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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Secretary of State for India now explains that his promise to request the Union Government to allow Indian interests to be represented "upon the Commission" has been interpreted too literally, and that all he meant was that an official and a non-official should be given a chance to represent the case of the South African Indians before the Commission as witnesses. If so, it is not only Indians who understood him to say that representatives of India should sit as members of the Commission, but even General Smuts who promised, as much in so many words, for he said in reply to the Durban Indians' address: "India will be represented by members on the Commission." It is clear, in view of this authoritative declaration, that if India's representatives are given a status lower than that of full members, the Union Government is now going back from its pledged word. There is all the difference in the world between your placing facts before others to help them in arriving at a decision and yourself having a hand in that decision.

THE distress in several districts of East Bengal caused by the cyclone of the 24th September last has not attracted as much attention and sympathy from outside provinces as it ought to have done. During the dark night of that fateful day several thousands of persons were swept away, lakhs of people rendered homeless and penniless, property worth lakhs and lakhs disappeared in a few hours, and all this came on the top of a famine which we have not yet left behind. A stretch of country, about 40 miles wide and over 100 miles long, has

been converted into a colossal ruin by the forces of nature. The people of East Bengal have a right to expect that the various provinces will send out their social workers in dozens and hundreds, equipped with funds from their own areas, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and to set them once again on their feet in every way. The distress is so wide-spread, and the affected parts of the presidency so very deficient in means of communication that even the Government with its official agency has not been able to get full and detailed reports of the extent of distress in the interior, though it is now five weeks since the calamity of the *Amavasya* night.

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THE Servants of India Society is taking its humble share in the relief of distress. From its Jamshedpur centre of work it sent out two members, soon after the event, to the scene of the disaster. It is busy collecting funds in Calcutta and Jamshedpur and has appealed for help from the Bombay Presidency. Bombay has not yet responded to the call; the fund has amounted only to Rs. 3,200 contributed chiefly by Marwadi and Gujerati merchants of Calcutta. Jamshedpur has been able to send out six volunteers and is ready to send more, if need be. Three centres of relief are opened, two in Bagerhat sub-division of Khulna and one in Munshiganja sub-division of Dacca. Dhotis, banians, blankets, saris, bamboos, coir string and other hutting materials, rice, &c., are wanted urgently and are being sent from Calcutta and Jamshedpur out of the money available. We request the public of Western India not to let this opportunity pass of assisting our deeply distressed brethren of East Bengal and thus giving a practical proof of our common nationhood. Remittances may be sent to Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Jamshedpur (Bihar and Orissa), and they should be sent as promptly as possible, to be of the greatest use.

* * *

THE first number of *United India*, the new weekly started by Mrs. Besant in England to watch over Indian interests, has been received by the last English mail, and we hasten to extend our cordial welcome to this new and splendid sentinel of the national movement. The get-up of the new weekly beats every other weekly devoted to Indian affairs, whether in India or in England, and the list of contributors it has secured is unrivalled. The first number contains articles on "Discontent and Repression in India" by Sir Sankaran Nair; "Cons-

titution of New Provinces" by Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao; "Provincial Governments under the Bill" by the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; "The Central Government in India" by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri; "South Africa" by Mr. Henry S. L. Polak; "Indian Reforms and Indian Labour" by Mr. B. P. Wadia; "Essential Points of Indian Reforms" by Mrs. Annie Besant; and "A plea for the Indian Ex-Soldier" by an English officer. Among other contributors whose co-operation it has secured are: Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Dr. Sapru, Mr. Yakub Hussain, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. Edward Carpenter, Colonel Wedgewood, Mr. Nevinson and Mr. George Lansbury. It will be seen that all of them are men pre-eminent in their own several walks of life, who are acknowledged authorities on their respective departments of work. Needless to say, articles from such distinguished experts on their own special subjects will be read with the greatest pleasure and profit by all sections of the public. The editorial notes are terse and scintillating. The news, reviews, etc. are varied and interesting.

* * *

THE opening note in its first number sets out its policy in a few well-chosen terms:—

The flag carried by *United India* can bear but one device, the ideal enshrined in the heart of every true Indian—the Freedom of India. One calls it Self-Government; another, Responsible Government; a third, preferring two syllables to four or seven, Home Rule. The Congress called it by the first; the British Cabinet by the second; the Leagues by the third. All mean the same thing. . . . We are not content to wait indefinitely for our Freedom. . . . Our path to self-rule must be reasonably short; it is because we recognise in the Indian Reform Bill a gateway to that path that we are willing to pass through it, confident in our own power to widen and shorten the path, and to reach the goal on our own feet in a far shorter period than is thought necessary by our antagonists or our timid friends. There are but two passages from Autocracy to Democracy—Reform and Revolution. We deliberately choose Reform.

No Indian student of affairs can do without this paper. It is indispensable to all our publicists. We feel sure that it has a brilliant future before it and a glorious career of service to the cause of the Motherland.

* * *

THE Maharaja of Bikaner complains that the criticisms that appear in the Press regarding Indian States are generally overcoloured and prejudiced, and quotes for a sample what appeared in a recent issue of the *SERVANT OF INDIA*. Commenting upon the formation of an Advisory Council in Jamnagar State, we were led to apply the following remark of Sir William Lee Warner to the councils of Indian States: that they are, generally, "sham representative councils intended to quiet the British conscience and to mislead the press. They may avert the evil eye of foreign opinion while they retard real reforms." The Maharaja has quoted this passage, but has failed to recognise that it is an extract from a writer who could not be accused of any bias against the princes. Any way, whatever be the motives that actuate rulers

of States in forming councils, it cannot be denied that the substance of power is denied to these councils, and that the few tinkering changes made in the constitution are not worth being dignified by the name of reform.

* * *

THE only complete safeguard against the passage of unnecessarily harsh repressive measures in any country is the attainment by it of full responsible government. In the present condition of our constitution, no amount of precautionary provisions will give us entire immunity from repression. Still, the following observations of Sir Sankaran Nair, who in the article he has contributed to *United India* has expressed his unqualified opposition to the Rowlatt Act, may be found useful. Says he: "No measure calculated to deprive a man of the liberty of his person or of property, no measure suppressing freedom of speech in any form, should be allowed to be passed by the executive Government in India without Indian opinion thereon being considered by the people of Britain. Such repressive measures should in future—in practice, as hitherto in theory—be issued only by the people of Britain, if and when they are opposed to the opinion of the representatives of the people of India."

* * *

THE denial of the application of self-determination to the possessions of England cannot but appear to Americans as a betrayal of the glorious principles for which England went to war with Germany, and the speech which Mr. Malone made on behalf of India before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate must have made a deep impression upon that body. Does Mr. Malone, however, understand self-determination in the limited sense in which Mr. Tilak interprets it, *viz.* the substitution of the C.-L. Scheme for the M.-C. Scheme? This has been subsequently attenuated even further, and the very faintness of heart which leads one to put forward such a demand in the name of self-determination invites a prompt refusal. Nothing is gained by introducing the word self-determination once or twice in a long rigmarole of a memorandum if by self-determination you do not mean what the whole world understands by it.

* * *

WHAT a severe castigation has been administered by Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar to those who irreverently remarked that the Viceroy had affronted the Mahajana Sabha of Madras by his impudent suggestion that certain passages in its address to him should be deleted! Mr. Aiyengar of the *Hindu* bids them be duly grateful to the Viceroy for imposing terms and moved a resolution embodying this opinion in the Mahajana Sabha. Is he really overflowing with gratitude to the Viceroy, or is it only a characteristic instance of the fearless way in which the editor of the *Hindu* voices his feelings, without in the least camouflaging them?

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

SEVERAL modifications of the Government of India Bill now before Parliament have been pressed on the attention of the Joint Committee. The most important of these relate to the Central Government, whose authority over the various Local Governments, though to be greatly relaxed in the new order, will still form the cardinal feature of the Indian constitution, distinguishing it from the federal Dominion constitutions with which it is often compared. The increase of the Indian element in the executive council of the Viceroy to one-half the ordinary strength, the grant of fiscal autonomy to the Government of India in concurrence with its legislature, and the introduction of the principle of responsibility on lines similar to those adopted in the case of the Provinces are the three expansions of the scheme on which all the progressive politicians of India have with one voice insisted from the beginning. Their evidence, as placed before the Joint Committee by their representatives, is marked by unanimity and earnestness on this topic. Sir William Meyer, late Finance Minister of the Viceroy, whose ability, experience and love of India invest his judgment with unique authority, recommends that the subject of ministerial responsibility at the centre be examined carefully at the end of five years, evidently convinced of the unwisdom of postponing it till the Parliamentary Commission is appointed under clause 28 of the Bill. Sir Stanley Reed, whose knowledge and experience have been gathered in the highways and byways of non-official life, lends the great weight of his approval to these improvements.

Let it be premised that the transfer of certain functions to a Minister responsible to the legislature is not inconsistent with or opposed to the policy of August 20, 1917, which the Bill is intended to fulfil. On the contrary, that policy supports, nay requires, such transfer. What then is the authority that vetoes the fulfilment of the policy? Nothing but the third formula of the Joint Report which embodies the hesitation and misgiving of the authors. The hesitation and misgiving are utterly unfounded and they are out of keeping with the general tenor of the Report, which is one of confidence tempered by caution. The idea underlying the hesitancy is that the element of ministerial responsibility in the Provincial administrations is a weakness, the evils of which must be counteracted by a supreme power kept immune from the weakening element. To this idea we demur. It is the negation of reform. Unchecked bureaucracy is the greatest weakness of the Indian constitution. Ministerial responsibility is the only cure for the weakness, and it must be applied both at the centre and along the circumference. In fact, it must begin at the centre. Rightly interpreted, the whole of the political movement which has led to the formulation of the Bill is a protest against

bureaucracy and an attempt to overthrow it. To mitigate it in the lower sphere and leave it untouched where it can work the greatest mischief is to undo in reality the improvement which is conceded in appearance. The master policies which regulate the destiny of the nation are shaped in the Government of India; the vivifying impulses of the Provinces must originate there; the moving ideas that are to drive away the mists of ignorance and poverty and bring the sunshine of freedom and self-determination once more into a land of ancient greatness—they must inform the actions of those who have control of the national resources and are in touch with the great forces of the world. Bureaucracy may learn to smile, to talk gently and to encase its hands in velvet gloves. But more is needed to give satisfaction to new India. How is it possible to have an Assembly mainly composed of elected representatives of the people and endow them with large opportunities of discussion without giving them the substance of power? Discord and wrangle will not be long in coming. The truest statesmanship is to provide against it at the very start. It is the case that the arrangement is transitional. But even so, it must have a certain amount of stability for everyday purposes. There can be no stability, no rest, no chance of quiet progress, so long as the popular element is kept out of the main citadel of government.

The policy now in the ascendant is gradual progress in responsible government. A sudden jump from bureaucracy to complete responsibility will be no less disastrous in the Government of India than in that of the provinces. Let the first step be taken at once. It need not be as large as in the Provinces, and the subsequent advance may be more cautious. But the process must definitely begin; else, as Sir William Meyer pointed out, the people would doubt the intentions of the Government and with good cause. Salt, income-tax and general stamps are subjects that may be transferred at once. Posts and telegraphs, and railways, are subject to military requirements, and with proper safeguards may be transferred too. That they are revenue-producing is no argument against transfer. The authorities that spend are seldom those that raise the taxes. The subjects mentioned by Sir James Brunyate as appropriate for the popular or B group on page 24 of the Crewe Committee's Report, though for a different purpose, may likewise be considered suitable for transfer to a Minister responsible to the legislature. If the Joint Committee be persuaded to adopt this suggestion, certain budget powers must be conferred on the legislature. It is not difficult to indicate the necessary changes. In fact, Sir James Meston himself has admitted in the course of his evidence that it is possible to submit the budget to the vote of the legislature, if the Governor-General be armed with the power to restore the provisions cut out by the legislature on a certificate. It is scarcely necessary to labour the point that, if a Minister be

appointed, he must be responsible to the popular house or the Assembly. The Council of State is merely the instrument of the executive and cannot claim to come into an arrangement designed expressly to give political power to the people's representatives.

The Indian deputations are all keen on this item of reform. The attitude of the Moderates or the Liberal Party should be properly appreciated. They are as anxious for the liberalisation of the India Government as any of the others. Mr. Samarth's striking phrase caused a flutter in committee, but it was a good indication of the feeling that animated his party on the subject. They appeared as friends and supporters of the Joint Report. But it was largely in the hope that by so doing they could secure sympathetic hearing to their suggestions for improvement. It rests with the Joint Committee to vindicate this hope. In examining Sir Stanley Reed, Mr. Bennett evinced a lively interest in the fortunes of the Liberal Party in India. Surely, there is no need to remind him or his colleagues that generous and bold reform is the one condition of its success as it is of the contentment and prosperity of a vital part of the British Empire. (From "United India.")

REFORM IN INDIAN STATES.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA of Bikaner, in closing the sessions of his legislative council, spoke at length on the internal reform in Indian States, a subject of capital importance, but totally neglected, while the constitution of British India is being remodelled on a popular basis. The Princes' Conference sitting at present at Delhi will concern itself with subjects that relate more to the status and dignity of the princes than to the powers of their subjects, and, indeed, in the whole range of the current discussions on reform, the constitutional changes required in Indian States so as to place their administration on a more democratic basis have been left severely alone. The Maharaja, therefore, is to be congratulated on bringing this aspect of the question to the fore, though his treatment of it is highly unsatisfactory and his apologia for the States entirely unconvincing. Let us premise our remarks on this part of his speech by recording our grateful appreciation of the most valuable services he rendered to the cause of Indian reform in England, but his public utterances on those occasions, characterised as they were by a passion for reform, only serve to throw into bold relief the extraordinary amount of self-complacency which he betrays while dealing with the constitution of his own State and that of the other Indian States. It was a legitimate question which the Maharaja was asked while he was engaged in urging upon the British statesmen the necessity for a thorough reform of the British Indian constitution: viz. what he and his brother princes were doing to popularise *their* administration, and the answer which the Maharaja has returned is grievously disappointing.

It is something that His Highness does not plead the "non-intervention policy" of the British Government on behalf of the princes, and claim to have full power of doing what they please with the destinies of the peoples under their charge, irrespective of the feelings of the British Government or, what is the same thing under a popular form of government, the British Indian subjects. Indeed, he allows indirectly the right of the British Government to exert pressure on the States with a view to liberalising their constitution. Answering the charge levelled against him by the "English extremists" that, in pleading for reform, he was unwarrantably interfering with the domestic concerns of British India, the Maharaja says, truly enough, that the subject of constitutional reform is a matter of imperial concern and that, as allies of the British Government, it is not only their right but their duty to advise proper measures, so as to secure the contentment of the subjects in British India. For any violent discontent in British India will surely react upon the States also, and thus, in mere self-interest, Indian princes must do as much as is possible to influence the trend of British Indian policy. Such influence, he asserts, is not inconsistent with the carrying out of the policy of non-interference on the part of either party. We readily admit the force of this, and we are sure the Maharaja will admit with equal readiness the force of the converse proposition. For it will be easily seen that His Highness's argument cuts double. If Indian princes can, conformably to the traditional non-intervention policy, bring moral pressure to bear upon the British Government so as to make them revise their constitution in a democratic sense, equally legitimately and equally in conformity to the non-intervention policy, the British Government can and must use all the opportunities at their command to secure the introduction of popular government in Indian States. Misrule in these States cannot but affect British India, and the British Government, being responsible in the ultimate analysis for the maintenance of order in the States must see, in discharge of their own duties, that the form of administration in the States conduces to the well-being and contentment of their subjects. The only question is: Are the princes alive to their duty of investing their subjects with the power to control policy through their representatives? The Maharaja says 'yes,' but this reply will not be endorsed by anyone outside the circle of princes.

In the matter of education and some administrative reforms like the separation of the judicial and executive functions, a few of the larger States, we will gladly acknowledge, have made a notable advance over British India, but in the all-important matter of constitutional reform every one of them lags far behind. It is the fashion with some Nationalists to laud the Indian States as the pioneers of reform in every direction in order that they could with greater effect criticise the British Government. We do not feel the necessity of in

vesting the administration of Indian States with non-existent virtues in order to be enabled to urge reform in British India, and have, therefore, no hesitation in painting even the Swadeshi States in true colours. "To contend," says the Maharaja, "that everything is perfect in all the States would be as absurd as the sweeping allegations often heard that everything is corrupt and rotten in the Indian States." This is of course literally true; no generalisation of such a character can at all represent the real state of things; but we can fairly say that the latter statement is by a long way nearer the truth than the former, in a great majority of States. Even in the advanced States, which have succeeded in effecting some reforms that may well be the envy of the British Government, the system of government that obtains is pure autocracy. The occasional, and in most cases, ineffective consultation to which the representatives of the people are admitted certainly does not change the spirit of the administration to any appreciable degree. The much-advertised advisory councils and legislative councils which some princes have constituted, leave the essential character of their rule unchanged. Let us take, for instance, the reforms introduced by the Maharaja of Bikaner himself. He compares the composition and powers of his legislative council to those of the Viceroy's and proves to his own satisfaction that the changes he has made in the constitution of his council are more liberal and bold. He does not pause, however, to explain why his council is to be compared to the Imperial Council in preference to a provincial council, and why credit is to be given to him for bringing it up within a short period to the level of the Viceroy's council, instead of blame for not constituting any council in his State till only six years ago. The Maharaja is greatly flattered by the thought that his Government found itself unable to accept only one of the resolutions so far moved in his council. Does it not occur to him that, possibly, independent opinion does not find much scope in his council? We have no knowledge of Bikaner, but it is a fact that, in most of the States which boast of a representative assembly, real non-official opinion cannot express itself. It is as little to the credit of the States that few of the people's grievances are laid before the princes in the form of resolutions as that there exists no agitation in the States at all comparable to what exists in British India. It does not prove that no grievances are left unredressed, but that few of them can even be ventilated.

The Maharaja was twitted by some of his critics with not having introduced the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme in his State while advocating it warmly for British India. He can only trot out, for answer, the "essentially different conditions" that obtain in an Indian State and the territory of British India. Differences undoubtedly there are, but what differences are there, except perhaps for the presence of the princes themselves at the

head of the States, which make the M.-C. Scheme desirable in the case of British India and undesirable in the Indian States? "The rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality and religion in Indian States." True, but does the community of race and religion between princes and subjects make representative and responsible government unnecessary? If so, England need not possess a popular form of government and may as well revert to autocracy. "The princes' interests are all entirely centred in their States;" this is equally true of all autocratically governed countries, but this plea has not succeeded in coaxing any people into an attitude of resignation to a despotic rule. The Maharaja deprecates "a blind imitation of an exotic system"—the exotic system being representative government, but such a trite phrase will help him little. For he himself has quoted authorities to prove that representative government is not foreign to the genius of India; whether it is so or not, India has now adopted representative institutions past recall, and even if they are an exotic, they have taken root in this country. Such institutions do not depend for their success upon any peculiar set of circumstances, but are desirable in all. It is little to the purpose, therefore, that the Maharaja makes so much of the differences in ideals and standards of administrative efficiency and suggests that even a feudal or a patriarchal form of government may suit Indian conditions. The differences between Indian States and the British territory are not greater than differences between one province and another in British India, and yet the Maharaja approved of the introduction of responsible government in the whole of British India, irrespective of the varying local conditions. This is just such a subject as to admit of uniformity of treatment, and whatever the Maharaja may say, the public is convinced that, if the Indian princes are unwilling to introduce representative government in their States, it is not because they think it unsuited to the local conditions, but because they are far too much attached to the prevailing system of personal rule to part with power to the people.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT.—III.

HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

"THE immature part of life, which is devoted to learning, is long," said an old authority on education. How long it can be will depend on the family circumstances of the pupil. The better-to-do classes can spare the children longer from bearing their burden of life responsibilities. Lord Leverhulme illustrated how the parents wait for the completion of children's education by the following story: "A benevolent old gentleman coming home one day saw right in front of his house an overturned load of hay blocking up the road. A boy . . . was trying to get the hay back into the cart. The gentleman said to the

boy, "Have you to put all that hay back into the cart?" "Yes, Sir," said the boy. "Have you had your dinner?" Asked the gentleman. "No, Sir." "Well, then, come inside and have your dinner. You will work better for it." "I don't think my father would like it," replied the boy. "Oh! your father would not mind. Why should he mind your having a good dinner?" Then he took him into the house and gave him a good dinner. After dinner he said to the boy, "Now, just you have a walk round my garden, and then you will be ready for your work." "Please, Sir, I don't think my father would like it," said the boy. "Oh! your father won't mind. He will be glad for you to do it. You have a walk round." And the boy did. On his returning to the house the gentleman said, "Now I have a nice book here. Just look at a few pictures, and then you will be ready for your work." "But please, Sir, I don't think my father would like it." "Oh! it's all right, I am sure your father will not mind. But what makes you keep saying you do not think your father would like it?" "Please, Sir, he is under the hay."

Children's parents are under varying loads of life responsibilities till released by the close of the young people's education. The primary, the secondary and the collegiate education indicates the powers of endurance the parents or the quasi-parents have to wait for the day of release. Education in the narrow sense of 'schooling' makes an artificial atmosphere, and it is with a view to bring out the best in them that the human-plants are placed in the nursery, and the time when they will benefit by transplantation will not be the same for all. The sifting processes that are constantly associated with education of the various grades must be efficiently worked out so that the pupils get the maximum benefit out of the various schools. Children show various degrees of educability; some taking to books and other activities of school life as ducks to water, others being not at all responsive to the impulses of their environment. A uniform period of school life will not inure to the benefit of all these different natures.

Under a perfectly organised system of education *all* the children of a nation or political entity, those of the devastating torrent of life that Wells picturesquely describes,* surviving to the school-age will go through the primary grade of instruction. To a good many that is the utmost of education they will get as equipment for life. If care is taken, those fitted to benefit by a higher grade of education will be made to go on with further studies. And of these, again, there will be a falling off when the time comes for collegiate education. And all through there will be two sorts of curricula, one having reference to the entrance requirements of the next stage and the other equipping for life and vocational activities.

The entrance requirements will be satisfied by evidence of proficiency in subjects of general cultural value. Let us take all the three grades of

* "Mankind in the making."

education. The pursuits recommended by Mr. J. J. Findlay for the Elementary pupils are based on a proper knowledge of child psychology, and they are: (i) training in the simpler tasks of the industrial community, (ii) teaching of music, dramatising, story-telling, leading on to history and geography, and (iii) drill—technical exercise in arithmetic, reading, writing, drawing, as also physical exercise drill. As regards (i), commonsense will approve of the suggestion that the workshop (of the simplest kind), the needle room and the garden should be recognised as integral parts of the school. What are the pursuits in the secondary school which will be a continuation of those in the elementary grade? We would bring in drawing and manual training and elements of botany and personal hygiene in the first group, and in the second we would have the school studies that loom largely before us all when they are referred to—humanistic and scientific studies, so far as these can be properly studied by the young people between 10 or 12 and 17 or 18. And in the third group might be conveniently brought training in type-writing, short-hand, book-keeping, music, and for girls provision must be made for teaching cookery, needle-work, etc. The drill in physical exercises will give place to school games and sports, or excursions for the study of botany or geology or historic monuments, or military drill. There will be no over-weighting of the curriculum if, in the third group, freedom be given to choose as few or as many as the tastes and the leisure of the pupil might demand. And we need not refer just now to the curriculum of studies at college.

Such courses of studies as those laid down for the elementary and the secondary grades of instruction will fit the young people to begin the work of life at the end of each grade, if they are not equal to higher grades of studies. They will have been prepared for being better craftsmen, better citizens, better men. This would be on the supposition that definite school education is once for all over for the elementary or high school youth after he enters on his life-work. If there are continuation schools, callow youths should have hours of work so fixed as to allow of spare energies for studies of a liberalising sort, and these will be in connection with the boys' vocations or outside these, according to their choice.*

The advantages of the courses suggested are that there is no artificial cleavage created between school and home, the boys' activities or the girls' can be easily harmonised with their parents' activities in their homes, and each type of school will have a definite aim and also easily link itself on to the next higher type through the humanistic and scientific studies. The complaint that University requirements dominate the high school need not frighten us. This is not a special complaint peculiar to India. "Now since University regulations exercise so powerful an incentive both

* G. Kerschensteiner's "Schools and the Nation." Translated by C. K. Ogden.

to parents and teachers in secondary schools, it follows that the schools teach what the Universities ask for, and what the University examination omits is given but a minor place in the secondary school programme. Thus the secondary school largely takes the character of a fitting school for the University, although less than ten per cent. of the scholars continue their schooling in any higher institution of learning after the age of eighteen." Where is this passage voicing the familiar complaint taken from? If the reader guesses it is somewhere from the Calcutta University Commission Report and, more venturesome, further suggests the chapter on the University Matriculation Examination as a guess, it would be plausible enough. But it is from Mr. Findlay's "School" (p. 223) (Home University Library), than which there is no more informing and helpful book of the same size on education, and the reference is to educational conditions in England.

Another criticism may be urged, that too utilitarian considerations sway the curricula recommended above. It is all very well to say: "Teach a boy how to learn and how to live, not how to make a living," with Sir J. D. Maclure ("Cambridge Essays on Education"), but making a living is an urgent demand that cannot be indefinitely postponed. All have to make a living, the millionaire by administering his affairs properly so that he may be a blessing and not a curse to those about him, and the errand boy by doing his work intelligently and honestly. No grade of education can forget its ultimate end of making the younger generation competent for the business of life, bringing out the best in them so that they render society more and more efficient as years go on.

At each stage, we don't mind repeating, there will be a sifting process, separating those whose further education will be useful to themselves and society from those whom it is not wholesome to keep in the artificial atmosphere of the school room or the college hall, who will do the best for themselves and the world in the tussle of life's realities. The intellectual, brain workers will thus be separated from the men of muscle, the brawny workers; the men of gold, according to Plato, from the men of iron. If the sifting has not been discriminating enough, the continuation schools will give a further chance to those of latent talents. Society will thus secure the full services of the best intellects trained to maximum efficiency.

Now let us take the High School curriculum of studies. There must be provision made for the humanistic and the scientific courses. A combination of both disciplines up to the end of the pass B. A. may be, according to Sir Oliver Lodge, beneficial to those entering on specialised studies at a later stage. But the cry for selective courses, for specialisation, is heard and listened to at a much earlier stage. To the end of the school course at least, pupils must be made to go through a course of studies which aim at humanising and socialising them and also at fitting them to master their

physical environment. Some are more fitted for one kind of knowledge than for the other. Complete ignorance or more than average ignorance of one or other kind of knowledge is due more to lack of opportunity than to lack of aptitude: the most or the least soulful is either a soul animating a body or a body animated by a soul. With all respect to Mr. William Bateson,* there is not such a clear cleavage existing, as he suggests, between those who care for truth and those who care for beauty. The average person can appreciate both, though they may appeal to him with different degrees of strength. The schools are for the average, normal type of manhood and womanhood. Hence the need for carrying on both the disciplines in the High School, for all. It must be always recognised that the training given in schools, the life lived under school influences, is something more important than the training of school-studies; and the curriculum of studies must be more comprehensive than might be tested by examinations. This rather elementary piece of knowledge will—if thoroughly laid to heart—get rid of a great deal of irrelevant criticism. The fact that a boy comes to college studies from a particular school will mean much more than that he has passed a certain examination, and the boy's record of school work will convey more information to the competent authorities than the fact of his success at the terminal or initial examination. Has the boy duly shared in sports and pastimes and developed his physique? Has he duly shared in the work of societies and associations encouraged by the school authorities? Has he benefited by the corporate life of the school, if any? Has he been pursuing any favourite studies, or has he been pursuing any hobbies showing special tastes and aptitudes? The training and the opportunities, the atmosphere of work-a-day school life will mean so much for the boy. But the course for examination will be narrower, and the fact of success in examinations might mean much less comparatively.

With this caveat we may consider the scheme of examination recommended by the University Commission in the chapter on Reform of Secondary Education (chapter xxxi. vol. iv. pp. 71-2).

(1) The head master should be required to certify that each candidate whom he presents for the examination has received during his training at school a course of instruction of a kind and at a stage approved by the Board, in each of the following subjects and in any subject not mentioned in this list in which the candidate submits himself for examination:—

- (a) Introduction to Natural Science, including the teaching of Elementary Hygiene.
- (b) History of India, History of British Empire.
- (c) Drawing and Manual training.

(2) Every candidate should be required to present himself for examination in at least five subjects.

(3) The following four subjects should be compulsory for all candidates:—

- (a) Vernacular.
- (b) English.
- (c) Elementary Mathematics.

* "Cambridge Essays on Education."

(d) Geography, including physical geography.

(4) The candidate should also be required to offer himself for examination in one of the following subjects, and should be allowed in addition to this to offer a sixth subject also drawn from the following lists:—

(e) A classical language.

(f) An approved scientific subject.

(g) Additional mathematics.

(h) History of India; History of the British Empire."

The above is not far different from the scheme of examination required to qualify for the school leaving certificate in this Presidency. There are certain subjects which all candidates are expected to study without being examined therein; and other subjects which candidates must present for examination, four of them compulsory on all alike, and an additional subject or subjects also to be presented but to be chosen out of a certain number of subjects mentioned in the scheme. The High School curriculum may have, and in properly equipped schools are bound to have, courses more intimately related to the practical needs of later life, like type-writing, short-hand, elements of commercial practice, needle work, etc. Those that want to matriculate for the University must exercise their judgment and so map out their courses as to fit in with the studies to be pursued later on. In place of an additional classical language, we may have, as an alternative, a modern European language (French, German or Italian). The usefulness of one or more for further studies of the humanistic or the scientific kind is well known.

As regards the compulsory portion, no school student can offer less. The grade of high school proficiency in the mother tongue of the pupil and in English has been explained in the previous article. Nobody contemplating to enter on a professional career that must be open to the alumni of high schools can show less mastery of these languages so indispensable for use and social efficiency. Elementary mathematics, one hopes it is something more than the pitiful arithmetic of the Madras scheme, is the very basis of all reforms in scientific studies. In the provision for the study of language and literature of two peoples and in that for the study of mathematics is the minimum demand met to cultivate the humanistic and the scientific side of studies. The study of geography has a double function. On one side, there is the humanistic side of the study of the peoples and civilisation, and, on the other, the scientific side starting from physical geography and leading on to geology and botany and other sciences. Though the study has scope enough for the higher studies of the University, the basis of the studies must be laid in the high school, and there is in it just that blend of the humanistic and the scientific interest that would give scope for good teaching and arouse the proper kind of intellectual interest in the average pupil.

The aims of secondary education cannot be better explained than done by the Commission in (107) page 91, Vol. iv. There is due emphasis laid on the physical, intellectual, æsthetic and moral

aspects of school disciplines. School masters and school managers have been brought up under an earlier system when one of these aspects which related itself to the examination test was so predominant as to exclude all others. It is only with difficulty that the sounder view is getting accepted. And the growing financial burden that would press heavily on all is an additional reason for the slowness of school reform.

Provided the schools fulfil their aims, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether college authorities recognise the pupils of certain 'accredited' schools as qualified for higher studies, or they go through the school leaving certificates and pick and choose from among the certificate holders paying attention to all the elements of higher manhood the certificates give evidence of, or they take account only of accomplishments relevant for higher college studies, or even in this more value is attached to the results of the public examination than to school records. If there are enough colleges to train all those duly qualified for higher studies, they will be all admitted, and there will be no complaint.

The better plan seems to be to give the college authorities a certain amount of discretion. As regards high school students of certain institutions, it would be safer to accept the school record in preference to the valuation of the candidate's work by the public examination; with regard to other schools reputed to fake the records, the examination test may be the more reliable indication for selection. That which causes the least worry is the reliance on the examination test. The college authorities have something definite to go by. A 60 p. c. proficiency, in subjects or a 35 p. c. proficiency, all have been persuaded to believe, they can understand. They are blissfully ignorant of, or ignore, what Messrs. Latham, Edgeworth, Hartoy and others have to say on the value to be attached to examinations under present conditions. Once the percentage is agreed upon, a college clerk can get through the drudgery of admission. From the high school point of view, the keeping of the record with the staff and in the conditions of high school work and with the varying councils of the inspectorate is a task of insuperable difficulty. A definite outside test would be such a relief. If the examination results support more or less the school estimates, why, then the boys had been definitely warned beforehand how they would fare. If the results do not support the school masters' estimates, those paid hirelings, the examiners, must have aimed at an impossible standard of performance from the candidates or are too stupid to examine properly—or—or—. The self-respect of the teacher is saved. Hence the impatience of the critics of the scheme of school leaving certificate one notices in this Presidency.

It may be suggested, however, that the record of school work of the pupil must be maintained, whatever be the value to attach to it in individual cases, and there must be also the public examina-

tion, the success or failure in which should find a place in school record.

The double function of the high school, one of training a good number of students for entering on life-careers and another of preparing the rest for the higher studies of the University, must be accepted. If school authorities recognise their limitations and elect one or the other of the aims, such a differentiation of schools must in due time make for efficiency. If the schools suffer from distracting ends, colleges here and elsewhere do not seem to be immune from a like evil.

"The Modern University [not only in Bengal or India] seeks to fulfil two disparate functions, and combines in one organisation two institutions, whose purpose should never be confused. As a 'college,' it finds its chief duty in the charge of youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, who still require, and respond to, the guidance of a professional teacher; its function is much like that of the secondary school; and although it specializes (and, with scholars of this age, we must allow ample variety), it subordinates the acquirement of mere knowledge to a more liberal ideal. But as a congeries of departments constituting a University it has a different aim; for the science which the 'department' professes, is now the principal interest, and tutorial relationships are of less account; the professor and staff are not so much teachers as senior colleagues, guiding the independent research of younger men."

A like evil may be cured by a like remedy. The humanistic type may be separated from the scientific and in due time develop a part. The intermediate college may have the function of working up the fresh men from the high schools into the right kind stuff for the one or other type of higher schools of learning. That the intermediate College forms, as now, a part of the University Colleges of either sort or is recognised as a separate entity will make no difference with regard to securing the true ends of culture.

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

WOMEN ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

I.

THE denial of the franchise to women by the Southborough Committee and the Government of India is thoroughly unjust and cannot be defended by any social customs obtaining in India or by the general backwardness of women in education and civic affairs. What the women ask for is, not that any special privileges be conferred upon them or that the qualifications prescribed for men-voters be lowered in their case, but only that they should not be debarred from voting if, by reason of their education or of property held in their own right, they are entitled to come on to the voters' list, merely because they are women. They are, I think, entitled to ask that their sex shall not be a disqualification, and no arguments that I have seen advanced to vindicate their exclusion seem to me to have any substance. How many women will thus come in or will care to exercise the right at elections, is immaterial: if a very

* "The School" by J. J. Findlay, p. 156. (Home University Library.)

small number do so, it should only lessen the objection of those who are opposed to women's franchise. We want the principle to be recognised, although for the present it may not bring much solid advantage to us. It is unfair that the women should remain unenfranchised for the next ten years merely because of their sex. It is essential that when a new constitution is being devised for India, we should not start with a disability against women. There is no reason why the Government should wait till the demand for a vote becomes very strong and women are able to wrest it from unwilling hands. Why begin with an injustice and then wait to see if the injustice is being felt? I do hope and trust that the Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, which is considering the whole question afresh, will recommend the removal of this threatened injustice from the outset and recognise the women's equal right to citizenship with the men. Such a recognition will help to promote their education and quicken their interest in affairs.

RAMABAI RANADE.

II.

THERE is one burning question which arouses the women of India at the present moment, and it concerns the enfranchisement of Indian women. It is no doubt important that every Indian woman in India should strive to render all the assistance she can, in order that this enfranchisement should be included in the India Bill to which we are eagerly looking forward.

On behalf of the educated Indian woman, I plead that it should be granted, for the women who have been declared fit by the respective Universities of India and have taken their share in the various examinations along with their countrymen have every right to the enfranchisement being granted them. When once the Indian woman is enfranchised, the natural results will follow, for her unfortunate sisters will strive to work hard for the same goal and a new stimulus will be at work. How encouraged the Indian woman will feel that she has a voice in the important matters of the day!

The Indian woman has hitherto been content to follow and to take a very small share in the general outlook upon life, but with the glorious dawn that is shedding its resplendent rays of progress throughout the Empire, her view has quite changed. She is certainly not going to give up her queenly rights in her own hearth and home, whether it be gosha or non-gosha; but she feels like her sisters of other climes and lands that the old order changeth giving place to new.

Therefore, I urge that all women in India should be given the vote, provided their educational attainments are above the matriculation standard. The women thus enfranchised will not certainly oust the sterner sex from their sphere, but, on the other hand, will render their country meritorious and praiseworthy service. For no man

can plead for womankind; it is only the woman who can fully comprehend and sympathize with the miseries and aspirations of her sex. Therefore should she be represented.

There is another claim that may entitle the Indian woman to the franchise and that is property qualification. For on the western coast of India, there are several Indian women who hold property varying in size and value and should necessarily be allowed to vote.

Our cause is being ably pleaded by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, along with several other eminent Indian ladies in England, and it is the earnest wish of every woman that the women of India will yet be victorious and will prove to the world that the hand that rocks the cradle should have a part in guiding and steering the destinies and fortunes of the brightest jewel in the British Empire.

E. LAZARUS.

FUN AND FACT.

NOW that Senator Lodge's amendment has been defeated, one may safely look forward to America's early ratification of the Peace treaty *in toto*. But whether that will set the world's affairs right is more than doubtful. The Russian maze is thickening day by day, and I am not at all sure that even the statesmen who managed to get her into this mess understand it in all its bearings. Reuter informs us that the Germans are allying themselves with the Bolsheviks with the sinister object of *Germanising* Russia and almost in the same breath he tells us that they are fighting the Bolsheviks tooth and claw in unison with Generals Koltchak and Denikin, and the man in the street may be excused if he throws down his paper in despair and asks what the deuce Reuter means. However that may be, the German forces in the Baltic do seem to have allied themselves with the opponents of the Bolsheviks with the result that the beginning of the end of their régime is now in sight. But what will happen to Russia afterwards? Will the Germans be left to lord it over the others in Russia or will the Allies chuck them out? Or will Koltchak, Denikin and their barbarous hordes be permitted to have it all their own way, perchance under the supervision of that by no means over-scrupulous body, the Supreme Council, and of the so-called League of Nations? What about Turkey? And what about Fiume? How long is that flighty and flamboyant bard D'Annunzio—flighty in more ways than one—thus openly to flout the Allies and hold up to the world's contempt their impotence to enforce their own decisions? Coming nearer home, will the suspended Irish Home Rule Act come into operation automatically after the Peace Treaty is formally ratified as we were led to hope, or will British statesmen devise some new method of breaking their promise once again? Talk of peace (and a permanent one too), self-determination, and making the world safe for democracy! Humbug.

"THE Allies admit the many good qualities of the Turkish race; but among those good qualities cannot be found a capacity for ruling over alien races." This gem of diplomatic camouflage is taken from the Supreme Council's reply to Ferid Pasha's memorandum submitted on behalf of the Turkish delegation. How civil, and withal, how damning! Only the master-hand of Clemenceau or

Lloyd George could have put in this cunning touch. I cannot think of a third to match these two. But it served old Ferid Pasha right. He had no business to whine, lament, and apologise in the way he did. His memorandum was one long dismal whine and apology. His cabinet has now resigned, but the wonder is how such a goody-goody old Turk could have ever formed a cabinet even in Turkey. He could have turned round and said: "Has any nation a capacity to rule over alien peoples? Sinners we are, no doubt, but we have sinned in illustrious company." He did nothing of the kind, but threw the whole blame on the Young Turks and went a-begging for mercy. The result of it was the Allies' reply quoted above.

THE truth of the matter is, no one race on the wide face of this earth has the capacity or the right to rule over any other race. Now, that is one of the lessons of History. That is why good old C.-B. said, "Self-government is better than good government." The path of all Imperialism from Carthage and Rome down to Britain and France, has been paved with blood. I think it is Prof. Seely who says that England won her Empire not by keeping, but by breaking, the Ten Commandments. Therefore, speaking in the abstract, or, in other words, philosophically speaking, it is both irrational and immoral for any nation to hold any foreign land in thralldom, however beneficent, even a day longer. But this world is not governed by philosophy. Facts are stubborn things. And the Ottoman empire is as much a realised fact as the British empire. The Turks who massacred the Armenians—and I, for one, look upon it as an abominable crime—are neither better nor worse than the French settlers who exterminated the Red Indians in Canada or the British colonists who have very nearly destroyed the bushmen and aborigines of Australia. In the light of these facts, the most natural, sensible and reasonable arrangement would be to place Armenia under Turkey and Turkey under a mandate of the League of Nations so far as Armenia was concerned. However, few would object to Armenia being taken away from Turkey and placed under, say, America (though that only non-Imperialistic country does not seem to relish the idea). But why on earth are the statesmen of Britain and France talking about internationalising Stamboul (Constantinople), parcelling out Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia? Is this also an instance of Self-Determination?

OF course, it is only one more instance of the white man's burden—the self-imposed burden of the white man—his willingness, nay, his over-readiness to undertake the thankless task of civilising the world and developing backward peoples, even if those ignorant peoples misunderstand his altruistic and humanitarian motives and stupidly object to being developed and civilised in this way. I faintly recollect how the hated Prussian junkers and erstwhile war-lords of Potsdam set out to civilise the world in this summary fashion and to establish the supremacy of their superior "Kultur," and how our British jingoes and French chauvinists threw up their hands in holy horror at such a procedure. But, of course, now the case is altered. Germany is out of the business. She has gone into liquidation, so to speak. And therefore, the whole burden of civilising the world has now fallen on the Allies, and it is no wonder that they are feeling its crushing weight acutely (witness Mr. Lloyd George's latest speech). Then, why are they so eager to assume it, you ask? What! Would

you have Messrs. Lloyd George and Clemenceau betray the sacred trust which an inscrutable Providence has committed to their care, throw civilisation overboard and turn traitors to the cause of humanity and progress? Perish the evil thought!

TALKING of the white man's burden, my mind flies back to the days of that species of slave trade known as the American and South Seas Labour Traffic in which many a British, Spanish and French vessel distinguished itself (Germany was an insignificant conglomeration of states then, with no navy worth the name) and by which many a Hawkins and Drake rose into prominence. No doubt they fought with each other (it was only the most natural thing in the world for rogues and pirates to fall foul of one another), but they were one and all agreed that they were the pioneers of civilisation, and that they were carrying the light of the gospel into heathen lands. Grant Allen in his tale of "The Incidental Bishop," has delineated with life-like fidelity the crude mentality, I had almost said the callous brutality, of these men. The *John Wesley* of his story was a vessel engaged in the Queensland Labour Traffic—and what more appropriate name could its captain have chosen? The skipper of that ship said on a certain occasion, "Well, I can't say the niggers give us much trouble now. They're fond of civilisation. Stands to reason that they should be. Just see what it has done for 'em! It's brought 'em big ships, and clothes, and beads, and square gin, and drink, and Winchester breech-loaders, and tobacco, and measles, and missionaries and small-pox, and rum and the Labour Traffic. . . . He (the negro) kin get converted; he kin find religion; he kin have the blessings of Christianity conferred upon him for nothing, with as much square gin as he wants, into the bargain. And at the end of his indenture, well, he kin return to his own home, with a felt hat, an' a pair of pants, an' a breech-loader rifle, an' shoot other black fellows, an' cook 'em, an' eat 'em. Oh," he concluded, "there ain't any denying it, *no* flies on the Labour Traffic; it's been a durned fine thing for the march of intellect in the South Sea Islands; it's brought home to their own doors the blessings of civilisation." This, in a nutshell, is the authentic history of the white man's burden.

PUCK.

REVIEW.

REFORM OF INDIAN CURRENCY SYSTEM.

CURRENCY REFORM IN INDIA by Prof. V. G. Kale. Aryabhushan Press, Poona.

ONE of the most perplexing and urgent questions which the Indian Government has to tackle, relates to the currency and financial management of the country. The chaotic condition into which the currency systems of all the countries of the world have been thrown by the war, has to be steadily improved and progress in this direction is bound to be slow owing to the disturbed state of things that prevails all over the globe, though formal peace has been established long since. In common with other countries, India has suffered from the effects of the war, and our currency and exchange have been seriously dislocated as a consequence. The Government of India has to adopt suitable measures to set things right in this connection and it finds this task surrounded with enormous difficulties. We published four articles on this subject, a couple of months ago, from the pen of Prof. V. G. Kale and we are glad he has now brought out in book form those articles and several contributions of his to other journals with a view to giving a full and connected view of the whole problem.

Prof. Kale has endeavoured not only to discuss the re-

medies that may be applied to relieve the existing currency situation, but to advocate certain reforms of a permanent nature that must be adopted by Government in order to place the Indian system upon a sound and satisfactory basis. His chapters on Bimetallism and Prices and Exchange are particularly instructive and the splendid summary he gives in the concluding chapter will prove very helpful to the reader. The book, as a whole, contains an illuminating exposition of the currency and exchange management of the Indian Government and offers a scathing criticism of the policy which has been developed in the course of the past twenty-five years. The prevailing system is hardly compatible with the growing trade and industries of the country and is little calculated to be conducive to the economic progress of the people. Whatever recommendations may be made by the Currency Committee in London, there is ground to apprehend that the existing defective system of currency will be continued and it is, therefore, necessary to protest strongly against this attitude of Government and of its expert advisers.

This self-imposed task Prof. Kale has performed with eminent success and we have no doubt that the book under review will meet with the same public approbation as his other works have received. The language of the book is simple and clear, the exposition is lucid and instructive, and the lay-reader will derive from its careful perusal sufficient knowledge of the difficult subject to enable him to follow the developments that are taking place and will take place in the world of Indian currency and exchange.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LORD THURLOW'S AUTHORITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—During the first reading debate on the Indemnity Bill, the Law Member quoted an extract from a speech of Lord Thurlow as a very high authority to show that even if excesses were committed by officials while repressing disorders under the belief, recognised to be reasonable in the circumstances, that the acts were necessary, such excesses must be condoned. I do not quarrel with the principle here laid down, but I cannot help feeling that Sir George Lowndes relied upon a broken reed in citing Lord Thurlow's authority. For whatever the then Lord Chancellor might have said in regard to the Gordon Riots, he subsequently expressed the opinion that Lord George Gordon's imprisonment was too long and the sentence too severe. Again, in 1801 when the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Indemnity Bill came on, "Lord Thurlow declared himself a decided enemy to the Bill." "On the very first view of the subject, (he said) it struck him as contrary to the grand and fundamental principle of the law—the principle of support to innocence against oppression. . . . With regard to the present bill's resemblance to former bills, he did not perceive the striking similarity, as the former bills were bills passed *flagrante bello*. The bill, instead of a bill of indemnity, was a bill to suppress actions, suits, etc." (June 21, 1801.) One passage from Lord Thurlow's speech I would especially commend to the careful consideration of the Government of India, and it is this: "As to the crimes charged in the report, certainly, many persons might be committed under the (Habeas Corpus Suspension) Act, but he thought most of them could be brought before the common courts, whether this Act be passed or not." (May 22, 1794.) It shows clearly that in spite of the proclamation and enforcement of martial law, such cases as could be tried by the ordinary tribunals must be sent to them. The executive in India, however, had all persons charged with any offence in connection with riots tried by the Martial Law Commissions, which procedure is emphatically condemned by Lord Thurlow.—Yours, etc.

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