kind of trouble.

The consequence is that, outside the conflict between landlords and tenants, there are no opposing groups formed in the Council; and since owing to the lack of any extreme partisans of tenants, the essential contrariety of interests between the zemindars and the general population is seldom brought out into strong relief, one notices in the Bihar Council a community of feeling and an absence of factious spirit, which are not found in equal measure in other Councils. The Bihar and Orissa Council is certainly not deficient in independence. A fair proportion of the members are quite outspoken in their criticism of the measures of Government. The criticism is not always well-informed or expressed in the most effective way, but of criticism there is no lack. And another noteworthy feature is that the criticism does not take the shape of an organised and unreasoning opposition to the proposals of Government. One often finds two spokesmen of popular aspirations speaking on opposite sides; no one feels any hesitation in supporting Government if his views coincide with those of Government. There are no distinct parties formed, and the more active members arrange themselves in different groups on different occasions. They come mostly from Bihar proper; Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the other two sub-provinces comprising 11 out of 21 districts being poorly represented. Chota Nagpur is in particular woefully neglected. It consists for the most part of aborigines, of whose existence as an integral part of the population, few members seem to be conscious in their speeches or in their plans for the future. It is a very grave anomaly that while Chota Nagpur is already rich in mineral output, richer still in its possibilities for the future, and stands the most in need of encouragement in education and other matters, it is also the one about

which both the official and non-official members worry the least.

Here I will speak briefly of the personnel of the Council. Among the non-official members Rai Bahadur Sharat Chandra Ray is perhaps the most interesting figure, though he does not fill the most conspicuous place in the public eye. A lawyer by profession, he has now nearly given up the practice of law to devote himself utterly to anthropological studies, in which, as editor of the "Man in India" and as author of several books and essays on Mundas and Oraons, he has achieved a European reputation; in fact, sad to say, his services in this line are appreciated more by European *savants* than the Indian public. He represents the rural electorate of Ranchi; which means that, for all practical purposes, he is the elected representative of the aborigines of this district.

Mr. Ray is indeed the guide, friend and philosopher of the aboriginal tribes residing not only in the Ranchi district, but in the whole of Chota Nagpur. And he is almost the only Hindu gentleman who is labouring for their sake in a truly humanitarian spirit. He has already secured some concessions from the Government, like scholarships for aboriginal scholars in secondary schools, and it is a very encouraging sign that he enjoys the confidence of the leaders of the aborigines and Government in equal measure. Mr. Sharat Chandra Ray is a man of more or less academical interests; Babu Purnendu Narayan Sinha is thoroughly practical and always obtains a respectful and sympathetic hearing for his pleas which he can put in at once forcefully and with restraint. His loyalty to the Government is above suspicion, and therefore his independence is valued all the more and carries greater weight with the authorities. But if he should side with the Government, no one would dare to cast an aspersion on the honesty of his motives. The advantages which flow from the presence of such a man in the Council cannot be overrated. Khwaja Mahmed Nur's utterances are characterised by a spirit of sweet reasonableness, which is appreciated on all hands. The *forte* of Babu Ganesh Prasad Singh is his thorough preparation and the utmost frankness with which he puts his points. Rai Bahadur Dvarika Prasad is noted more for the latter than the former, and his utterances are generally listened to with an amused interest. Babu Nirsu Narayan Sinha's speeches are usually marked by cogency and are delivered effectively. Babu Devaki Prasad Sinha, perhaps the youngest of all members of the Indian Legislatures, is one of the most active members in the Bihar Council and one who owing to his industry, knowledge and readiness in speech, holds out a rich promise for the future.

I am frankly very much dissatisfied with the Ministers. They seemed to me to be merely carrying on, with no definite plans or policies for their departments. Education is in a very backward condition; there is much scope for the reduction of drink; and yet the Minister in charge of the departments is nearly where he was when he was called to take office. Of course there is the financial difficulty, but there is no sign of his struggling with it. This is altogether unpardonable, as all the non-official members are quite willing to give him the wherewithal of the many reforms they desire. The Minister for Local Self-Government is no doubt placing local government on a sound footing, and all due credit must be given to him for it. But this is a comparatively easy thing, as it requires no funds. In the matter of the extension of medical facilities one does not hear of much

improvement or even of plans for improvement. The Ministers lack the breadth of vision and the courage of execution necessary to conceive and carry into effect any large projects for improvement. In this matter I cannot acquit the non-official members of a share in the default of the Ministers. As I said above, they are vigilant and indulge in free criticism where actions of the reserved side of Government are concerned; but if they are constantly nagging at the reserved branch, they are altogether too indulgent to the transferred. They do not seem to be alive to the fact that it is necessary, within limits, to criticise even popular Ministers, if you wish to keep them up to the mark. It is their business to make the Ministers formulate a policy for the development of their departments which will be acceptable to the general public and hold them by unwearied watchfulness to the execution of the policy. Popular government will be real success only when it is exposed to an unending stream of criticism and is able to meet all this criticism. The popular Government that obtains in Bihar and Orissa is a by-word for stagnation.

In conclusion, I desire to say a word about Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha who presided over the last session of the Council and is now succeeded by Mr. Nur. By his admirable conduct in the chair Mr. Sinha reduced to a minimum and indeed absolutely nullified the theoretical objection which can be urged against the combination in one person of the two incompatible offices of the Speaker and an executive officer. There is one feature in connexion with this which deserves particular notice, and that is the frequency with which non-official members were encouraged by him to utilise their power of putting supplementary questions. I do not know of any other Legislature in India in which legislators exercise this right with half the frequency.

WAYFARER.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRISLAU, AUG. 18th 1922.

THE London Conference has suffered shipwreck. The money-market has answered the event with a fall of the German mark which is beyond parallel in history. Stock exchange operators are on the whole pusillanimous people and it has often been stated that the bourse is like a hysterical girl as regards over-sensitiveness. But in this case the peril appears to be far from imaginary. Central Europe looks upon the French attitude at the present moment as upon a sort of declaration of war. There can indeed be little doubt, that M. Poincaré came to London this time with the firm purpose to make an end of the hitherto used methods of dealing with the German problem. The Versailles Treaty had been declared incapable of execution in Germany from the very first moment of its existence, nevertheless Germany was compelled to sign it and to sign the London ultimatum with its conditions of payment as well. The democratic German government went the only way left to it. It said let us try honestly to fulfill it, then they will see themselves that it is impossible. And so it seemed. What all national economists of the world, what every common or garden banker knew from the first day of the payments, took place exactly as it had been predicted: the German

mark fell until the possibility of payments vanished altogether. How could it be otherwise? Germany has been bereft of its colonies, its mercantile marine, large part of its rolling stock, of the valuable part of Upper Silesia, of some of its most fertile provinces; it is overcrowded with "repatriated" people, it has lost its trade abroad and the money it had invested in enterprises abroad, nor has it any longer any cables. A few figures show what has become of it: the imports of raw materials have fallen to 36 per cent. of what they were before the war, the production of unwrought iron has decreased from 11.5 millions of tons to 6.4 millions, the meat consumption has become less than a third from what it was; the output of coal has decreased by more than 20 percent. At the same time so much coal must be supplied to France that the very districts that produce this coal must import enormous quantities of English coal in order to enable their industry to go on with their work. In such ways a new kind of war-indemnity is created which weighs the heavier upon German economy the deeper the mark falls. No less than 2.3 millions of pounds monthly are being paid by now for English coal. This is only one item among many, that have brought about Germany's insolvency. Insolvency has been openly acknowledged by the British Government. It is not so with France. M. Poincaré bluntly refused to acknowledge the economic situation Mr. Lloyd George took for granted. Mr. Lloyd George is certainly not the man to put his political partners into a passion by new and soaring plans. Rather it might be said that—at least as things appear to a continental observer—he seems to manage the British Empire without any plans at all. Still he does not shut his eyes to the facts. So in this as in other difficulties does he not propose more than temporary remedies. Germany is to get a moratorium. It must be owned, that a solution of the present troubles on a grand scale seems difficult as long as America keeps its present attitude. But America who has come out of the war as the creditor of the whole of Europe and the possessor of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gold of the world, behaves very much like Achilles in the Trojan war, who sat grumbling in his tent and followed the doings of friend and foe alike with a very small amount of interest only. The endeavour to induce America to take part in a general regulation of the mutual liabilities, which was lately made by Balfour, has turned out an absolute failure. This means an advantage for M. Poincaré, who does not see himself impeded by trans-Atlantic opposition. He considers the whole affair as a political question only. If Germany is unable to pay, so much the better for France; it will have to pay with political rights. The French "penetration" of Western Germany must go on. The French Premier on coming to the London Conference had quite a number of schemes in store for this purpose, the most remarkable of them, like the idea of a customs frontier east of the Ruhr district and the transfer of the state forests

on the left and the state mines on the right side of the Rhine to France, showing quite openly and undisguisedly his annexationist bent.

It belongs long since almost to the common stock of knowledge that nearly all diseases of the human body, however different they may be in appearance are to be traced back to small invisible microbes. We should be happier on earth if the sociologists had made it as well-known already that most of the diseases of the body of human kind, such as wars and similar things, are either in one way or the other produced by the invisible activity of capitalist groups, or that they at least prepare the fostering soil without which they could not exist. Everybody knows the fatal "role" that has been played during the world-war by the German captains of industry whose cry for annexations did so much to prevent commonsense from returning to a country which had lost all sense of proportion in the estimation of the resources of the belligerents. They flooded the country with pamphlets in which the absolute necessity to annex the French districts of Briey and Longwy was carefully demonstrated, because Germany could "practically not exist" without the ore that was found there. French industry does not shout its desires from the housetops in such way, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that its representatives are at work pretty much in the same way to poison international relations. Germany has lost its coalmines in Upper Silesia, it is to be bereft of its mines in the Ruhr district as well. This and this only would mean the "victoire finale" in the eyes of industrial France. It would make Germany for ever dependent on French capitalism. More than that: it would make France the unrivalled iron-producer of the world. France enjoys an abundance of ore, but it has not sufficient coal to make full use of it. If it is able to combine the Ruhr coal with its own ore and to use the Rhine as the necessary transport way for its productions, it will have the iron trade of the world at its feet. England especially which suffers from a shortage of inland ore would in this case be seriously injured. It is intelligible that in these circumstances the opposition of the British Government to the French plan of a control of the Ruhr mines was particularly strong. However, nobody knows at present what is going to happen. The enormous fall of the mark reveals what the world is afraid of. It alone spells disaster for Germany. It must be difficult abroad to realise the effect of such an event upon the life of every single individual. All prices rise at once. You go into a shop in the morning, you cannot make up your mind so quickly to pay the price charged because it appears beyond your means, you go home and come to the conclusion, that you *want* the thing, but on coming back in the afternoon you are horrified to find that meanwhile it has been raised to double its former figure. A kind of commercial chaos ensues. Some shops keep to the old price, as long as their old stock

lasts, others have suddenly only "new supplies." A general run sets in. But the means are limited because large categories of people have lost all their savings during the last years and live from hand to mouth. Especially the unfortunate officials are in this desperate situation. A general discontent spreads everywhere. Everybody is afraid of the nearest future. 38 per cent. of the bread Germany eats comes from abroad. It must be bought with marks. But if one dollar is to be bought with more than a thousand marks, will not this end in a famine? Will the fate of Southern Russia repeat itself in Germany? These are the fears that paralyse Germany at the present moment. Chancellor Wirth, who is not by any means given to a sentimental outlook on life, talks of "Germany on the deathbed" already.

Bad as things are one step in advance is to be noted: clearness is growing in all quarters. The conviction that English and French interests are to a high degree identical is losing ground. On the contrary once more, as so often already in history, the Britisher in fighting for his own interests becomes conscious of defending the interests of mankind at large against a special national egotism. Nobody in Germany expects that the English will in the end actually take up arms in this struggle. But one cannot help hoping that the days are passed for the world to look on with folded arms, when a member of the great community of nations is being callously slaughtered by another member.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY AND THE VERNACULARS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It was indeed unfortunate that the Senate should have treated so lightly the question of making the vernaculars the media of instruction and examination at the school leaving stage. What the vernacularists wanted was only option and the Senate would certainly have lost nothing by giving trial to this great educational experiment. It would, on the contrary, have proved its living touch with educated opinion in the country on the subject. Whatever the story of their origin, the National Schools do clearly typify this educated opinion.

In the first place the vernacularists wanted only an option in answering the papers (except in English and a few other subjects) through the vernaculars of the Presidency. This shows their willingness to meet the old school of thought half-ways, and also their recognition of the fact that there would be many examinees whose vernacular would be English. Secondly, they wanted that option only at the entrance examination; so that the arrangements at the colleges would not be disturbed in the manner, of which the Vice-Chancellor has drawn such a lurid picture in his timely (?) convocation address. (It preceded by a couple of days the discussion on this burning question.)

It will be remembered that the vernaculars do now form the media of instruction up to the 7th standard, in many schools of the Presidency. But they have to be replaced by English in the 7th standard, simply because the Senate would not allow the candidates to answer the papers through the vernaculars. What the Government gave some years ago, was made ineffectual by the Senate's embargo on the vernaculars.

The argument that English is bound to suffer under the proposed change scarcely requires refutation. The D. P. I. in his speech during the debate, made it amply clear that no such consequences would follow. He was able to speak from experience of the School Final Examination, where latterly Government had tried the experiment and found it successful.

The National stand-point was, strangely enough, urged by a non-Indian members of the Senate. The vernacularists are keenly aware that India will have to continue bi-lingual, if India's unity is to be brought about. The question of English versus Hindi apart, vernacularists know that one common language for the increasing educated class, if not at once for the whole populace, is one of the essential factors in India's Nation-hood and political regeneration. But the mischief lies in the belief that some people appear to cherish in a corner of their hearts that the vernacular movement is essentially an anti-English movement. Educated India ought to protest against such a gross misunderstanding. English is bound to stay as one of the principal subjects in Indian School and College curricula for a long time to come, and the vernacularists have no quarrel with it. Their fight is against the gross neglect that the vernaculars have suffered so long and they want to see them assume their proper place in the upbringing of the youth of the country.

The Calcutta University has recently recognized the vernaculars as media of instruction and examination at the entrance stage. The Bombay University ought at least to be second in the field. The difference that is sought to be made out between Calcutta and Bombay conditions, is more imaginary than real; for, Calcutta indeed is as cosmopolitan as Bombay, and until recently when it was the capital of India, it used to be more so than Bombay. The money argument, important in itself under circumstances, ought not to come in the way, when great educational principles are at stake.

The Senate by its recent decision against the vernaculars has only shown that it has not even moved with the times, not to speak of its leading educated opinion. This might surely convince our Minister for Education of the urgent need of reform in the constitution of the Senate.

Willington College, Sangli.
29th August 1922.

P. D. GUNE.

MISCELLANEA.

RIGHTS OF HEREDITARY HINDU PRIESTS PROFESSOR KALE'S SPEECH IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

In support of the Hindu Priests' Bill which he introduced in the Council of State, the Hon'ble Prof. Kale made a well-reasoned and appealing speech. He traced the origin of the village community and of the institution of hereditary priests and explained the law as it stands to-day in the Bombay Presidency and the difficulties it has given rise to. Like the artisans and other servants of the self-sufficient village organisation, the priests were recognised as an indispensable factor in the life of the rural community. Their position as hereditary spiritual ministrants was recognized by custom which was enjoined as law by rulers who issued 'sanads' to them authorizing the performance of religious rites and ceremonies as a monopoly of certain families and the payment to them of emoluments. The right to claim emoluments for officiating as priests was declared by the High Courts as a property which could not be invaded by intruders and could not be questioned by the villagers. Numerous cases have come before the courts of disputes between priests themselves for the collection of priestly dues, and also between hereditary priests and 'Yajamans' who have refused to engage their services and to pay them the emoluments claimed in lieu of a monopoly.

The position is most unsatisfactory as many non-Brahmins want to engage priests of their own castes and a great deal of harassing and costly litigation results. The situation is further complicated by the ruling of the High Court that emoluments can be claimed by the hereditary

priests only if Brahmanical rites are performed by intruders and to that extent the right of property in the priestly vatan is taken away. What kind of rites are performed, becomes a question of fact and is the most difficult to decide. Much bitterness is caused by the disputes, and in parts of the Deccan, the situation has become serious. In the face of the disorganization of the old village organization and of the system of caste, it is futile to say that the institution of the hereditary priest must be maintained intact. The vatans of only few of the old village servants have been recognized by the Bombay Government under the Vatan Act, and the other village servants formerly useful to the village community and remunerated by it, cannot enforce their claims to the performance of services or to emoluments therefor. The barber cannot, for instance, force himself on Brahmins who have now begun to shave themselves. The speaker admitted that the priest's vatan was of very old standing and was recognized by custom and law. He also admitted that vested rights had been created. But the question the legislature had to consider was, whether the priests' right enforced against an unwilling Yajaman, was not an invasion of individual and religious liberty. Is it a right public policy that a person should be compelled to engage the services of an unwelcome priest and to indemnify him if another than a hereditary priest was employed?

Professor Kale proceeded to say that he was himself a Brahmin and did not want to look at the question from the narrow point of view of the interests of a caste. He would appeal to his Brahmin friends to recognise the spirit of the times and willingly to concede freedom sought by other castes. The Brahmin performed a useful service to the community, and was venerated for his learning, piety and sacrifice. That position can be maintained only by the exhibition of the qualities for which he had been famous. It could not be kept up certainly by the Brahmin priest's dragging his Yajaman to a court of law for recovering sums of money which he was unwilling to pay. The speaker wished Brahmins as a class to come forward and say to other castes: "Well, you want these rights of freedom and equality: take them and exercise them." The Bill is not calculated to interfere with anybody's religion; on the contrary, it would extend religious liberty. The mass of the people would continue to requisition the services of hereditary priests. The Bill will only make it impossible for a priest to force himself on an unwilling person and will in no way affect inams &c. held by him.

The majority of the lawyers and judges who had been consulted, had supported the Bill on the ground that the existing law was inconsistent with public policy and individual liberty. Some had indeed opposed the Bill and others had said that it was unnecessary. Enlightened public feeling in the Deccan was in favour of the concession being given to the non-Brahmins and harmony and goodwill being restored in places where the bitterness between caste and caste was growing. If the Bill were passed into an Act, it would put a stop to much of the present litigation and minimise the existing tension between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. One high placed European official in the Bombay Presidency held that the hereditary priests ought to be maintained and cites the analogy of the tithes which every one in England, to whatever denomination he may belong has to pay. I must humbly point out that the analogy does not hold good. The trouble in India is that the priests can come only from one particular caste and certain families, and this spiritual monopoly and inequality resulting from it, are deeply resented by other castes.

The law as it stands is not satisfactory and the situation may be met in two ways. Either you have to say that you will preserve the hereditary priests in spite of litigation that is rife and the discontent and the social bitterness that prevail, or you have to consent to the amendment of the law, and give individual liberty to people to engage the services of whatever priests they choose. The speaker preferred the second of the two courses as being the only desirable course to follow. He hoped that the Brahmins as a class, would rise to the height of the occasion and be equal to the sacrifice and social adjustment required.

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