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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Government of India has promulgated new rules under the Arms Act, the leading feature of the modifications being the elimination of the racial discrimination that was observed in the administration of the Act. The Viceroy had already announced in his speech to the legislative council in 1917 that all distinctions of race would be done away with, and this has been carried out in the new rules inasmuch as all persons of whatever race will be required to take out a license for the possession of firearms, except certain classes of men included in a schedule to be published hereafter. The number of such exemptions will be 'rigidly restricted.' Racial equality is thus sought to be established under the new rules not by an extension of the privilege which was enjoyed by a class to all other classes, but rather by a deprivation of that class of its privileges. The other solution has been ruled out, as it is held that certain restraints as regards the possession of arms are needed in the interests of public safety.

HOWEVER, all arms other than firearms will be exempted from all restrictions except in Burma, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, and to persons of recognised status and character licenses for the possession of rifles will be issued on application without previous inquiry. The qualifications prescribed for the issue of licenses are such that Europeans and Anglo Indians will, as a class, be entitled to the possession of arms, while large numbers of Indians will be excluded from the privilege. The net result will be that, while in the eye of the law, all races will be placed on a footing of equality, administratively a distinction will be made. In thus stating the issue, we do not wish to minimise the great advantage of the recognition

of statutory equality. The inequality of race which was such a marked feature of the Arms Act rules was exceedingly galling to the self-respect of Indians, and as that has been in a great measure removed, the changes in the rules will be enthusiastically welcomed in the country.

NOR can it be denied that if the rules are liberally interpreted, they will introduce several classes of Indians for the first time to the use of arms, and will remove some of the hardships of which the public have complained, e. g., agriculturists will ordinarily be entitled now to obtain licenses for the protection of their crops or cattle. If it is granted that some restrictions are necessary, it is for careful consideration what these restrictions should be. The Government of India has arrived at the conclusions mentioned in its resolution after an examination of the recommendations made by a mixed committee. It is hard to understand why the Government has not published the recommendations; knowledge of the latter would have enabled the public to judge of the merits of the concession much better. Could not the qualifications stated in the resolution as entitling persons to the possession of arms have been lowered? Could not the excepted areas also have been admitted to the privilege? What will 'approved character and status' mean and what should it mean? These details, which are so essential to an appreciation of the value of the privilege, would have been better understood in the country if the proposals of the committee had been published. It is a great pity that they are not, and though the rules are certainly susceptible of further improvement, it is necessary to recognise that, as they are, they constitute a considerable improvement upon the present state of things.

A BELATED report of Mr. Montagu's speech at the entertainment given to Lord Sinha on March 7 has arrived here. The speech is sympathetic on the whole, but one or two points of criticism emerge out of it. The principle of the development of Indian polity in successive stages has been universally acknowledged in India, but Mr. Montagu would have done well to refrain from uttering such a naked repudiation of the doctrine of self-determination as is involved in the sentiment that the British Parliament being the custodian of self-government in India, Indians have no right to complain that

the Government is going too slow. Mr. Montagu surely does not mean all that this dangerous doctrine may imply in the mouth of a reactionary politician, but with all the allowance that can be made for Mr. Montagu's well-known sympathy with Indian aspirations, this utterance forces on one's mind the contrast between the treatment of India and the promise held out to enemy colonies under the auspices of the League of Nations. While in the latter case an appeal is possible to an international tribunal, in India we must accept without demur the pace of progress which the British Parliament may choose to set.

THE excess profits bill has at last passed, and the Finance Member must be congratulated on the firmness he showed throughout the discussion of the measure in sticking to the policy which Government had announced. There were three important points for consideration before the country. First, there was a deficit which arose mainly out of war conditions and it was necessary to secure funds to cover it. Secondly, to have raised this amount by means of a loan would have been the imposing of indirect taxation upon the people. Thirdly, if additional taxation was inevitable, the only classes who could be subjected to the burden were manufacturers and merchants who had made profits out of war conditions. Whatever little force there was in the opposition to the bill, entirely disappeared when Sir James Meston promised to give reasonable concessions and to consider hard cases sympathetically. The capitalist opponents of the bill fought hard and to the last and succeeded in extorting from the Finance Member an assurance which we feel should not have been given, that if the tax produced more than it was calculated to yield, the question of returning the excess to the payers of the tax would be sympathetically considered. We think that the Government will be able to put to a very good use any excess that may arise, and the claim of capitalists to a refund was not one that should have been countenanced. Government wants money and more money, and there could not be a better, juster and more fruitful source than the extraordinarily large profits made by a few people as a result of war conditions. Public opinion ought to be unequivocally expressed on this question, and our only regret is the kind of assurance the Finance Member thought it necessary to convey to the representatives of capital in the Viceroyal Council.

THE Viceroy in his closing speech in the Council, after stating that he could not withhold his assent from the Rowlatt Act, expressed the hope that the mere existence of the Act on the statute book would be sufficient to keep the anarchists in check and that it would not be necessary to apply it at all. The Act is fundamentally objectionable, "the executive complexion" being its dominating feature, and the public must set

itself to work for its repeal and smash "the executive exaltation" which it brings about; but the Government must on its part at least refrain from using its provisions unless a clear necessity has been made out. That will minimise the cruelty of this essentially unjust legislation.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA of Bhavnagar has decided to abolish a large number of liquor shops in his large state and intends to pursue this policy with a view to extinguish liquor trade altogether within a specified period. He has formulated this policy in collaboration with the other princes in Kathiawar, and hopes that it will be adopted and carried into effect by all of them at an early date. Indians feel very proud that the glorious example of the United States has been followed so soon by Bhavnagar. The lead given by this and other states of Kathiawar should stir the British Government to radically alter their vicious excise policy.

THE *Pioneer* is rending the air with shrieks at the grant of some half a dozen A-2 priority certificates to Indian politicians. In doing so the Government of India has apparently weakly succumbed to the tearing agitation in this country and shown an incredible insensibility to the hardships of the English men and women who have been left behind to rot here. The indignation of this journal is enhanced at the duplicity of the Indian leaders. Whatever the deputations may pretend to be the object of their mission, they are really undertaking the voyage, the paper understands, in order to do their utmost "towards reshaping the Reform Bill" on the lines approved of by them. One would have thought that this object was avowed by the deputations. But the *Pioneer* is not alarmed merely at the frightful injustice done to Europeans; it also entertains altruistic misgivings as to the future of the reforms. If the British public come to know that an underserved preference has been shown by an opportunist Government, they will refuse to listen to these deputations, nay will be prejudiced against them, and the result will be that the reforms will be seriously endangered. So leave well alone, and—support the Rowlatt Act, and everything will be for the best in India.

WE said in a recent issue, in commenting upon Mrs. Besant's limited pledge of passive resistance, that there was no half-way house between Mr. Gandhi's wider programme and orthodox constitutional agitation. We are glad to see that Mrs. Besant has now accepted this view *in toto* and withdrawn her pledge. The reason for this change of attitude is that the changes which have been made in the Rowlatt Bills leave nothing which could be passively resisted, and she has from the first expressed uncompromising opposition to the violation of other laws, which is the essence of Mr. Gandhi's pledge. The Anar-

chical and Revolutionary Crime Bill has been "definitely reduced to a measure levelled only against revolutionary and anarchical movements," and much of its sting has thus been taken out of it. The other Bill also has been "deprived of the clauses to which disobedience was possible."

THE result is, according to Mrs. Besant, that the pledge, which was justifiable when signed, now becomes useless with the changes effected, there being nothing now to break, unless one joined a revolutionary and anarchical movement, and "to continue it or to offer it to others, under the new conditions would be mere theatrical bluff." The only choice now is between the full Satyagraha vow and constitutional agitation for the repeal of the bad law, and Mrs. Besant and those who agreed with her can only accept the latter, contemptuously as it is regarded for the moment as the resort of the coward, though a little time ago it was considered to be the resort of the brave! Mrs. Besant repeats her objections to Mr. Gandhi's plan which, as he himself acknowledges, is "comparatively a novelty," the principle of breaking other laws being introduced into it for the first time in order to invite suffering on oneself. She regards this vow "as mistaken and dangerous to civic order, because it binds the conscience to break, in blind obedience, any laws selected in future by others." This principle, she says, is against good citizenship.

NOB does Mrs. Besant share Mr. Gandhi's view as to the innocuous nature of the movement which he wishes to initiate. When such a pledge, committing people to the infringement of other laws on which a committee may determine, "is taken from average people, she thinks that it will give a dangerous opening hereafter to others who do not share in Mahatma Gandhi's saintly nature, though he judges others by himself. Is it not likely that unscrupulous revolutionaries, ignoring his abstinence from violence, may use the magic of his name to justify to the ignorant a general breaking of law? We have had revolutionaries, who have justified dacoity as an act of war, necessary to obtain money for their work. Is it right, while such arguments are in vogue, to take a pledge which binds to breaches of law?

THE *Times* of London gave publicity some time ago to what is here an open secret to all who can claim the smallest acquaintance with politics, viz., that some of the local Governments are opposed to diarchy. It also reiterated the well-known fact that the reforms report does not embody a rigid scheme, insusceptible of change. This news bore to Mr. R. R. Karandikar such a prodigious import that he thought it necessary to send it over the wires to this country, for such an admission by the *Times* appeared to him to carry with it the further admission that in the draft of the Bill diarchy in the provinces would be aban-

doned in favour of the Congress scheme. Mr. Karandikar does not enlighten the people of this country as to whether the Lucknow scheme, or the Bombay scheme, or the Delhi scheme of the Congress will be adopted by the Cabinet, all of these varying in important particulars from one another.

NO one in India will be the wiser for Mrs. Karandikar's cable; but the inference drawn by him will strike most people as very novel and daring. For the opposition on the part of the local Governments to an introduction of the element of responsibility in part was interpreted here to mean not their willingness to introduce it in full, but their unwillingness to introduce it at all. The pointed mention by the *Times* that the scheme was capable of modification meant to many in India that there was at least an even chance of its being modified in the direction of shrinkage as of expansion. Taking the cue of Mr. Karandikar, the *Mahratta* asserts with confidence that the Montagu scheme would be considerably enlarged. It is surprising how those who usually take a gloomy view of things occasionally delude themselves into altogether too hopeful a view. It is of course unreasonable to infer from the fact that the scheme was meant to be provisional, that the whole framework of it will be scrapped and another scheme founded on entirely different principles would be substituted for it.

IN the debate on the Address, Mr. Devlin on February 12 put in a strong plea for the application of the doctrine of self-determination to Ireland. "Give the Irish people self-determination," he said. "Why is that expression, which is so sacrosanct when you are dealing with little nations in Europe, an anathema when you are dealing with Ireland? Why is the great democratic principle of the right of a people to determine its own destinies, which is unanimously accepted by all thinking and enlightened men in every part of the world, not to be applied to Ireland? Or, alternatively, he asked fair representation to be given to Ireland at the Peace Conference. He said:

"Are you afraid to allow Ireland to state her case at the Peace Conference? Is that the reason why she is denied a hearing there? If she has not a good case to present to that of the Czech-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, the Liberians, or the men of other races, well, you need not be afraid! Do you not want the story of Ireland to be told? Of what are you ashamed? Give Ireland representation at the Peace Conference so that she may be heard, because it seems to me perfectly clear that you have not the slightest idea of settling this question yourselves. Suppose you are afraid and shamed by the Liberians and by all the other races! Suppose you are afraid that your treatment of Ireland brought the blush of shame to Bolivia and to Uruguay and all the other little nations gathered around the Peace Conference table than give Ireland the other right—that of self-determination!"

It need not be said that no attempt was made to answer this plea.

EDUCATION IN THE PRESIDENCY.

THE statement which Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla made at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the present position and prospects of primary education in this Presidency, was highly encouraging. It held out the hope that Government were determined to make vigorous efforts to dissipate illiteracy at as early a date as possible. Without intending to make invidious distinctions, we may observe that Sir Ibrahim, himself a man of the people, has entered thoroughly into the spirit of the popular demand for a rapid extension of elementary education and under him the educational department bids fair to utilise every opportunity to diffuse and improve education, so that in the course of the next few years steps will have been taken by which all illiterate will be swept away from the face of the Presidency. Sir Ibrahim is indeed fortunate in having large funds at his disposal and his task has been rendered comparatively easy by the financial prosperity of the Province. But he is a man with a definite policy and a will, and people believe that armed with these he would accomplish a great deal even under less favourable conditions. The Government of Bombay appear at last to have grasped the urgency of educational development and deserve to be congratulated upon the programme envisaged in Sir Ibrahim's statement in the Legislative Council. We hope that not only will the outlined programme be carried out, but Government will liberally assist municipalities and local boards in discharging the many responsibilities thrown upon their shoulders by the necessity of making a rapid extension of primary education.

Sir Ibrahim laid down Government's policy as one under which they intend "to place facilities for attending a primary school within the reach of every child of school-going age." With regard to municipalities, they may avail themselves of the Act recently passed by the council, which will enable them to secure from Government grants on the basis of half the total actual cost per annum towards primary education, whether voluntary or compulsory. We are glad that Government will not stick to the letter of the law but will sympathetically consider the question of making more liberal grants to municipalities which are anxious to extend elementary education, but are handicapped by financial difficulties. It is up to the municipalities now to take full advantage of the offer made by Government which must be characterised as generous. It will certainly be no easy matter for these bodies to raise the funds required for defraying their share of financial responsibility, but we believe that a sincere effort made by them will not fail to be crowned with success. The policy of the Government of Bombay with regard to primary education in rural areas, which is always a difficult problem, is that "there shall be as far as possible at least one primary school in

every village which has a sufficient number of children of school-going age to fill it." It is proposed to open five hundred schools in villages with a population of one thousand and over and funds have been provided for the purpose. When these schools are opened, villages with a population of between 500 and 1000 will be taken up and will be provided with a school each, so that within a measurable distance from now, the goal of universal education will have been reached.

With the question of the extension of primary education is intimately connected the question of an adequate supply of trained teachers. The difficulty of obtaining the necessary trained teachers has long been pleaded to justify the slow progress of primary education, but Government will no longer be deterred by it and has decided to inaugurate a training scheme which will provide a one year's training to the 1300 additional primary school teachers required annually. The scales of salaries of primary school teachers, both trained and untrained, have also been revised at a considerable cost. In these days of high prices, the lot of the teacher in the primary school is simply miserable, and no educational reform can be complete or satisfactory which does not provide for the improvement of the pay and prospects of the teacher's profession. Thus it will be seen that the scheme of the expansion of elementary education, outlined by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla makes a gratifying stride in the path of social progress so urgently required and the people of this Presidency cannot but feel grateful to him and the Bombay Government as a whole on the enthusiasm and earnestness with which they have taken up the task.

In the matter of secondary and collegiate education also, a vigorous line of policy is being contemplated by Government, who have had to reconsider their traditional attitude to secondary schools and colleges. The demand for accommodation in schools and colleges has exceeded the existing provision even when private enterprise is taken into account. The old policy of one Government high school for each district and of grants to private institutions when they exist under the code will no longer do; and Sir Ibrahim stated to the Council that the Director of Public Instruction had been asked to submit a report dealing with the whole question of secondary education and the most effective practical remedies he would recommend to meet the situation. In view of changed conditions, the scale of grants to colleges has been revised, and Government have decided that the maximum limit of grant for each College, which stands at Rs. 10,000 per annum at present, should be raised to one-third of the total assets or one-fourth of the total admitted expenditure during the previous official year, whichever may be less. The English education of girls and technical education are matters for which adequate provision has not been made, but on the whole the review Sir Ibrahim presented to the Council must

be pronounced as extremely illuminating and gratifying.

THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

XI.*

AFTER having made their recommendations about the creation of imperial scientific and technical services, the Commissioners take up the question of training up men as foremen of existing and new industrial works. They think that the policy of Government in providing only such educational facilities, as would enable those who took advantage of the same to do useful work as subordinate staff of the administrative departments, is mainly responsible for the fact that the supply of trained Indians capable of taking charge of works is so very limited. This is not the place to enter into a defence of the educational policy adopted by the Government of India more than half a century back, but one cannot help saying that the attack on this policy merely shows the bias of the President and some members of the Commission against a policy that has resulted in producing the present class of educated Indians. Even if one differs from the Commissioners regarding this matter, one must acknowledge that they are on the whole, right when they say: "Throughout the nineteenth century, the policy of Government was controlled by the doctrine of *laissez faire* in commercial and industrial matters, and its efforts to develop the material resources of the country were largely limited to the provision of improved methods of transport, and the construction of irrigation works." One wishes that Government had paid as much attention to the construction of irrigational works as to the construction of railways, for in that case, the agricultural produce from the land would have been much greater than now, and the country would have had greater protection when there was shortage of rainfall. Barring this inaccuracy, the charge brought against Government of having not only adopted a policy of indifference regarding the industrial development of the country, but having devoted themselves to providing facilities for removing raw materials from the country and dumping finished goods in it is well borne out by facts. The Commissioners press the charge home by adding: "Even when the necessity for action began to be perceived clearly by Government, the magnitude of the problem was hardly appreciated; it was by no means sufficiently recognised that technical education is by itself incapable of creating industries." This latter fact was not realized because it was nobody's business to see that industries were started in the country. The officers of the Government thought that so long as they maintained peace, order and good government, they had every reason to be satisfied with their work. Very few of them realized that

it was also their duty to see that the country did not stagnate industrially, politically or socially. What splendid results they could have shown, if they had devoted themselves as wholeheartedly to this side of their duties as they have done to the other side! Let us hope that the stirring times through which we have passed during the last four years have broadened their outlook, and that in the years to come they will set before themselves the goal of assisting the sons of the country in carrying her forward in the ranks of the countries that have made rapid industrial progress in the past century.

Reference is made in this chapter to the Simla Educational Conference of 1901 and to the establishment of the Government of India technical scholarships, tenable normally for 3 years, of £ 150 per annum to enable Indians to proceed to Europe and America for special training. One hundred such scholarships have been granted till now and sixty scholars have returned after completing their education, Government spending, on an average, £ 550 on each scholar. It would be interesting to know the life-history of each of these scholars, after his return to his motherland. The only reference to this subject is that no organised effort was made to help the scholarship-holders on their return to India. It is true that such an investigation did not form a part of the terms of reference, but if such an inquiry had been made, it would have helped the Commissioners in suggesting remedies for the defects in the system of selecting candidates to which they refer later on. In addition to what Government have done for higher training outside this country by the institution of these scholarships, the leading citizens of Calcutta, formed into an Association for the advancement of scientific and industrial education of Indians, have been helping qualified Indian students by money grants to visit foreign countries to study arts and industries. The Association received an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 from the Bengal Government in pre-war times. Owing to the necessity for strict economy this grant was reduced to Rs. 2,500 in war times. It is to be hoped that similar economy was exercised by this Government in other directions also!

The Commissioners approve of the alterations recently made in the rules for selecting candidates for the Government of India scholarships, but they do not think that sufficient stress is laid upon the necessity of previous training, in India, of candidates in the particular industry which they propose to study abroad. There is a mention of the difficulty felt by the scholarship-holders of gaining admission into works and factories to learn by actual work the various methods and processes used therein, but no definite measures are suggested to meet the difficulty. The Commissioners perhaps thought that all that could be done to remedy the existing evil was done by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Morison Committee, but even then we had a right to expect some clear opinion on the subject from such an important

* Previous articles on this subject appeared in the issues of Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 12, & 19, Jan. 2 & 16, and Feb. 6, 13 & 27, and March 20.

body. It has, however, confined itself to stating that this attitude of not admitting candidates or apprentices "is common to manufactures all over the world, not excepting India." Could cynicism go any further?

The Commissioners go on to make the following suggestions for alterations in the latest regulations regarding the grant of technical scholarships:—

(1) No scholarships should be granted in those subjects for which India will provide adequate educational facilities.

(2) That a candidate should go through more prolonged courses in the workshops in the country instead of one year's training as laid down in the present rules.

(3) That such scholarships should only be granted to men who have already committed themselves to industrial work.

There can be very little difference of opinion regarding condition (1), excepting that the phrase "adequate educational facilities" is interpreted as equivalent to the best that are existing in other parts of the world. Suggestion (2) ought to be adopted immediately. The third suggestion is likely to break down in practice, for it will be very difficult to find out whether a particular man has committed himself to industrial work for all time to come, and if the inquiry is to end by knowing that he is doing industrial work at the time of his selection, it will not help much to carry out the principles at the back of the Commissioners' minds. The remarks in the Report that it is doubtful whether the grant of such scholarships "even to persons who can secure the co-operation of promoters of non-existent industries will have very useful results," though worded in very guarded language, may lead provincial Governments to adopt an attitude of non-action regarding new industries to be started within their limits. The Commissioners themselves are not quite sure that such scholarships should not be granted in all such cases, for they make an exception in the case of oil-pressing. We hope that provincial Governments will be far-sighted enough to grant scholarships in all cases where there is a probability of a new industry being helped by the scholarship-holder on his return.

The question of the necessity of giving primary education to workmen's children is carefully gone into by the Commissioners, who come to the conclusion that they are "opposed to any scheme that would compel individual employers to provide such education." They think that this duty devolves upon the Government and local authorities, but that where employers are undertaking this work they should be assisted by local Governments in every way "including the allocation of grants-in-aid." This view, though not in accord with the advanced socialistic views of the present age, is in a way in a line with the opinions held by Liberal national leaders like the late Sir Pherooshah M. Mehta, who was strongly of opi-

nion that the duty of providing educational facilities rested with Government and Government only.

L. S.

"INDIA IN TRANSITION: A STUDY IN POLITICAL EVOLUTION."

II.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN does not approve of the use of the words 'responsible government' in the historic announcement of August 20th, 1917. He would prefer the word 'self-government' and feels convinced that they were used in order to carry with the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister some more conservative members of the War Cabinet. They were employed, he says, so that the executive Government hereafter might contain Englishmen, though, for ourselves, we confess, we fail to understand how such a result must necessarily follow the establishment of responsible government in India. Moreover, it seems to us an unwise and unrighteous policy to exclude Englishmen, even though naturalised, from executive government in India, even after she has attained responsible government. The Aga Khan has not much faith in responsible government which, he thinks, has been really successful only in the United Kingdom, and that, too, upto a certain point; the war has clearly revealed the defects of a system which depends upon the play and interplay of two great parties, and which makes the Government depend for its very existence upon the legislature. Nobody can deny that the Government of the United States of America is truly "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and yet the American executive is even more separate and independent of the legislature than in Germany. Responsible government cannot succeed without the two-party system, and such a system, the Aga Khan thinks, is "quite unconceivable" in India. Why he thinks it "unconceivable" is unconceivable to us; the development of Indian politics for some time past clearly shows that political parties are bound to exist and assume growing distinctness in India as in other countries. In a vast country like India, with its multifarious and complex problems, differences of opinion as to policy, methods and even particular questions, political or quasi-political, are bound to arise, and such differences cannot but ultimately evolve two or more distinct and influential parties. Time alone will prove whether responsible government is a success in India or not. *Prima facie*, there is no reason why it should not; at all events, it should not be ruled out on the erroneous ground that the party system is "quite unconceivable" in India. The social conditions of India cannot but have their impress upon her political institutions, and it would certainly be a mistake to make an apish imitation of the British or any other constitution; but we do not agree with the Aga Khan in thinking that the principle of responsible govern-

ment will never be suited to Indian conditions and that therefore it would be a disaster to seek to evolve it in her constitution.

The Aga Khan's views about provincial and national constitutions for India are affected by his lack of faith in responsible government. He, indeed, pleads for full provincial autonomy, and would, we think, entirely disapprove of the principle of diarchy embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms; but at the same time, he wants that the ministers should be responsible, not to the people through the legislature, but to the Crown through the Governor. The only measure of control he would give the legislature over the executive is that it should have the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent minister. "This would give India," says the Aga Khan, "the constitution Gokhale and Mehta always advocated". Gokhale and Mehta are great names and their authority is certainly high, but we doubt whether the eminent statesmen whose authority the Aga Khan has invoked would have approved of the application of the principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control to the Indian constitution, except in its transitional stage.

As we have said above, the Aga Khan is in favour of full provincial autonomy, though he holds the view that the responsibility of the executive to the legislature even for tenure of office is not calculated to make for its efficiency. He wrote before the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms was published; we do not, therefore, know what he thinks about the division of provincial functions into "reserved" and "transferred;" but judging from his scheme of provincial autonomy, it may be inferred that he would not approve of such a division. Let us hope that all his influence will be exerted in so improving the scheme that in the major provinces all functions will be transferred to popular control. As between full provincial autonomy with the executive independent of the legislature for tenure of office—the system which the Aga Khan advocates—and the system of divided functions, "with hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated" (*vide* page 280 of the report on Constitutional Reforms), we would certainly prefer the former; and if the Aga Khan would succeed in persuading the British Cabinet and Parliament to accept his own scheme so far as it applies to provincial Governments, it would, we have no doubt, be an immense gain.

Some Indian publicists have advocated a bicameral system for the provinces as well as for the whole of India; others like Mr. Natarajan, the thoughtful editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, have proposed it for India but not for the provinces. Strange to say, the Aga Khan is in favour of it only so far as the provinces are concerned; he thinks that there is no need for two Chambers in the Government of India. According to him, every province should have two Chambers, the Senate and

the Assembly. The Senate should consist of forty or fifty members, partly nominated and partly elected. As regards the Assembly, the Aga Khan's idea that in a province like Bombay it should be a fairly big one, consisting of from 180 to 220 almost entirely elected members, has much to commend itself; he rightly says that with the extension of the principle of communal representation to the British and other communities,—an extension which cannot be refused on logical and political grounds,—such an Assembly would be representative of every district, community and substantial interest. We ourselves think that apart from communal and other special representatives, every district in an advanced province like Bombay should be represented by at least three members and not by two, as proposed in the scheme of the Government of Bombay. We are glad to notice that the Aga Khan is in favour of separate communal representation; we entirely agree with him in his view of the effects of such communal representation.

"The various religions, communities, castes, etc., within each great province," says he, "have very much in common, something national in effort and aspiration that will meet the difficulty of separate communal representation in practical working and in time. On the other hand, the smaller communities being assured from the first of their voice in affairs will feel growing confidence in the autonomous system, and the self-respect and the self-confidence so necessary to the backward classes in India will steadily grow. There will be awakened in them an enthusiasm for great public interests that now lies dormant, and an increasing fellow-feeling with the leading communities."

The Aga Khan's suggestion that an Indian should be appointed to the high office of a Governor is one that the British Cabinet ought to act upon at the earliest opportunity. The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India and his elevation to the peerage are acts conceived in such genuine and noble statesmanship that they have caused great and universal satisfaction throughout India; the appointment of an Indian as Governor will, we are sure, be hailed with still greater satisfaction. Under the Mahomedan rule, Hindus were freely appointed as governors and generals, and that was one reason why that rule was never regarded as alien, whatever other complaints might have been made against it. Surely, British Raj ought not to compare unfavourably with the Mahomedan rule in this respect. The Aga Khan suggests that at first a ruling prince, say the Maharaja of Bikanir, may be appointed Governor, and that later on, the field of selection may be widened so as to include British Indian subjects. We think, practical difficulties will arise in appointing native princes as Governors. But there can be no doubt that the time is come for recognising the claims of Indians to the office of a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor. Perhaps, the public expectation that Lord Sinha will be the first Indian Governor may be realized; we do not see any reason why he should not be appointed Governor, after the Reform Bill is passed.

The Aga Khan's scheme for the constitution of the central Government does not appear to us to be so carefully worked out as that for provincial Governments. As we have already stated, he does not favour a bicameral system for the whole of India. He thinks that the room for imperial legislation will be so restricted that a single chamber will be quite enough. We cannot follow the Aga Khan in this; his proposition that there will not be much scope for imperial legislation is open to doubt. Moreover, the *raison d'être* for a bicameral system arises not from the volume of business to be transacted, but from the necessity of providing for some moderating influence that will ensure a fine balance being maintained between timid conservatism on the one hand and extreme radicalism on the other. The Aga Khan favours a Senate or Council representing the provinces and the Native States, and suggests that its composition should be such, that each of the great provinces will have from eight to ten representatives, and even the smallest state at least one representative. We wish the Aga Khan had worked out the composition of the Senate or Council in detail. He would have then seen that not only the representatives of the Native States (which number more than five hundred) would far outnumber those of the provinces, but the body itself would be an extremely unwieldy one. Such a constitution would practically mean handing over the affairs of India to a body where the representatives of Native States will be in great majority. Such a constitution will be far from responsible government, either in the broad or the narrow sense; nor will it conduce to public or administrative efficiency. The Native rulers are certainly entitled to a place in the federal council or senate for India, but to make them and not people the virtual masters of British India is absolutely impossible, not to say utterly preposterous and unwise.

In the chapter on the Viceroyalty, His Highness the Aga Khan once again makes the proposal made by him so long ago as 1897, that the Viceroy of India should be appointed from among the royal family, and that the office should be purely non-political, the head of the Indian executive being his Prime Minister to be appointed by the Cabinet. At the same time he makes the suggestion that the time is come for sometimes appointing an Indian to the office of the Viceroy. We do not see how both these suggestions could be reconciled. Probably, the Aga Khan thinks that his proposal for a Viceroy from the royal family is not likely to find much favour with the British Cabinet. Whatever that may be, we are glad to find him suggesting in all seriousness that the highest office in British India should at times be given to an Indian. The time may be far distant, when the head of the executive Government in India will be an Indian himself; but the day on which an Indian will be called upon to assume the responsibilities of the Viceroyalty will be the proud-

est day in the history of the connection between England and India. The Aga Khan rightly says: "If the Viceroyalty is to remain anything less than a constitutional rôle, a position due, like the monarchy it represents, to the symbolic power of hereditary kingship, then it must be open to Indians as well as Englishmen."

Such are in brief His Highness the Aga Khan's proposals for the provincial and national constitutions of India. They contain certain features which we earnestly hope will commend themselves to the favourable consideration of the British Cabinet. Particularly, his plea for full provincial autonomy and for the appointment of an Indian as Governor will, we trust, appeal to British statesmanship and sense of justice. In the third part of this article, we shall conclude this review of the Aga Khan's book by briefly noticing the more remarkable of his views on the administrative problems of India and on the status of Indians in British Colonies.

R. G. PRADHAN.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

"GOOD cometh out of evil," says the proverb, and the great world war, with all its unspeakable horrors and its paralyzing effect on every kind of human activity, has proved a blessing in disguise in that it has brought home to the nations of the world, as nothing else had ever done before, the supreme value of education as the most powerful influence in promoting national strength and national welfare. It had scarcely been waged for a year before it was clear that those nations in which education had been most fully and widely diffused could best hold their own in the hardest life and death struggle the world had ever witnessed. So forcibly was this fact impressed on men's minds that the problem of education at once took rank with the most pressing problems of the war, and proposals which before the war would have been considered as revolutionary or impracticable were thought worthy not only of serious consideration but of immediate effectuation. It was as if the dawn of a happier day and a worthier civilization had begun to illumine the horizon with its peaceful and reassuring lustre, before the lurid light of the world-conflagration had ceased to glare upon the scene.

India, far removed as she has been from the actual scenes of the war, has yet been rudely shaken by the stress of the stupendous conflict. With her destinies indissolubly united with those of the greatest of the contending powers, she had to play an important part at every stage and in every situation, and had more opportunities of getting an intimate knowledge of western nations and their civilizations within five years than she could otherwise have got within fifty. The vast resources, the wonderful organization, the marvellous control over natural forces, due to the advancement of knowledge, exhibi-

ted by the great nations, combined with the spectacle of millions dutifully responding to the call for the country, willingly taking their place in the machine-like organization, and consciously fighting to the last in spite of odds and in spite of failure—all these things have not been lost upon her. No wonder, then, that during the last five years there has been an awakening in India more intense, more widespread, and more intelligent than at any other period during recent times.

It is the earlier half of this important period which, along with two pre-war years, is dealt with in the seventh Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, recently published by the Bureau of Education. One might expect to see in it evidence both of the unsettling effect of the abnormal conditions produced by the war and the new impulse which has been felt everywhere in the sudden change of men's attitude towards the scope and character of educational activity. It would be interesting to see how far the lessons of the war have been imbibed by those responsible for the administration of education in this country, what change of policy they have dictated and whether any practical measures have been indicated for the purpose of furthering that policy in future. The war has taught many a hard lesson, but the hardest of all has been the keen realization of the immense power of ignorance in working evil and retarding good.

More than a year before the war had begun, the Government of India had proclaimed in their Resolution of 21st April 1913 their educational policy in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's expressed wish that "there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations life," and "that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health." The resolution which was prompted by this noble utterance which touches every branch of education failed to reach the height of expectations raised by it, not so much in its conception of the educational needs of the country as in the inadequacy of the measures it proposed and half-hearted, halting methods by which the goal was sought to be reached. It laid down no financial policy, but indicated as an aim the doubling of the number of primary schools and pupils in the not distant future. It was eloquent in insisting upon the formation of character being recognised as the chief aim of education, the steady raising of the standard of existing institutions and the improvement of the conditions and curricula of instruction. It reaffirmed the policy of relying upon private enterprise in the domain of secondary education and concentrating the direct energies of the State and bulk of its resources upon the improvement and expansion of elementary education.

It ended with an appeal to the wealthy citizens of India to give of their abundance to the cause of education.

Such as it was, however, the resolution was welcomed as inaugurating a new era in the progress of education. Its operation, however, was interfered with by the war, and the five years under review have seen an increase of 16 per cent. in the number of pupils and 50 per cent. in the public expenditure on education as against the increases of 26 p. c. and 50 p. c. respectively in the preceding quinquennium. It was of course to be expected that the financial conditions imposed by the war must check any considerable extension of education, but while even under more stringent circumstances the educational authorities in England could take decisive measures to carry out more far-reaching reforms than had been ever before conceived, the review gives no indication of any comprehensive scheme which would bring the goal within sight in the near future as being under contemplation in consequence of the new impulse given by the war.

This want of susceptibility to the influences of the day and of that vigorous determination which not only sees defects and evils but grapples with them with all its resources has characterised the administration of education in this country. The problems which it has to face have ever been noticed, but often no solution is proposed. Thus every time the top-heaviness of of Indian education has been commented upon, the over-literary character of courses of instruction has been admitted, the want of trained teachers and the consequent lack of intelligent interest in their profession have been noted, the evils of a low-paid teaching profession have been pointed out, and the baneful influence of examinations has been condemned. But in most cases matters have been allowed to rest where they are, for want of a persistent, effective design to improve them.

It is true that the problem of education in India presents features which are peculiar to her. Her vast extent, her religious and social institutions, and her ancient civilization with its deep-rooted influences on the mass of the population, render it difficult to deal with in the extreme. With all this, however, it is an old problem to the administration, and the fast changing times have already introduced new elements in the situation which are sure to act like solvents in reducing the problem. We wish our educational authorities would utilise these new elements to the utmost extent and quicken the pace of reform and expansion.

V. B. NAIK.

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SELECTION.

ORDINARY RULES OF EVIDENCE.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru delivered the following masterly speech in answer to Mr. Kincaid's criticism on the amendment moved by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that "The ordinary rules of evidence should be observed" in the debate on the Rowlatt Emergency Powers Bill:—

It is somewhat an irony of fate that we Indian lawyers should feel proud of British jurisprudence, while true-born Englishmen should have to find fault with their own. When I heard Mr. Kincaid finding fault with English jurisprudence and referring to French jurisprudence, Italian jurisprudence, and Russian jurisprudence, probably he did not refer to Russian jurisprudence, I was wondering whether Mr. Kincaid would not after his retirement go to Parliament and play the role of Bentham and ask English Judges and juries to revise and to throw away all their inherited rules of evidence and accept his own ideal of the law of evidence. I am old fashioned enough to think that the rules of evidence which have been framed by English lawyers are based on accumulated human experience, and that if there is occasion for the observance of those rules in ordinary cases in India, there is still greater occasion for the use of these rules in cases of this character where frankly and avowedly you are not adopting judicial form. My Lord, I will content myself by reading to Your Lordship a passage from a book which probably represents more or less either the ideas, or the wishes of the Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid on this matter. A learned legal writer (Mr. Carter) says:—

"A method of trial, where witnesses in our sense are rarely if ever called, may do its work well enough in a small community where everybody knows what everybody else is doing; but these primitive conditions did not last for ever, and when they changed, the position of an accused person must have been, according to modern notions, extremely harsh and difficult. He was not permitted to call witnesses. Queen Mary is said to have directed the judges to allow prisoners to call witnesses in felony; but this was regarded as an indulgence, the ruling being that witnesses were not to be heard against the Crown, even in felony, and if such witnesses were called, they were not sworn. Before the great Civil War the following were the features in which a criminal trial differed from a criminal trial of to-day:—

(1) The prisoner was confined more or less secretly and could not prepare his defence. He was examined and his examination taken down and used against him.

(2) He had no notice of the evidence which was going to be produced against him.

(3) He had no counsel either before or at trial.

(4) There were no rules of evidence as we understand them. The witnesses were not necessarily confronted with the prisoner, nor were originals of documents produced, the confessions of accomplices were not only admitted, but were regarded as specially cogent.

(5) The prisoner was not allowed to call witnesses on his own behalf; had he been permitted, could not have done so with effect, for he could not find out what evidence they would give, or procure their attendance. In later times they were not examined on oath even if they were called.

After civil war some improvements were made. In 1695 persons indicted for high treason or misprison of treason were to have a copy of the indictment five days before trial and to have counsel and witnesses upon oath."

If all the arguments of Mr. Kincaid are to prevail, we must be prepared in the year 1919 to go back to the times before the great Civil War.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

SPEAKING of the work of the non-official Indian members of the legislative council with regard to the Rowlatt Bill at the last stage of the discussion, the *Tribune* expresses entire satisfaction and says that whoever else may have failed in his duty, the Indian councillors have not. The *Hindu* of course has nothing but stern condemnation for the weakness shown by the Moderate members. With regard to this, the *Commonweal* says: "When we are told that these men who have done so much more than any of us have had the opportunity of doing, who have stood out firmly against all-powerful opponents instead of merely speaking brave words to applauding crowds, that these men have deserted the national cause, and are rightly abused by those who have yet done nothing, we can but marvel at the ingratitude of men." Of the comment which appeared in the *Hindu* on the Madras manifesto against passive resistance, Mrs. Besant says, the article "goes beyond all bounds of decent controversy. No one may now-a-days follow his conscience, unless it says ditto to the noisy party in Madras. It looks as though we should soon have only two parties in India—those who stand for the right of private judgment, of free speech according to conscience, and of preserving the ordinary courtesies of civilised life however sharp the differences of opinion, and those who shout down their opponents, ascribe to them foul motives behind their actions, use slander, vituperation and misrepresentation as their political weapons, and encourage the tyranny of the mob, the most detestable, because the most ignorant, of all tyrannies."

MR. A. G. WIDGERY is the most recent acquisition to the ranks of those who feel alarmed at the spread of higher education in India, and his mind seems to have been seriously exercised over the supineness of Government and the University in allowing the expansion of existing colleges and the establishment of new ones to go on unchecked, while new weapons were being forged, intended to repress anarchy and violence. According to him the connection between University education and anarchy is so intimate that a rigid Government control of the former is necessary for the suppression of the latter. Alas! Mr. Widgery's advice was not available in the times of Lord Curzon and Lord Sydenham; it would have been so much appreciated by those sincere friends of University education. The true remedy lies not in barring and bolting the doors but in opening new avenues, and the problem is more economic than educational. Improve your educational system by all means and impart technical and industrial education as much as you can. But unless and until the whole industrial policy of the state is changed and adequate opportunities are given to India's young men to make the best use of their inherent and acquired qualities, it is not only futile but mischievous arbitrarily to stop the progress of higher education.

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