

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

WE are very sorry that in his present state of health Mr. Gandhi has begun to worry himself about the great political problems of the country, which are neither easily nor quickly solved. Those who had the opportunity of seeing him in the hospital before his release and soon after it, could not help being struck with the effect it had produced on his health. It would have been much better for his recovery if Government had, instead of releasing him forthwith, announced that he would be released as soon as he should be able to leave the hospital. In that case 'the prisoner's code of honour', so strictly observed by him, would have saved him the oppressive sense of responsibility which he is ill-fitted to bear in his present condition. Those admirers of his that pressed him for a lead did not love him wisely. As for the statement itself it contains a full and touching acknowledgement of the kindnesses received by him from the jail and hospital authorities. It is only natural that he should feel sorry that the ground of his release is his illness. What is of real importance is that his 'thinking prayerfully and in solitude' for two years has not brought about any change in his ideas. He is still in favour of the boycott of councils, law courts and schools, and still relies on the weapon civil disobedience for the achievement of his goal. The effect of his release on the Swarajist programme is not yet clear and he has refrained from expressing an opinion on their having entered the councils. But one could easily guess that the Swarajists will not abandon the councils and Mr. Gandhi, like his lieutenants in his absence, will permit them to have their way. That apart, one misses in Mr. Gandhi's statement a reference to the change of Government that has taken place in England. Surely there is some

difference between a Labour Government and a die-hard Government. The heart of one is not the heart of the other, and thus there is a real change of heart in the Government. One only wishes that Mr. Gandhi and his followers would by a suitable gesture indicate a change in their own attitude in response to the change that has occurred in Government.

An Afro-Indian Entente.

ON another page we reproduce the speech made by Mr. S. G. Vaze at the Indian Congress at Mombasa.

Both he and Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi were present at all the proceedings, but considered themselves to be spectators only, and therefore did not speak to any of the resolutions before the Congress. They, were however, pressed to address some remarks to the Congress before it terminated, and in response both dwelt mostly on "the native question," which had not been touched upon in the earlier part of the proceedings. Mr. Benarsidas made a fine speech in Hindi, punctuated throughout by loud applause; and Mr. Vaze's, we believe, made a great impression too. They had indeed an immediate reward—which deeply touched them—in that a leader of the natives who had attended the Congress in small numbers, rose to thank Messrs. Benarsidas and Vaze for espousing their cause. The Europeans, he said, were treating them worse than dogs and if the sentiment to which expression had just been given by the last two speakers actuated the relations of Indians with them, they would be most grateful to the Indian community. Mr. M. A. Desai, who followed next, confessed that Indians had not worked as much as they should have done for the natives and hoped that they would take up their cause in right earnest. Mrs. Naidu's concluding speech too was for the most part a plea for the natives, and indeed every time she spoke subsequently in Kenya, she re-emphasized the duty of Indians towards the natives and repeated that, unless Indians became friendly to the Africans and gave them help, they would not succeed in their agitation nor would they deserve success. Only by a closer entente between all men of colour will it ever be possible to make a successful stand against white race arrogance—whether in Africa, or elsewhere.

The British Guiana Deputation.

WHEN the British Guiana Deputation came here last time in 1920, the atmosphere was distinctly more

favourable than it now is, owing to the Kenya decision having shattered the faith of Indians in the imperial undertakings of the British Cabinet. Moreover, the deputation sent by the Government of India to examine on the spot the scheme put forward by the last deputation from British Guiana, was confronted by the Governor, not with the scheme which they went to consider and the object of which was agricultural colonisation, but with another scheme the object of which was the recruitment of labour for the benefit of the European sugar-cane planters. The result was that our deputation came away disappointed and with less faith in the bonafides of the British Guiana Government. Our deputation found that though plenty of good land was available in the colony, no colonisation could be thought of unless large expenditure was incurred on drainage, water-supply and other schemes for improving sanitary conditions, and that in the financial conditions that prevailed at the time of their visit such expenditure was out of the question. They also found the Indian community opposed to any immigration from India for some years to come. Meanwhile, however, conditions have very much changed in British Guiana. The old Governor who listened too much to the European planters has been replaced by one who has resuscitated the former scheme for agricultural colonisation and who has a sincere desire to improve the health conditions of the colony. Trade and finance also have improved with such unexpected rapidity that the local Indian community is now said to be in favour of a resumption of immigration from India. The deputation that has now arrived gives an assurance that every condition recommended by our deputation will be fulfilled. In British Guiana no distinction of any kind is made between whites and coloured people. What is more, to ensure this equality of status to Indians with other residents of the colony, the Government of British Guiana is prepared to enter into a treaty with the Government of India, if the latter should consider it advisable. We have every hope that the committee of both Houses of the Legislature which will examine the proposals will give due weight to all these considerations. Meanwhile one thing has got to be borne in mind, that if immigration be not permitted from India, it will be sought from China, Japan and other countries, and the result for the large Indian community already settled in British Guiana may not be quite agreeable.

The Strike.

THE strike situation in Bombay is unchanged, except for the pleasing fact that the disorders with which the last week began have not repeated themselves. Neither the workers nor the mill-owners are yet prepared to budge an inch. Meanwhile misery is visiting the families of the work people. At their meeting of the 11th inst. the mill-owners resolved to terminate their lock-out on the 18th inst. But as they have not changed their mind regarding the bonus, nor expressed their willingness to submit their case to arbitration, the strike is bound to continue even after the 18th, with grave danger to public health and public peace. With that danger ever present, the Government of Bombay ought not to continue looking on, content only with the duty of policing. Sir Leslie Wilson who has begun his career as Governor so well is in a peculiarly advantageous

position to take the initiative, which we fervently hope he will do. If the mill-owners are so sure of their case as they profess to be, they need not fight shy of an impartial arbitration board on which they and the workmen would be equally represented. The fact seems to be that there are ways of economising the expenditure of the mills which would benefit the workmen and which the mill-owners do not want to be examined by an impartial outside authority. But the days are gone when industrial disputes could be left to be settled by capital and labour without the intervention of the State.

Bad Advice.

WRITING in *New India* about the deadlock in the C. P. and disapproving of the Swarajist attitude, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal says: "If I were Dr. Moonje, I would have accepted office and as I had pledged myself not to do so, I would, after accepting office, resign my seat in the Council and seek re-election. The invitation of the Governor created a new situation and in view of this new situation Dr. Moonje was called upon to reconsider his old policy. Having accepted office, if I were Dr. Moonje, I would have asserted my rights as Minister responsible to the legislature to the fullest extent &c." This is very sound advice and we wish it commended itself to the Swarajists. But in commenting on this suggestion *New India* recommends what it considers is a much better course—the Government vigorously non-co-operating with non-co-operators by closing down schools, hospitals &c., when, in pursuance of their present policy, the Swarajists will refuse supplies in the budget session of the Council—in order to bring home to the voters the folly of the Swarajist policy. It will be remembered that in our issue of the 24th January we expressed the hope that such a course would not commend itself to a strong and enlightened Government like the British. Thereupon Mr. E. A. Horne of the Patna College tried to show, in a letter which we published last week, that that was just the course advised by the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor. We think Mr. Horne is mistaken in his interpretation of the Instrument of Instructions which is not intended for use in an emergency like the present. It is in the Government of India Act that provision is made to meet it. We were content, however, with pointing out to him, and we repeat it here, that the end does not justify the means and that it would be wrong to withhold medical aid to the sick and those in danger of death in order to demonstrate the fallacy of an opponent's political ideas. We may, by the way, also point out that such a course if adopted might, considering the ignorance of the C. P. electorates, instead of convincing them of the folly of the Swarajist policy, enable the Swarajists to increase the prejudice against Government.

REFERRING to a letter which appeared in our issue of the 31st last over the name of Mr. Ram Lal, regarding a speech reported to have been made by Sardar Mangal Singh, an Akali leader, at Cocanada, a correspondent has drawn our attention to a letter appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 5th inst, the writer of which claims to have been present at Cocanada and categorically denies that Sardar Mangal Singh made the statements attributed to him. We give publicity to this contradiction because Sardar Mangal Singh, whose contradiction alone could be quite authoritative, is said to be out of the Punjab and unable to defend himself.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND.

THE long expected demand of the nation was presented to the Government of India in due form before a full Assembly and crowded galleries on Friday last. By tabling a resolution on the subject Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar not only anticipated but diverted from their settled courses both the Swarajist party and the National Conference party. These had prepared somewhat elaborate methods which were swept aside by the almost sudden appearance on the agenda paper of the Assembly of a motion on the subject. Much ~~preliminary~~ had to be gone through before an amendment could be arrived at which had the common consent of nearly all the progressive members of the Assembly. Even so both the resolution and amendment gave occasion, which might well have been avoided, to a great part of Sir Malcolm Hailey's criticism. The inclusion of the military and political and foreign departments within the scope of the demand, not seriously within the intentions of nine out of ten members of the Nationalist party, was an unnecessary and mischievous encumbrance. It gave the character of integrity to the demand for dominion status, so dear to the heart of the reckless wholehogger, but so embarrassing to the matter-of-fact negotiator who has to get rid as quickly as possible of impediments before coming to the live issues. The Home Member and others who followed him need not have worried themselves about a distinction, however real, between dominion status and full responsible government. The European community have indicated their strong dissent from an attempt to advance further, through the mouth of Sir Campbell Rhodes. Government's attitude can only be described as *non possumus* in effect and cannot be reconciled with the special cablegrams as to the intentions of the Labour Government, which have been appearing in the Calcutta "Statesman." For our part, we are on the horns of a dilemma. How could the Labour Government, with their past pledges and declarations, direct an answer like that made by Sir Malcolm Hailey the other day? How, on the other hand, could the Government of India, on their own responsibility, inflame the public mind of the country by a thorough refusal? As Pandit Motilal Nehru pointed out, it is a supersession of the Government of India Act which the politically minded classes seek, not merely some small repairs to the machine created by it.

It was sometime before the Assembly grasped how small and how futile was the inquiry which Sir Malcolm undertook to make on behalf of the Government of India. He put together, doubtless in his exceedingly tactful manner, familiar obstacles to full Home Rule in India; and the familiar answers will be repeated with varying emphasis in the subsequent course of the debate. The one omission he made out of a sense of official responsibility, was supplied by Sir Campbell

Rhodes who was deterred by no such scruple. That was the general unfitness even of the educated classes to maintain law and order. The alarms of British capital and of the British services found due places in Sir Malcolm's enumeration. A scheme of Swaraj has many difficulties, of which, however, these are the smallest. The persistence with which they are aired again and again is only a symptom of a radically opposed state of mind, which, instead of dwelling on how to do a thing, has not yet been dislodged from the deeper position of "why do it at all"? It is amazing how reactionaries will still talk of this subject as if there was no such thing as the Government of India Act of 1919. That Act has committed the British Government to the establishment of Home Rule in India and it is only a question of by what steps and how soon. What then is gained by enumerating, nay, piling up one above another, an array of difficulties, some really formidable but others distinctly not so? The Government of India, without waiting to be badgered, must themselves be continually devising means for overcoming these difficulties. It is true the difficulties are brought forward as a reason for delay, but with nothing done to obviate them, the delay is bound to be indefinite, and indefinite delay is, in politics, scarcely to be distinguished from denial. That in honest truth, is the suspicion in the Indian mind. As the mover of the resolution pointed out, the Government, after the first enthusiasm in the working of the reforms, cried 'halt', apparently under the influence of the late Tory Government. A rooted distrust has seized hold of the Indian politician's mind, and it is only tangible action that can cure it.

By an exchange of question and answer, the friendliness and sincerity of which were apparent, both Pandit Motilal and Sir Malcolm disavowed the use or intention to use threats of any kind to each other. This was quite satisfactory as far as it went, but it would be idle to conclude from it that Government and the Swarajists might not find themselves in sharp conflict over this question before the session is over. It is now public property that the immediate plan of the newly formed Nationalist party includes the denial of supplies and general obstruction of work during the coming month if Government fails to make a satisfactory response. It is not difficult to see what the opinion of a three fourths' majority will be on the question whether Sir Malcolm Hailey's offer to conduct a private Governmental enquiry into the defects of the administrative machinery constitutes a satisfactory response. Unless, therefore, the policy of Government is restated before the debate is closed so as to please the popular side of the Assembly, we may have to look forward to unpleasant developments in the situation. We are not simple and sanguine enough to suppose that our constitutional progress will be smooth and unattended by bitter antagonisms but we cannot reconcile ourselves to a step on our part

which may be characterised as rash or wanting in considerateness. The Labour Party now in office are known to be friendly to the cause of India and have a claim on our patience and courtesy. We should have been better pleased if, instead of allowing their agents in India to turn down the national demand, they had taken time to consider the matter in all its aspects. That would have enabled a deputation to proceed to England and negotiate with the new Secretary of State, before the Cabinet gave final answer. As it is, the negative attitude already assumed by the Government of India embitters the situation and must greatly hamper both sides in their attempts to come to an agreement. Still, we would prefer, though this view would not commend itself to many, not to fix the blame for the present reply wholly and solely on the Labour Government, but treat with them afresh by means of an influential deputation. It would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, if the Swarajists would consent to be represented on the deputation. Nothing would please Independents and Liberals more than to find that the spirit of give-and-take and reasonableness, which has so far marked the proceedings of the Swarajists here, led them to view with favour the idea of conducting *pourparlers* with those on the other side who have a say in the matter. It need not be difficult for them in any case to countenance, if not actively participate in, the arrangements that may be made in this behalf by their new confederates, the Independents and others. If a deputation did go forward, as we earnestly hope it will, it would find its hands weakened, almost to a handicap, if the Assembly had refused supplies and started obstruction. Nothing much is lost by postponing this measure by a few months, so that the Labour Party may not complain that between the Indian Government and the Indian politicians they have not had fair play.

THE CENSUS OF INDIA.—I.

POPULATION.

THE Census Report for India of 1921, which was published last month, differs from its predecessors in that it has, following the instructions of the Government of India, not concerned itself with the religious beliefs, social structure, customs &c. of the people, but has confined itself to the presentation with comment of the statistical information collected in the census. The ethnological discussions contained in the previous reports no doubt endowed them with a special degree of interest, but their repetition in the present volume could not have served any useful purpose, except perhaps to give it a semblance of being self-contained. Their omission need not therefore be much regretted. On the other hand, more attention was paid in this census to the collection of statistics and general information regarding the industrial and economic condition of the people. It is true that in some provinces this information was col-

lected and dealt with by the Industries Department as the more suitable agency. Nevertheless, sufficient information of the kind has been collaborated in the chapter on occupations to endow the present volume with special interest and importance.

During the decade 1911-21 the total population of India increased from a little over 315 millions to a little under 319 millions, or by 1.2 per cent. In the British provinces which form 61 per cent. of the area and contained, in 1921, 77 per cent. of the population, the increase was 1.3 per cent., while in the States and Agencies it was slightly less, being 1.0 per cent. The increase of population in the previous census was 7.1 per cent.; while, compared with the population of 1872, the total increase comes to 50.5 per cent. But if allowance be made for the inclusion of new areas and the increasing accuracy of enumeration, the real increase in 49 years comes to 20.1 per cent. only. This comparatively small increase is not in itself a matter for regret as the country is already very highly populated and except in a few areas the pressure on the soil is unduly great. The density of population in parts of East Bengal is considerably over 1000 per square mile and greater than is to be found anywhere else in the world except in parts of China. It is true that if improved methods of cultivation be followed, the soil would be able to support an even larger population at the present standard of living. But that being exceedingly low, one would wish that all the benefit to be derived from the application of improved methods of production took the form of raising the standard of living rather than of supporting a larger population. The present population is large enough for every conceivable national purpose. What is wanted is not an increase of man power but of efficiency all round.

While the smallness of increase is not a matter for regret, the way in which it has been brought about is very much so. The last decade witnessed one of the most devastating wars that the world has seen, and India also was involved in it. But the populations of even the belligerent countries of Europe have not received a material set back by the war and the effect on Indian statistics has been altogether negligible. The maximum number of combatant and labour units absent from India at any given time was less than half a million. It is indeed most surprising that even in the Punjab, from which such a large proportion of combatants was drawn, no effect should be perceivable on the population statistics. As Mr. Middleton, the Punjab Superintendent, says in his report:

"It comes as a shock to the imagination to compare the mortality directly caused by the war with that due to natural causes; though war casualties were among the pick of the population they were numerically insignificant when contrasted with the death-roll caused by the slightest of epidemics; indeed it is undoubtedly true, as observed by Mr. Leigh, that the war saved more lives in the Punjab owing to the collection of men in cantonments where the ravages of influenza in 1918 were met by effici-

ent medical precautions and remedies than it wasted on the field of battle. It is possible that the absence of so large a proportion of able-bodied men from their homes indirectly affected the population by lowering the birth-rate, but so many of these men were able to visit their homes on leave that their effect was not great enough to be discoverable from statistics."

Migration, again, is a factor that has not affected the population of India as a whole, though it has affected appreciably the populations of several of the provinces and States. Assam, Bengal, Burma, Bombay and Mysore are among those most benefited by it, while Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Rajputana and Hyderabad have lost the most. Ordinarily India receives a considerable number of immigrants from the contiguous countries of Nepal, Afghanistan and China and from the British Islands, and sends out emigrants mainly to Ceylon and Malaya. Until recently a large number of emigrants were going to distant colonies like Natal, Trinidad and Fiji. The net result has been a loss to India. In 1911 this loss was estimated to have amounted to less than 600,000. During the last decade there was a large movement of troops, a proportion of whom had not returned to India at the time of the census enumeration. But as against it must be reckoned the decrease in labour emigration, that to distant colonies being altogether stopped. The additional loss during the decade has been put at a liberal estimate at 150,000—an altogether negligible factor, so far as its influence on the population of the country is concerned.

The cause that operated most strongly and effectively to keep down the growth of population in the last decade was the epidemic of influenza which raged in the winter of 1918. Its havoc was greatest in regions where the climate was cold and dry, and in rural areas where medical aid was difficult to obtain and relief could not be organised. The registered mortality in British India alone was $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Some of the Indian States like those of Rajputana and Hyderabad suffered as badly as the worst British provinces. There would be no exaggeration in putting the total mortality for India from this cause at between 12 and 13 millions. This mortality, the large part of which occurred in three or four months exceeded by more than two millions the total mortality due to the plague in 20 years (1898-1918), and was much more than double the mortality caused by the famine of 1897-1901. Its effect on the population was not confined to this terrible mortality. It caused a sharp fall in the birth rate for at least two years, firstly by lowering the vitality of a large proportion (estimated at two-fifths) of the population and secondly by taking a specially heavy toll of young persons in the child-bearing period, being most fatal to pregnant women. A graphic representation of the mortality of 1918 for all the provinces (given opposite page 130) shows the highest point in almost every case at the age of 20, the line for females being higher than that for males. The highest point so reached represented an increase of mortality amounting to nearly 600

per cent. in the case of the C. P. and Berar, 450 in Bombay, 400 in the Punjab and 350 in the U. P. The mortality alone due to influenza has cut down the population by at least 4 per cent. If that had been prevented the increase of population in the last decade would have been more or less equal to the average during the last fifty years.

Influenza, however, was a scourge that swiftly swept over the country against which man is ordinarily powerless. The same cannot be said of the other factors that influence population. The growth of population everywhere is mainly controlled by the prevailing birth and death rates. In most old countries the birth rate is a little higher than the death rate, so that there is a slow growth of population. In newly discovered countries with plenty of room for expansion the difference is ordinarily much greater. The difference between India and the advanced countries of the west is that in the former both the rates are more than double what they are in the latter. In India the birth rate is high (about 44 per 1000 population) on account of the universality and early age of marriages. On the other hand, the death rate (about 38) is high on account of ignorance, poverty and social customs. It is always more easy to control the death rate than it is to control the birth rate, and as education spreads in India a gradual fall in the death rate may be expected. But if it is not accompanied by a corresponding fall in the birth rate, brought about voluntarily or involuntarily, there can be no real improvement in the standard of life of the masses. A rapid development of industries is trusted by some to remedy the evils attending on over-population. At best it can only be a temporary remedy. To depend on foreign markets is always risky, as is illustrated by the unemployment prevailing at present in several European countries. Moreover, if some countries should be able to support themselves mainly by industries, there should be other countries mainly agricultural to supply them food in exchange for manufactures. But as political complications may suddenly cut off the trade of any country with another, it is now the aim of every country not to depend very much on other countries either for food supply or goods. That means every country should as far as possible be self-contained and not have more population than it can well support. For attaining this object what is needed more than anything else is a proper control of the birth rate. As to how this result has to be brought about, whether by voluntary or involuntary checks in married life or by the denial of marriage to a large proportion of the population, there will always be difference of opinion in every country. What has to be kept in view by the social reformer is the necessity for control over the birth rate.

As the combined result of all factors, there was an increase in the population of some Provinces and States, while there was a decrease in others. Of the larger provinces the greatest in-

crease was in Assam (13.3 per cent.) and Burma (9.1 per cent.). The chief cause in both these provinces was immigration, while the attack of influenza was very mild. In the Punjab influenza was comparatively severe, but immigration to the canal colonies and natural causes overcame its effects and gave a resultant increase of 5.7 per cent. In Bengal and Madras where the attack of influenza was not very severe, there was an increase of 2.7 and 2.2 respectively. Influenza was severest in the Central Provinces and Berar, but as the rate of natural increase has always been very high there, the two factors neutralised each other and left the population stationary. Bihar, Bombay and the U. P., where influenza was severe, lost by 1.4, 1.8 and 3.1 per cent respectively. In Bombay the influenza mortality was particularly heavy in Sindh, which has sustained a loss of 6.7 per cent. Of the Indian States, Travancore, with every circumstance in its favour—fertile soil, assured rainfall, expanding industries, freedom from influenza and some immigration—recorded an increase 16.8 per cent. Speaking only of the more important States, Mysore, the Punjab States, Kashmere and Baroda had increases of 3.0, 4.8, 5.1 and 4.6 respectively; while Hyderabad and the Rajaputana States lost rather heavily—6.8 and 6.5 per cent. respectively—owing to influenza and emigration.

In these days of communal feeling special importance attaches itself to the different rates at which people following different religions are adding to their numbers. While the population of India as a whole increased during the last decade by 1.2 per cent., there was an actual decrease in the number of Jains and Hindus by 5.6 and 4 per cent. respectively. On the other hand, all the other important religions increased in varying degrees. The following table gives for all the main religions the percentage rates of increase or decrease during the last decade and during the period of forty years from 1881 to 1921:

| | 1911-21 | 1881-1921 |
|-------------|---------|-----------|
| Hindus | --.4 | 14.9 |
| Muhammadans | 5.1 | 37.1 |
| Buddhists | 7.9 | 238.5 |
| Christians | 22.6 | 155.2 |
| Sikhs | 7.4 | 74.7 |
| Jains | -5.6 | -3.5 |
| Parsis | 1.7 | 19.2 |

While there has been a natural increase in the whole population to the extent of nearly 20 p. c. during the last 40 years, the Jains alone have actually decreased. This is specially regrettable as they are a wealthy and educated community. The chief reason seems to be the early marriage of girls and the prohibition of widow marriages. The low rate of the Hindus as compared with the others also seems to be due to the same causes. Out of 10,000 females of all ages in each religion, the number of widows of child bearing age, i. e., between 15 and 40, was 551 among Hindus, 336 among Muhammadans, 279 among Christians and

277 among Buddhists. As between Hindus and Muhammadans, the registered death rate of the latter during 8 years in the last decade was lower than that of the former. Moreover, in Bengal which contains more than a third of the total Indian Muhammadan population, the Muhammadans are found in large numbers in the healthy districts of East Bengal, whereas, the majority of the Hindus of that province are found in malaria-ridden West Bengal, in some districts of which the population has considerably decreased.

NATIVE AFRICAN INTERESTS.*

IT has indeed been a great pleasure and a privilege to me to be sitting here to witness the proceedings of this great assembly. That I have witnessed them more as a sympathetic observer than as an active participant is in one sense a source of advantage, for I have thereby gained a more accurate impression and formed a juster estimate of those proceedings than I should have otherwise done, and, if it is not impertinent of me to do so, I will say this, that I shall carry back to India a most favourable impression of the work you have transacted during these three days. As I was sitting there near your President, a remark repeatedly fell from her lips, in all spontaneity, that the East African Indian National Congress here is a much more disciplined body than the Indian National Congress at home. There have arisen, in the course of your deliberations, some occasions for keen differences of opinion, and yet the discussions have throughout been conducted with a serenity of temper that will, I daresay, do credit to the oldest and most practised deliberative assemblies in the world. Apart, however, from the discipline and orderliness of the meeting, the feature that has left the deepest impression on my mind—and this is also the most hopeful feature—is its self-reliant character. There are no doubt many in India—and I am not sure that I was not myself one of them—who think that the East African Indians really depend upon the help that India will send them across the seas; they also think probably that the colonial Indians build their hopes upon the off-chance of a favourable change in the British Ministry. I have no doubt that India will give you all the assistance she can: I have also no manner of doubt that you stand to gain, and gain considerably, by the impending changes in the Ministry in England. But the point to note is that you do not rely upon any extraneous assistance; rather you rely upon your own strength. Anyone who sees, as I saw, how manfully and heroically you are giving battle to the enemy, in the spirit that "he who takes away my country's honour takes my life" will at once be undeceived of the idea that you depend upon any outside help. It is this impression of your self-dependence that has fixed itself very firmly in my mind.

There is only one other observation I would

*An address delivered by Mr. S. G. Vaze to the East African Indian Congress which recently met at Mombasa.

make on this occasion, and that is in respect of the part that the Indian community here ought to play in the development of the indigenous population of the East African countries, on which point Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi spoke with such eloquence and such authority. I entirely agree with all that the Panditji said on this subject. It no doubt seems ungenerous and ungracious and almost a matter of vicarious charity for an outsider like me to come and tell you, in the midst of the manifold trials and tribulation through which you are passing, that you should make the welfare of the native Africans your own concern. But after all, it has to be borne in mind that the civilised world, which is just rising to this new conception of the rights of man, will judge you by the help that you give to the aborigines, the rightful owners of the soil, in building up their future. There is no other justification for the continued presence in this country of any aliens, white or brown, than that they, by virtue of their superior civilisation, should continuously lead the natives some steps upwards on the road to self-realisation. That being my fixed conviction, I for my part am prepared to give my unreserved and whole-hearted allegiance to the doctrine which finds mention in the White Paper—this is perhaps the only thing that relieves somewhat the black character of that document—that the interests of the original inhabitants of the country should receive primary consideration in all colonial arrangements. I only wish that this doctrine were sincerely enunciated and were in fact meant to be boldly applied to all immigrants, without respect of persons and without discrimination of race and colour. Indians, I am sure, would have no quarrel if this were done, and personally I could hope for nothing better. We all know how the white settlers are treating the natives. They have already deprived the natives of the best land in the country. Of the land, however, in European occupation no more than 6 or 7 per cent. is under cultivation, and even for cultivating this small proportion of land they have had to reduce the natives to a state of semi-slavery. It is a cruel irony of fate that a people who came to this country with the object of redeeming the natives from slavery have only ended their labours by imposing another form of slavery on them, viz. forced labour. When Major Grogan says that, having stolen the natives' land, they must now steal their limbs, he only expresses with a brutal frankness a sentiment to which even the Ministers of the Christian religion, who are supposed to be the especial custodians of native interests, do not scruple to accord their support. I have had talks with missionaries, and they justify this system of what must be called forced labour in this way. The natives, they say, are child races; they are perhaps in their second or third year of existence, measuring their age in the terms of enlightenment. Some half a century of white rule and Christian indoctrination may possibly enable them

to attain their fifth or sixth year. It is out of the question in the case of such people to take their consent before you make them work, even as it is out of question for you to take the consent of your children before you send them to school. You decide for them that labour will do them good, and you make them labour, by bringing various kinds of pressure to bring upon them, without reference to their wishes. Your superior civilization lays a hateful duty upon you, and you have to discharge it. It is of course true that, in carrying out your civilizing mission you happen to benefit yourselves by having all the labour you want dirt-cheap, but that is only an incidental advantage, your real motive is to advance the native in the scale of civilization. To such arguments I have had the misfortune to listen from those from whom one has a right to expect better. I have read it somewhere that when civilization encounters barbarism, it makes people either fiends or saints. And it is not exactly saints that you come across in the white settlers. One has only to read the report of the Kenya Labour Commission of 1912 to see what ingenious devices were recommended by the European farmers for the purpose of forcing the natives out of their reserves. The white settlers have forfeited all sympathy from thoughtful men in England by their unceasing exploitation of the natives. But what I wish to tell you to-night is that noted humanitarians like E. D. Morel and John Harris, whose support of all righteous causes is assured, seem to me to give but a nervous and hesitating support to the Indian claims, from fear lest Indians too, when they get strong, should exploit the natives. That should serve to us as a warning which we can neglect at our peril. The misgivings entertained by such people may be groundless. I know, of course, that the contact of Indians with the natives is fraught with good for the latter; and they cannot from the nature of the case exploit the natives, because the latter are always in a position to displace the former on account of their lower cost of living, the moment they attain the requisite standard of skill. But that we do not exploit the indigenous inhabitants is only a negative kind of help. Do we not owe it to them that we should give them some positive help, in the way of education, as missionary bodies, be it said to their credit, are doing? I know, of course, that when we are unable to help ourselves to the extent that we should, we cannot give much help to the natives. But at least some beginning should be made, and made immediately. And, in any case, all our dealings with them should be inspired by a conscious spirit of brotherly helpfulness, which alone will dispel the fears of those whose sympathy we cannot afford to lose. I know I have no right to say all this but Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi on account of his unselfish devotion to the cause of Indians abroad may well be even a mentor to the Indian Colonials on occasion, and I have only ventured to second what I consider most excel-

lent advice. I thank you from my heart for your great kindness in giving me such a patient and appreciative hearing.

THE DELHI SESSION.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT)

DELHI, 9TH FEB. 1924.

THE outstanding events of the week are undoubtedly the release of Mahatma Gandhi and the debate on the "National Demand". As to the wisdom of the former there can be no two opinions, at any rate in Indian circles, and it is doubtful how far Sir Campbell Rhodes was representing the opinion of the European community when he attempted to obtain support for a motion for the adjournment of the Assembly to protest against the release, for one finds hardly any Anglo-Indian paper disapproving of the release. One may however, doubt the wisdom of the procedure adopted for the release. It looks as if "blundering late into the right course" is written large on it. How graceful it would have been if the medical advice had been obtained just five days earlier and the decision of the Bombay Government announced by the Viceroy in his opening speech on the 30th January! It would have saved the people much disappointment and the Government much harsh criticism, which even the Liberals felt compelled to administer. If on the other hand Government had formally accepted the resolution in the Assembly for his release and thereby indicated their ready desire to be responsive to the wishes of the Legislature, they would have conciliated the Legislature to a large extent. It looks as if the Government considered the course derogatory to their prestige. However, the release was not too late, as was clear from the conciliatory atmosphere that prevailed when the "National Demand" resolution was under debate.

The Assembly was full and galleries crowded when Dewan Bahadur Rangachari presented the National Demand to the Government of India. His speech, couched in soft terms and cast in a pleasant and appealing style, set the tone of the debate for the day. Those who expected passion and declamation, angry retorts and violent gesticulations must have been disappointed. So much was this the case that Pandit Motilal Nehru was thought by some to have cooled lamentably in his ardour and presented a feeble and halting case for the Swarajist Party. The fact was that, what with his professional training and what with the genial atmosphere that had been created, he was content with a calm and reasoned statement of his case, which was firm and kept clear of attractive side-issues; but lacking the fire and virulence associated with a programme commonly believed to be destructive, it fell flat on that part of the audience which had been fed upon the lowest type of non-co-operation oratory. There was at least one specimen of this type too, but it jarred. Sir Malcolm Hailey maintained his high

level in debate. His speech was exceedingly clever but equally unconvincing. To the extravagantly couched demand of Mr. Rangachari, who did not provide for the exclusion, for some time to come, of the departments of defence, of political and foreign relations from popular control, Sir Malcolm trotted out the usual objections, which, however, he conceded were not insuperable—in time. He said that the Indian Princes, the European capitalists and the European services should be first given notice of the change to full responsible government if it is conceded. Next he dwelt on the inter-communal differences which only a foreign bureaucracy could prevent from exploding, and on India's defencelessness, which for a long time to come, a foreign army alone could shield. He declared that full responsible government was not yet, and that he would not stretch his imagination beyond the existing Act and the procedure of stages laid down in it. He, however, announced that the Government would consult Local Governments as to the defects that come to light in working the present Act and frame proposals for their rectification, which the Assembly would be given an opportunity to discuss before Parliament was asked to accept them. In this task he desired the cooperation of the best people in India and wound up by what unfortunately looked very much like a threat, that if such co-operation was not rendered, both the Government and the people would look in vain for the attainment of the goal laid down in the Act. Pandit Motilal Nehru replied with an implied threat of obstruction whereupon Sir Malcolm and then himself disavowed all idea of threat. Sir Campbell Rhodes stoutly opposed all further advance, as Indians were unfit for preserving law and order.

The debate was not finished yesterday. It is to be continued on Wednesday, the 13th. Of the fate of Mr. Rangachari's resolution and Mr. Motilal Nehru's amendment, there can be little doubt. The amendment was the result of much parleying. And the former is expected to accept the amendment. It is also expected that the amended resolution will be carried by an overwhelming majority against the Government.

A trial of strength on the 7th over the counter-vailing duties on South African coal resulted in 39 votes for and 77 against the Government: a ratio which most probably will repeat itself next Wednesday, for the subject of the resolution is one which has the unstinted support of almost all the elected members. Differences exist only as to the action to be taken if Government response was considered unsatisfactory by three fourths of the Nationalist party. These differences will be considerably reduced—almost to a vanishing point—if Sir Malcolm maintains his attitude to the demand. The consolidation of the Swarajists and Independents owes largely to the spirit of compromise and reasonableness displayed by the Swarajists in their efforts to secure the support of the Independents.

This spirit is greatly to be welcomed, particularly by the Liberals, who have been preaching it to the Swarajists. In this connection one cannot but regret the attitude taken up by some Liberal papers towards the Swarajists. It is true that the Swarajists have abated considerably the ardour of their election pledges. It is indeed a natural temptation for the Liberals to pour ridicule on this retreat from of the Swarajists' original position and hold them up to public scorn. One would wish, however, that the Liberals strongly resisted the temptation. To desire earnestly a set of people, whom you accuse of unreasonableness, to become reasonable, and when they do become reasonable, to pour ridicule on them for shifting their ground, instead of unreservedly welcoming the change, is hardly statesmanship, particularly in the present rather critical situation. It does not tend to unity, so greatly desired and found necessary. And it may be remembered that neither the non-co-operators nor the Liberals nor the Government stand to-day where they stood in 1919. All have had to shift their ground, not in proved glory.

To return to the consequences of this consolidation. Now that the Government response is unsatisfactory the Nationalist are pretty sure to adopt obstructive tactics, including the throwing out of the budget. Stormy seas are ahead!

Lord Rawlinson showed greater desire for conciliation than one had expected when he accepted Mr. Raju's resolution, with Pandit Malaviya's amendment, to appoint a committee to report on the measures to be taken to improve and expand, even beyond the limitation of numbers laid down by the Secretary of State, the Territorial force and to remove all racial distinctions between it and the Auxiliary force.

Earlier in the week came up for consideration a Government bill to raise the minority age of girls from 16 to 18 in certain sections of the Indian Penal Code, along with a promise on behalf of Government that Act XX of 1923, prescribing an age limit of 18 in respect of the offence of procurement of minor girls, which was held in suspension, would be put into operation along with the present bill if it became law.

Though there is not much fear of the bill being thrown out by the present Assembly, which Mr. Joshi, who, by the way, was responsible for raising the age in Act XX of 1923, confidently hoped would prove itself more progressive than its predecessor, yet, it is a matter of some humiliation to social reformers, particularly to those, who characterised Sir Malcolm Hailey on the last occasion as a reactionary stumbling block in the way of social reform, that as a consequence of opposition and doubt, the bill had to be referred to a select committee. Even Mr. Jinnah contended that it offended against Moslem law and Mr. Rangachari wished to strengthen his opposition by the differences in the opinions of Local Governments on the subject, to which Mr. Malcolm had referred.

A lively debate ensued on the 7th over Mr. Neogy's resolution advocating the protection of the coal industry in Bengal against competition from the bounty-fed coal from South Africa. The debate was conducted mainly on economic lines and the political aspect was kept under great restraint, though one cannot help feeling that it did influence the final voting; which resulted in 77 votes for the resolution and 39 against, in spite of Sir Charles Innes's earnest plea that the revival of the Bengal coal trade lay entirely in its own hands—and did not require any help from Government. Mr. Joshi, already called the Ramsay MacDonald of India, managed, with an astute persistence which rendered the Chair helpless, to smuggle in some propaganda revealing in a few words the deplorable conditions of the workers in the coal mines in India, and, despite the displeasure of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, managed to obtain the sympathy of the house for the lot of the workers.

A LETTER FROM THE PUNJAB.

LAHORE, 5th Feb. 1924.

THE situation in the province has not much improved. The question of the hour is the attitude of the Muhammadans towards the question of communal representation and there is no evidence that there has been any change for the better in that. The greatest event of the last month was the series of articles contributed by Lala Hansraj, late Honorary Principal of the D. A. V. College, to an Urdu daily on the much discussed problem of the national pact. The criticism was both constructive and comprehensive. Not only were the terms of the actual pact considered but its preamble and conclusion also were ably discussed. The point of the whole criticism was that the pact provided a good starting point on which discussion should be based. Certain glaring omissions e. g. that of a national script, were also pointed out.

The feeling is solidifying in the Punjab against the Bengal pact. It has not met with any but hostile reception in the Hindu and the Nationalist quarters. The Muhammadan papers however point out its terms as confirming the policy of extending communal representation to every public institution, a policy that is already being followed by the present Education Minister with a vengeance. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Bengal Pact has made the position of the Hindus in the Punjab more precarious and the insistence of Mr. Das on having it accepted has alienated the sympathies of the Punjabi Hindus from the Swaraj party.

The Swarajya M. L. C.'s in the Punjab are having a tug of war with the central council of the Swarajya party. They accepted nominations to different sub-committees in defiance of the clearly expressed views of the central body and had to be reminded of their loyalty to that body. To save their face a resolution has been passed calling upon such of them as are members of different committees

to resign their seats thereon, but so far only one resignation has been announced. It should be remembered, however, that many of these gentlemen were returned to the council not because they were Swarajists but because Lala Lajpat Rai backed them. The Lala seems to have come round to the Liberal view of responsive co-operation though it was he who launched the council boycott three years ago. His differences with the Swarajists are widening every day since the Bengal pact was published. It seems unlikely that the Punjab Swarajist M. L. C.'s will follow the lead of the central Swarajya party council in preference to Lala Lajpat Rai's opinion, and the rise of a constitutionalist party in the province is thus imminent. The Punjab, however, is not at present a congenial ground for any political party on account of communal differences.

The Sikh challenge to the Government has now been accepted and more than 700 arrests have taken place at Bhai Pheru, a shrine near Lahore. One wonders why the Sikhs cannot have resort to the courts when their boycott has now been abandoned.

ECONOMIC SURVEYS OF VILLAGES.

RECENTLY economic surveys of villages have been carried on in some provinces, especially Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the Punjab. These surveys have created so much interest in the public mind that the Government of India is being requested to carry on such surveys on a much wider scale. For carrying on economic surveys we should have men who take up the work with an unbiassed mind, without any foregone conclusion. College and University men engaged in research are the right sort of men because as researchers they, more than others, are likely to have the true scientific spirit to find out the truth. It is on these grounds that we welcome the "Kautilya Circle" of students started and organised by Mr. B. G. Bhatnagar of the Allahabad University to study the economic condition of rural areas in the United Provinces. This circle has an intention of studying nine villages, three in each of the three important divisions of the District of Allahabad. Out of these nine they have already surveyed two and in the "Indian Journal of Economics" of January 1924 they have published an account of the village Bheka *wrf* Paramufti. Three questionnaires have been prepared by the Circle to enable the student to collect the necessary information. One of these they have printed in the January number of the Journal and they promise to print the other two in the April number of the same Journal. The account given of the village is interesting and valuable, but as Mr. Bhatnagar has invited criticism, it is proposed to put forward a few suggestions, which it is hoped the Kautilya Circle will take in the friendly light in which they are offered and consider them in carrying on their future work.

The first suggestion that we should like to make to is that at least one or two of the party of the investigators should mix with the people, stay in the village for some days and inspire in them full confidence in the party. Unless this is done it is extremely difficult to get correct information. Then again, it is no use visiting the village only in one season. Short visits in the different seasons of the year will give an exact idea as to the way in which people carry on their profession from season to season.

The questionnaire gives a long and exhaustive list of headings on which information should be collected. In practice small sets of questions and cross questions which the investigator should put to the people will be of great value.

In collecting data for an economic survey accuracy is very important and must be insisted upon. In collecting information about the various fields it is no use depending on what figures are given by the cultivators but they must be found out by actual measurements in the fields. If for instance a cultivator is asked about the seed-rate of a crop, his answer in most cases will not be exact. In such cases the investigator must go to the fields during the sowing season and measure or weigh the seed with which the cultivator begins his sowing, and when he finishes that quantity, measure the area in which the seed is put. If for each crop about half a dozen tests are taken with regard to the seed-rate, outturn, and all the operations of the field, very accurate data can be had. All this is necessary to get an exact idea of the profits yielded by each crop and also to enable the investigator to find out the total quantity of food produced in the village.

Just as family budgets are useful in getting an exact idea of the economic condition of a family, so also crop budgets and finally the budget for the whole village, would be essential to get a definite idea about the economic condition of the whole village.

In the Bkheka *wrf* Paramufti village there are 656 acres of cultivable land and there are about 200 cultivators and the total population of the village is about 1500. Now, it would be very interesting to know what amount of food grains and other products of the land are sent out of the village after satisfying the needs of the people. It would also be interesting to know what area of cultivable land is necessary to support an average family. The writer of the article in the Journal says that on the whole the village is prosperous, but it is not clear whether the prosperity is due to the employment of about 504 persons in a factory near by or it is due to the high prices for agricultural produce during the last few years. All these points must be cleared up in order to know how far agriculture pays and whether it is necessary to have secondary industries started to make the villages self-supporting.

D. L. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEPER DISPENSARIES.

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA

Sir.—I notice that at the meeting at the Rotary Club (Calcutta) to consider the Leper Problem, Dr. Crake, City Health Officer, remarked,—“but as regards the establishment of leper dispensaries they would find themselves up against opposition.”

I should like to point out that this has not been the case in Patna. The Leper Dispensary there was opened in April 1922, and began with three patients, there are now about 300. It is worthy of notice that by no means all the patients are lepers, cases of asthma, malaria, kala azar, tuberculosis etc. are also treated. Naturally the most stringent precautions against infection are taken, but the fact that these patients have, of their own accord, joined the Leper Dispensary demolishes the contention so often put forward that if lepers are treated in the hospitals the other patients would no longer attend.

With regard to leprosy in the other districts of the Province, the treatment is being given in the out-door department at the Sadr Hospitals at Monghyr and Balasore, and the Pilgrim Hospital at Furl. In the Darbhanga and Furl Districts the treatment is available at the District Board Dispensaries. A meeting of the inhabitants was recently convened at Bhubaneswar, and funds were collected for the purchase of medicines for the lepers.

It will probably be found that when a Leper Dispensary is opened in Calcutta, the difficulties will disappear. The Patna Dispensary began with a grant of only Rs. 1300/; although the work has increased enormously, funds have always been forthcoming. The Ministers have made grants, and generous donations have been received from the public.

A similar institution has recently been opened at Karachi.

Yours etc,

E. A. JOHNSTON.

Balasore.

A LAW COLLEGE IN POONA

TO THE EDITOR THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—You will remember that in this Presidency, besides the Government Law School which was the only institution where a complete course in law could be gone through, there were other classes at places outside Bombay which taught the first LL. B. course. About the year 1906, it was felt that arrangements about instructions in law were not satisfactory and that some means should be found to put these on a satisfactory basis. With that object in view a Committee of Inquiry was appointed with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as Chairman. The Committee after obtaining the opinions of several gentlemen and institutions decided to introduce certain improvements in the Government Law School itself and give the experiment a fair trial. At that time the law students had only to attend two lectures per week, and it was decided that there should be one lecture every day, on all the week days i. e. six lectures in a week. The change meant additional hands and additional expense also. With a view to find the means to meet these, it was decided to concentrate the legal studies in Bombay by disaffiliating all outside law classes so that with the increase in the number of students a substantial addition would be made to the income of the Government Law School at Bombay from which the additional calls on its activities and purse could be met. That was inaugurated, and has been continuing for the last fifteen years.

The experience of these 15 years, however, brought out one fact that the experiment which was launched under circumstances stated above had not fully answered the expectations then formed and there was room for supplementary efforts. And men like the late Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and

others anxious to place the study of law on a sound and satisfactory basis felt that it was time that some private agency took the matter up.

The enormous change that has occurred in the political out-look of the country has made it necessary for the people in general, as distinguished from a regular student of law, to have facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the law and the constitution of the country.

With these facts in view, under the guidance and advice of the late Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Indian Law Society was formed with the objects as specified on pages 2 & 3 of the rules, now sent to you. As a first step towards realising these, it was decided to open a full grade Law College. As residence in Bombay has been found to be a source of hardship to the students, it was obvious that some place in the mofussil should be chosen. It was, therefore, decided to open the Society's first college at Poona, thus making a substantial addition to the educational equipments of that place which would enable it to mature into an University centre. The Society also propose to have "Peoples classes" where instructions in the law and constitution of India would be imparted to the adult population, so that the people might be in a position to know their rights and obligations together with their extent and limitations. The first of such classes will be opened in the city of Poona, but it is intended to extend the system to all District Towns if an intensive demand for the same be found to be existing. This idea was greatly appreciated by the late Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar whose sad death has not only deprived the Society of a staunch supporter and guide in its infancy but the people also of the unique privilege of having a course of lectures on constitutional law as he had in mind to deliver.

As a preliminary step in the opening of the Law College an application was made to the University of Bombay for its affiliation as a full grade college at Poona. I am enclosing herewith papers containing the original application and subsequent correspondence between the University and the Society. The University appointed a committee of inspection and the committee having made a report, the Syndicate formulated a proposal for the acceptance of the Senate by which the affiliation of the college as a full grade Law College was recommended. The Senate considered the proposal at two meetings viz. those held on the 1st and 15th of December 1923, and resolved that it was of opinion that affiliation should be granted to the Indian Law Society's college at Poona as a full grade Law College for a period of five years with effect from the 20th June 1924, and the resolution was sent to the Government for sanction as required by the Indian University Act. That sanction has appeared in the Government Gazette for Thursday the 31st January last. The college, therefore, will be opened in June next. The names of the staff and of the Governing Body will appear from the correspondence enclosed. The members of the Society have decided and are anxious to try their best to make the new college a success. It now remains with the public to contribute to the success of this institution, by their response.

With the addition of this college, Poona will have advanced further in its claims as a University Town. For it will then only require a medical college to make its equipment complete as an educational centre having institutions in all faculties. It now rests with the public to help Poona in its equipment for a demand for the Maharashtra University by liberally supporting this institution.

Yours truly,

J. R. GHARPURE.

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