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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MALAYA has not been slow to act on the hints received by its Labour Deputation at Simla. In the "Malay Mail" of Oct. 26th we see a report of a Planters' meeting, at which the Chairman approvingly read out a topic of ours (in our issue of Sept. 14th), in which we had pleaded for the abolition of fines for purely labour offences. Other speakers emphasized that there was anyhow no chance of ever getting these fines paid and in the end the meeting formally resolved " That the Planters' Association of Malaya is in favour of the abolition of fines for labour offences, " One member (who happens to be also on the Federal Council) finally pledged himself " to do all he could in the matter to help it through, when the time came for getting the enactment altered [in the Council]-about which anyhow there would be no difficulty." O si sic omnes !

THE readiness of the Malaya plant-Boom Prices and ers to put their house in order as regards Indian labour receives of course special significance from the "Export of Rubber Enactment "which came into force there on Nov. 1st. The leading idea is a 40 per cent. restriction in rubber production: estates being granted permits for the export of only that proportion, calculated on the output for the year ended Oct. 31st 1920. Anything exported over and above the authorized amount will be liable to a prohibitive export duty. The effect on the rubber market of Singapore has been to force up the price of the commodity from 20 cents per lb., at which it has been stationary since the slump set in, to 42 cents -and this in October when the enactment had not yet become operative! One, can imagine the

panic and boom created in the rubber share market by such sensational rise in the price of the commodity. The English papers to hand (of Oct. 21st) indeed register a rise of good rubber shares from 3s. to 4s., from 18/9 to 25/1, &c.—and the report adds "They should go considerably further". Now that the poor capitalist owners of the plantations have so tenderly been nursed back to profits, one may hope that the standard wage of Indian labourers will likewise be raised -at least to the level recommended by the Labour Committee of 1920. Otherwise the danger is that restricted output will mean restricted tapping work for the labourer and therefore restricted wages. It is consequently most important to see that not only is the daily rate of wages fixed at an adequate level, but that the total earnings of a labourer per month be such as to do more than cover his monthly minimum expenses (which in the case of a bachelor are estimated at \$8 and in that of a family man with wife and two minors at \$14, 20). The fairness of the case is so obvious that we have no doubt that the Government and Planters of Malaya will be fully alive to it, though we should not wonder, if the Directors in England were to be found very much less ready to see the point.

U. P. District an ace of a ministerial crisis last week over the District Boards Bill. The present measure seeks to make a tremendous advance over the existing conditions. The district boards will hereafter be composed wholly of non-officials, and will be almost entirely elective. the local Government being given the power to nominate not more than two persons who may not be Government servants. The sex disqualification will be removed, both in the matter of franchise and membership. Every board will have an elected chairman, salaried servants of Government being specifically declared ineligible for this post-It will thus be seen that internal official control will be entirely removed and external control too is proposed to be reduced to a minimum. The provision which aroused the strenuous opposition of the zamindar class, but which was vital to the success of the scheme, was the one empowering the boards to levy taxes, the maximum increase in land cess being 21/2 per cent. As things stand at

present, district boards are unable to balance their

budgets, there being an annual deficit of from 21

THE United Provinces were within

to 24 lakhs. If the power of taxation is fully utilised, the boards will have an increase in their income of 35 lakhs. So it will be seen that the pitch of taxation as provided in the Bill was none too high. Yet the landowners got alarmed, because the tax would weigh more heavily on them than on any body else and they were planning to throw out the taxation clauses. However, as a result of negotiations the matter was amicably settled and the additional rate on land was put at 1½ per cent.

ANOTHER serious obstacle in the passage of the Bill was the clause in regard to Muslim representation. Now this vexed question was really set at rest so long ago as 1918 by the so-called Rule 13 Committee. The proportion fixed by the Hindu and the Mahomedan members of this Committee was accepted by the officials and was recognised as reasonable by the leaders of the two communities. This very proportion was embodied in the present Bill but the Mahomedan members are now discontented, demanding 30 instead of the 25 per cent. previously agreed upon. The rural Muslim population is a little over 12 p. c. of the entire rural population of the provinces. The Bill offered them double of what they would be entitled to by reason of their numbers and it was a proportion agreed to by their leaders before. But this compact was thrown to the winds by the Mahomedan representatives who moved an amendment for increasing the proportion to 30. They were however defeated by 42 votes to 45, and the most regrettable part of this sorry affair is that among the 42 who treated the compact as worse than a scrap of paper as many as 18 were officials. Indeed, the opposition appeared to be led by the Finance Member, Sir Ludovic Porter, who, as ill luck would have it. was himself Chairman of Rule 13 Committee | It must have been funny to see the Finance Member and the Minister of Education cross swords in the sight of the whole House, and the judgment of everyone must be that the honours of battle lay with the latter.

ONE of the reasons why the people of The Military Policy. the frontier province are crying themselves hourse for a change of administrationfrom a separate province ruled by an autocrat to re amalgamation with the partially self-governing Punjab—is that they do not get that security of life and property which they enjoyed up to 1901, when they formed part of the Punjab. Even some district towns in that province have the gates of their city walls closed every sunset and the whole area of the Cantonment of Peshawar has to be protected by a barbed wire fence several feet deep. Hindus are the greatest sufferers, being richer and weaker than the sister community, and also, as it is alleged, due to the apathy of the rank and file of the police. One night last year four children were kidnapped from a rich Hindu's house situated within the walls of Bannu, though the gates were

closed and guarded by police, and had later to be released by large ransoms. The prosperous Hindu—often woman and child—is a profitable person to loot and kidnap at the point of the bayonet. Is the Government too weak and impotent to protect the people in this region? If so, why should the army be diverted from its legitimate work of guarding the frontier to the occupation of Waziristan, and to the construction of new roads in that foreign territory?

In these days the need for invoking What would ? ob ilidbnaG the authority of Mr. Gandhi in favour of an opinion is obviously very great, and we therefore do not affect to be surprised that Pandit Motilal Nehru should have stated in one of his recent speeches that the line of action recommended by him for non-co-operators -entry into the Councils for the purpose of wrecking the constitution—would meet with Mr. Gandhi's approval. One cannot, however, think of any policy more thoroughly opposed to the tenor of his teaching than this. It will be remembered that when picketing of liquor shops was intensively practised by non-co-operators, resulting in increased repression, Mr. Gandhi urged those who were not disabled by the adoption of the non-cooperation policy from pursuing the constitutional method to bring about prohibition as quickly possible and when the need for additional taxation was impressed upon him, he even agreed to think out a suitable system of taxation. This will show clearly that not only he did not scorn to be benefitted by what could be achieved by means of cooperation, but he would even go out of his way to make the path of co-operators smooth. If Mr. Gandhi agrees to remove the ban on Councils. there is not the least doubt that he will do so not for wrecking the reforms, but for making the most of them.

THE Chairman's speech at the Socialist Propa- Annual General Meeting of the Barsi Light Railway Co., Ltd., on the 10th ult. throws an interesting light on the exploitation of India by "Indian" railways. The gross earnings of the company for the year under review had only once been higher; the traffic receipts for the last half-year indeed had beaten all records; working expenses, though showing "a tendency to increase," could be balanced by "increases in the maxima rates for goods traffic sanctioned by Government with effect from Apil last." As a natural consequence, the company once more distribute a dividend of 12% to their shareholders as indeed they had done for the previous two years: free of income tax, of course. In the face of all these facts, the Chairman not only is not ashamed to admit having applied to the Indian Government for permission to increase their passenger fares still further, but actually makes a grievance of it that the Government has so far not sanctioned it! The "nationalization of railways " may be a bugbear to some classes in England, but there is nobody in India anyhow who is not convinced of its necessity—and we thank the Chairman o the B. L. Ry. Co. for having so forcibly demons trated that necessity.

REFORM OF GURDWARS.

IT would appear that an impasse has been created in the Punjab in the matter of Gurdwar reform. The Punjab Government has shown its active sympathy with this movement of the Sikhs by bringing forward certain legislative proposals intended to enable the Sikh community to manage their shrine property according to their own wishes; but the Akalis, who swear by direct action, would have none of these, and the other sections of the Sikhs, who are not nearly so weak in numbers as their quiescence would imply, do not afford sufficient support in the Council so as to carry the Government's proposals in spite of the blank negative adopted by the Akalis. The Bill that was discussed in the Punjab Council the other day practically leaves the management of certain Gurdwars recognised to be genuine Sikh shrines in the hands of the reformers and should thus in its broad features approve itself to the Akali leaders. But the latter do not as yet give any sign that they will cease to take the law into their own hands provided a constitutional settlement favourable to their just claims is attainable. The Bill was given a first reading last week, but mainly in virtue of the official votes, all the Sikh members remaining neutral, though in July last they had pledged their support to a measure less favourable to the Akalis than the present one. From the reception that the Bill met with on its introduction it would be too sanguine to hope that the measure will find its way to the statute book, and even if it did, that it will remove the grievance of the Sikh community. The trouble is that the Guru-ka-Bagh affair has so embittered public feeling that no solution, however fair in itself, seems to have any chance so long as this sore is festering. A settlement of the Guru-ka-Bagh appears therefore to be an indispensable preliminary to the settlement of the wider

To say, however, that the Guru-ka-Bagh imbroglio should be first solved, is not finding a practical solution, and it is really extremely difficult to make any useful suggestion. With the desire of the Sikh reformers to put their shrines and their endowments on a sound footing every one has the fullest sympathy. That a great majority of the present managers or mahants lead depraved lives and do not deserve to continue in charge of the temples one finds it easy to believe. The only question is, how are the present managers to be dispossessed? The case of the Akalis is that the community as a whole have the right, legal as well as moral, to put away any manager whom they may regard as unworthy of that office. The moral right at least is beyond question, and the legal right too very likely they have. It is not easy to trace the terms on which mahants hold possession of the places of worship and the landed property connected with them; but so long as it is not proved against those who are at pre-

sent in possession, that they have no right to what they possess, it is the duty of the State to afford them protection against those who seek to dispossess them by unconstitutional means. right-minded person will therefore object to the intervention of the State in what seems a domestic affair of the Sikhs. The sympathies of the Government, so far as the religious aspect of the matter is concerned, do and must lie with the reformers far more than with the conservative section. But if it is now taking action against the Akali agitators, it is only for the purpose of keeping the peace, which it is bound to do. If, however, at Guru-ka-Bagh it appears to be interfering against the Akalis, by the Gurdwar Bills which it has drafted and to which it is willing to give legislative effect it has shown in a practical manner that it is prepared to give the reforming party all the assistance which law can give. These Bills are necessary because, unless a special measure is enacted which simplifies the procedure, the Sikh reformers would be left, if they are not to use their present method of . direct action, with civil litigation alone, with its tedious and uncertain processes. It is admitted on all hands that the reform party must be provided with a more swift and unfailing remedy than civil litigation, and the Government has offered it in the shape of the Gurdwar Bill We know that a feeling exists among large sections of the people in the Punjab, who are however not vocal, that the Bill tries to placate the Akalis only at the expense of the other communities. These objections we do not pause to consider or assess; this much is certain that if the Akalis were in a mood to consider any constitutional solution in a dispassionate spirit, they would not have spurned this as they spurn it now. And to constitutional methods they are not likely to turn until they see in front of them nothing but a stalemate. The Guru-ka-Bagh affair has already produced a mass of bitterness; if it should now bring it home to both the parties that there will be no escape from the present deadlock unless some kind of compromise is arrived at, it would have at least this satisfactory result that the larger problem of the management of Gurdwars will be in a fair way to solution.

THE CONCESSIONAIRES.

THE events of the last few weeks at Constantinople have indeed been a revelation—if such was needed—of the "Great" Powers, of their sordid diplomacy and of the still more sordid objects for which their people are again and again been duped into war.

"Business first". The Levant of the Victorian era was eminently a preserve of the French high finance which, taking the effendis into sleeping partnership, proceeded to exploit all these countries (i. a. the masses of their people) in the most approved, up-to-date and scientific manner. In this way Turkey became a financial vassal of the

Paris Bourse, the very finances of the Ottoman Empire being controlled by the foreign administrators of the Turkish Public Debt with subsidiary services, such as for instance the State Monopoly of Tobacco, being turned into foreign-financed and foreign-controlled companies. These foreigners moreover were protected against any Turkish interference by their "capitulations"—treaties under which the foreigner enjoyed complete extertioriality and was totally exempt from Turkish jurisdiction, be the case of a criminal or of civil nature; be it one between two foreign or a "mixed" one between a foreigner and an Ottoman subject.

Now of all foreign money invested in Turkey, it is calculated that the French share amounted to as much as 70 p. c. The first change in this position came about shortly after the German ex-Kaiser's succession to the throne and from that moment onward the wooing of Turkey by Germany went on steadily. Its great coup was the grant to German financiers of a concession for a railway to Baghdad, which in magnitude and importance of course overshadowed completely the few short French Anatolian railway lines already in existence. The German Baghdad railway not only opened a magnificent opening to German "heavy industry", but equally to German penetration in general, which proceeded so successfully that the hitherto undisputed paramountcy of France soon became quite eclipsed by German influences. From Djemal Pasha's recently published book it is clear that the Turkish statesmen had recognized the danger of allowing themselves to be taken in tow by France (or England), who had unmistakeable territorial designs, and the necessity of rather allying themselves with a Power whose ends were best served by a strong and independent Turkey, such as Germany. Djemal Pasha is definite that the "Breslau" and "Goeben" incident was not the cause of the alliance, but its effectthat a treaty existed already at the time and that Turkey's entry into the war on the side of the Entente was never a possibility.

It will thus be understood, how eager the Entente was, once it had won the War, to substitute its own for the financial interests of vanquished Germany. France naturally aspired to get back its old position in Turkey and even to improve on it. But, unfortunately for France, the bulk of the troops employed against Turkey had been British, and thus at the time of the Armistice it was the British who were in possession from Basra to Mosul and from Aden to Damascus whilst the British Fleet naturally dominated Constantinople. As a consequence, French dreams remained unrealised, and the only result of having ousted the German competitor seemed to be the installation in his place of the still more formidable British rival. Britain made itself quite at home in Constantinople and established as real a "protectorate" there over a subservient Sultan and an Anglophil Cabinet, as is to be found say in Zanzibar. Perfide Allion had simply annexed the whole of Turkey—and poor badly treated France was left out in the cold!

That France should as a consequence begin to coquet with Angora, which refused to acknowledge the phantom government of Constantinople, was therefore the most natural thing in the world. If English Big Business hoped to exploit Turkey through concessions obtained from the domesticated Sultan's Sublime Porte, French High Finance would have ago at it through the insurgent National Assembly of Kemal Pasha; and so M. Franklin-Bouillon conluded last year on behalf of France the famous Peace Treaty with Angora behind the back of England, or rather—not to put too fine a point on it-against England. Hence the delirious joy in Paris the other day at the news of Kemal Pasha's complete victory; hence that Lloyd Georgian swan-song, the call to arms to stem the Kemalist tide, which was bound to sweep away the British house of cards at Constantinople.

The rejoicings of France have been of short duration. Her refusal to send troops to Chanak was followed by the refusal of the people of England to go to war single handedly in order to save the exploitation of Turkey for English "Heavy Industry". France has certainly been eminently successful in frustrating the British design; but the grim humour of the matter is that she has thereby not advanced her own design one whit-for the first thing that Kemal Pasha did, once the Western Powers had acknowledged at Mudania his title to Constantinople and East Thrace, was to proclaim that henceforth there would be no exploitation at all by foreigners, not by Englishmen certainly, but just as little by Frenchmen. In fact Angora seemed to be following the obnoxious Russian example of repudiation all round and thus to threaten all existing financial interests, not excepting those which were French, and it was clear that the complete independence and sovereignty of Turkey. which would not brook any further continuation of the capitulations, would be at least equally bound to get rid of the close financial control exercised by the (French) Caisse de dette publique Ottomane, the Regie de Tabacs &c. &c.: whilst the Turkish claim of an indemnity from Greece was an obvious indication to the Western Powers that if they wanted compensation for their bondholders, they would have to get it out of Greece.

That being so, it was now for M. Poincarè to call on his ally and on the Balkan States, to take up arms against Mustapha Kemal Pasha and teach him the inviolability of the sacred right of the West to exploit the East. It is really a spectacle for the Olympians, to see the French and the English Premiers exchange roles with such dramatic, not to say, undignified, suddenness. But "Business first"—who has time to think of decency or even of decorum, when all one's concessions are at stake?

But even this kaleidoscopic change was of short duration. The two rival concessionaires who had made it up so quickly in the face of an Seeing the complete dependence of the Government on the Missionary bodies, it is all the more significant to find that from the very beginning (the Education Ordinance of 1882) a "conscience clause" has always been the rule. Every assisted School has to "be open to children without distinction of religion or race" and "no child may receive any religious instruction objected to by the parent or guardian of such child, or be present when such instruction is given." Yet what the Christian Missions apparently cheerfully accepted half a century ago in West Africa, we here in India have still got to fight for!

Not as if the Gold Coast Government has been actuated by any anti-religious bias in this matter. On the contrary, even in the 1882 Ordinance it is provided for Government schools that "while direct religious teaching is not to form part of the instruction, free access to those schools is to be given to ministers or persons appointed by them, for the purpose of giving religious instruction to children of their own denominations." And our Committee are most emphatic in their recommendation: "We regard as absolutely vital the correlation of religion with the whole of school life and training, and recommend accordingly that religious instruction should be given in school hours"; and .they hold that " moral training cannot be separated from religious instruction without violence and artificial distinctions." "The aim of education is to develop the complete personality. It is therefore as grave an educational error to ignore or minimize the importance of the development of the religious nature, as to neglect the physical by one sided training of the mental."

The principle advocated therefore is that religious instruction must be part of every school curriculum; that it must be imparted in school hours: but that it must not be given to a class as such, but by Ministers of Religion or their appointees to such pupils only as are of their own faith or else whose parents &c. desire them to be so instructed. If such commonsense rule was applied here in this country, our children would not have to grow up in the atmosphere either of secularism or else of an alien faith; but instruction in the Gita, the Quran or the Bible would go on side by side; Prarthana Samajist, Arya Samajist, Mullah, Clergyman, Priest-all being given an equal opportunity of helping to develop the rising generation, not against, but in accordance with the children's own home influences. "Any other method", our authors add, "tends to develop in the child's mind the thought that it is possible to separate religion from the ordinary acts of daily life", breaking down belief, without building up anything else in its place.

It is for this reason, that for boarding schools, especially the "Secondary School" described by us at length, the Committee advocate the allotment of the different houses or hostels to different religious bodies, who will supply the House Master in charge and thus provide for the board-

ers (who of course must all be of that denomination) "the same religious guidance and help as they have had hitherto and would be likely to have for the rest of their lives, and, as it were, to link up their school days with life." These H. stel Masters of course would be, "in matters belonging to the school, under the Head Master's authority, but in matters of house or religious discipline, independent:" the Head Master (or Principal) in every case being by statute a layman. An altogether admirable arrangement-and one only wishes, that instead of multiplying denominational colleges, our missionary friends here would rather content themselves with supplying denominational hostels to undenominational colleges; and that our Education Departments would encourage such Hostels-Hindu, Moslem, Christian-rather than allow our youth to be cooped up by the hundred in barracks of no more educational end inspirational value than that of a Railway Waiting Room.

But, however attractive the subject, we must bring our comments to a close. As the Reporters say, "our demands are high, but we shall not get a satisfactory system of education in this country without the expenditure of a very large sum." Have they got it, one wonders, this "very large sum"? Let us hope that they have, and that no Geddes "axe" has cut down the tree of culture on the specious plea of "economy."

As for us here in India, nobody, surely, can have followed the scheme for education from Kindergarten to College, as contained in this Report, without being struck by the soundness of the underlying psychological and pedagogic principles and without realizing, how favourably the product of such a curriculum, his whole personality unfolded from within like a rose in full bloom, would compare with the unfortunate victim of our own official syllabuses and methods, whose ideal seems to lie nowhere so much as in the direction of the hydraulically compressed bale or the standard size tin of canned goods.

Happy West Africa! Unhappy India!

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)
LONDON, OCTOBER 26.

THE LATE SIR WILLIAM MEYER.

THE sudden death of Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India, came as a great shock to those who had seen him recently, looking his usual robust self. He died without warning. He had just completed a fairly full day's work, last mailday, and was on his way to his flat, prior to going out to dinner, when he fell dead in the street. His identity was not discovered till he had been some time at the Westminster Hospital, whither he had been taken, and then Mr. Shore, the Secretary to the High Commissioner's Office, was communicated with. Owing to the circumstances of his death.

an inquest was necessary, and the autopsy was held on Monday, the funeral taking place at Boscombe, near Bournmouth, where his wife and son's remains are buried, yesterday, the High Commissioner's Office being closed for the day.

Sir William Meyer's tenure of office as High Commissioner will, in many ways, he memorable. To begin with he was the first person, not directly connected with the India Office, to represent in this country the Government of India, and he initiated the process whereby, in this respect, at any rate, India began her advance towards Dominion status. Sir William not only realised the responsibillities and privileges of his office; he made them plain, upon occasion, to the India Office, and there is no doubt that his independence of character has stood India in very good stead in the period that has elapsed since he set up his headquarters in Grosvenor Gardens. The High Commissioner's Office he used to regard as a standing advertisement of India's material potentialities, and he was lavish in expenditure upon such objects as would prove remunerative to India. Thus, he established a museum of Indian products there and the display of useful and ornamental woods that he caused to be made with important results already to India's export figures. Even at his death, there were not wanting those who criticised what they regarded as his parsimoniousness in the expenditure of Indian revenues in Mesopotamia and elsewhere during the war; but Sir William Meyer knew that he was Finance Minister of a poor country, of whose revenues he was the official guardian. His attitude towards the reforms is well-known, and he made not a few opponents because of his wholehearted support of them. If Sir William was unable to serve Indian material interests better it was due to causes over which he had no or little control, and he was always seeking means to serve the country where he had spent so many years of his life. Those who knew him best could best realise in how many ways he encouraged Indians, young and old, to play the practical patriot. His advice, moreover, was not always the least welcome when he gave it in regard to matters which did not come directly within his jurisdiction.

Personally, Sir William was a man of quick and keen intelligence, with a wide and statesman like outlook, in spite of the words to the contrary expressed by the writer of the Times obituary notice. His services to India at the League Assembly at Geneva and the International Labour Conventions at Washington and elsewhere and his advocacy of Indian interests and status, earned for him the title of "The Tiger." His presence at Geneva this year was much missed. His kindness of heart was often concealed by a somewhat mordant wit that gave shallow persons the 'impression that he was a sceptic. Sir William was a brave man. As Sir Valentine Chirol, who presided in his stead at "Monday's meeting of the East India" Association, when Mr. Padmanabha Pillai reed a paper on the

Indian Labour problem, remarked, he had drunk the cup of human sorrow as few have done. He arrived on leave in this country a few years ago to learn with his wife, on landing, that his only son, a public schoolboy, had accidentally hanged himself in play. Lady Meyer never recovered from the shock, and died after a long and trying illness. Sir William found consolation in the companionship of his only daughter, a girl of 17, who, however, one night, at Simla, having gone to her room, had taken poison in mistake for some medicine, in the dark, and who died a few hours. later. Sir William bore his tragic blows with characteristic fortitude and, always a hard worker, worked harder than ever. His loss will be greatly felt. Mr. Sastri sent a wreath in memory of oue who lived and died a friend of India."

Mr. Sastri's visit to this country is drawing to a close. I understand that owing to the present crisis he is going to stay here until the 5th November, catching the following Saturday's steamer for India direct at Marseilles. He has been twicereceived by His Majesty during the last week, and was yesterday received by the Prince of Wales. The Prince was the guest of honour at the Guildhall last Friday on the occasion of the City's reception to him upon his return from his mission to India and the Far East. There were two notableabsentees from the function. The first was the High Commissioner for India, whose sudden death the evening before is chronicled above. The second was one of the City's own recently admitted freemen, Mr. Sastri himself. The India Office arrangements were singularly inefficient on this occasion, for there is no doubt that, had the Lord Mayor's staff been informed of Mr. Sastri's arrival in London he would have been a welcome and distinguished guest at the Guildhall, where his eloquence and his political sanity are still well-remembered.

REVIEW.

WOLFF. (Selwyn and Blount, Ltd. 21 York Buildings, Adelphi, London.)

THE whole world is, at present, out for economic and social reconstruction and since, as Roosevelt says, "upon the development of country life rests ultimately our ability to feed and clothe the hungry nations, to supply the city with fresh and clear brains," the blood, clean bodies reconstruction of the rural life must an important part of the whole system of reconstruction. In India the old village system is almost dead. The village is no longer a self-sufficient unit. The land is cut up into uneconomic pieces, the old village industries have disappeared, the village panchayat is no more what it once was, the Kulkarni vatan is moribund, and the Patil vatan must of necessity follow suit. It is, therefore, high time to put the village on a satisfactory basis to suit the changed circumstances. To all those that are in-

unexpectedly vigorous refusal of the intended victim to be bled any longer, are now again busily engaged in stultifying each other. The cause of this second somersault is clearly the Anglo-Sultanic intrigue which has been merrily going on from the moment of Rafet Pasha's arrival in Constantinople, the deposition of the Sultan by the Angoran National Assembly and the separation of the Khalifah's temporal from his spiritual powers. England's bayonets and money must have seemed to Mohammed VI a chance—a good one or a forlow one: anyhow a chance-of maintaining himself in ease and position. So the bargain was struck and England emerged as Lord High Protector of the Khalifah of the Faithful and as Champion of the "Old Turk " cause. No sooner was that done, than France discovered that she had been once more outwitted by Perfide Albion: for even if a firm joint attitude of the Allies would keep Kemal out of Constantinople, who would gain but England? So after all, perhaps it was better in the interests of the French concessionaire not to back England and Sultan, but rather to throw oneself on the mercy and gratitude of Kemal Pasha and hope for the best.

So now there are reports of more "dissensions" amongst the dear Allies: France preferring that none of them should get anything, rather than that England shoud get the lion's share. The English intrigue with the Khalifah therefore has once more been too clever by half. But apart from the disingenuousness of this "Entente" policy, it is surely the last word of ineptitude as well, especially from England's point of view. Khilafat agitation, largely artificial though it was, was a very real danger to British rule everywhere and generally acknowledged as such. Here now was a curious position: Kemal Pasha, the idol of the Khilafatists, deposes the Sultan and deprives the Khalifa of all temporal power! The Central Khilafat Committee which on October 24th from Bombay wired to say how "Indian Moslems were affronted and alarmed," expressed exactly the feeling then ruling in Khilafatist circles; and one had only to read the laboured explanations of such papers as the "Bombay Chronicle"—which began with such mental gymnastics as that of distinguishing between "depriving the Khalifa of temporal power" and "depriving the Khalifa of temporal power in Turkey" and which has since discovered that it is not at all the Khalifah that is aimed at, but the Sheikh-al-Islam—to realize the sorry plight of the Khilafatist cause. What then can be said of such British "statesmanship", as prefers, instead of letting the Angora-Constantinople clash freely develop itself, to make it still more abun. dently clear that the Khalifa-Sultan is a British puppet and derives his sole authority from the British soldiers who are now guarding his palace or the British sailors who man the warship to which he is said to have fled? As it is, even the most fanatical and dogmatic Khilafatist can but I

say, that even if Kemal Pasha is wrong in separating temporal and spiritual power, anyhow he was right in saying that the last Khalifah had forfeited all claim to allegiance and that another and more worthy scion of the house of Othman would have to be elected. If Kemal Pasha by his action "knocked the bottom out of the Khilafat propaganda" as Sir V. Chirol put it, British intrigue at the Yildiz Kiosk has certainly succeeded in knocking it securely in again. One is really hard put to it to decide what in this latest and most sordid of all Levantine adventures stands out most: the greed of these concessionaires, their short-sightedness, or their jealousy.

When concessions ires fall out....

A REMARKABLE EDUCATIONAL REPORT.

But it is time we left the males to look after themselves and turned our attention to what the Gold Coast Educationalists' Committee has got to say on Female Education.

They are wholeheartedly for co-education as far as Infant Schools are concerned, and as wholeheartedly against it for the later stages of the child's life : as a consequence special girls' schools are only contemplated for the Primary School stage. "The sense of the value of education for its own sake grows slowly", the Committee remark. " In the case of boys, the opportunities provided by education for money making are quickly realized. In the case of girls this stimulus is absent and the sense of the value of education naturally comes more slowly." The proportion of boys to girls in all the assisted schools of the Colony is as 5:1 (out of a total enrolment of 26,496 in 1918 22,068 were boys); but no figures. are available which distinguish between the ages of school going children, though it seems that the Infant Schools are most popular for girls and that there is a sad falling away later on. In fact, we search the Report in vain for any hint of a Secondary School for girls ! Apparently indifference to the education of girls is universal and in the Moslem parts (tout comme chez nous!) indifference is replaced by prejudice of a truculent kind. Hence the Report does not deal with a state of female education which is frankly impossible to attain now or even for some years, probably even for a whole generation.

Our authors therefore concentrate their recommendations on separate Primary Schools for
girls. This separation of girls from boys, after the
infant stage is passed, they consider necessary for
two reasons. The first is that of the moral problems and difficulties arising out of sex; a reason
on account of which they of course also advocate
that the teaching should be entirely by women
teachers. At present apparently mixed primary
schools exist with "young unmarried youth" in
charge: the possibility of married men appears
ruled out because locally impracticable.

The second reason is of a technical nature. The Report of course acknowledges that " the fundamental aim of education is the same for girls as for boys" and that "a literary education which seeks to open and expand the mind, is as necessary for girls as for boys." Hence "many of the subjects of instruction will therefore remain unchanged": but even "many of the same subjects should be presented from a different angle. Physiological differences suggest the necessity of modification of methods in Physical Training, Games, &c Physiological differences also suggest the necessity of introducing subjects bearing upon the future career of girls. Such special subjects (sewing, hygiene, cooking, general housewifery) should be taught practically, and as far as possible under conditions which maintain close connection with a home life." For the leading idea is that "the education of girls should develop the taste for home life, stirring ambition and pride in the well-ordered house. Nothing will more quickly break down prejudice against the education of girls, or indifference towards it, where these exist, than the discovery that the educated girl is a far better wife and mother than the untrained and unschooled." If only the words we have italicized could indeed be said to be the aim of every Indian girls' schools too!

For the great majority therefore of the girls who have passed even through the VIIth standard of their Primary School the career of their future is home life, marriage and motherhood. The rest are intended to be sufficiently trained to take up as a profession nursing, midwifery, &c.; teaching; dressmaking, typing, clerking, &c. Even of this small minority it is probable that most "of those so trained will be able to give only a limited number of years to the special career. This increases the difficulty, but it should not deter from attempting to train. The community and the future race benefit when the trained girl teacher or nurse marries."

As regards the training of these girl teachers and nurses, mere passing through a Primary School is patently insufficient and a recommendation is therefore made for a special Boarding School for Girls to be established at Accra, which, though in the first instance a Primary School, is to provide opportunity for "higher training of the few girls who have reached a standard to benefit by it." This seems precious little, and though we admit our complete ignorance of West-African conditions, on the face of it one would imagine that there must be need and scope for the Secondary education of those girls with whom alone the future doctors, lawyers, &c. of the country can be expected to contract happy marriages. Besides if the Gold Coast can turn out good physicians of the male sex, why not good lady doctors too?

The training of female teachers at the sub rosa training school mentioned above contemplates " a course of study not materially differing from that which is offered to the males. Geometry could be

entirely excluded and a modified syllabus of history, geography and drawing drawn up and such subjects as housecraft, Kindergarten, needle work and hygiene (including nursing) should receive adequate attention."

The Report laments that "the difficulties of securing a steady supply of suitable candidates are at present insurmountable" but the aim is that not only all girls' schools, but all infants' schools should be staffed entirely by girls as soon as possible, and one is very glad indeed to see the uncompromising recommendation "that female certificated teachers be paid salaries at the same rate as male certificated teachers."

Before leaving the subjects of female education, mention must be made of the fact that for girls, incapable of making much progress at a primary school, "Homes for the training of Girls" are suggested, somewhat on parallel lines to the "trade schools" for boys, special stress being laid on the care of babies, their feeding and upbringing, since "only such definite training can overthrow the present appalling ignorance and consequent waste of child-life. "An admirable plan indeed and one which shows once more how education is really the foundation of every national effort.

v.

It is important to bear in mind that our Report is only concerned with "assisted" schools, though at least one quarter of the education given in the Colony is still "unassisted". Until the advent of the Missionary, indeed, there was no such thing as education at all; and "in the early stages schools were for many years almost entirely limited to the small communities gathered round the Missionary who was himself the teacher." Even to-day there are still "hundreds of non-assisted schools dotted over the country, usually with between 10 and 25 pupils on the roll, conducted by catechists, &c. who have also religious work to perform. Needless to say, these teachers are generally untrained (and their methods far from ideal), but the pioneer work they are doing is most valuable."

As soon as certificated teachers can be got and the schools are brought up to the efficiency required by the Education Rules, these schools under the control of Missions obtain grants from Government, which however are quite insufficient to defray the total cost entailed. The latter, it is interesting to note, is met not by the foreign Missionary Society (who apparently only pay the cost of the European supervision), but by the voluntary contributions of the people themselves. Until 1914 only 8 p. c. of all the schools in the country were directly under Government control; and if in 1919 that proportion has risen to 60 p. c., the reason for that is to be found in the deportation of all German missionaries and the confiscation of their schools, and not in the wholesale establishment of new schools by the Education Department it self.

terested in the reconstruction of Indian villages Wolff's "Rural Reconstruction" is a very valuable book. The suggestions made in this book may not be applicable, in their details, to Indian conditions, but they are certainly valuable in showing the right direction.

The English country life has retained all its essentially feudal features. There are the landlords, tenants and labourers. It is said that for the wellto-do there is no home-life like that in England while the life of the labourer is very miserable. The industrial labourer is improving his condition very fast, but the lot of the agricultural labourer is still what it was some years ago. The effect of this is that the large areas owned by the landlords are not all cultivated and thus there is a loss to the nation. The land must be properly used or else rationed. The folly of leaving good land without being cultivat... ed was brought out glaringly during the war, when the Government had to make special endeavours to put as much land under cultivation as possible. In order to being all good lands under cultivation and also to find out suitable openings for soldiers that have returned from war the land question has been entrusted to the Ministry of Agriculture by the Agricultural Act and it is in this connection that Wolff has put his suggestions before the nation.

In any plan of rural reconstruction the human material must be the first to be dealt with, because if a proper personnel is provided all the rest that is needed will follow of itself. Wolff's first suggestion is naturally, therefore, to train men for country life and also to teach them to carry: on their profession on progressive lines. The training of a rural man must be such as to put him in perfect harmony with his surroundings. At present the rural child is given town teaching and that also in a weakened and degenerated form. It must be admitted that the rural child is not to be tied down to country life and country work. He must be left free to choose eventually for himself what course he will pursue. The rural child must be as eligible for university education as the urban child if the rural education is properly given. The urban education can be and should be so modified as to give it an agricultural tone and should be given with the help of plants and agricultural animals instead of with pictures and charts. Children should be encouraged by prizes, &c. to grow good plants or rear animals so that they are brought up to their profession. In India where primary education is being made compulsory this aspect of education cannot be left out, because most of the village children must after all take to agriculture. The present system has a tendency to look down upon agriculture and this will eventually prove ruinous to the

At present in Englandall sorts of men are being settled upon the land to cultivate it. Soldiers, sailors and townsmen who presumably know little of agricul-

ture, must be taught the profession, before they can make good cultivators. The teaching for such people should be given not in school rooms but by demonstrations and discussions in small groups. These people according to Wolff's experience are ready to learn. His experience with the farmer class is very much the same as we have in India. The backward farmers misinterpret the old proverb which says, "an ounce of practice is worth a ton of learning" and think that there is no necessity for them to move with the times. Even for such men methods must be found out to awaken their interest in what is to be taught to them. With better vocational schooling, discussion and new knowledge made available to the farmers, farming ought to become better in quality.

Appropriate education must be followed by appropriate organisation. All the other professions seem to be organised against agriculture which is yet unorganised. In England the rural population is divided into castes—landlords, tenants, labourers, &c. If the land is first of all properly apportioned then organisation of agriculture will be facilitated and such an organisation would be sure to make claims of agriculture understood and respected. According to Wolff the inclusion of the co-operative movement in the newly developing agricultural organisation movement is most strongly to be desired. In agricultural co-operation the productive side predominate but When the co-operative organisation is once started, it will help the farmers to have better business and better farming, leading to better living. The co-operative organisation in rural areas will make cultivators free both from the oppressive employer on the one hand and from the toll-taking middleman on the other; it will bring financial resources within their reach and will bind together rural families for mutual help.

When organisation starts it must first devote its attention to the securing of funds for farming as a business concern. This can be best achieved by the establishment of co-operative banking of unlimited liability or limited liability. The co-operative banks, being self-helf societies, are better than ordinary banks. These banks will attract depositors and a union of such banks will secure the command of a large supply of money.

The organisation must also see that agriculture is developed on business lines and the cultivators use business methods. They must be induced to keep records of implements, manures, produce and live stock and they must also have simple 'book-keeping', so that definite information would be available for 'costings'.

Wolff has discussed at length as to how the cultivators could be made to put their heart in their work and utilise the land to the best interest of the nation. In the distribution of heldings if hopes are held out by promising larger holdings to those tenants that get more out of the land given to them.

they would surely " sweat " the land and thus leave it exhausted; on the other hand if tenancy is made permanent there is every likelihood of "lazy farming". So far, co-operatively farmed properties have not generally proved much of a success. The best system for the nation is, therefore, the freehold holding. The owner then exercises thrift, spares neither labour nor outlay to improve his holding. The freeholders if settled in groups would not be in isolation as is many times feared. The Indian village system has perhaps developed along right lines and may prove to be a guide in peopling new lands. The greatest advantage of freeholdings in groups is that we make rural homes that would maintain their families and yield something to carry over. They would also enable people to live in comfort and with the sense that the lands they hold are their own. With the establishment of freehold small holdings the vexed question of the labourer would either be happily settled or else evaded. There would be free contracts or mutual help and there would be no room for labour disputes.

The chapter on "village industries" is of immense importance. The main pursuit of rural populations as a matter of course always will be agriculture. But agriculture sometimes, and in India many times, leaves those who practise it in the lurch, with an empty barn or a half-filled pail. In the best of conditions in many cases it is an intermittent industry. There are many idle days when fields are inaccessible and labour is uncalled for and hence small industries can be developed in such places with advantage. But they say small industries have no chance any more. Wolff's answer is, "However, people who have judged, or now judge, small industry to be hopelessly doomed by the advance of its larger competitor, are just a little over-quick in their conclusions. Small industry is by no means 'played out'. Statistical inquiries instituted, not very long ago, at about the same time in countries so far apart as the United States, Belgium, France and Switzerland have disclosed the fact that rapidly as large industry is advancing ... small industry employing not more than five persons is likewise advancing, cleverly dodging its more powerful rival and discovering new openings for itself. " China, Japan, Belgium, France, &c. have still got their small industries and any country wishing to establish these can do so with advantage after studying the local needs and the materials available there. The small industries will always be found to give remunerative employment to small cultiva-.tors.

If we are to have genuine rural reconstrution we must have home life which can be had only with the co-operation of women. The whole settlement, therefore, should be such as to make social life suitable for women to take up their share of responsibility and to make the home what it should be. In short, the object of rural reconstruction must be to settle down freeholders of land in convenient groups

with facilities for learning and proper organisation to carry on their business and thus making rural' people self-conscious, self-reliant and full-blown citizens.

D. L. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MANAGEMENT OF THE GURDWARS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—In the Muslim Outlook of Lahore dated the 2nd instant, a note on the recent Akali debate in the Punjab Legislative Council concluded as below:—

"We exhort our Sikh brethren, the Akalis, that it is time now that they stopped their present method and went about it in a constitutional manner, the lack of which is the only obstacle between them and the Government as was over and over again reiterated in the Council Chamber. We still hope that better councils will prevail and before the present session of the Council is over, something will be done for the Guru-ka-Bagh situation both by the authorities and the Akalis. The public by now has had a surfeit of what is happening at Amritsar."

All persons belonging to any creed and community in the Punjab who are interested in the good of the Province are agreed that this Akali affair should come to an end. It is, at the same time, clear that no settlement of a satisfactory character will be possible until the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee decide to proceed on lawful and constitutional lines. They should stop trying to cut wood in the landsadjoining Guru-ka-Bagh, and the arrests will cease automatically. When this is done the way to a settlement will be 2 clear. Akalis are not the only party interested in the reform of the Gurdwaras. The Akalis again do not constitute the entire Sikh nation. There are Nirmalas, Udasis, Namdharis, Sehjadhari Sikhs, and several other sects which are vitally interested in the matter. Then there are the vested interests of the Mahants which cannot be lightly ignored. The Hindus. too are interested in the question. Their offerings in the past have largely contributed to the wealth of the shrines. In not a few cases have the shrines been built and liberally endowed by wealthy Hindu philanthropists. What is wanted is a Committee containing accredited and trustworthy represen-This Committee should meettatives of all these classes. and after a full and free discussion of the subject devise a Bill and submit it to Government. Surely if a measure that would be acquiesced in by all parties to the dispute could be devised, there would be no difficulty in Government accepting it. As the Hon'ble Lala Harkishenlal stated so forcibly in the Legislative Council the dispute is not between Government and the Akalis. The real parties to the dispute are the Mahants and the Sikhs and Hindus who worship in the Gurdwaras. In conclusion I would ask the Congress leaders to help in bringing about an amicable settlement. I hope my appeal to them will not be in vain.

RAM DASS UDASI.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. JOSHI AT GENEVA.

COMMENTS ON THE DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, India's labour representative at the International Labour Conference, spoke as follows at the Conference on October 23 in discussing the Director's Report:—

"Mr. President, to begin with, I wish to join my Japanese colleague in his congratulations to the Secretary-General upon the admirable Report which he has presented to this Conference. Not only is the Report written in an illuminating manner, but it also shows substantial progress. I would first refer to the accounts which have been presented in this Report. In connection with that, I would like to say that

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e accounts given here are not sufficiently detailed so as to enable us to make any criticism upon the way in which the money of this Organisation has been spent. Expenditure is divided into a few headings only and that does not enable us to say whether the expenditure has been properly incurred or not and I would, therefore, like the Secretary-General to say whether he cannot place before this Conference a more detailed statement of accounts, I admit that it is not this Conference which votes the money to the International Labour Organisation; the Assembly of the League of Nations does; it. But still, if the accounts are to be given in the Report, I think if they are to be useful, they must be given in a more detailed manner.

The second point to which I should like to refer is this. The Report mentions the names of several countries which have not yet paid their contributions. I hope that the Governing Body will place proposals before this Conference as to the steps which should be taken in this matter. If some countries do not pay their contributions, it is but fair that they should not have votes in this Conference. Otherwise it is unjust to those countries which pay their contributions very regularly.

The next point to which I should like to refer is in connection with the colonies and protectorates. The Report mentions the question of applying the Conventions and Recommendations drawn up by the Conference to the colonies and protectorates of several countries, but it also mentions that the results have, on the whole, been very disappointing. I hope, therefore, that this Conference and the Governing Body will pay special attention to this subject. I know of several colonies, of Great Britain, at any rate, where labour conditions are not satisfactory and in which the Recommendations and Conventions we have drawn up have not yet been applied. For example, there is Ceylon and there are the Federated Malay States. I can mention several where these Conventions and Recommendations have not yet been applied.

Take my own country. We have got in my own country what are known as Indian States. These Indian States, I am quite sure, have not yet ratified any of our Conventions and Becommendations. These Indian States cannot be considered as outsile the League; as a matter of fact, they are in the League. I know that their representative attends meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations as a member of the Indian Delegation, and I suggest that the Director of the International Labour Office should interview the representative of the Indian States and use his influence with him to persuade him to give effect to the Recommendations and Conventions drawn up by this Conference.

The next point to which I wish to make reference is the Maternity Report presented by the Government of India to this Conference last year, Last year I asked the Director whether he was going to submit this Report to the Governing Body and place the view of the Governing Body before this Conference. I think I am right in saying that the Director stated that in course of time the Report would be presented to the Governing Body, but I do not gather from his Report that this has been done. I again suggest to the Director that this Report should be placed before the Governing Body or directly before the Conference. The Government of India in that Report declined to take any steps to do anything in regard to the maternity question and personally I think it is high time that they did take steps in this matter. It will therefore be of advantage if the Director of the International Labour Office were to consider this Report and place it before the Governing Body, so that it may be considered at least by the next Conference.

The next point to which I wish to turn my attention is the efference in the Report to special countries, countries which are considered to deserve special consideration on account of their climatic and other conditions. Last year, in my speech on the Report, I suggested that the International Labour Office should make a special study of the conditions of life and work in those special countries and that the Conference cught to pay some attention to those countries.

There are many countries which are not represented here by their Workers' Delegates, especially the Oriental countries which are considerd to be special countries. Take China: it is a very vast country with a population of four hundred millions; there may not be a very large number of organized workers in China, but it is the duty of this Conference to consider their condition. There is an idea in some quarters in this Conference that the Conference should pay special attention to those countries where the workers are organised. In my opinion it is a great mistake, a very sad mistake, to neglect those countries where the workers are not organised. As a matter of fact, the Report admits the danger of neglecting those countries. The organised workers not only have to meet the opposition of the employers in their own countries but they must understand that there is great danger to their interests from the unorganised workers themselves. I carnestly hope therefore that the Workers' Group in this Conference, and indeed the whole Conference, will devote special attention to these countries. If the Conference does not take special measures to consider the conditions of life and work of the working classes in the special countries, I propose myself to move a resolution in this Conference on this matter.

Then, Sir, I would like to say one word about the praise which the Director of the International Labour Office has bestowed upon the Government of India. I admit that that praise is not wholly unmerited. There is no doubt that the Government of India did their best to ratify the Conventions passed at Washington, but I am afraid their attitude towards the Conference held at Genoa is not the same. The Director ought to have known by this time that they had practically refused to ratify the Conventions and Recommendations. I do not know whether they ratified entirely any of the Conventions and Recommendations; they may have ratified one Convention conditionally. I do not think they have done anything more than this. Therefore, although I consider that the Government of India do deserve some praise for their attitude towards the Conventions and Recommendations passed at Washington, I request that the Director of the International Labour Office should be more discriminating in his praise of that Government. My fear is that unless he does that the attitude of the Government of India towards the Conventious and Recommendations passed by the last Conference will be still more reactionary. Some of the Conventions and the Recommendations passed last year at Geneva have already been considered. The last meeting of our Legisative Assembly considered the Recommendation concerning the weekly rest day in commercial undertakings and the Government of India refused to do anything beyond sending copies of the Recommendation to the provincial governments. they did not even ask for reports from the provincial governments.

Now, if we can judge what is to follow from their attitude towards the other Recommendations and Conventions, I think the Director of the International Labour Office will have cause to regret praising them in these unqualified terms.

Sir, I shall bring my remarks to a close after having said only one word as to the suggestion which I made to this Conference last year that the International Labour Office should open branch offices in Oriental countries. I cannof see why they should maintain offices in Berlin, London, Paris and Washington and not in India and Japan. Does the Director think he has sufficient information about these countries while he cannot get information about the conditions of life and work in London and Berlin? Surely if there is any necessity to have branch offices in any countries it is the Oriental countries. Very few delegates in this Conference know anything about the conditions of life and work in those countries, and if the International Labour Office maintains offices there, the Conference will be in a much better position to judge of those conditions. After all, the expenditure involved would not be great and if the International Labour Office can spend hundreds of thousands of france on their London and Berlin offices, I request them to spend a few thousand francs on the offices in India and Japan,"

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