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.	NTENT	B.		
3 .				PAGE
YOPICS OF THE WEEK				61
ARTICLES :				
Internments				64
The Excise Policy	***		•••	65
SPECIAL ARTICLES :				
Education in the B	ombay Pres	sidency.	Ву	
Prof. H. G. Limay	78	•••	-	66
European Missionarie	s and the In	dian Refo	orm	
Movement. By E	noar	•••	•••	67
The Champaran Agra	rian Bill. II.	By Rajen	dra	
Prasad, M. A., M. I		***	***	68
LETTERS FROM THE PROVI	INCES :			
Central Provinces		***		70
Sind				71
Bombay				71

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE long expected storm has burst on the Western Front and the German offensive has begun in right earnest. The Germans are making the greatest effort of the war and are staking their all on victory. This is made clear not merely by the hundreds of German Divisions hurled at Allies on this Front and by the Homeric character of the fighting along the whole line of battle, but also by the Kaiser and the Crown Prince commanding the enemy forces in person. The Allies have been outnumbered at various points, only the proportion varies according to different accounts. The British line which has been bent, but not broken, is campared to an impregnable wall. The seriousness of the situation is not lessened by the news of the long range firing of the suburbs of Paris; the source of which is a mystery, and the enemy bombardment of Dunkirk from the sea. In the naval tussle that followed two enemy destroyers were reported to be sunk. On the whole, there seem to be some months of trial and terrible anxiety before the Allies, and the hearts of all loyal citizens of the Empire will go forth to them.

THE reply which the Home Member gave to Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea's motion for the appointment of India's representative at the Imperial Conference on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council will not fail to strike Indians as disappointing. India has been promised "full representation" at these conferences, but if this "full representation" is to be secured only through the

n minees of Government, it is clear that much of its value will be lost. It is true that the Imperial Conference is " a conference of Governments," but where there is every likelihood of the views of persons chosen by the Indian Government being out of accord with those of the Indian people, steps ought to be taken to secure proper representation to Indian opinion. The present anomaly arises from the fact that measures are being taken to give India a voice in imperial affairs without her being placed on a level with the self-governing members of the Empire, as regards internal administration, and the anomaly will not be entirely corrected till India attains autonomy; but in the meanwhile Indian opinion cannot be allowed to go unrepresented in the common concerns of the Empire.

BRILLIANT success attended the conference held last week in Bombay for the avowed object of breaking down the prejudice which regards the touch of a member of the so-called depressed classes as defilement. Never before was such a frontal attack made on the religious beliefs of the higher castes, so far as the question of raising the status of the depressed classes was concerned. This question is usually overlaid by a number of specious arguments, drawn from the doctrine of aura and the theory of karma, the true nature of which was shown up by H. H. the Gaekwar in his trenchant presidential address. He showed how the untouchability of the depressed classes lay at the root of all their manifold grievances, and how it was vain to expect any progress among them, educationally and economically, until the social stigma that was supposed to attach to them, was wiped out. This involves "a reversal of social theories that have dominated Hindu life for untold generations" and demands " a transformation in mind and heart of all our people, a transvalulation of values, a universal quickening of conscience." It will immensely help the public to realise all the implications of this problem to tell them, as did the Maharaja Gaekwar in unequivocal terms, that it upsets the whole of the social philosophy which at the present day rules orthodox India.

HIS remarks on the relations between social and political reform will excite wide interest at the present moment. "We can hardly expect the voters of England to take that hearty interest in our 62

aspirations which would otherwise be ours if our own house were in order. The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves should actuate us to show social justice to those supposed to be untouchable amongst us. Those who seek equity must do equity." Indeed, those who go to England to address labour audiences on the wrongs done to India will find themselves in a very tight corner if they have to confess that they cannot in their own person even tolerate the touch of large sections of their fellow-countrymen. It is therefore a source of sincere gratification to us that some of the members of the English deputation, counted among the champions of orthodoxy, lent countenance for the first time to a movement for the elevation of the social status of the pariahs. It speaks volumes for the growing force of public opinion whose sympathies could not be that those enlisted in favour of the movement, when it was only indirectly and silently undermining the privileges of caste, should deem it necessary to support it just when it assumed a bold offensive against the whole fabric of the caste system.

THERE is an impression in certain quarters that the delay which has taken place in restoring the Bombay cotton market to a normal condition, could have been avoided and that action should and could have been taken more promptly. But the discussions which have taken place in the press and in meetings specially called to arrive at a settlement of the question, show the serious difficulties that are involved and the conflicting interests that are at stake in the matter. The high price which good Broach has attained means considerable gains and losses to different parties, and it is not easy for the bulls and the bears to agree in fixing the price for the coming settlement. It was something, however, that at a meeting of the representatives of various bodies interested in the cotton trade held last Monday, it was resolved that the ready market be reopened forthwith and that all trading in good Broach for April 25th delivery be discontinued until further notice. It appears Government will be requested to fix the rates for good Broach in view of the critical condition of the market. The position of Government, when it essays to fix the rates, will by no means be an enviable one. But in the public interest, a prompt and final settlement of the question is clearly necessary, and we hope Government will do the needful if it feels that its interference is inevitable and would prove beneficial.

THE Hon. Mr. Surendranath Roy emphatically protested in the Bengal Legislative Council against the reckless manner in which expenditure on police in that province is continually mounting up. The Government propose to draw on their provincial balance to the extent of Rs. 40 lakhs, nearly half of which is to be spent on police, and this in a year of a deficit budget. Mr. Roy brought out the interesting fact that in the last twelve years the annual police expenditure for Bengal had risen from Rs. 35 to 137 lakhs or by nearly 300 per cent. "Every year we are practically told that the new and additional police charges must be sanctioned or Government will not be responsible for law and order in the country. Such arguments might hold good for one or two years, but when the same stock argument of 'the wolf,' 'the wolf' is repeated year after year people are justified in being sceptical about them and cannot take them for granted." He also pointed out that during the last year there was no increase interanarchical crimes.

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WHILE lakhs of rupees are found for constructing steam launches for River Police, for increasing the temporary Intelligence staff, for reorganising the department and other purposes, the scissors are applied to education, sanitation and other useful objects. During the last five years the expenditure on education has increased by only 10 per cent. that on irrigation has been stationary, while that on saintation has decreased by as much as 35 per cent. And this economy is practised when malaria is daily claiming an increased toll of human life and good drinking water is denied to millions of people. Mr. Roy said, "the municipalities of this presidency were ready with 16 projects for the supply of drinking water and 40 projects for drainage, involving a cost of Rs. 1,26,000, and there is very little money in the till available to carry them out." They are small schemes of very poor local bodies, the Government grant for which amounts only to one-third of the expenditure incurred. But they have to wait in order that steam launches may be provided for the police.

THE Rent Bill passed into law last Saturday, almost in the form in which it left the Select Committee. Business premises are not excluded from its operation, it is not limited to buildings fetching a certain amount of rent, the percentage of allowable advance in rent has not been raised, only the initial date of fixing the standard rent has been pushed forward by one year-an amendment for which no sufficient reason was shown. It is a matter for congratulation that all the efforts made to diminish the stringency of the measure against profiteering landlords proved unavailing, and that Government have secured in their hands a weapon by means of which they will be enabled to protect poor people from the exactions of the houseowners. A defect in the Bill has been pointed out, namely, that while the ordinance issued under the Defence of India Act, made it an offence for a landlord to raise the rent above a certain limit, the present Bill makes only an increment in rent above that limit irrecoverable in law, thus forcing tenants even of small means to have recourse to a law court if they would have relief. This is a serious drawback in the Bill, likely to render it ineffective in a large number of cases, but it has been allowed to remain.

EXTRAORDINARY good luck attended the resolutions of the non-officials members at the Bombay Legislative Council meeting held on Friday last. Out of nine resolutions that were moved only one was really defeated, another though technically defeated was practically accepted, two were withdrawn and five were accepted. Most of the resolutions were concerned with education and local self-government, the portfolios of which are in charge of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. He evinced a degree of sympathy and tact which ought to be The envy of other members of Council. Some of ne resolutions were not of much importance, it is true, but when men in power are in a truculent mood they rarely consider the merits or the magnitude of a question. The reply may be the same, but sympathy and courteous expression or their absence make a world of difference to the nonofficial members-the difference between a desire to shake hands with the speaker or a determination to hold a protest meeting against his utterances. Sir Ibrahim has already created a most pleasant impression.

THE Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas brought ard a proposal that the grant-in-aid to a dis-

forward a proposal that the grant-in-aid to a district municipality should not be less than twothirds of its total annual expenditure on primary education. If the poorer municipalities are to be encouraged to adopt compulsory education grantsin-aid on this liberal scale become necessary. The resolution was not accepted, but Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla announced that a change in the present system would be made, which would result in increasing the grants by ten to twenty per cent. At present grants are fixed for an indefinite period on the basis of half the expenditure on primary education incurred by the municipality at the time of fixing the grants, and when the municipal expenditure grows the proportion of the grant to it The change announced is that the dwindles. amount of grant-in-aid for any year will equal half the expenditure incurred in the previous year. We hope that when more municipalities adopt compulsory education the Government will see their way to accept Mr. Harchandrai's proposal.

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THE reply of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla to the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye's resolution recommending that Government should add a middle school branch to full primary schools by appointing one English teacher to every such school, where there were likely to be twenty boys in the first three Anglo-vernacular standards, was couched in very sympathetic language and clearly showed that Government was fully alive to the necessity; of spreading the knowledge of the English language. The Hon. Mr. Upasani moved in the matter in the year 1915. The Council accepted his resolution. The fact, however, that since then Government did not take any definite steps to give effect to it gave legitimate ground for the apprehension that the question was being deliberately evaded. The reply of the member in charge of the educational portfolio clears up the whole matter. We hope and trust the informal committee which is to meet to discuss it in all its aspects will arrive at a satisfactory solution, which, besides relieving present congestion in schools, would afford adequate facilities for a diffusion of the knowledge of the English language.

THE voting on Hon'ble Mr. Patel's resolution in respect of investing the Local Boards and Municipalities with the power of determining the number and location of liquor shops is a clear indication of the fact that non-official public opinion in this presidency is practically unanimous on this vital question. The Government also profess to do everything in their power to discourage the growth of the drink habit. The methods adopted by them so far, the imposition of a high rate of taxation and the reintroduction of the auction system, have, however, as experience shows not been successful. There has been an unprecedented growth in the exercise revenue, and the consumption of liquor is in no way reduced. The representatives of the people, therefore, advocate the initiation of a new experiment which is likely to meet with greater success. It is indeed to be regretted that Government should have opposed such a simple and modest proposal. Now that the resolution has been accepted by the Council, we hope Government will not hesitate to give effect to it.

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WHAT is an expert? Is it the faculty of grabbing money on the strength of high-sounding degrees or the easy art of making books by the dozen, or the recognised eminence of the individual that constitutes an expert? There was an interesting discussion on this point in the Senate of the Bombay University last week and it was made rather lively for some of the members by the pungent remarks of Mr. Natarajan. Dr. Powell of the Medical Faculty opined that the expression 'recognised eminence' was very illusive as, like dust heap in the University garden, each individual might recognise his own eminence while it might pass undetected by everyone else. The University has had recent experience of expensive experts brought out at heavy cost for the purpose of recording commonplaces. Mr. Natarajan described the book-making variety, the reading of whose works, he said, had spoilt his eyes, and whose wonderful achievement was the number of blunders they had made. Whatever the merits of the expert, whether blundering or expensive, we are sincerely glad that the Senate did not concentrate their attention upon him, but insisted upon an intimate knowledge of Indian conditions' 85 an indispensable qualification for professorships in the University school of Economics and Sociology. 🗡

[MARCH 28, 1918.

INTERNMENTS.

WE are very glad that Government have at last acceded to the eminently reasonable demand of the people that the administration of the Defence of India Act should be approximated to that of its English equivalent, by instituting quasi-judicial bodies, to whose arbitrament all cases of internment should be submitted. Assurances were repeatedly and lavishly given by the executive to the effect that meticulous care was taken to see that restrictions were placed only on those whose freedom was a menace to the public peace and that no innocent person suffered with the guilty, but these assurances did not allay public apprehension. Some measures were also taken by Government towards mitigating the harshness of this arbitrary Act: persons dealt with under it were informed in writing of the definite charge framed against them and they were invited to answer it; again, the evidence against the accused was referred to a judicial officer for his opinion, so that no action might be taken against anyone on the untested reports of the police or the confessions made by the accused under fear or the coercive influence of the police officers. These precautions however failed to satisfy public opinion, and grave anxiety was felt that the provisions of the Act, under which the police enjoyed wide and arbitary power, were being misapplied in far too many cases Sir Rabindranath Tagore only voiced public feeling when he said that the generality of people thought, and were justified in thinking, that "a large number of those punished are innocent;" and the other day he declared his deliberate conviction that "some of the noblest of our men have fallen victims to this regulation only because they made themselves too conspicuous by their self-imposed mission of beneficence so as to offer easy targets to those bombs of punishment that cannot have the discrimination to choose only the oriminal, sparing the innocent." "I am utterly unable to believe," he added, "that truth has been reached oftener than error where evidence has not been judicially sifted, and in circumstances where underhand means of extracting so called confessions cannot be guarded against." The feeling of exasperation reached such a pitch that a recent meeting in Calcutta, to which Sir Rash Behari Ghose and Sir B. C. Mitter lent their support, called in emphatic terms for a repeal of the Defence of India Act, in so far as it was applied for purposes of internal administration, and the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and for a release of all the detenus against whom Government were not prepared to proceed in the ordinary courts of law.

No Government, which professes any respect for public opinion, can go on administering the Defence of India Act at the discretion of the executive, in the face of such feeling in the country, and it is nothing strange that, where influential opinion demanded a total repeal of the restrictive

measures, Government should have agreed, in response to the request of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, to the appointment of a committee, consisting of one Indian and one European officer of judicial experience to investigate all cases of internment. The Bengal Government had already submitted proposals to the Government of India to the effect that all future cases of internment should be investigated and pronounced upon by an independent body of two judges. The Government of India are in agreement with these proposals, and have decided to extend their scope by refere ring the cases of those who have already been placed under restraint to a similarly constituted committee for verdict. As in England, the proceedings of such a committee will be conducted in camera, counsel will not be allowed to appear for the accused, and its function will be purely advisory, Government not being bound by its recommendations. The committee is also to advise Government whether a relaxation or cancellation of orders passed against any detenu is justified by his subsequent conduct. Government have also agreed to appoint one or two non-official visitors for each prison locality to see that necessary measures are being taken for the health and comfort of the detenus and to inquire into their complaints. This will no doubt assimilate the prevailing practice in India in regard to the administration of the Defence Act to that in England, but the objection still remains that, while in England ordinary civil offences are dealt with by civil tribunals in the ordinary course of law and recourse is had to the provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act only in the case of persons of hostile origin or associations, in India infractions of the ordinary civil law, with no relation whatever to the war, are brought within the operation of the Defence of India Act. Sir Reginald Craddock in February of last year not only claimed that the Defence Act was intended to be used against persons who were supposed to be creating disaffection against the Government, but that the advisory committees could have no function to perform where sinister activities of persons against whom the Act was to be set in motion were a matter of public knowledge.

It affords an insight into the working of the official mind to recall how in the past the authorities opposed a non possumus to the suggestion of the appointment of advisory committees, which by the pressure of public opinion they are now driven to adopt. The executive are in charge of the public peace; they cannot share such a tremendous responsibility with the non-official public - that was their plea. Sir Reginald Craddock said: "The responsibility is theirs, and they cannot delegate it to outside persons, whether lawyers or laymen. The responsibility is theirs alone, and they must take that responsibility." Even so late as last November, the spokesman of the Bengal Government said: "The administration of the Act rests upon the responsi-

MARCH 28, 1918.]

bility of Government, and it is one which we cannot consent to be delegated or impaired." He went so far as to characterise the proposal of the constitution of a mixed advisory committee as one calculated to bring the whole machinery to a standstill and thus frustrate the object of the Act. Nor do Government seem to have entirely shaken themselves free from this idea, because the committee, to the appointment of which they have given their acquiescence, is to consist of officials, no non-official being admitted to it-a revation the necessity of which is not apparent Mr. Justice Rowlatt, with similar objects, includes a non-official Indian. So long as Government regard themselves as the exclusive guardians of the public peace and do not admit non-officials to a part or lot in it, the co-operation which they invite from the public cannot be effective or fruitful. It is however a welcome sign that the officials, themselves having entire confidence in the proper use of the Defence Act, should agree to appoint a committee in deference to public opinion, and it can be safely predicted that the responsiveness thus shown by them will exercise a soothing influ-

THE EXCISE POLICY.

ence upon the troubled feelings in the country.

THE report of excise administration in Mysore is very good proof of the futility of the policy known as " maximum revenue with minimum consumption. " Maximum revenue is certainly attained there, the collections last year being Rs. 63-3 lakhs as against Rs. 59.1 lakhs for the previous year. It is nearly equivalent to 60 per cent, of land revenue, while for British India the corresponding figure is 42 per cent. Madras is notorious for its excise revenue, but it raised in 1916-17 only Rs. 0-14-4 per head of population, while Mysore raised Rs. 1-1-8. Thus from the revenue point of view the excise policy of Mysore is exceedingly efficient. But what of consumption? There was an increase in arrack of 36,540 gallons or nearly 10 per cent. over the previous year's consumption, the increase in Bangalore district alone being over 28,000 gallons. The consumption of ganja, an intoxicating drug rose from 9610 seers to 10,430 seers, again by nearly 10 per cent. In a single district the increase was about 570 seers and the delightful explanation given is ' the better quality of the drug and the cheap rate at which it was sold in the district.

But the worst rise was in the case of opium. Its consumption in 1905-6 was 1478 seers, which radually fell to 1080 in 1912-13, but it again lose gradually to 1308 seers in 1915-16, and by a sudden jump during the year under review to 1706 seers. Thus in four years the consumption of the baneful drug has risen by no less than 60 per cent. Will the charity of our Government which has saved China not begin at home? Unless this dreadful growth of the drink and drug evils is arrested, the splendid economic and civic activities of the state are apt to be nullified. Sir M. Visvesvaraya has recognised compulsory education as indispensable for the efficiency of labour. Countries in cold latitudes, long used to strong drinks and in easy circumstances to afford them, have learnt from the teaching of the war that the total prohibition of alcoholic drink is essential for national efficiency. It is a hundred times more essential and easy to adopt it in our country. Those who are fighting for the acceptance of that policy in British India look up to the enlightened states to lead the way as they have done in compulsory' education and some other matters.

Meanwhile we may be thankful for small reforms. Licensing Boards, composed of ex-officio and of elected members in equal proportion, with power to determine the number and location of liquor shops, have been constituted for the municipal areas of Bangalore, Mysore and the Kolar Gold Fields. If the experiment succeeds they will be extended to other municipalities. In spite of influential representations, Licensing Boards have been constituted in British India only for Calcutta. The Madras Government is still thinking of one for the City of Madras. The other parts of British India will have to wait longer.

EDUCATION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THE report of the Director of Public Instruction for the quinquennium ended March 1917, which was recently published, furnishes abundant material for thought and reflection. It shows that the tendency towards educational progress is of so pronounced a character that adverse circumstances can check it but to a limited extent. During the first half of this period things were pursuing their normal course. But then came war, followed by stringent circulars ordering retrenchment all round, and it appeared for a time as if education was going to mark time during the continuance of the war. Fortunately Government themselves realised the unwisdom of restricting expenditure on education even in a time of war, and towards the close of this period the stringency of the economy circular was relaxed. The net result is that during this period expenditure on education has increased by Rs. 38,27,000 which has rendered progress possible in a varying degree in all directions.

At present the nation has set its heart on the development of primary education. Every one will naturally turn to this branch to note what progress has been made. The report is not very satisfactory on this point, for while the increase in the attendance of boys in the secondary stage has been 21 per cent., that of boys in primary schools has been only 10.2. What has happened since then, however, the passing of the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon. Mr. Patel, the promise of a more vigorous policy for the spread of primary education held out in the resolution of Government on the report and the realisation of that promise in the budget recently explained by the education member, all give cause for hope and lead one to believe that after all Government have recognised their responsibility and have made up their mind to tackle the problem of universal education in a systematic manner.

These indications of a comprehensive plan methodically worked out are somehow not so conspicuous in university and secondary education. In fact it appears that the stage of trial and experiment has not yet been passed, although some progress can be recorded here also. The College of Commerce, which was founded during this period, falls more naturally under the head of professional than university education proper. But the Gujarat College was taken under their own management by Government, the opening of the Karnatak College was definitely promisedwhich promise has since been fulfilled-, and the New Poona College was established in Poona by the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali. Thus during the quinquennium there has been an addition of only one second grade college, while the number of students reading in them has increased by 1583 or by 48 per cent. This cannot be considered a very satisfactory state of things. The Director himself says: "All the Colleges are full to overflowing and complaints are constantly made regarding the insufficiency of existing accommodation in the college classes and the need of extending it." Since then the Karnatak College has begun work and the Surat College is arranging to do so from June next. But there is no systematic attempt to cope with the larger numbers that are sure to crowd in colleges, which, the Director remarks, " is an indication of the ever-increasing domand in this Presidency for higher education." More Government Colleges, we are inclined to think, are more or less out of the question. They are a very costly affair. The average cost in three Government Colleges works out at Rs. 206-1-5 per student, while the highest cost per student, viz, Rs. 383-10-9 is, to be found in the Elphinstone College which again is a Government institution. The D. J. Sind College stands in a category by itself and need not be taken into account for purposes of comparison. Contrast with this the corresponding figure for the Fergusson College, which is an aided institution, and the difference will at once be found to be of a glaring character. The average cost in the Fergusson College is only Rs. 83-3-11. If the lowness of this figure is sought to be explained away on the plea of a large number of students, the average of Rs. 105-2-6 in the New Poona College cannot be so accounted for. The number of its students has been limited by the University and stood, during 1916-17, at 213. The irresistible inference is that private agency, being far more economical than Government agency and not less efficient, will have to be largely used for meeting 'the ever increasing demand ' for higher education if the available

resources are to be fully utilised and made to yield the highest results.

This conviction is brought home with greater force in the sphere of secondary education. Government do not propose to open more than one high school for a district, and during the period there was only one addition to the list of Government high schools. We are not sorry for this decision of Government. Here again the question of cost is an important factor. The cost of educating each pupil in a Government high school is Rs. 60-6-3, while that in aided high schools h. only Rs. 50-9-1. The latter figure again is too high and does not give a correct idea of the actual cost in an average high school. In subsidiary Form No. 2 all Aided High schools are lumped together. It is necessary to take out from these European and Anglo-Indian high schools in which the average cost per head is Rs. 162-9-1, as also English teaching schools where it is Rs. 51-7-10. When these deductions are made, the average cost per pupil for the 57 aided high schools works out at Rs. 40-3-5 only. For a more accurate calculation a further deduction will have to be made. Some of the Mission high schools are costly, their average cost being more than Rs. 100 per head. Some special schools are even more expensive. For instance, in Bahadurji's Parsi Girls' High School at Kirkee the average cost per pupil is Rs. 328-4. Such schools must be classed separately and their average also shown. But even taking the figures as they have been given above, it will be seen that Government high schools are 50% more expensive than aided high schools, and so for a given amount 50% more students can be educated by private agency than what can be done by Government agency.

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that it is in the public interest to employ private agency for the purpose of meeting the ever increasing demands of higher and secondary education. The Hunter Commission of 1882 has definitely pronounced in favour of such a policy. It was so completely accepted by the authorities of those days that the Government of Lord Reay actually opened negotiations with the Deccan Education Society for the transfer of the Deccan College to that body. What is wanted at this time is not any such wholesale transfer of Government institutions to private bodies, but a definite and deliberate policy of encouraging such bodies and so increase their usefulness. Private bodies have also an element of elasticity in their organization, which enables them to extend the scope of their operations when a necessity for it arises. The main difficulty of these bodies is want funds. The grants-in-aid obtained from Government do not make things easy for them. The scale of grants allowable to such bodies was fixed long ago. Much water has flowed under the bridges since then. New ideas about equipment, methods, training and qualifications of teachers have come to prevail and have rendered secondary and univer-

sity education very expensive. The necessity of making larger grants has been felt by Government themselves. The 'special grants 'which are latterly paid to high schools and the imperial grants paid to colleges which they are allowed at their - option to utilise for current or recurring expenditure clearly prove this. We contend that this is an unsatisfactory procedure. Every educational institution must know beforehand what help it may expect from Government and must be in a \gg position to count upon this as a certainty before it - can undertake any scheme of permanent improvement entailing increased annual expenditure. For this purpose the scale of grants-in-aid to colleges and schools must be revised and made more liberal as soon as possible, so that existing institutions will be able to increase their efficiency and extend their sphere of work. A liberal scale of grants, both recurring and non-recurring, is even more necessary for the purpose of facilitating the start-'ing of new institutions conducted by private bodies, without which it will be impossible to meet the -varied educational requirements of the Presidency.

H. G. LIMAYE.

EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES AND THE

INDIAN REFORM MOVEMENT.

WHILE a strong desire has taken possession of all sections of the Indian people for a change in the government and administration of India, it is well to gauge the feeling which communities other than Indian, representing large interests and resident in India, have in regard to it; for it would "be idle to assert that their opinion will not have at least some influence in the final shaping of those reforms which have been long overdue to us. We know by now the attitude of the European and mercantile classes and we can fairly infer what the officials are likely to do. But in India there is yet another class of men which, though silent on these matters, has the ear of the 'hierarchy of officials and wields a great, though imperceptible, influence in the governance of India. Lord Curzon once said that the British were here in India for administration and exploitation. When in this mood of commendable candour, he could have added a third task in the white man's burden in the East-evangelisation. The European missionary, because of his vocation and the halo of sacrifice which surrounds him, is naturally respected in official circles, and in their contact with each other in clubs and other social centres, opinions on men and questions are exchanged and take shape. It is natural to expect these missionaries, who it must be conceded have greater knowledge of the life which the classes of people with whom they come in contact lead than the officials, to be as it were the intermediaries between the custodians of privilege and the exponents of reform. Are they fulfilling this useful role? Have they been acting on the maxim of the Master, "Blessed are the Peacemakers"? It must be painfully admitted that whatever else the latterday European missionary may have succeeded in, he has egregiously failed in this duty of his.

The reason is not far to seek. There has been a certain degree of moral and spiritual deterioration in the present-day Europeon missionary, and this is the root cause of that disaffection which is so deep in the Indian Church and which found so forcible an expression in the presidential address of no less an Indian Christian than Raja Sir Harnam Singh at one of the Indian Christian conferences. The European missionary has latterly tended to be more an European and less a missionary. In other words, he has identified himself more with the governing class and shown himself less as the propagator of a religion of love and equality. There are honoured names among them-the Metropolitan (Bishop Lefroy), Bishop Whitehead of Madras, Rev. C. F. Andrews, are those that readily suggest themselves-who, though they may not see eye to eye with the Indian reformers in all their demands, are yet quite outspoken in their sympathy and have often lifted their voice and used their pen in days of gloom and passion, pleading for justice in conduct and charity in judgment. But, curiously enough, as among the officials where the highest are not deaf to reason and the rank and file stand to the perpetuation of things as they are, in the missionary ranks too one finds that to a large extent they are either lukewarm or hostile to the question of Indian reforms. Some people allege the dismal failure of their policy of conversion among the educated classes as the unconscious cause of this attitude of theirs. This may or may not be so. But if it is so, it is wrong to discredit the programme of the reformers because of their impassivity to the European missionary's appeal to them to desert their ancient faith and join the Christian fold. The intellectuals who are to a large extent leading this reform movement have the good of the masses at heartmost of them as a matter of fact have risen from a humble station-and their programme includes to a very large extent the ways and means to ameliorate the admittedly poor lives of the masses. It is the fashion now-a-days to describe the leaders of the reform movement as grabbers for power, and the picture is often drawn of a selfish class who in the name of patriotism are trying to supplant another class. What truth there is in this could be seen if one takes the trouble to read what is daily said in the press and on the platform of this school of Indian thought and their activities in the Legislative Councils. The European missionary in India is often as biased as the European official—only his bias is not so pronounced and so easily exhibited.

In these critical times we want not merely the official to change his angle of vision—and we admit it is a difficult task—but that the European missionary should endeavour to play the part

which the religion that he seeks to propagate in this country pre-eminently stands for-Peace and Good-will. In the past the European missionary sought to be the propagandist of light, and whatever his motive was, the results are incalculable. He it was that first laid the foundations of Indian education, which with all its drawbacks is at the root of all the manifestations of unrest, which are symptomatic of the larger life which the infant Indian nation is hungering for. There is a tendency among certain European missionaries to confine their energies and devote their time and money among the initiated and the converted. This is due to a realisation on their part of the hopelessness of the task of converting the "higher" castes. But their class is a small one. Rightly or wrongly, the bulk of them feel that if no change of faith is effected and the number of converts does not swell, their task is to christianise the thought and outlook of the many young men that pass through their educational institutions and others that come in contact with them. This work forms a large part of the activities and programme of the European missionary. But what greater work of love and faith, charity and service, what truer application of the principles of Christianity to political problems and what sincerer profession of that religion, than the influence for good which the European missionary can exert in winning for India that instalment of political freedom which is hers, judged by her desire, necessity and right? Could not some of his energy be also diverted to the work of rightly interpreting the Indian mind and influencing the Europeans, here and in England, to see the justice of India's demand? The European missionary has, in common with others, his own problems to solve, on account of the world-war. A possible after-effect of it will be the cutting down of supplies of money, owing to the certain predominance of Labour and the likelihood of taxation on socialistic principles, in which case the middle classes who largely contribute to missionary coffers will have necessarily to tighten their purse-strings, and this may lead to an appreciable withdrawal of the European agency in missionary work in India.

Will not the European missionary see the need of calming the storm? If he does, he will put the coping stone to the edifice, to the foundations of which the devoted labours of Duff, Wilson and Miller contributed as largely as those of Macaulay and Bentinck, Canning and Ripon. In fact the very good intentions and love of fair play and justice of the European missionary are on their trial now. The Indian patriot's attitude to the European missionary is typified in this incident in the life of an universally belowde Indian leader, now dead. He was, as is the case with men of his type, no bigot. This afforded a chance for an intrepid Christian lady to put him the question "Why don't you, Mr.----, become a Christian?" I suspect his patriotism got the upbrutal but frank reply. "Why should I, Mrs.-Contradict me, if you can, is not the very existence of the British in India a negation of Christianity."

ENNAR.

THE CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN BILL. ĪĪ.

I HAVE by no means exhausted the tale of grievances from . which the tenants are suffering. It should be noted that there are certain concerns in Champaran which do not and never did grow indigo. They take leases of villages from the Bettiah and Ramnagar Rajes, and the source of their legitimate gain consists of any margin that may be left between the rent realisable from tenants and that payable by them to the superior landlords, viz., the Rajes, and whatever they can get out of the proprietor's private lands which they are authorised to cultivate. The income from these sources is everywhere very meagre and in Champaran the superior landlords, especially the Ramnagar Raj, allowed very little margin of profit to the lessee. The concerns, which along with the real indigo factories are also called kothis, have been levying various kinds of illegal exactions which are known in these parts as abwab. In spite of the fact that abwab were declared illegal as far back as the Permanent Settlement Regulations in 1793, and the realisation of them prohibited from time to time by means of Regulations and Acts of the Government, in Champaran they have not only been claimed but also realised with even greater rigour than the legally payable rent. The number of such abwab is legion. I will give a few which will show how every possible pretext is considered good enough for saddling the poor tenant with any extra burden. It must be said that the abwab have been realised by Indian zamindars also, but their illegal and unjustifiable "exactions would not justify any exactions by the factories which are owned by Europeans and which claim to have brought peace, contentment, freedom from litigation and what not to the :enants.

The principal abscab in the northern part of the district was known as pyne-kharcha (irrigation tax). It was claimed that this was payable to the factories as they had excavated pynes (water channels) and provided irrigattional facilities to other factories. All the tenants were required to pay Rs. 3 each per bigha on this account. That it was a pure abwab, to which the tenants were not at all liable, has now been proved both before the survey authorites and the Committee of Inquiry. It has been proved that this tax was realised from all tenants, irrespective of facilities provided at the cost of the factory concerned, and that as a matter of fact in most cases no pynes existed at all, and even where they did exist they were intended for irrigation of the factory's own fields and not for the benefit of the tenants. It is beyond doubt that many times the amount expended by the factories on excavating such pynes, where they existed, was realised from the tenants, in one single year. That it was a very heavy tax will be apparent when we consider that the legal rent payable was on the average. about Rs. 2 per bigha, and the pyne-kharcha alone was Rs. 3 per bigha. A host of other exactions of a most fantastic character were made under various names, which imposed a crushing burden upon the tenants. Thus taxes known as ghorahi, hathiahi, motorhi or hawahi are levied from time to time to enable the factory or its manager to purchase a horse (ghora), an elephant (hathi), or a motor car (hawagari). A peculiar tax known as bapahi-putahi is realised from . a tenant when the father dies and the son takes his property by inheritance, although Champaran is under the Mitakshara . law and the son comes into possession by survivorship and not by inheritance, and although the Bengal Tenancy Act. expressly makes an occupancy raiyat's holding heritable. per hand of his usual chivalry, and this was his | Another very curious tax is known as sagaura, which is paid.

MARCH 28, 1918.]

-on the occasion of the remarriage of a widow—such marriage being recognised among some of the lower castes. Marwach is paid on the occasion of the marriage of a girl. Chulhiawan -is paid by a tenant who keeps an oven for boiling turmeric, kolhuawan by one who keeps either a sugarcane press or an oil press, batchapir is fee paid on weights and measures. Other taxes are those paid on occasions of festivals, such as, dasahra and chaitnomi.

It must be said to the credit of the Survey and Settlement authorities that they succeeded in stopping payment of these abwab, and the relief which they afforded to the tenants in this direction was almost complete. Under the superior upervision of the Court of Wards in the Bettiah Raj the reali-ation of abuab had altogether ceased even before the advent of Mr. Gandhi, but in the Ramnagar Raj it was still realised vilboth in villages in its khas possession and in lages on lease. After a certain amount of correspondence the Government decided to take the Ramnagar Raj under the Court of Wards, and in fact steps were taken in that direction, but it is understood that on the Rani of the Ramnagar Raj, who is the proprietress, giving an undertaking not to realise abwab, the estate has been released from the Court of Wards. The recommendation of the Committee of Inquiry of course is that the realisation of abwab ought to cease, and factories or lessees who do not carry out orders in this behalf should be refused renewal of their leases. The Committee by a majority recommended special legislation penalising the taking of abuab. It should be noted that the Bengal Tenancy Act contains a provision whereby a landlord who realises abwab is made liable to pay damages to the tenant on a claim being made by him in a civil court. The Committee recommended that the executive officers should be given the power of their own motion to punish abwab-taking landlords. One of the methods adopted by the factories in realising -abwab was to insist on abwab being paid before the legal rent, and no rent receipts were granted in respect of these abwab so that the tenant had no documentary proof of such payments. The Committee recommended a stricter observance of the pro. vision in the Bengal Tenancy Act, which requires a landlord to grant receipts for all payments made.

Among the other grievances of the tenants were those relating to forced labour on inadequate wages. The factories always required the services of a large number of labourers, carts, ploughs and oxen, and it has been a persistent complaint of the tenants that the wages that they get are very inadequate. The say that sometimes they get practically nothing, and when they do get something, the factory underlings take their commission or dasturi, as they call it, out of the miserable pittance paid to them. The rate of wages varies with the factories, the more exacting and oppressive factories paying even as low as 2 or 3 pice a day. As regards curts, the factories used to take agreements for long terms, sometimes for 20 years, from the tenants, by whom small advances were made. The carts were required by the factories for four or five months only in the year, but the teants had to maintain them for the whole of the year at considerable expense, for which they got no return. The rtse of wages agreed upon was also very lew, and they were made liable for heavy damages in case of failure to supply the carts. The wages paid for ploughs and bullocks, when paid, were very low and in many cases nothing was paid at all. What was even worse was that ploughe and bullocks were forcibly taken to work on the factory fields when the tenants required them for cultivating their own Jands, and when they would not part with them for any

payment. Making allowance for all exaggerations, there is no doubt that there was a solid foundation of truth, in the complaints made by the tenants on this score, and the Committee have accordingly recommended that the Planters' Association in conjunction with the Divisional Commissioner should fix a minimum scale of wages to be paid by the factories. They also recommend that long term contracts for supply of carts should be discontinued and other steps should be taken to ensure a fair and adequate rate of wages for the work done by labourers or the use of carts and plough.

Another grievance of the the tenants is with regard to their right to cut and appropriate trees on their holdings. The Bengal Tenancy Act and the rulings of the High Court lay down that in the absence of a custom to the contrary the tenant is entitled to cut down trees on his holding and the landlord is entitled to the timber when cut. The fuctories allege the prevalence of a custom which precludes the tenant from cutting trees, and the tenants complain that on this pretext they are prevented from cutting even branches of trees for the purpore of repairing their ploughs or houses, and every opportunity is taken to harass them by instituting erhunal and civil proceedings-criminal more often than civil. The Committee of Inquiry have been unable to give any substantial relief on this head. The factories also claim the hides of all dead cattle of the tenants. They have established their own go-downs for hides or given by lease to other persons the right to collect hides of all dead cattle. The tenants resent this very much, as they contend that in return for the hides of their dead cattle, which were given by them to village chamars, they used to be supplied by the latter with shoes and leather straps for their ploughs and the chamar women used to serve them as midwives on occasions of child-birth, and all this the chamars have ceased to give them, owing to the factories taking away all hides. The factories claim the hides under a custom. The Committee recommend that this should be done away with in the Bettiah Raj and that further inquiries be made in the Ramnagar Raj.

But apart from the grievances which can be reduced to writing, the influence of the factories on the life and morals of the tenantry of Champaran was hurtful in the extreme. The tenants were under perpetual awe of the factory saheb and his underlings. They were unable to raise their heads against any kind of oppression, and for a parallel one may be permitted to reproduce a passage from Lord Morley's "Recollections," which he quotes from Arthur Young's remarks on the condition of the tenantry of Ireland :--

"The landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics is a sort of deepot who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but his own will. Speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labeurer or cotter dures to refuse to execute. Disrespect or anything tending to haughtiness he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security. Knocking down is spoken of in a manner that makes an Englishman stare..."

(Vol. I., pp. 332-333).

The Bill, which passed into law at a recent meeting of the provincial Legislative Council, gives effect to such of the recommendations of the Agrarian Committee as required legislation. It abolishes once and for ever the tinkathia system in all forms and shapes, and indeed if it did not do that, it would leave untouched the source of all ills from which Champaran has been suffering, and we congratulate the Government on the firm stand they took regarding this point. Before the Bill was introduced into the Council, the Goverament got the main recommendations of the Committee trans lated into Hindi and printed in a leaflet, which was distribut. ed broadcast in the district. The tenants, discovering that they were under no obligation to grow indigo, had stopped growing it in the vast majority of cases. The planters' repre sentative in the Council pressed upon the Government to allow the tinkathia agreements to continue at least till 1920, and an amendment to that effect was moved. The Hon'ble Mr. Kennedy, like the consummate advocate that he is, quoted from all sorts of dry-as-dust law books to convince the Council that it was not right to do away with certain contracts by an act of the legislature, conveniently forgetting that no agreement is valid in law or justice which is not the

69

70

result of a free consent on the part of two persons who are in a position to give such consent. The Council however rejected the specious arguments of Mr. Kennedy, and, on a division being called, only three members voted for the amendment. It is not to be supposed, however, that either the Committee or anybody else ever intended that indigo should not be grown or that the industry should cease. All that is wanted is that it should be recognised by the planters and all others concerned that the people of Champaran do not exist for the sake of the indigo industry. If you can have your indigo on a voluntary basis, have it by all means. The Bill provides for contracts for supplying indigo to factories, and if the factories pay a reasonable rate and the tenants find it really profitable, there is no reason why the indigo industry should suffer at all. But if the profit to the planter must needs mean s corresponding loss to the poor tenant, the sooner the industry disappears the better for all concerned. Besides these main points, the Bill provides for the reduction of the sharabeshi by 20 per cent. in the case of one factory and by 26 per cent. in the case of other factories, and it also provides for the agency by which the reduction is to be made and for other consequential changes in the record of rights.

One provision of the Bill, which has evoked considerable interest, is that relating to abwab. Abwab have been declared illegal for more than 100 years now. The Tenancy Act provides for a certain penalty against landlords who realise them. The Bill sought to make this provision more stringent by authorising executive officers to take action against offending landlords on their own initiative as well as on the complaint of tenants, and the tenants in their turn were liable to be summarily punished in case their complaint was found to be false or vexatious. This provision was deleted from the Eill by the Select Committee. The Servant of India also commented upon its deletion. The provision was disliked by all landlords for obvious reasons, and planters being landlords would not of course approve of it. The popular members also opposed it. The reason is that it is not so much the absence of a necessary legislative provision which has been responsible for such wholesale exactions in the district as the omission to enforce the land, and what the popular members feared was that the tenants would on the whole be in a worse position after the Bill became law than they have been hitherto. A complaint may easily be made, but it is difficult to prove it, and especially when the onus is on a person like the tenant of Champaran. One complaint declared false, with the necessary concomitant of an order for payment of compensation by the tenant, would make the landlord immune from such complaints and make it impossible for any other tenant to lodge a similar complaint. An amendent for reinserting the deleted section was moved before the Council and for once the Government gave leave to its officers to vote as they pleased. The result showed a great divergence of opin-ⁱon even among the officials, and the amendment was defeated some officials and almost all the non-officials voting against it'

Thus the Eill has been passed, and it is hoped it will settle this long-standing dispute once for all. But more than a legislative enactment, we want a change in the angle of vision. The planters ought to understand that there is an end to everything in the economy of nature, and even the tenants' helplessness must end. The local officials ought to recognise that it is their duty to protect the weak and the poor against the rich and the powerful. It is necessary to enfore this because even to-day there are many prosecutions pending in the criminal courts which have arisen out of disputes in which factories are directly or indicctly concerned. Some of the cases no one except a planter of Champaran could think of bringing to a criminal court. Thus in Bihar it is a settled law that a tenant has a right to cut trees standing in his occupancy holding unless the landlords can prove a custom to the contrary, and when a tree is felled the timber belongs to the landlord unless the [MAROH 28, 1918.

tenant';can prove 'a: 'custom to: 'the contray. Now I have come across cases in which tenants have been ; prosecuted and, what is still more astounding, convicted and punished by criminal courts-for cutting brauches of trees, even where in the record of rights, which a court is bound to presume to be correct until the contrary is proved, the tenants' right to have half the timber is recorded. There are other kinds of cases in which tenants have been prosecuted and punished. Of course one need not cavil at judicial decisions, but a layman may suspect that the crop of prosecutions may be the result of the chagrin and exasperation felt by the planters at the prospective deprivation of their usual gain, however illegal and ill-gotten it may have been. It is a great consolation to know that criminal prosecutions-true or fulse does not matter-will? not succeed in reducing the tenantry of Champaran back to its former position, and that if indigo is to be grown, planters must resort to some other methods than that of indirectcoercion.

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

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CENTRAL PROVINCES.

FIFTH JUDGE FOR THE HIGH COURT.

In response to one of the questions from the Hon'ble Mr. Kelkar, at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, the correspondence relating to the creation of the post of a fourthadditional Judicial Commissioner was laid on the table. Now this question of a fifth judge for the Judicial Commissioner. has a long history behind it. There is no doubt that there is considerable congestion of work in the highest judicial Court here, and it is generally admitted that some relief for the clearance of arrears is necessary. But those who must be presumed to be competent to judge about the matter are of opinion that it is the present manner of recruitment to the higher ranks of the judiciary in the Province that is responsible for the accumulation of arrears. The general complaint is that some of the judges, though quite as hardworking andconscientious as others, are somewhat lacking in quickness of grasp of knotty points in law. Again it is matter of complaint that the Chief Justice devotes too much altention to administrative work of a petty character which had better be left to the Registrar. If the head of the Judicial Department reposed more confidence in his subordinates, it would be well for all concerned, and then perhaps arrears of work would not pile up as they seem to do now. I can quite imagine with what feelings of mischievous glee many members of the subordinate judiciary must have welcomed the news that Sir Henry. Drake Brockman's proposal for the creation of the post of a fith judge was knocked on the subject, when the Revised Financial Statement was introduced in the last meeting of the Legislative Council. It is considered to be a case of a biter bit.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Local Self-Government Fill was withdrawn owing to opposition on the part some members of Council. There were admitted drawbacks in the Eill, in the matter of franchise and financial powers; but the opinion of those who have had actual experience of administration of Di-trict Councils inclines to the view, that it was a pity that the Hill should have been dropped. It would have been better if the Eill has been committed to the Select Committee, where the necessary amendments could have been introducd.

amendments could have been introduced. The report on Village Punchayats is leing drawn up. Mr. Jathar, the president of the Committee, is engaged on it. There is I understand a difference between the official and the non-official view in the matter of control of Punchayats. The ôfficial view naturally seemes to be that the control' should rest with the Deputy Commissioner; the non-official view is that it should rest in a Foard on which both officialsand non-officials should sit. There is some difference of opinion amongst the non-officials themselves in the matter of the constitution of these Boards.

SIND.

THE BUBEAUCRACY AND THE PRESS.

THE hand of the local authorities is heavy on the public press: of this province. The Trade Advertiser and the press-

MARCH 28, 1918.]

where it was printed have had both to be closed down, in de-fault of the payment of the security demanded by the District Magistrate of Sukkur. Independent newspapers are being bounded out of public libraries. At a recent meeting of the subscribors of the Sukkur Library, Mr. Rothfield, Collector and President of the Library, throatened that the European members and officials would sever their connection with the Library if the *Hindvasi*, the leading Home Rule organ in the province, was not discontinued, and at his suggestion, made in the open meeting, his subordinate, a Head Accountant, pro-posed that the *Hindvasi* should be discontinued, although the subscription was still to run for ten months. It was very creditable that no one seconded the proposal, which was then withdrawn by the proposer at the suggestion of Mr. Rothfield. At the current session of the Eoubay Council the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai elicited the information that registered libraries and the Presidency had been prohibited from subscribing, among other papers, to the *Hindvasi*, the *Sind Patrika*, and the *Larkana Gazette*, the sin of the last two papers consisting in putting up a brave fight on behalf of the public against the imposition of a certain unpopular municipal tax by Mr. Bolus, the Collector of Larkana, and a few *jo-hukum* members

Bolus, the Collector of Larkana, and a few *jo-hukum* members of a wholly nominated municipality. These papers also bold-ily exposed the officials, who had been using undue official pressure on municipal councillors and others in the matter. The most recent action of the local officials in connection

with the public press is the demand of the maximum amount of security from the *Hindvasi*, orders in which case were received by the editor and publisher on 20th inst. In the order the Magistrate has hardly condescended to discuss the articles, specified to the publisher as objectionable, 12 out of these 13 articles being disposed of in six lines. In regard to the thir-teenth, the magistrate has mis-stated the facts. The magistrate has admittedly relied on certain conversations held by him with some ' members of the public ' for the opinion that him with some 'members of the public 'for the opinion that the *Hindvasi* is regarded as hostile to Government. There is very considerable public indignation at the demand of security from the *Hindvasi*, and I understand that a Hindvasi security fund and public meetings of protest are being arranged to show to Government what people think of the high-handed action of the bureaucracy of Sind.

OFFICIALISED MUNICIPALITIES.

In matters of local self-government Sind is woefully behind "the other divisions of the Presidency. There are more wholly nominited municipalities in Sind than in all the other divi-sions put together. As if this official control is not enough, Mr. H. S. Lawrence, the present Commissioner, has for some time past been insisting on the appointment of officials as Chief Officers, not only to larger but even small municipalities, and the delegation to them of certain extraordinary powers in and the delegation to them of certain extraordinary powers in excess of those usually enjoyed by chief officers, so that the whole of municipal administration would practically be con-centrated in their hands. At a recent meeting of the Mirpur-khas municipality (wholly nominated) Mr. Moysey, the Col-dector and President, proposed and the Vice-President, the Huzur Deputy Collector, seconded, that the Commissioner's proposal for the appointment of a Chief Officer be adopted. All the official members voted for this proposal, but the non-official members threw out the proposition and referred the matter to the Managing Committee, where they have a majo-rity. It is however apprehended that the officials will carry the day yet. Local bodies, instead of being released from official control, are being offered a larger and larger dose -of it. ~of it.

PLAGUE RELIEF IN SIND.

THERE has been a very widespread outbreak of plague THERE has been a very widespread outbreak of plague during the last few months in the province of Sind. Almost all the larger towns have been affected, and it is travelling at an alarming pace to smaller places as well, some villages with insignificant population coming within the infection. I believe it is the policy of the Fourlay Government to leave it to muni-cipalities to take what plague relief measures they deem necessary, and the local Official Gazette has been notifying that the various municipalities are authorised to take such measures for the prevention or relief of distress during plague as the District Municipal Act allows them. Either because the finances of most of the smaller municipalities in Sind cannot permit of large emergent expenditure for this purpose or because the real public spirited and independent-minded eleor because the real public spirited and independent minded ele-ment in the local gentry is not represented on these munici-palities, which are entirely composed of nominated members, the fact remains that these municipalities have rarely succeeded in taking effective measures to combat the ravages of plague. Even in a large town like Hyderabad, during the tenure of an effect and hubber committee of measures to combat the ravages of plague. effete and helpless committee of management and a munici-pal commissioner who is new to the work, a large part of the plague relief work is done by non-official and private endea-vour. The same is the case in Shikarpur, where Mr. Murlidhar Jeramdas, the president-elect of the forthcoming Sind Pro-

vincial Conference, has borne almost the whole brunt of the task of combating cholera and plague for well-nigh eight months. The whole question of plague relief should undergo reconsideration at the hands of Government. It is doubtful if Government has discharged its duty of making a proper, thorough and systematic investigation into the causes of the outbreak and spread of the disease. The whole subject re-quires a closer study than appears to have been given to it so far.

BOMBAY.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE Council session came to an end on Saturday last. The most important item on the agenda from the point of view of the general public was the Rent Bill and its safe passage through the Council has, therefore, given generel satisfaction. The changes made by the Select Committee are passage through the counch has, therefore, given by satisfaction. The changes made by the Select Committee are comparatively trivial. As was expected, at the second and third reading many amendments subversive of the main principles of the Bill were moved, but, thanks to the general good sense of the majority of the members, they were all negatived. People here expect this will give great relief to the middle class and the poor people who have been hard pressed during these was times. these war times.

ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY CONFEDENCE.

The second important event of the week was the holding of the second Depressed Classes Mission Conference. H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda presided over its deliberation and made a very powerful speech. He also outlined the steps he has taken and is taking in his own territory for the eleva-tion of this community. The Conference was very well attended and the enthusiasm displayed by the people clearly showed that the untouchables have come into their own and a removal of the grievances imposed upon them by the stupid prejudice of higher castes is in sight. It shows the strength of public opinion on this question that a few men like Mr. Tilak, who had till now ranged themself definitely against the social reform movement, felt constrained by the enthusiasm of the younger people to associate with this frankly aggressive movement against orthodoxy. Those who treated social re-form as of no consequence have now to candidly recognise that social reform is no whit less important from the national point of view than political reform and is indeed an indispensable preliminary to it.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING.

It was feared that the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee which was called to consider certain irregularties in respect of the last elections to the All-India Congress Com-mittee would be a stormy one. The proceedings, however, were conducted in a comparatively peaceful manner. The discussion took a lively turn when the question of appointing a committee of inquiry was taken up. When neither side accepts responsibility for the irregularities, the only course to find out the truth is to institute an enquiry. It is therefore surprising to find men like Messrs. Tilak and Jinnah opposing this simple proposal and thus shelving the question altogether. The majority however was in favour of an inquiry, and the motion was carried. An amount of interest attaches to this inquiry. It was feared that the meeting of the Provincial Congress inquiry.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KAIRA.

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